

EGYPTIAN HISTORY II

MIDDLE KINGDOM and SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The first Egyptian dynasty from Thebes, with names that reflect a local Theban war god, Montu. Of course, these local rulers of a fragmented county end up counting as a dynasty only because, around 2040, Mentuhotep I succeeded in overthrowing the obscure Heracleopolitan kings and reuniting Egypt. This is usually taken as the proper beginning of the Middle Kingdom, so the XI Dynasty, starting in the First Intermediate Period, is the only dynasty in Egyptian history that is taken to straddle two such divisions. In the course of his long reign Mentuhotep I employed three different Horus names. Earlier historians took this to mean that they were dealing with three different kings, and the total of Mentuhoteps as a consequence was formerly reckoned up to five. The last Mentuhotep seems to have been overthrown by his own vizier, Amenemhet, who thus founded the XII Dynasty. Some ill feeling may have persisted, since Amenemhet himself was ultimately assassinated, a sort of act that was, as far as we know, rather rare in Egyptian history.

Peter A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs* [Thames & Hudson, 1994]; Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* [Oxford, 1966]. The Horus names of Mentuhotep I are given with Gardiner's speculative vocalization, based on Coptic.

ELEVENTH DYNASTY GENERAL:

Art: Begins returning to standards of excellence; flourishing under royal patronage. Relief is low and delicate.

Architecture: Building is resumed on a monumental scale.

Trade: Caravans begin arriving from the south and shipping is free to move from the first cataract to the Mediterranean. Gold from Nubia, timber from Lebanon. Mines probably worked in Sinai.

Religion: Theban gods become first rank: Mont, the falcon god. Also are Sobk (or Suchos) the crocodile god.

Funerary: Heliopolitan theories begin giving way to heroism of Osiris, who eclipses Horus as ruler of the hereafter and god of the dead. Osiris' national shrine is at Abydos.

ELEVENTH DYNASTY – 2134 - 1991

MENTUHOTPE(A) I (Horus Tep(y)a – C2134 – to?)

Son and successor of the nomarch Inyotef. Regarded as founder of the Eleventh Dynasty; as the Horus Tepya ('the Ancestor'), the father of the 'Gods'. Though he may not have assumed the royal titulary during his own lifetime, it was he who, in about 2133, openly repudiated the overlordship of Heracleopolis and sired Egypt's first dynasty of Theban kings, perhaps sharing the rule with his son for awhile. His name is on a statue that his younger son Inyotef II dedicated to him at Elephantine.

INYOTEF I - Intef I - Antef I – (Horus Sehertowy) - 2133-2118

Inyotef I was the first Theban ruler to have proclaimed himself king, assuming a Horus-name and writing his personal name in a cartouche. He thus opposed the kings of the 9/10th Dynasty of Heracleopolis and started a civil war.

That a local ruler of a relatively small city was able to oppose the ruling dynasty can be explained by the strong decentralisation of the Ancient Egyptian government, which, in turn, may have been the result of the low inundation of the Nile at the end of the Old Kingdom. He conquered some of the cities to the north of Thebes, among them Koptos and Dendara. To the south, he extended his reign to Elkab. He was buried in a long, narrow rock-tomb on the West-bank of Thebes.

INYOTEF II - Intef II - Antef II – (Horus Wahankh) - 2117-2069

During the reign of Inyotef II, which, according to the Turin King-list lasted for as long as 49 years, the kings of the 9/10th Dynasty tried to re-conquer the territory they had previously lost to Inyotef I, in an attempt to establish their rule over the whole of Egypt. Inyotef II, however, succeeded not only in warding off the Heracleopolitan attacks, but also in conquering even more of their territory: Abydos, Akhmim and Kaw el-Kabir. In the south, he extended the Theban rule to the First Cataract, the traditional southern border of Ancient Egypt.

Courtiers at his court are Inyotef, son of Ka and Henuni. The civil war goes on. About the time of his 27th year, Thebes has extended power to This and Abydos (8th nome). Achthos III of XI dynasty and his ally Tefibi of Asyut capture and plunder This and plunder the tombs of the dead. This angers the Thebans. Inyotef and his allies (first eight nomes) drives the borders up to the boundary of the Thinite nome (number 10). Achthoes III now urges 'peaceful coexistence'. He is supposed to have written *Instructions for King Merykare* (see Part 1), his son, urging him to continue the policy in his reign. It advises Merykare on the policies he should pursue in government, behavior that is expected from him both as king and man and what his attitude should be toward a diety referred to as "God".

Inyotef II was buried in a rock-tomb next to his predecessor's. This tomb is known from the representation of the king's dogs, which had foreign names. The tomb is also mentioned in the texts from the end of the New Kingdom about the tomb robberies of that era.

INYOTEF III - Intef III - Antef III – (Horus Nakhtnebtpefer) - 2068 - 2061

Little is known about the reign of Inyotef III. The Turin King-list credits him with a reign of at least 8 years. He was the father of Mentuhotep II, who would re-unite Egypt under one rule. It does not appear that this king gained or lost territory to the kings of the 9/10th Dynasty. He restores the temple of Hekayeb. He was buried in a narrow rock-tomb next to Inyotef II.

NEBHEPETRE MENTUHOTEP II (Horus Sankhibtowj Netjeryhedjet) - 2060 - 2100

Mentuhotep II was the son of the Theban ruler Inyotef III and a woman named Iah. When he came to power, his predecessors had already conquered a territory that stretched far beyond Thebes, from the first cataract in the south, to the region of Qaw el-Kabir in the north. The Turin King-lists credits this king with a reign of as much as 51 years. In light of the many events that occurred during his reign, this is not unlikely.

Mentuhotep II was responsible for the reunification of Egypt. His achievements can be reviewed by looking at how his Horus name changed during his rule. He started off calling himself "He who gives heart to the Two Lands", and then moved on to "Lord of the White Crown" (the White Crown being symbolic of Upper Egypt). Finally, he became known as "Uniter of the Two Lands".

The first years of his reign have left us with only few testimonies. This could mean that he reached the throne at a young age, something that is also suggested by the long duration of his reign. His 14th regnal year was apparently a turning-point in the life of Mentuhotep. Its name "year of the crime of Thisis" suggests that there was some trouble in the Thinite province, where the age-old holy city of Abydos was located. Apparently the Heracleopolitan king Kheti of the 9/10th Dynasty had succeeded in re-conquering this province and was threatening to do the same with the rest of Upper-Egypt. During this re-conquest, a large part of the old necropolis of Abydos was destroyed.

Mentuhotep immediately reacted and not only repelled the Heracleopolitans from Abydos, he also continued the war against them, conquering Assiut, Middle-Egypt, pushing his boundaries beyond the 15th nome defended by Neheri and his son Kay. Finally Heracleopolis itself fell as in 2040 Merykare died. His unknown successor is only on the Heracleopolitan throne a few months when Mentuhotep ends the Tenth Dynasty. Warfare continues as Mentuhotep consolidates his rule of all Egypt. He does away with the leaders of the Heracleopolitan faction and subordinates the hereditary nomarchs of Middle and Lower Egypt to his new Theban central government. Treatment of the nomarchs differs with their degree of loyalty to Thebes; e.g., they are forcibly removed from office in Asyut. At Hermopolis (Hare nome) and Beni Hasan (Oryx), ruling families are unmolested, experiencing only mild restraints.

Control over national affairs are maintained by the appointment of Thebans to all key government positions: (a) Vizier and Overseer of the Pyramid city; Dagi, then Bebti then Ipi. (b) Chancellors; Achthoes (exploits Nubia and lands to the south) son of Sitre; Meru (also governor of the eastern deserts); Meketre and one other. (c) Chief stewards; Henenu (curbs south, north, east and west and taxes the nomes of This and Aphroditopolis and administers the (products?) of the oases. (d) Governor of Lower Egypt (a new position) to Itju, a familiar of the king. (e) Controller of the 13th nome of Lower Egypt; Mery-Tete, a familiar of the king. (f) Nomarch of Heracleopolis and overseer of the Prison of the Great Doorway; Inyotef. (g) Herald; Mahesha. (h) Chief sculptor; Inyotefnakhte.

In National-International affairs: Political fugitives are brought back from the oasis of Dakhia (?) by western desert patrol leader Kay. Mentuhotep has steward Henenu begin to open the road from Koptos to the Red Sea ports so that ships can again sail to Punt. Counter raids are carried out against the Libyans of the west (the Tjemehu and Tjehenu, slaying prince Hejj-wawesh of the latter) and the Asiatic nomads of Sinai (the Mentjiu) and the eastern desert (Asiatic Amu and Setjetiu and Retenu of Syria); to protect the boundaries of Egypt from future

depredation, to reopen desert routes to Egyptian caravans, to make the oases, the Sinai mines and outlying quarries safe for Egyptian patrols and work parties. Non-military control of Nubia is gained; tribute is collected from the local rulers and safe right-of-way for Egyptian shipping and trading parties is guaranteed. This control only reaches not far beyond the second cataract, encompassing Wawat, or Lower Nubia.

At the latest by his 39th year, but presumably somewhere around his 30th year, Egypt was united again and Mentuhotep II was the first Theban who could rightfully call himself King of Upper- and Lower-Egypt thus ushering in the Middle Kingdom. Mentuhotep's military efforts were not only aimed at reuniting the Two Lands. Inscriptions in Nubia show his desire to re-establish the Egyptian supremacy over this region. A mass-tomb found in Deir el-Bahari contained 60 bodies of slain Egyptian soldiers who perhaps lost their lives in Nubia. That these soldiers were given a burial so near the king's own funerary monument, demonstrates how much importance was attached to them.

Even during the re-conquest of Egypt, Mentuhotep built or restored several temples throughout his territory. He was particularly active in Upper-Egypt as is shown by monuments in Dendara, Abydos, Elkab and Elephantine. The warrior-king paid special homage to the war-god Montu, who, at that time, was the principal god of the Theban province. For him he built temples in Medamud, Armant and Tod.

The most famous monument built by Mentuhotep II was his funerary monument. Unlike his predecessors, who were buried in relatively simple tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga', Mentuhotep chose to build his mortuary temple and tomb at Deir el-Bahari. The design of this building was unique: a terrace was built against the cliffs of Deir el-Bahari, in a bay a mile from the tombs of his predecessors. Upon the roof of that terrace was built a massive stone construction, identified by some archaeologists as a pyramid, by others as a mastaba. The tomb of the king was located in the rock behind and underneath the temple.

SANKHKARE MENTUHOTEP III (Horus Sankhtowyef) - 2009-1998

Mentuhotep III was the son and successor of Mentuhotep II. He is attested as "eldest son of the king" in his father's mortuary temple in Deir el-Bahari. Because of his father's long reign, he may already have been relatively old by the time he reached the throne. The Turin King-list has recorded 12 years for this king.

After the military reign of his father, Mentuhotep III's reign was peaceful. The king's main concern was no longer the conquest of new territory, but the protection of Egypt against foreign states and roaming Bedouin. The cult for this Mentuhotep in the eastern Delta is probably related to his policy to fortify the north-eastern border against the Asian nomads. He devotes his reign to building. His chief steward is Hehenu and chancellor is Meketre, both from his father's reign.

The most important event during this king's reign was an expedition (2002) led by Hehenu, through the Wadi Hammamat to the Red Sea and from there to reestablish commerce with Punt, from where many exotic products and incense were brought to Egypt. At (modern) Wadi el-Gasus, Hehenu has a fleet built. Upon his return, he opens the greywacke quarries at Wadi Hammamat; they now begin to be worked as never before. Despite its relatively short duration, this reign has produced several temples throughout Upper-Egypt, from the southern most border in Elephantine, over Elkab, Tod and Armant to Abydos, as evidenced by a relief found in Armant. A tomb was apparently started for this king, near Deir el-Bahari, but it was left unfinished.

NEBTOWYRE MENTUHOTEP IV (Horus Nebtowy) - 1997 - 1991

Mentuhotep IV was the last king of the 11th Dynasty. He was the son of a woman named Imi, who was a secondary wife of either Mentuhotep II or Mentuhotep III. This Mentuhotep is missing in most king-lists. The Turin-king-list merely notes 7 missing years at the end of this dynasty, just after the reign of Mentuhotep III. This probably refers to a gap in the documentation of about 7 years, which may have been filled by Nebtawire's reign. An offering table found in Karnak mentions the "Father of the God" Sesostri, the father of Ammenemes I, the founder of the next dynasty, in his place.

Either Mentuhotep IV was considered as an usurper, or the kings of the 12th Dynasty decided to re-write history to justify their claims to the throne. That he was not recognized as the legitimate king of the country may perhaps be supported by the many opponents to his reign: Antef, who may have been a member of the royal family, Iy-ib-khent-re and Segerseni all assumed royal titulary, thereby stating that they had more rights to the throne.

His vizier Ammenemes, governor of all Upper Egypt, claims to be "Overseer of Everything in This Entire Land". He doesn't rigidly control Bedawin entrance into Egypt and allows nomarchs some independence (i.e., the resurgence of individualism by the feudal lords).

During the second year of his reign, he organized an expedition to the quarries of the Wadi Hammamat, located to the north-east of Thebes, between Koptos and the Red Sea. The 19 inscriptions left behind there by the members of the expedition are the only testimony to this Mentuhotep's reign. The expedition was led by

Ammenemes, who is assumed by most Egyptologists to have been the later king Ammenemes I. A stone plate found at Lisht, bearing both the names of Mentuhotep IV and of king Ammenemes I may perhaps indicate that Ammenemes I was a co-regent during the later years of Mentuhotep's reign. This in turn could perhaps indicate that Mentuhotep IV had intended Ammenemes to be his successor.

The XII Dynasty, the height of the Middle Kingdom, is one of the classic periods of Egyptian history. Not as spectacular as the previous Old Kingdom or the later New Kingdom, the kings did not build colossal pyramids as in the former period or carry out impressive military campaigns and conquests as in the latter. The XII Dynasty pyramids were comparable in size to those of the V and VI Dynasties, and for the first time incorporated blind passages, trap doors, and other security measures in the interiors. But the core of the pyramids was now mud brick, which eroded and crumbled catastrophically once the stone casing was breached. These structures thus failed to impress subsequent travelers. And while the kings did expand Egypt up the Nile, building forts deep into Nubia, there were none of the expeditions into Palestine or Syria by which the XVIII and XIX Dynasties were distinguished. The XII Dynasty kings, none of whose mummies have survived, seem the most human of all the Egyptian kings -- the divine king as the "Good Shepherd." Indeed, it was during the Middle Kingdom that the cult of Osiris was extended from the king to all Egyptians, with a promise of immortality and a happy afterlife for all. Anyone could become Osiris. We also have the earliest surviving secular Egyptian literature from the Middle Kingdom, as the language of the period, Middle Egyptian, became the literary language for the rest of Egyptian history. The XII Dynasty is thus an object of considerable affection for Egyptophiles, even if it usually fails to catch the attention of more casual observers.

TWELFTH DYNASTY – 1991 - 1786

According to Manetho, the 12th Dynasty comprised seven kings from Thebes, who ruled for a total of 160 years in the version of Africanus, and for 245 years in the version of Eusebius. Oddly enough, this does not include the founder of the dynasty, Ammenemes I, who is added in succession to the kings of the 11th Dynasty.

In the Turin King-list, the dynasty started with Ammenemes I and consisted of 8 kings who ruled for a total of 213 years, 1 month and 17 days. All kings listed in the Turin King-list are also attested by contemporary sources and monuments.

The circumstances into which the 12th Dynasty came to power are not known. What is known is that Ammenemes I was not related to his predecessors. His father was a priest in Thebes named Senuseret. His mother was named Nefret and, according to the Prophecy of Neferti, came from Elephantine in the South of Egypt.

It is possible that Ammenemes was the vizier of Mentuhotep IV, the last king of the 11th Dynasty. A stone plate found at Lisht, bearing both the names of Mentuhotep IV and of king Ammenemes I may perhaps indicate that Ammenemes I was a co-regent during the later years of Mentuhotep's reign. This could perhaps indicate that Mentuhotep IV had intended Ammenemes to be his successor.

With the 12th Dynasty, a local god of obscure origin, Amun, would become the most important god of the Ancient Egyptian pantheon. The popularity of Amun is closely linked to the origin of Ammenemes I, whose name, containing the element Amun, shows a particular allegiance to this god. Even when Ammenemes moved the political center of the country from Thebes to the newly built capital Itj-tawi in the Fayum oasis, located to the southwest of the old capital Memphis, Thebes would remain an important religious center. This would determine the religious and political history of Ancient Egypt for the following millennium.

The kings of the 12th Dynasty ruled the country firmly and were able to maintain the power of balance between the central authorities and the local administrations, to their own advantage. They also imposed their rule on northern Nubia and pacified the Bedouins in the deserts to the east and west of the Nile Valley. Imposing fortresses were built in Nubia and at the Eastern border, to protect trading routes from raiding Bedouins.

The wealth and stability the 12th Dynasty has brought to the country is evidenced in the high quality of statues, reliefs and paintings found throughout the country. Rather typical for this period are statues with big ears, seen by some as an indication that the king and his nobility listened to their subjects.

Deviating from the standard way of representing kings, Sesostri III and his successor Ammenemes III (see image to the left) had themselves portrayed as mature, aging men. This is often interpreted as a portrayal of the burden of power and kingship. That the change in representation was indeed ideological and should not be interpreted as the portrayal of an aging king is shown by the fact that in one single relief, Sesostri III was

represented as a vigorous young man, following the centuries old tradition, and as a mature aging king. The dynasty came to an end when Ammenemes IV appears to have died without male heirs and he was succeeded by his sister/wife Nefrusobek.

DYNASTY TWELVE GENERAL: Asiatic men and women are imported as household servants.

Art and architecture: Full royal patronage returns media to its old glory. Relief is bold and with metallic perfection. Jewelry making reaches its highest level.

Religion: New state god is Theban divinity Amun (temple at Karnak). Sobk is still prominent.

Literature: "Classical Age" begins.

SEHETETIBRE AMMENEMES I - Amen is at the Head - 1991- 1962

Ammenemes I founded the 12th Dynasty. Some Egyptologists believe that recovery from the First Intermediate Period into the Middle Kingdom only really began with his rule.

He was probably not of royal blood, at least if he is the same Vizier that functioned under his predecessor, Mentuhotep IV. Perhaps either Mentuhotep IV had no heir, or he was simply a weak leader. This vizier, named Amenemhet, recorded an inscription when Mentuhotep IV sent him to Wadi Hammam. The inscription records two omens. The first tells us of a gazelle that gave birth to her calf atop the stone that had been chosen for the lid of the King's sarcophagus. The second was of a ferocious rainstorm that, when subsided, disclosed a well 10 cubits square and full of water. Of course that was a very good omen in this barren landscape.

Many Egyptologists believe that Amenemhet's inscription implies that a great ruler will come to the throne of Egypt upon the death of Mentuhotep IV, who will lead the country into prosperity. It is fairly certain that Amenemhet the vizier was predicting his own rise to the throne as Amenemhet I. However, we are told that he had at least two other competitors to the throne. One was called Inyotef, and the other a Segerseni from Nubia. It would appear that he quickly dealt with these obstacles. We believe that he ruled Egypt for almost 30 years. Peter A. Clayton places his reign between the years of 1991 and 1962 BC while the Oxford History of Ancient Egypt gives him a reign lasting from 1985 through 1956 BC. Dodson has his reign lasting from 1994 until 1964 BC.

Ammenemes I's Horus name, Wehem-mesut, means "he who repeats births", and almost certainly was chosen to commemorate the new dynasty and a return to the values and prosperity of a united Egypt. Amenemhet (Ammenemes) was his birth name and means "Amun is at the Head". He was called Ammenemes I by the Greeks. His throne name was Sehetep-ib-re, which means "Satisfied is the Heart of Re".

Ammenemes was probably the son of a woman named Nofret (Nefret), from Elephantine near modern Aswan, and a priest called Senusret, according to an inscription at Thebes. So his origins are probably southern Egypt. We know of three possible wives including Neferytosten (Nefrutoten, Nefrytatenen), who may have been the mother of Amenemhet I's successor, Senusret I, Dedyet, who was/may also have been his sister, and Sobek'neferu, Neferu).

It is fairly clear that Amenemhet established Egypt's first co-regency with his son, Senusret I, in about the older king's 20th year of rule. He was not only seeking to assure the succession of his proper heir, but also providing the young prince valuable training under his tutelage. Senusret was given several active roles in Amenemhet I's government, specifically including matters related to the military matters. Several pieces of literature that probably date from his reign (about 1980), some of which appears to support his reign with fables of kingship. One, the *prophecy of Neferty* by lector-priest Neferty of Bubastis has a ruler emerging named Ameny, justifying Ammenemes' takeover and discrediting the previous reign, who was foretold by a prophet in the Old Kingdom (Neferty). The *Book of Kemyt* (or *Book of the Sun*), a "consciousness guide" inspired by the *Shipwrecked Sailor*.

Neferty was a Heliopolis sage who seems familiar to us from Djedi in the Papyrus Westcar. He is summoned to the court of Snofru, during who's reign the story is suppose to have taken place. This tale has Ameny delivering Egypt from chaos, but it should be noted that it is the chaos of the late 11th Dynasty, not the First Intermediate Period.

Then a king will come from the South, Ameny, the justified, my name, Son of a woman of Ta-Seti, child of Upper Egypt, He will take the white crown, he will join the Two Mighty Ones (the two crowns)
Asiatics will fall to his sword,
Libyans will fall to his flame,
Rebels to his wrath, traitors to his might,
As the serpent on his brow subdues the rebels for him,
One will build the Walls-of-the-Ruler,
To bar Asiatics from entering Egypt...

We do not know what year this literature dates to within Ammenemes I's reign. But while there are other text that refer to the chaos before the arrival of new kings, the references to Asiatics and the Walls-of-the-Ruler are new. After executing the coup and assuming the throne of Egypt, Ammenemes I set about consolidating the country in a very purposeful manner. Seeing the difficulties in ruling Egypt from Thebes, he moves his capital north to the capital he apparently established named Amenemhet-itj-tawy, which means, "Amenemhet the Seizer of the Two lands". It was located 18 miles south of Memphis, on the edge of the Fayum Oasis, though the city ruins have not yet been discovered. This gave him a more central control of Egypt, as well as placing him nearer to problem areas in the Delta. It also signaled the end of an old era and new beginnings. This move was perhaps only carried out a short time after he took the throne.

Many Egyptologists believe that the move was made at the very beginning of his reign, while a few believe it may have been much later, around the time of his twentieth year as ruler. However, he did begin a tomb at Thebes, and then abandoned it for a pyramid at el-Lisht, near the new capital. It appears that the work on the tomb at Thebes may have taken between three and five years to complete. Also, there are very few of his monuments located near Thebes, suggesting that he soon moved away.

His pyramid at el Lisht is instructional, for it seems to portray a return to some of the values of the Old Kingdom, while still embracing the Theban concepts of the region of his birth. Egyptologists who believe Amenemhet I may have waited until his twentieth year to make the move to his new city base their evidence on an inscription found on the foundation blocks of the pyramid's mortuary temple. It records Amenemhet's royal jubilee, and also that year one of a new king had elapsed, suggesting that the pyramid was started very late in the king's reign. Therefore, considerable debate remains over the timing of his move.

He also reorganized the administration of the country. Since he had relied on the local governors for their support in the coup, he restores many ancient privileges to the nomarchs, even bringing new families in; to the elephantine, Asyut, Cusae and others, where they had been suppressed by the rulers of dynasty XI. An inscription records that he also divided the nomes (provinces) into different sets of towns and redistributed the territories by reference to the Nile flood: Nome boundaries are rigorously established, each's supply of Nile water for irrigation is regulated. We see a steady march during Amenemhet I's rule back to a more centralized government, together with an increase in bureaucracy. Another move, both to dilute the army's power and to raise personnel for coming conflicts, was his reintroduction of conscription: Each nome is required, upon demand, to furnish supplies, ships and men for royal enterprises national and international.

Undoubtedly, in the Discourse of Neferty, Asiatics refer to the people who were causing trouble on the Egypt's eastern frontier. One of Ammenemes I's earliest campaigns were against these Asiatics, though the scale of these operations is unknown. He drove these people back, and indeed did build the Walls-of-the-Ruler, as series of fortifications along Egypt's northeastern frontier. However, even as late as his 24th year of rule, we still find inscriptions recording expeditions against these "sand-dwellers". None of these fortifications has ever been found, though the remains of a canal in the region may date from the period. Apparently, in the midst of the Asiatic campaign, he also found time to crush a few unrepentant local governors (nomarchs).

In Nubia, Amenemhet I, accompanied by nomarch Khnumhatpe I of Beni Hasan (the Oryx nome), first pushed his army southward to Elephantine, wiping out pockets of resistance and consolidating his rule and seems to have been satisfied for a number of years. The expedition was lead by Khnemhotpe I who traveled up the Nile with 20 boats. But by year 29 of his rule, the king appears to have no longer been happy with the lose trading and quarrying network with Nubia that we find in the Old Kingdom. The new policy was one of conquest and colonization with the principle aim of obtaining raw materials, especially gold. An inscription at the northern Nubian site of Korosko about half way between the first and second cataracts (rapids) states that the people of Wawat (northern Nubia) were defeated in his 29th year, and he apparently drove his army as far south as the second cataract.

In order to protect Egypt and fortify captured territory in Nubia, he founded a fortress at Semna and Quban in the region of the second Nile Cataract, which would begin a string of future 12th Dynasty fortresses. Along with protecting his newly acquired territory and the gold mines in Wadi Allaqi, he also created a stranglehold over economic contacts with Upper Nubia and further south. We also know that he constructed a fortress at Mendes named Rawaty.

From a foreign relations standpoint, we also know that diplomatic and commercial relations were renewed, after a long absence, with Byblos and the Aegean world. In this vein, commander of soldiers Nesmuant defeats the Bedawins of the eastern desert and Sinai. Diplomatic relations with Syria are established.

Ammenemes I took part in a number of building projects. Besides his fortresses, we know he built at Bubastis, el-Khatana and Tanis. He undertook important building works at Karnak, from which a few statues and granite naos survive. He may have even established the original temple of Mut to the south of the Temple of Amun.

He also worked at Koptos (Coptos), where he partly decorated the temple of Min, at Abydos, where he dedicated a granite altar to Osiris, at Dendera, where he built a granite gateway to Hathor and at Memphis, where he built a temple of Ptah. Also a little north of Tell el-Dab'a, he apparently began a small mudbrick temple at Ezbet Rushdi, that was later expanded by Senusret III.

Religiously, being from southern Egypt, Amenemhet I's allegiance was probably to the god Amun, and in fact, we find from this period forward the rise of Amun, at the expense of Montu, god of war, as the supreme deity of Thebes.

It is also notable that we find an increase in the mineral wealth of the royal family. We find a huge increase in the jewelry caches found in several 12th Dynasty royal burials. It is obvious from several sources of evidence that even the standard of living for middle class Egyptians was on the increase, though their level of wealth was proportional to their official offices.

Ammenemes I appears to have been a very wise leader, setting about to correct the problems of the First Intermediate Period, protecting Egypt's borders from invasion and assuring a legitimate succession. Yet he was murdered in an apparent harem plot while his co-regent was leading a campaign in Libya. Again, we find two literary works, the Tale of Sinuhe and the Instructions of Amenemhet I, reflecting this king's tragic end. One literary work from the time of Senusret I presents the account of Amenemhet I's murder, supposedly provided by the king himself from beyond the grave:

"It was after supper, when night had fallen, and I had spent an hour of happiness. I was asleep upon my bed, having become weary, and my heart had begun to follow sleep. When weapons of my counsel were wielded, I had become like a snake of the necropolis. As I came to, I awoke to fighting, and found that it was an attack of the bodyguard. If I had quickly taken weapons in my hand, I would have made the wretches retreat with a charge! But there is none mighty in the night, none who can fight alone; no success will come without a helper. Look, my injury happened while I was without you, when the entourage had not yet heard that I would hand over to you when I had not yet sat with you, that I might make counsels for you; for I did not plan it, I did not foresee it, and my heart had not taken thought of the negligence of servants."

Apparently, his foresight in creating the co-regency with his son proved successful, for Sesostri I (Senusret I) succeeded his father and there seems to have been little or no disruption in the administration of the country. Ammenemes I was murdered. His body was buried in his pyramid at el-Lisht, near the Fayum oasis.

KHEPERKARE SESOSTRI I – Senusret I Kheper-ka-re - 'Man of Wosret' - 1971 - 1928

Sesostri I was the second king of the 12th Dynasty and ascended to the throne after the murder of his father, Ammenemes I. When first in his regency, he campaigns into Nubia, against the Libyans and pushes Egyptian control beyond Korusko, between the first and second cataracts. There had apparently been a harem plot in 1962, and with good timing, Ammenemes I was assassinated in the absence of his son, who was fighting in Libya. It would seem that his son either swiftly left the campaign, or was already heading home at the time of the murder. However, this was not the first harem conspiracy, and Ammenemes I had performed his due diligence in respect to assuring a successful transition for his heir. For the first time that we know of in Egyptian history, Sesostri I was made a co-regent in the 20th year of his father's reign (1971).

Sesostri I was this king's birth name, and means "Man of goddess Wosret". However, it was also the name, we believe, of his non-royal grandfather and so it may give little insight into his character. In references, he is also sometimes called Senwosret I, or Sesostri I (Greek). His throne name was Kheper-ka-re, which means, "The Soul of Re comes into Being". His mother was probably Neferytotenen (Nefrutoten, Nefrytatenen), one of Amenemhet I's chief wives.

He married a Queen Nefru, who was the mother of his successor son, Amenemhet II. Like his father, Amenemhet II was also made a coregent, but only perhaps three years prior to Sesostri I's death. The coregency was recorded by a private stele of Simontu that is now in the British Museum. From her pyramid near her father's we also know that he had a daughter (or possibly a wife) by the name of Itakalet. He may have had other daughters, including princesses Nefru-Sobek, Nefru-Ptah and Nensedjedet.

After assuming sole rule, Sesostri I deals with the plotters and issues an *Instruction of Ammenemes I*, authored by the scribe Achthoes; a skillful propaganda that assures him king as Kheperkare Sesostri I. The bitter narrative is cynical, vigorous and sincere, making it look as if the dead king is speaking from his tomb pointing out his own achievements and benevolence and castigating the treacheries and ungrateful aspirants to the throne. Thus secure, Sesostri begins a program of Egyptian enrichment and expansion. About 1950 is written *The Story of Sinuhe* by Sinuhe, an official of the royal household, praising Ammenemes. Accused of taking part in the plot against Ammenemes, Sesostri later pardons him.

Sesostris I probably ruled Egypt for a period of about 34 years after his father's death during a period in Egypt's history where literature and craftsmanship was at its peak. We believe he may have been a co-regent of his father for perhaps another ten years. He probably ruled Egypt from about 1956 through 1911 BC. It was a period of affluence, and a remarkable time for mineral wealth, gold and the fine jewelry produced with this abundance. Jewelry masterpieces have been found, particularly in the tombs of the royal ladies at Dahshur and Lahun, attributable to his reign. Considerable efforts were made to procure amethyst, turquoise, copper and garnets for both jewelry and sculptures. But it was also a time of great stability and development.

However, we also learn from letters of an old farmer named Hekanakhte to his family, that there was apparently a famine during the time of Sesostris, a fact that is also implied by an inscription in the tomb of a nomarch (governor) named Ammenemes at Beni Hassan. But along with this news, we also are provided considerable insight into the life of the common Egyptians of this period by Hekanakhte's letters, and a better understanding of the details of agricultural practices.

He continued many of his father's policies, including the expansion in northern Nubia. We know that he sent one expedition to Nubia in his tenth year of reign, and that eight years later, he sent another army as far south as the second cataract. His general, Mentuhotep, went even deeper into Nubia. However, Sesostris I established Egypt's southern border at the fortress of Buhen near the second cataract, where he placed a garrison (also at Quban) and a victory stele, thereby adding to the already substantial military presence established by his father. Now, there were at least 13 fortresses that extended as far as the Second Cataract, and while Egypt's border may have been at the Nile's second cataract, he exercised control of Nubia as far as the Third Cataract. Inscriptions attributable to Sesostris I can be found as far south as the island of Argo (fortified settlement), north of modern Dongola, and at Kerma. He also protected the Delta region and the Western desert Oases from Libyan invasion by means of a series of military campaigns against the Tjemehu and Theheyu Libyans and by establishing control over oases in the Libyan Desert. Several of the expeditions also appear to have been led by him personally. However, he radically changed the policy towards Syria/Palestine by seeking stable commercial and diplomatic relations rather than a policy of expansion and control. Trading caravans passed between Syria and Egypt exchanging cedar and ivory for Egyptian goods. Egyptian trade settlements are located throughout Palestine and Syria to Byblos. The gold and copper mines of Wadi es-Allaqi (east of Quban) are in operation. Amethysts are mined at Wadi el-Hudi. To the west, a pillar is set up at Abgig, indicating growing interests in the fertile Faiyum region. Religiously, Sesostris contributed considerable attention to the cult of Osiris, and over his long rule, this deity's beliefs and practices flourished in Egypt. Osiris was a god of the people and in expanding this cult, Sesostris I gave his subjects what John Wilson has described as the 'democratization of the afterlife'.

About 1940 was written *Satire on Trades* by Achthos of Sebennytos, citing the merits of a formal education (addressed to his son on his way to school) and the advantage of a scribe's profession over all others. It delivers amusingly derogatory descriptions of the occupations of the undereducated: "there is no calling which is free of direction except that of the scribe; it is he who does all the directing".

Sesostris I had already established himself as a builder during the co-regency with his father by extending and embellishing some major temples, particularly at Karnak, where he is considered to have founded the temple of Ipetsut (Karnak), and Heliopolis. As early as year two of his reign, he rebuilt the very important temple of Re-Atum at Heliopolis, a center of the sun cult. He probably even personally participated in the foundation ceremonies for the temple's reconstruction.

He also had two, massive 20 meter (66 foot) red granite obelisks erected at the same temple on the occasion of his jubilee celebrating his 30th year in office. These monoliths would have weighed 121 tons each. One of the pair remains the oldest standing obelisk in Egypt. He also built the famous bark shrine, or White Chapel, that has been reconstructed by Henri Chevrier in the Open Air Museum at Karnak. It was built in order to celebrate his sed festival (Jubilee) in the 30th year of his reign, but the blocks for the temple were reused to build the third Pylon at Karnak. A scene within the White Chapel records the coronation of Sesostris I, and is the oldest such scene so far discovered.

The more important projects included remodeling the temple of Khenti-amentiu-Osiris at Abydos. He also erected many memorial stele and small shrines, or cenotaphs, at Abydos, a practice that would be followed by many Middle and New Kingdom pharaohs. We also find temples built by Sunusret I at Elephantine and Tod. In fact, he is attested to at almost three dozen sites from Alexandria to Aswan and down into Nubia where he carried out building projects.

Sesostris I also set up a program to build monuments in each of the main cult sites all over Egypt, including two granite obelisks before the temple of Re-Atum at Heliopolis. This was really an extension of an Old Kingdom policy, but in reality he was following his father's efforts to consolidate and centralize power. This move undermined the power bases of local temples and priests.

In order to facilitate these building projects, he sent expeditions to exploit the stone quarries of Wadi Hammamat, the Sinai at Serabit el-Khadim, Hatnub, where two expeditions were sent in years 23 and 31 of his reign for alabaster, and Wadi el Hudi. One of these expeditions extracted enough stone to make sixty sphinxes and 150 statues. Many of his statues did not survive the ages, but the Egyptian Antiquity Museum includes a large collection of those that did. He also built a large pyramid, very reminiscent of older complexes, at Lisht, near Ijtawy, the capital apparently founded by his father. His pyramid is located just to the south of his father's pyramid at el-Lisht.

NUBKAURE AMMENEMES II 1929 - 1895

His throne name was 'Nub-kau-re'; 'Golden are the Souls of Re'. Ammenemes II; Amun is at the Head

Ammenemes II was the son of Senusret I (Sesostris I) and one of his chief queens, Nefru. Like his father, he served the first three years of his reign as co-regent with his father. During this time Ammenemes II led a Nubian expedition. Family: Apparently, Ammenemes II also took his son, Senusret (Sesostris) II as a co-regent, but also for only a brief time before his own death. He had four daughters - Ita, Khnemet, Itiueret and Sithathormeret

Dates: According to Manetho, Ammenemes II ruled for 38 years, a number which is generally accepted. The Turin King list is fragmentary at this point and only confirms 10 or more years. In view of the long reign of his predecessor, it is not impossible that Ammenemes II was already quite aged when he came to the throne, in which case a shorter reign is to be favored. The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt gives his reign as lasting from 1911 through 1877 BC, while Clayton gives it as 1926 through 1895 BC.

Government: Domestically, Ammenemes II concentrated on agricultural and economic improvements, but he failed in one important respect. Under the rule of his predecessors, nomarchs, who were basically the governors of the various nomes (provinces), had been personally appointed by the king. This was a measure taken to assure the centralization of government. The First Intermediate Period was at least partially caused by the chaos resulting from strong regional rulers who destabilized this central control. However, Ammenemes II apparently allowed this important office to revert back to a hereditary position. The nomarchs soon took advantage of this change by adapting pretentious titles sometimes imitating those of the royal court. However, Ammenemes did keep a firm hand on these matters and appears to not let these local rulers forget their allegiance to the crown. In return for royal favors, they were expected to help protect the Egyptian borders, to undertake expeditions for the king and to generally act as his deputies.

Foreign Policy: The foreign policy of Ammenemes II appears to have been a continuation of his father's. There is evidence of extensive trade with parts of the Near East, Mesopotamia and even Crete. Several Egyptian objects, among them small statues and scarabs, were found at several Near Eastern sites. Among them a sphinx of princess Ita, that was probably sent to Syria as a trading gift. Especially favored were the Syrian port of Byblos, where the native ruling elite even made short inscriptions in hieroglyphic, referring to Egyptian gods. The foundation deposits of the temple of Tod, dated to the reign of Ammenemes, contained objects of Mesopotamian and Cretan origin.

Not all contacts with Asia were as peaceful, however, as is shown by raids of Bedouin, probably in the Sinai and some Egyptian military activity against two unnamed Asian cities. There was also at least one military expedition (1905) against Nubia where Sudanese tribesmen were pushing northward, threatening the security between the first and second cataracts. During his 28th year, Ammenemes II sent the official Khentikhetaywer as an envoy to Punt.

Monuments: Not many buildings from the time of Ammenemes II remain. A pylon at Hermopolis, in Middle Egypt and the foundation deposits at Tod are, along with his pyramid at Dashur, the only notable monuments that were left from his reign. The choice of location for his pyramid at Dashur, not far from the Bent and Red Pyramids built by 4th Dynasty king Snofru, raises the question why he did not build his funerary monument at El-Lisht like his father and grandfather. It is possible that Ammenemes sought to create a relationship between his dynasty and that of Snofru by doing so.

The pyramid complex is poorly preserved and is mostly known because of the exquisite jewelry that was found in some of the tombs of Ammenemes's daughters, located in the forecourt of the complex. The jewelry included rings, braces, necklaces and diadems and shows the excellent craftsmanship of the era.

From 1894 through 1895, Jacques de Morgan made a cursory investigation of the ruins. Unfortunately he was too focused on the jewelry finds in some surrounding princess' tombs that he never examined the mortuary temple, the causeway or the valley temple. In fact, no casing stones have ever been found nor even the base of the pyramid cleared for a proper measuring. Therefore, we are not sure of its size, the angle of its slope, or its height. The mortuary temple was almost completely destroyed, though we know it was probably called "Lighted is the place of Ammenemes's pleasures". The ruins, which stand to the east of the pyramid have yet to be closely examined, though they must be very inviting to archaeologists. There are many building fragments, some of which include

relief decorations. Most interesting, however, might be the massive, tower-like structures resembling pylons in the temple's east facade.

The causeway, which was broad with a steep slope and enters the enclosure wall on the middle of the east side, has not been investigated at all, and we are told that the valley temple has not even been found. The core of the pyramid was built much like that of Senusret I's pyramid, with a core that had corners radiating out. A framework was made with horizontal lines of blocks to form a grid, or framework between the corners. Here, however, the filling was sand. The entire complex was surrounded by an enclosure wall that was much more rectangular than that found in older pyramids. It was oriented east-west. Behind the pyramid between it and the west part of the enclosure wall are found tombs of the royal family. They belong to his other son prince Ammenemesankh and princesses Ita, Khnemet, Itiueret and Sithathormeret. Within these tombs, Morgan found the remains of funerary equipment, including wooden coffins, canopic chests and alabaster vessels for perfumes. But of course he also found wonderful jewelry in the tombs of Ita and Khnemet, that stole his attention. These pieces may now be found in the Treasure Chamber of the Cairo Museum.

Books: Genut. We have considerable knowledge of Ammenemes II's reigns because of a number of important documents. Some historical information about the 12th Dynasty comes from a set of official records known as the *genut*, or 'day-books'. They were found in the temple at Tod. Some of Ammenemes II's buildings also contain parts of these annals. They describe the day to day process of running the royal palace. One very important set of annals were discovered at Mit Rahina (a part of ancient Memphis) that record detailed descriptions of donations made to temples, lists of statues and buildings, reports of both military and trading expeditions and even royal activities such as hunting. These documents not only provide information on Ammenemes II, but other kings of the period as well.

Ammenemes II is probably best known for consolidating the work of his predecessors in foreign affairs. He exchanged gifts with other rulers in the Mediterranean (Levant) region. We find jewelry inscribed with his name in royal tombs at Byblos in Lebanon, as well as local copies of Egyptian jewelry. These items were particularly prevalent in the tomb of a local prince named Ipshemuabi. In addition, native rulers at Byblos even wrote short inscriptions in hieroglyphs, held the Egyptian title of count, and made references to Egyptian gods.

They acquired royal and private statuary. On the other hand, four bronze boxes found at the temple of Montu at Tod and inscribed on their lids with the name of Ammenemes II bore a large number of silver cups of Lavantine and Aegean origin. There were also cylinder seals and lapis Lazuli amulets from Mesopotamia. These items were probably either a gift, or tribute, and it is noteworthy that at the time, silver was more rare than gold in Egypt, so also more valuable.

The Shipwrecked Sailor: One story during the time of Ammenemes II tells of the travels of a ship captain who had been to a magic island in the sea far south beyond Nubia. The sailor told the vizier (prime minister) about a tempest which arose suddenly and drove the ship towards a mysterious land. He suddenly heard a noise like thunder, and saw a huge serpent with a beard. Upon hearing that the sailor was sent by the pharaoh, the serpent let him go back, with gifts to "Amenemhet". It told him that it was Amon-Ra's blessing that has made this island rich and lacking nothing. Upon hearing this amusing story, "Amenemhet II" ordered it to be documented on a papyrus. The story is known to historians as "The Shipwrecked Sailor".

KHAKHEPERRE SESOSTRIS II 1897 - 1878

Sesostris (Senusret) II, the birth name of the fourth king of Egypt's 12th Dynasty, means "Man of Goddess Wosret". It was the name that seems to enter the royal lineage because of this king's non-royal, great, great grandfather, the original Senusret and father of the founder of the Dynasty, Ammenemes I. Sesostris II's name is also found in various references as Senwosret II, or the Greek form, Sesostrius II. His throne name was Kha-khaeper-re, meaning "Soul of Re comes into Being". He succeeded his father, Ammenemes II in about 1895 BC, after a short co-regency of at least three years.

References differ on the length of his rule, varying between about seven and fifteen years. The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt gives his reign as 1877-1870, while Clayton gives him a reign from 1897-1878 BC.

A group of statues was discovered, two of which had been usurped by Ramesses II, portraying Sesostris II with wide, muscular shoulders like his father, but with a more vigorous face, lacking the blandness of older 12th Dynasty statuary.

This was a period of fine portraiture art, reflected in the distinctive broad cheekbones and other characteristics portrayed in the statues. In fact, even a number of private statues have been found that also reflect this high art, and the late 12th dynasty is seen as a milestone of human portraiture in Egyptian art.

Better known than Sesostris II's statues are a pair of highly polished black granite statues of a lady Nefret, who did not carry the title of "Royal Wife", but who was probably either a wife of Sesostris II's who died before he ascended the throne, or a sister. She did, however, have other titles usually reserved for queens.

His principal royal wife was Khnumetneferhedjetweret (Weret), who's body was found in a tomb under the pyramid of her son, Sesostris III at Dahshure. Sesostris III would become Sesostris II's successor. So far there is no evidence of a co-regency with his father as there had been for every king from the time of Ammenemes I. Sesostris II probably also had several daughters, one of which would have probably been Sathathoriunet (Sithathoriunet), who's jewelry was discovered in a tomb behind the king's pyramid.

Like his father, Sesostris II's reign is considered to be a peaceful one, using more diplomacy with neighbors than warfare. We are told that trade with the Near East was particularly prolific. His cordial relations with the regional leaders in Egypt is attested to at Beni Hassan, for example, and especially in the tomb of Khnumhotep II, who he gave many honors. There seem to be no recorded military campaigns during his rule, though he undoubtedly protected Egypt's mineral interests and their expanded territory in Nubia. Even so, Sudanese tribesmen continued pushing northward, placing the area between the first and second cataracts in danger. He has the fortress at Ayiba enlarged. His efforts seem to have been more directed at expanding cultivation within the Fayoum rather than making war with his neighbors and regional nobles. He continues concentrating on agriculture and economic improvement; continued exploitation of mines and quarries, the dedication of small temples to Egyptian gods and to maintain active and pacific relations with neighboring countries. He continues the increase in Egypt's role in the culture, commerce and politics of western Asia.

In the Fayoum, his projects turned a considerable area from marshlands into agricultural land. He established a Fayoum irrigation project, including building a dyke and digging canals to connect the Fayoum with a waterway known today as Bahr Yusef. A flow-control dam is constructed at El-Lahun to regulate Nile flow into the lake. He seems to have had a great interest in the Fayoum, and elevated the region in importance. Its growing recognition is attested to by a number of pyramids built before, and after his reign in or near the oasis (though the Fayoum is not a true oasis). It should also be remembered that kings usually built their royal palaces near their mortuary complexes, so it is likely that many of the future kings made their home in the Fayoum. These later kings would also continue and expand upon Sesostris II's irrigation projects in the Fayoum. Sesostris II built a unique statue shrine of Qasr es-Sagha on the north eastern corner of the region, though it was left undecorated and incomplete.

His father, Ammenemes II built his pyramid at Dahshure, but Sesostris II built his pyramid closer to the Fayoum Oasis at Lahun. His pyramid definitely established a new tradition in pyramid building, perhaps begun by his father. Sesostris II chose to build his pyramid, called Sesostris Shines, near the modern town of Lahun (Kahun) at the opening of the Hawara basin near the Fayoum rather than at Dahshure where his father's Amenemhet II pyramid is located.

The location of Sesostris II's valley temple is known but no ground plan can be made from its ruins. The causeway is likewise ruined, but must have been broad, and of the completely destroyed mortuary temple on the east side of the pyramid, all that is known is that it must have been built of decorated granite, judging from the few fragments that remain.

Beginning with Sesostris II, the location of the door was less important from a religious than from a security standpoint, so rather than being on the north side of the structure, it was hidden in the pavement of the south side. To the south side of the pyramid Petrie excavated four shaft tombs that belonged to Sesostris II's family and in one of these, discovered a fine, gold inlaid uraeus that may have come from the king's mummy. In building this pyramid Sesostris II's architects took advantage of a natural stump of yellow limestone that they cut down into four steps to serve as the pyramid's base core. Mudbrick was used to build the upper part of the core, and as several pyramids before, wings were built out from this core and cross walls within the wings were built to form a framework.

The resulting sections were then filled with mud brick. Also like some prior 12th Dynasty pyramids, the casing was set into a foundation trench at the base of the pyramid. Most of the casing was carried off to build a structure for Ramesses II, though parts of the black granite pyramidion that set atop the pyramid have been found. There was also a cobble filled drainage ditch around the pyramid that was filled with sand to channel rain water.

While the pyramid had been robbed in antiquity, it nevertheless took Petrie months to locate the entrance to this pyramid. The reason is that for the first time, the builder's were more interested in security than religious tradition, and therefore hid the entry passage in the pavement of the pyramid courtyard near the east end of the pyramid's south side.

Prior to this, just about all pyramid entrances were in the middle of the north side. This was because in the astral and celestial religion of the old kingdom, the king was to leave his tomb to the north where he was himself to become both a star and a deity. However, because of the rise in the cult of Osiris, this became less important, and it was more meaningful for the tomb to resemble the underworld of Osiris. Interestingly, the builders of the pyramid

must have thought this would be sufficient insurance against thieves, as they did not even include a barrier in the entrance corridor.

Also interesting is the "entrance chapel, not located above the entrance, or on the north side of the pyramid (these are also typically referred to as "North Chapels").

It was located in the middle of the east wall of the pyramid. However, there was actually a north chapel, though smaller and less structurally similar to older north chapels than the entrance chapel on the east side of the pyramid.

The vaulted entrance corridor was too narrow for a large sarcophagus and the blocks used to line the burial chamber, though another entrance was hidden farther south, beneath a sloping passage to the tomb of an unknown princess. This shaft is about 16 meters (52 feet) deep, and a corridor at the bottom leads to an entrance hall below the formal entrance shaft.

The hall has a vaulted ceiling and a niche at the east end of the hall contains a ritual well, the bottom of which has never been reached. It drops to at least the water table. Because ritual shafts did not become prominent until much later, some Egyptologists maintain that the shaft may have been built to monitor the ground water, or for other unknown purposes.

After the entrance hall another corridor gradually rises before passing through a chamber to the left and finally arriving at an antechamber. From the antechamber, the substructure takes a 90 degree left turn, passing through a short corridor to the burial chamber, which lies under the southeast quadrant of the pyramid. The burial chamber is sheathed in granite and has a gabled roof. A red granite sarcophagus fills the west end of the chamber. Before it stood an alabaster offering table.

From the southeast corner of the burial chamber a short corridor leads to a small side chamber where leg bones, presumably of the king, were found. At the northwest corner at the head of the sarcophagus is the entrance to a passage that loops around the burial chamber to a doorway in the short corridor between the antechamber and the burial chamber. This corridor presented a symbolic exit to the north for the king's spirit. But it also creates a symbolic subterranean island that can be related to the god, Osiris, who's worship was on the rise during the 12th Dynasty.

The enclosure wall, like that of his grandfather's, Sesostris I, had a limestone casing with niches reminiscent of Djoser's complex. This was a revival of archaic funerary enclosures. Another strong Osiris influence, the "grove surrounding the "mound", was represented by a row of trees planted around the outer wall that was covered in mudbrick. In addition to the tombs of the princesses to the southeast, between the pyramid and the north section of the enclosure wall, eight mastabas were built using mudbrick to cover a superstructure carved from the bedrock, similar to the manner in which the pyramid was built.

A small pyramid lies at the north end of this row of mastabas, thought to be that of a queen. If it is not the pyramid of a queen, but an unlikely cult pyramid, it would have been the last such structure built, rather than that of his grandfather's, Sesostris I. Though this pyramid does have a North Chapel, Petrie never found a subterranean structure even after exhaustive investigation. The only evidence we do have that the pyramid belonged to a queen is its placement within the complex and a partial name from a vase that Petrie found in a foundation deposit.

West of the entrance shaft of the pyramid Petrie discovered the ruins of the tomb of Princess Sathathoriunet (Sithathoriunet), where he discovered the famous Treasure of el-Lahun, which included wonderful jewelry and other items from the her burial equipment. These items included a gold headband, a gold necklace of small leopard's heads, two gold pectorial ornamented with precious stones one of which was inscribed with Sesostris II's name and the second with the name of Amenemhet III. There were also other bracelets, rings and alabaster and obsidian vessels that were decorated with gold, all of which today can be found in the Egyptian Antiquities Museum .

Nearby the complex to the northwest lies the ruins of the pyramid town that grew up around the construction of Sesostris II's pyramid. Originally named Hetep Sesostris, meaning "May Sesostris be at Peace". It has provided considerable information to Egyptologists on the lives of common Egyptians and urbanism. This ancient village is today known as Lahun, or Kahun, after the local nearby village.

Sesostris II is further attested to by a sphinx, now in the Egyptian Antiquity Museum in Cairo and by inscriptions of both he and his father near Aswan. It should also be mentioned that the pyramid town associated with Sesostris II's complex, known as Lahun (Kahun) after the nearby modern village, provided considerable information to archaeologists and Egyptologists on the common lives of Egyptians. Pyramid towns were communities of workmen, craftsmen and administrators that grew up around a king's pyramid project.

KHAKAURE SESOSTRIS III 1878 - 1843

Sesostris (Senusret) III is probably the best attested king of the New Kingdom. He ruled the country for perhaps as long as 37 years. He is probably also the best known of the Middle Kingdom pharaohs to the public because of his many naturalistic statues showing a man with often heavy eye-lids and lined continence. Later statues seem to

portray him with increasing "world-weariness". Taken along with contemporary text, these statues seem to wish us to believe Sesostris III was a king possessed of a concerned, serious and thoughtful regard for his high office.

Sesostris III's statuary is much looser in terms of the rigid ideological representations of earlier kings and illustrates a shift in both the function of art and a change in the ideology surrounding the king. The human qualities of the statues give a sense of age and tension, rather than the all powerful king portrayed in older works. We see in these statues a shift away from the king as god, and more towards the king as leader.

Sesostris was this king's birth name, which means, "Man of Goddess Wosret". He is also sometimes referred to as Senwosret III and Senusert III, or by the Greeks, Sesostrius III. His throne name was Kha-khau-re, meaning "Appearing like the Souls of Re". Sesostrius III was most surely the son of Sesostrius II, changing a trend of having alternate leaders named Sesostrius and Amenemhet.

We know of no co-regency with his father, though most of the previous 12th Dynasty kings shared at least a few years of their reign with their sons, and a co-regency would clear up some questions about Sesostrius III's long reign. His mother may have been Khnumetneferhedjetweret (Khanumet, Weret), who we believe was buried in a tomb near his pyramid at Dahshur. He was married to a principle queen named Mereret, who probably outlived him, and may have also been married to his sister, Sit-Hathor. His son and successor was Amenemhet III.

Sesostris III must have been a very dominant figure within his time. Manetho describes him as a great warrior, not surprisingly, because he also says he was "of great height at 4 cubits, 3 palms and 2 fingers" (over 6 ft, 6 in or 2 meters). In addition, he may also have been the model for the Sesostrius of Manetho and Herodotus, who was probably a composite, heroic Middle Kingdom ruler who was supposed to be a model for future kings.

While there had been fortifications built in Nubia, apparently, the Nubians were a troublesome lot during his reign, for Sesostrius III would again have to mount campaigns in at least the years 8, 10, 16 and 19 of his reign. Regardless, these campaigns seem to have been for the most part successful. In the first he sailed up the river and overthrews Kush. The king had inscribed on a great stele at Semna, seven miles above Wadi Halfa, erected in year 8 of his rule, now in Berlin, "I carried off their women, I carried off their subjects, went forth to their wells, smote their bulls; I reaped their grain, and set fire thereto". In other words, he killed their men, enslaved their women and children, burnt their crops and poisoned their wells. The stele also provides that no Nubians were allowed to take their herds or boats to the north of the specified border.

To facilitate these military actions in Nubia, in 1871 he had an existing bypass canal around the First Cataract (rapids) at Aswan, originally dug in the Old Kingdom by Merenre - or Pepi I cleared, broadened and deepened. According to an inscription, he had it repaired again in year eight of his reign. This canal was near the island of Sehel.

His predecessors had also established a policy of building fortresses in Nubia, but in order to further secure the area, Sesostrius III built more fortresses than any of the other Middle Kingdom rulers. In the 64 km (40 mile) length of the Second Cataract in Lower (northern) Nubia there were no less than eight such fortresses between Semna and Buhen, built mainly to stop unauthorized river traffic from the south. However, many Egyptologists disagree with exactly how many of these fortresses were built by Sesostrius III, or were instead, simply rededicated or enlarged. These fortresses were in close contact with each other, and with the region's vizier, reporting the slightest movements of Nubians. At least some of the fortresses appear also to have been specialized. For example, the one at Mirgissa was more involved with trade, whereas others, such as the fortress at Askut, were used as supply depots for campaigns into Upper (southern) Nubia.

Sesostris III managed to expand Egypt's borders further south than any ruler before him, of which he was proud. A stele at Semna with a duplicate at Uronarti records:

I have made my boundary further south than my fathers,

I have added to what was bequeathed me.

I am a king who speaks and acts,

What my heart plans is done by my arm.

One who attacks to conquer, who is swift to succeed,

In whose heart a plan does not slumber.

Considerate to clients, steady in mercy,

Merciless to the foe who attacks him.

One who attacks him who would attack,

Who stops when one stops,

Who replies to a matter as befits it.

To stop when attacked is to make bold the foe's heart,

Attack is valor, retreat is cowardice,

A coward is he who is driven from his border.

Since the Nubian listens to the word of mouth,
To answer him is to make him retreat.
Attack him, he will turn his back,
Retreat, he will start attacking.
They are not people one respects,
They are wretches, craven-hearted.
My majesty has seen it, it is not an untruth.
I have captured their women,
I have carried off their subjects,
Went to their wells, killed their cattle,
Cut down their grain, set fire to it.
As my father lives for me, I speak the truth!
It is no boast that comes from my mouth.

He not only stabilized Egypt's southern border at Semna, his troops regularly penetrated the area beyond and we know of a record recording the height of the inundation as far south as Dal, many miles beyond Semna, down into Sudan to stop their encroachments. This stele continues with an admonition to later kings;

Now as for every son of mine who shall maintain this boundary, which My Majesty has made, he is my son, he is born of My Majesty, the likeness of a son who is the champion of his father, who maintains the boundary of him that begat him. Now, as for him who shall relax it, and shall not fight for it; he is not my son, he is not born to me.

His son, Ammenemes III heeded this warning, and interestingly, Sesostris III was later deified in Nubia as a god. However, we also know that, in what we believe to be his final campaign in Nubia in year 19 of his reign, his efforts were less successful. Apparently, due to a drop in the Nile's water level, his forces had to make a retreat to avoid being trapped.

Most of Sesostris III's military attention was directed towards Nubia, but he is also noted for a campaign in Syria against the Mentjiu, where rather than a goal of expansion, he seems to have been after retribution and plunder. We owe this information to a stele belonging to an individual named Sobkkhu, who apparently also participated in the Nubian campaigns. The king apparently led this campaign himself, capturing the town of Sekmem, which may have been Shechem in the Mount Ephraim region.

It was probably during Sesostris III's reign that we also find the "Execration Texts" These were inscriptions found in Nubia and Egypt, usually inscribed either on magical figurines or on pottery. The inscriptions were usually a list of enemies of Egypt, including enemy people, evil spirits, returning dead and those Egyptian men and women, commoners and nobles, who may rebel, intrigue, war or plan to war and rebel. These objects were often ritualistically smashed, and the shards placed under the foundations of new building, thus "smothered", or nailed at the edge of the area they were meant to protect.

The plunder from the Nubian and Syrian campaigns was mostly directed towards the temples in Egypt, and their renewal. For example, at Abydos, an inscription by a local official named Ikhernofret states that the king commissioned him to refurbish Osiris's barge, shrine and chapels with gold, electrum, lapis lazuli, malachite and other costly stones. He also adorned the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari at Luxor with a series of six life size granite standing statues of himself wearing the nemes and headdress. They once lined the lower terrace

Religiously, we are told in a graffiti that, even though his capital, burial ground and other interests were in Northern Egypt, he also helped maintain a large number of priests associated with the cult of Amun in Upper (southern) Egypt at Thebes. He also had built a large temple to the old Theban war god, Montu (Mont), just north of Karnakat at Nag-el-Medamoud.

While this temple was refurbished in the New Kingdom and again in the Greek and Roman period, nothing remains of it save two finely carved granite gateways that were discovered in 1920, along with some very splendid statues and a few inscriptions. Domestically, Sesostris III was able to carry on his military campaigns and building projects because he had matters at home largely under control. About 1855, aroused by the growing power and possible rivalry of the nomarch families, Sesostris stripped them of their traditional rights and privileges and reduced them to political nonentities. He divided the country into three administrative divisions (waret), including a North, a Middle and South and the Head of the South (Elephantine and Lower Nubia), that were each administered by a council (djadjat) of senior staff who in turn reported to a vizier.

This sufficiently weakened the power of local nomarchs (governors) and other high officials who had once again begun to challenge the central government and the monarch. Decentralization due to powerful local officials and nobles had, in the past, created chaos and ultimately led to the dark times of the First Intermediate Period. It would seem that most all of the Middle Kingdom rulers were aware of this threat, and were constantly on guard.

This new administrative scheme apparently also had another effect, in that it promoted the rise of the middle class, many (craftsmen, tradesmen, small farmers, etc.) of whom were incorporated into the administration, and were no longer under the influence and control of the local nobles. The provinces of Upper, Middle and Lower Egypt were now administered by three corresponding departments in the residence city. Like the departments of Justice, Agriculture, Labor and Treasury; the three are under the overall direction of the office of the vizier.

Sesostris III had his pyramid built at Dahshur, a mostly Middle Kingdom necropolis. It was the largest of the 12th Dynasty pyramids, but like the others with mud brick cores, after the casing was removed it deteriorated badly. In the excavation season of 1894-1895, Jacques de Morgan also found the tombs of Queen Mereret and princess Sit-Hathor near the northern enclosure wall of Sesostris III's pyramid complex. Also found with these tombs were some fine jewelry, missed by earlier robbers.

Some Egyptologists doubt that Sesostris III was buried in this pyramid. He also had an elaborate tomb and complex built in South Abydos. This huge complex stretches over a kilometer between the edge of the Nile floodplain and the foot of the high desert cliffs that form the western boundary of the valley. This complex consists of an underground tomb which, at least at one time, was considered to be the largest in Egypt - that may have been eclipsed by the discovery of the Tomb of Ramesses II's Sons in the Valley of the Kings. Other components include a mortuary temple at the edge of the cultivated fields and a town south of the tomb that supported the complex. The name of this funerary complex was "Enduring are the Places of Khakaure Justified in Abydos". Sesostris III is further attested by blocks from a doorway found near Qantir and by his rock inscriptions near the island of Sehel south of Aswan that record the reopening of the bypass canal.

NYMARE AMMENEMES III 1842 - 1797

Ammenemes (Amenemhet) III was the son of Senusret III and the last great ruler of the Middle Kingdom.

Ammenemes III appears to have shared the throne with his father as co-regent for at least a while before the death of his father. The king's principle wives were buried in his pyramid at Dahshur in their own chambers, a very unusual feature at this time.

The Chief wife was probably Aat. The second queen we are unsure of. We also know of a daughter named Neferuptah and of course his successor who was probably his son, Ammenemes IV. However, Ammenemes IV may have been a grandson, but in any event, Ammenemes III probably made him a co-regent. It is also possible that the queen who ruled as the last pharaoh of the 12th Dynasty, Sobkhotep IV was also his daughter.

Every king before him or after him in the 12th Dynasty, with perhaps the exception of the last female ruler, would either be named Ammenemes, as the dynasty's founder was, or Senusret, the first of whom was probably the non royal father of Amenemhet I. This is the king's birth name, meaning 'Amun is at the head'. His throne name was Ny-maat-re, meaning 'Belonging to the Justice of Re'. To the Greeks, he was Ammenemes III. Ammenemes III may have reigned for as long as 45 years.

It was a good thing he ruled this long, because his first tomb, his pyramid at Dahshur, started collapsing about the time it was finished. It took about 14 or 15 years to build, and he had to start completely over with a new pyramid near to the Fayoum at Hawara. At Hawara, we believe the complexity and splendor of his mortuary temple made it commonly known as the Labyrinth. Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo and Pliny all make reference to this structure. According to Diodorus, Daedalus was so impressed by the temple that he built his own labyrinth for Minos in Crete based on Ammenemes III's temple. In some respects, the disaster associated with his first pyramid worked in this king's favor, for it provided him the opportunity to build his tomb closer to the region that he seemed to flourish with attention. Because of his interest in the agricultural economics of the Fayoum, his reign became perhaps the apex of the Middle Kingdom and he reciprocated with an interest in its needs, as well as founding temples and building statues.

Building activity in the Fayoum, besides his pyramid, included the Temple of Sobek, the principle local deity, in the city the Greeks called Crocidopolis. In the Fayoum, Sobek was closely related to a more national god, the falcon, Horus the Elder. He also built a chapel dedicated to Renenutet the goddess of the harvest, at Medinet Maadi. He participated in agricultural projects in the Fayoum as well. He built a barrage to regulate the flow of water into the large lake, Birket Qarun from the Bahr Yousef canal. This reclaimed a large fertile area, perhaps as much as 17,000 acres north and west of Mechinet el-Faiyum, that was further protected by an earthen semi-circular embankment from Edwa through Biahmu to El-Agamiyin. To celebrate this achievement, he erected two colossal statues of himself at Biahmu. The statues stand upon very impressive bases, and overlook the lake. He was so much connected to the Fayoum that during the Greco-Roman era, during which time there was a revival of the area, he was probably worshipped as a god under the name Lamares.

Probably because of the connecting mortuary temple, his pyramid complex at Hawara was world renown. The mortuary temple was complex with many columned courtyards, chambers and passages. Outside of the Fayoum

he built a temple of Quban in Nubia and expanded the temple of Ptah at Memphis. Construction of a great temple of Sobk, or Shedet, near Biyahmu.

Considering his building projects, it is not surprising that Ammenemes III was very active in various quarries. He was especially interested in the turquoise mines in Sinai such as those at Serabit el-Khadem. He probably at least extensively rebuilt and enlarged the Temple dedicated to Hathor and other gods at Serabit el-Khadem. In fact, there were some 49 rock inscriptions there, as well as ten more at Wadi Maghara and Wadi Nasb in the Siani that record almost continuous mining operations between years two and forty-five of his reign. Yet within Egypt, it is curious that we actually have very few inscriptions from Ammenemes III. But he was also active at Wadi Hammamat, where alabaster is mined, in the diorite quarries of Nubia, at Tura for its fine white limestone, and other mining sites.

What we do not see during Ammenemes III's time is a lot of military action, other than perhaps strengthening the defenses at Semna. Nubia is under Egyptian control, Egyptian suzerainty is recognized by many princes of western Asia and the provincial nobles are no longer a threat to the government (stabilization being achieved by replacing the barons with king's appointees). The military activities of his predecessors allowed him a peaceful reign upon which to build, so he turned to economic expansion – increasing the production of mines and quarries, study and improvement of the irrigation system and continuing the development of the Fayoum. He does build, politically, reorganizing the domestic administration. He continued to reform the national administration as did his father. It was probably his father that divided the country into three administrative regions, controlled by departments based at the capital. This federal bureaucracy oversaw the activities of local officials, who no longer possessed any extensive power. Ammenemes III continued to refine this new administration. By 1800 Ammenemes has spread Egyptian power from Byblos to Kerma, about the third cataract.

Ammenemes III was also able to continue with good foreign relations also without much military action. It is said that he was honored and respected from Kerma to Byblos, and during his reign many eastern workers, including peasants, soldiers and craftsmen, came to Egypt. However, the extensive building works, together with possibly a series of low Nile floods, may have exhausted the economy by the end of his reign. Ironically, all of these foreign workers, many employed for building activities, may have also encouraged the Hyksos to settle in the Delta, thus leading eventually to the collapse of native Egyptian rule. Upon the king's death, he was buried in his second pyramid at Hawara. Ammenemes III is also attested to by an unusual set of statues probably of Ammenemes III and Senusret III that shows the two in archaic priestly dress and offering fish, lotus flowers and geese. These statues are very naturalistic, but show the king in the guise of a Nile god.. There was also a set of sphinxes that were once thought to have been attributable to the later Hyksos rulers, but are now believed to have been built on the orders of Ammenemes III. Originally all these statues were discovered reused in the Third Intermediate Period temples at Tanis. We also know of an inscription by the king at Koptos(Coptos).

Between 1815 and 1805, several publications appeared. *Instruction* by (treasurer Sehetepibie?) states obedience to the king is the road to success. *Instruction of a Man to his Son* has the same message but directed to lower classes. It embodies the notion of the elevation of the little man through his submission to the pharaoh. Completion of mathematical (+, -, x, /, fractions and decimal notation) and geometric (area, volume, plane figures and right-angle relationships) texts. Algebra handles two unknowns and uses quadratic equations. An Egyptian onomasticon, classified and grouped according to their kinds are lists of towns and fortresses, are terms used by butchers in describing the anatomy of an ox and the names of many different plants, liquids, fish, animals, cakes, confections, cereals, condiments and fruits.

Ammenemes III attempted to build his first pyramid at Dahshur, but it turned out to be a disaster as it was built on unstable subsoil. Today the pyramid named 'Ammenemes is Mighty' is a sad dark ruin on the Dahshur field, aptly sometimes called the Black Pyramid. Even though it took 15 years to build, rather than being buried in this pyramid, Ammenemes III chose to build a second pyramid at Hawara, closer to his beloved Fayoum.

MAKHERURE AMMENEMES IV – 1798 - 1790

Because of the long reign of Ammenemes III, it is possible that Ammenemes (Ammenemes) IV was the grandson of his predecessor rather than his son. It should be noted, however, that the fact that there is no trace of Ammenemes III ever having had a son, does not rule out that Ammenemes IV may have been the son of his predecessor.

It is generally believed that he was married to Nefrusobek, who is assumed to have been a daughter of Ammenemes III. If both assumptions are correct, it is more likely that Ammenemes IV may still have been a son of his predecessor. In any case, the name of the mother of Ammenemes IV is not known, which might perhaps mean that she was already deceased when he got to the throne. According to Manetho, this king ruled for only 8 years, a number that is confirmed by the 9 years, 3 months and 27 days credited to him in the Turin Kinglist. This short reign

is confirmed by the relatively few sources that have survived from his reign. It might also indicate that Ammenemes IV was already an elderly man when he came to power.

He shared the first year of his reign in co-regency with Ammenemes III. Ammenemes IV completed several temples that were started during by Ammenemes III. Inscriptions in Nubia also show that he still controlled the territory that was conquered during the reign of Sesostri III. He appears to have died without heir and was succeeded by Sobkneferu. He was probably buried in his pyramid in Masghuna.

Ammenemes death brings civil disorder as rival claimants fight for the throne. Decline of art, architecture and cultural pursuits begins. Byblos comes under the rule of native prince Yoshamuibi.

SOBKARE SOBKNEFERU (Horus Meryetre) – 1789 - 1786

Sobkneferu (Nefrusobek) is generally believed to have been a daughter of Ammenemes III and the widow of Ammenemes IV. According to Manetho, she may have been a sister or half-sister of Ammenemes IV. Her marriage to Ammenemes IV seems to have left them with no male heir, so Nefrusobek became one of the few women to have become king in Ancient Egypt.

The four years credited to her by Manetho are confirmed by the three years, 10 months and 24 days that have been recorded in the Turin Kinglist. The fact that she is listed in the Turin Kinglist is, in itself, interesting because it shows that she was not considered as a mere regent or as an usurper.

Nefrusobek is the first known female king to have had a full royal titulary. Her titulary still shows the typical ending t for feminine words, thus combining the traditionally male titles with the reality that Nefrusobek was a woman.

A graffito in the Nubian fortress of Kumma indicates that like her predecessor, Nefrusobek was still in charge of the Nubian territory that had been conquered by Sesostri III. She also contributed to the Labyrinth of Ammenemes III and probably granted her ancestor divine status in the Fayum.

Several pieces of statues of Nefrusobek have been found. Like her titulary, her statues too combine the traditional aspects of kingdom with the reality that this king was female. Thus we find a headless statue of Nefrusobek in the Louvre Museum that still has a part of the nemes head-cloth showing on her shoulders, while she is still wearing a typically female dress. Her tomb has not yet been identified, although it has sometimes been assumed that she was buried in a pyramid in Masghuna.

SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Since the passage of Time shows no break in continuity, nothing but some momentous event or sequence of events can justify a particular reign being regarded as inaugurating an era. What caused Sobeknofru, or Sobeknofrure' as later sources call her, to be taken as closing Dynasty. XII will doubtless never be known. But the Turin Canon, the Saqqara king-list, and Manetho are unanimous on the point. The Abydos list jumps straight from Dyn. XII to the first king of Dyn. XVIII. The date of Amosis I, the founder of Dyn. XVIII, being fixed with some accuracy, the interval from 1786 to 1575 BC must be accepted as the duration of the Second Intermediate Period. This is an age the problems of which are even more intractable than those of the First. Before entering upon details, it will be well to note that the general pattern of these two dark periods is roughly the same. Both begin with a chaotic series of insignificant native rulers. In both, intruders from Palestine cast their shadow over the delta and even into the Valley. Also in both, relief comes at last from a hardy race of Theban princes, who after quelling internal dissension expel the foreigner and usher in a new epoch of immense power and prosperity.

Some account has already been given of the formidable difficulties here confronting us, but these must now be discussed at length. As usual we start with Manetho. The THIRTEENTH DYNASTY according to him, was Diospolite (Theban) and consisted of sixty kings who reigned for 453 years. The FOURTEENTH DYNASTY counted seventy-six kings from Xoïs, the modern Sakha in the central Delta, with a total of 184 or, as an alternative reading, 484 years. For Dyns. XV to XVII there is divergence between Africanus and Eusebius, while a much simpler account is preserved by the Jewish historian Josephus in what purports to be a verbatim extract from Manetho's own writing. For our present purpose the data supplied by Africanus must suffice. His FIFTEENTH DYNASTY consists of six foreign so-called 'Shepherd' or Hyksos kings, whose domination lasted 284 years. The SIXTEENTH DYNASTY consisted of Shepherd kings again, thirty-two in number totaling 518 years. Lastly, in the SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY Shepherd kings and Theban kings reigned concurrently, forty-three of each line altogether 151 years. Adding these figures, but adopting the lower number of years given for Dyn. XIV, we obtain

217 kings covering a stretch of 1590 years, over seven times the duration to which acceptance of the Sothic date in the El-Lahun papyrus has committed us. To abandon 1786 BC as the year when Dyn. XII ended would be to cast adrift from our only firm anchor, a course that would have serious consequences for the history, not of Egypt alone, but of the entire Middle East.

Of the three monumental king-lists that of Karnak alone enumerates rulers of the period. In its undamaged state it may have mentioned as many as thirty, about half that number being authenticated by actual remains, building blocks, stelae, or the like, mostly from the Theban area. Unfortunately these names are interspersed among those of Old or Middle Kingdom kings in so disorderly a fashion that not trustworthy sequence is obtainable. The Turin Canon, despite its fragmentary condition, is a source of great value. As remounted by Ibscher, the papyrus fragments distribute the kings from Dyn. XIII until far down in the direction of Dyn. XVIII over no less than six columns, each containing up to thirty entries. It would be unwise, however, to assume that the manuscript, when intact, named as many as 180 distinct kings. Columns 10 and 11 are somewhat doubtful quantities, and some of the names mentioned in them, as well as in column 9, have a very suspect appearance. Not more than about sixty names are still sufficiently well preserved to make their identity certain, only about a third of these being authenticated by external monuments. On the other hand, the monuments acquaint us with a considerable number of names which must belong to this period but for one reason or another--some no doubt on account of the Canon's defective condition--are not to be found in that document. Immense labor has been devoted to collecting this material, and to seeking to place the different reigns in correct chronological order. For this purpose the style of the scarabs found bearing royal cartouches, the appearance and structure of the names themselves, and other evidence equally tenuous, have all been employed. When all is said and done the results have been of a hypothetical character ill calculated to commend itself to any but the most venturesome scholars. Here we will content ourselves with little more than a scrutiny of the Turin Canon itself. Indubitably the Ramesside compiler believed himself able to present the hundred or so kings known to him in a single continuous series, with the exact length of each reign correctly stated. The number of years is preserved in some twenty-nine cases, these totaling in all 153 years without counting the odd months and days. Included in that total are six kings (mostly to be named hereafter) whose reign in each instance exceeds ten years, amounting together to 101 years, though the reading of the numerals is not always as certain as one could wish. This leaves for the remaining twenty-three kings a sum of no more than fifty-two years, an average of little more than two years apiece. It is conspicuous that in the rare occurrences of dated monuments the date is more often than not in the first, second, or third year. Remembering the contention that in Egypt prolonged length of reign is a sure indication of the country's prosperity, we can now maintain the converse and argue that during the period which in the Turin Canon corresponds to Manetho's Dyns. XIII and XIV the land was in a state of dire havoc and confusion, its rulers murdering and replacing one another with extreme rapidity. In two, if not three, cases the Canon mentions a kingless interval, in one case of six years' duration. On four occasions a formula is found which Ed. Meyer without solid ground interpreted as marking the advent of a new dynasty, but twice there occur words summing up a preceding one' of far greater interest than the isolated '[Total], five kings....' in II. 15 is an unnumbered fragment known already to Seyffarth and rediscovered by Botti, which Ibscher and Farina placed in the middle of column 10. Immediately following a line which must be restored as '[Chieftain of a foreign country] Khamudy' comes another giving '[Total, chieftains of] a foreign country, 6, making 108 years'. These are obviously the foreign usurpers referred to by Africanus in connection with Manetho's Dyns. XV, XVI, and XVII. But more of them later. Here we are concerned only with chronology. The entry just quoted practically compels us to conclude that the Canon embraced contemporary dynasties ruling in different parts of Egypt, even if the compiler was unaware of the fact. For when 108 years are subtracted from the 211 which are all that can be allowed for the Second Intermediate Period, we find a hundred or more kings huddled into little more than a century, which is, of course, absurd and becomes still more so when account is taken of the above-mentioned 101 years assigned to six reigns. It follows that the 108 years of the Hyksos rulers cannot be subtracted in this way, and must refer to domination somewhere in the delta. The alternative, therefore, which all recent Egyptologists accept, is that the Canon's enumeration comprised many kings existing simultaneously, but presumably in widely distant parts of the country. Manetho, as may be seen from his reference to Xoïs, was not entirely unaware of the fact, though he too regarded his dynasties as consecutive. Unhappily is only seldom that a king of the Turin list can be pinned down to a restricted area. Perhaps the dynast who took the Nomen of Mermesha 'the General' held sway only in the extreme north. Outside the Canon he is known only from two statues found at Tanis, and the like may be true of Nehasy 'the Nubian' who despite his name seems to have belonged to the Delta. It is possibly significant that nearly half of the kings of column 6 have left monuments or fragments in Upper Egypt. Only very few have been found of the kings of the remaining columns. It will be seen how sadly, in discussing matters such as these, we are reduced to guessing.

Much ingenious argument has been used in the attempt to group the kings of the period differently from the way in which the Turin Canon presents them. It would be unjust to dismiss all such hypotheses as failures. But nowhere apparently has its ordering of names been definitely proved at fault. In the observations that follow the sequence of the Canon is accepted only for the lack of one more solidly founded. There is no doubt, at all events, about the first two rulers of Dyn. XIII. They are respectively Sekhemre'-khotep and Sekhemkare', the last kings to be mentioned in the El-Lahun papyri, and the last in whose reigns levels of the Nile were recorded at Semna. Between them they ruled no more than ten years, after which came the already mentioned kingless gap of six years. That both exerted their authority over the entire land from the Fayyum to the Second cataract and beyond is clear, and the facts that the first of the two took the name Amenemhe-Sebekhotep as his Nomen, and that the second may have adopted Amenemhe-sonbef as his, show how desperately they clung to the hope of being recognized as legitimate successors of Dyn. XII. This hope is even more pathetically exhibited in the Nomen of S'ankhibre', the sixth king of the dynasty, who could be satisfied with nothing less pompous than the name Ameny-Inyotef-Amenemhe. Immediately preceding him was an upstart with the very plebeian Prenomen Afnai ('He is mine') and half a dozen places later there occurs another ruler with the equally plebeian name Rensobek--he held the throne for no more than four months. It is remarkable that as many as six kings of the period chose for themselves the Nomen Sobekhotep ('Sobk is satisfied'), with a reference to the crocodile-god of the Fayyum first honored in a cartouche by Queen Sobeknofru. Later on, in what we shall find convenient to describe as Dyn. XVII, kings and queens bearing the name of Sobekemsaf ('Sobk is his protection') show that the crocodile-god was still thought of as somehow connected with the monarchy. By that time, however, the link with the Fayyum was broken, and we discern a tendency to associate the deity with another fayoum not more than 15 miles south of Thebes. This continuity of nomenclature has sometimes been used, and probably rightly, as evidence of the shortness of the Second Intermediate Period. Other features like the trifling changes in art and material remains are equally cogent testimony.

At this point we will call a temporary halt to the dreary discussion of the period's ephemeral king, and turn our attention to a document that transports us into the very midst of the vital realities. This is a papyrus discovered at Dra'Abu 'n-Naga a hundred years ago in the tomb of a scribe of the Royal Harem. It is nothing less than the accounts of the Theban court extending over twelve days in the third year of one of the Sebekhotep kings. Here the receipts and distribution of bread, beer, vegetables, and so forth are meticulously recorded from day to day. Two sources of revenue are distinguished. Firstly, there is the fixed income required for the sustenance of the king's womenfolk, officers of state, and so forth. This was supplied jointly by three departments (wa're), namely, the Department of the Head of the South, the Office of the People's Giving, and the Treasury, the first of the three contributing nearly twice as much as either of the other two. Secondly, there were very considerable additions called inu, a term elsewhere used for 'tribute' or 'complimentary gifts', which were utilized for exceptional purposes such as banquets for the chief dignitaries and the staff of what is curiously styled 'the House of the Nurses', or else as rewards for special services. The latter kind of income, for which the vizier or some other prominent functionary might be responsible, varied from almost as much as the former down to absolutely nil, so that no generalization can be given as to its amount. On the other hand, we learn that the daily needs of the royal household demanded nearly 2,000 loaves and different kinds of bread and between 60 and 300 jugs of beer. Meat seems to have been reserved for special occasions. A surprising detail is that by the king's command the temple of Amen had to supply 100 loaves per diem. The actual amounts distributed varied slightly according to the balance brought forward from the previous day. All manner of interesting information is obtainable from this fascinating text, or would be but for the usual obstacles of ragged condition and difficulties of decipherment. For instance, there extended over a fortnight the entertainment of a small body of Medja Nubians, including two chieftains later joined by a third, who had come to make their submission. These barbarians do not seem, however, to have been admitted to a great banquet in the columnar hall of the palace which counted as many as sixty participants, including the musicians. The queen and the king's sisters were not present on this occasion, which was the culmination of the festival of the god Mont of Medamud, on the eve of the departure of his visiting statue from the capital. All the guests mentioned were males, with the vizier, the commander of the army, and the overseer of fields at their head. Elsewhere mention is made of the reception at the Court of the leading men of Hermonthis and Cusa, the latter 25 miles north of Asyut. It is important to note that by this time there is no longer mention of feudal principdoms or nomes, and that towns are referred to in their stead. From her comes the word haty-'o, which earlier has been rightly rendered as 'prince' or 'count', is from now onward best translated as 'mayor'.

The vizier 'Ankhu, who more than once heads the officials receiving gifts of food by the royal command, is known from several other sources. One is a papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum, where a written command is addressed to

him by a king who reigned at least five years. The same papyrus mentions another who is usually recognized as Sobekhotep III, and who has left more memorials of himself than most of the petty rulers of those troubled times. The connection between the two references is obscure. Our 'Ankhu figures also on one of two stelae in the Louvre recording the extensive restorations made in the temple of Abydos by a priestly personage of that neighborhood named Amenemheb. This was in the reign of Khendjer, the bearer of a Nomen of outlandish appearance and possibly of foreign origin. Now Jequier in 1931 identified a small pyramid at Cairo⁴ as belonging to a King Khendjer, who unfortunately bore a Prenomen different from that on the Louvre stela. Were there then two Khendjers, one in the north and one in the south? It seems a more probable hypothesis that one and the same monarch vacillated as regards his Prenomen. The problem is typical of the difficulties presented by this period. The Saqqara Khendjer is listed with certainty in the Turin Canon and if, as is believed, Sobekhotep III was intended by the entry four places farther on we might have the strange phenomenon of a single vizier holding office during the reigns of five ephemeral and possibly hostile monarchs. W.C. Hayes has produced evidence that throughout Dyn. XIII (roughly column 6 of the Canon) the Pharaonic capital was still at Lisht, though the Court sometimes moved to Thebes. The pyramid above mentioned and the fact that the vizier's son who assisted Amenemheb in his Abydos operations fared northwards when the work was finished certainly lend color to this hypothesis.

According to the Canon, Sobekhotep III was succeeded by a Dyn. XIII #22, who reigned eleven years. Memorials of him, like those of his predecessor, are relatively numerous. Many rock inscriptions at the cataract appear to attest a visit of his, and a steatite plaque found at Wady Halfa at least suggests that his influence extended there. Even more interesting is a relief discovered at a far-distant Byblos on the Syrian coast, and depicting the local prince doing homage to his person. A portrait of him survives in a fine statuette in the Bologna Museum. To the student of hieroglyphics, however, the most important relic of his reign is a great stela discovered by Mariette at Abydos, and left exposed on the spot on account of its much damaged condition. The general drift is still clear in spite of the defective copy alone available. It is the second oldest, and quite the most elaborate, telling them that he wishes to fashion in their true forms statues of the god "____" and his Ennead and asking them to arrange for his inspection of the ancient books where such things are recorded. The courtiers assent with characteristic obsequiousness. An official is sent to Abydos to prepare the way. He arranges for Osiris to appear in procession in his sacred boat, and then the king himself arrives, personally supervises the fabrication of the images, and takes part in the mimic destruction of the god's enemies. The rest of the text is devoted to pious adulation of the deity, and threats to future persons who may thwart the remembrance of so great a royal benefactor.

This Neferhotep--there seems to have been a second of the name whom it is impossible to place--was followed by a Sihathor whose tenure of the throne was only three months. Then came a brother of Neferhotep by the same non-royal parents, a Kha'neferre' Sobekhotep reckoned as the fourth of the name. The length of this king's reign is lost in a lacuna, but a stela of the eighth year is known, and he too was evidently a powerful monarch to judge from the number of his surviving monuments. It is difficult to know what to make of a headless statue of him found at the Island of Argo just south of Kerma, more especially since a damaged inscription in the British Museum alludes to hostilities in that direction. Can the enterprise of this Dyn. XIII king have dispatched his agents or soldiers beyond the cataract? A fifth Sobekhotep is accorded only four years by the Turin Canon, and he was succeeded by a Wahibre'-Iaib with ten years of reign and then by a Merneferre' with as many as twenty-three. Hardly anything, only a stela, a lintel, and some scarabs remain to commemorate these last two kings. They managed to hold the allegiance of their subjects for so long, they cannot have been insignificant. After a Merhotep with the Nomen Inai known elsewhere only from a stela and a single scarab, darkness descends upon the historical scene, leaving discernible in the twilight little beyond royal names for which the list of kings at the end of this work must be consulted. Our next concern here is with the momentous question of the rulers known as the Hyksos.

Concerning these foreigners the Jewish historian Josephus, in his polemic *Against Apion*, claims to quote the actual words of Manetho:

Tutimaios. In his reign, for what cause I know not, a blast of God smote us; and unexpectedly from the regions of the East invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily seized it without striking a blow. Having overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others. Finally, they appointed as king one of their number whose name was Dyn XV #1. He had his seat at Cairo 4, levying tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and always leaving

garrisons behind in the most advantageous places....In the Sethroite nome he found a city very favorably situated on the east of the Bubastic branch of the Nile, and called Avaris after an ancient religious tradition. This place he rebuilt and fortified with massive walls....After reigning for 19 years Salitis died; and a second king Bnon succeeded and reigned for 44 years. next to him came Dyn XV #3, who ruled for 36 years and 7 months; then Apophis for 61, and Iannas for 50 years and 1 month; then finally Assis for 49 years and 2 months. These six kings, their first rulers, were ever more and more eager to extirpate the Egyptian stock. Their race as a whole was called Hyksos, that is 'king-shepherds'; for hyk in the sacred language means 'king' and sos in common speech is 'sheperd'.

Josephus goes on to give from another manuscript a different derivation of the name Hyksos, according to which it signifies 'captive-shepherds'. The Egyptian hyk being a word for 'captive'. This etymology he prefers because he believed, as do many Egyptologists, that the Biblical story of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt and the subsequent Exodus had as its source the Hyksos occupation and later expulsion. In point of fact, although there are sound linguistic grounds for both etymologies, neither is the true one. The word Hyksos undoubtedly derives from the expression hikkhase 'chieftain of a foreign hill-country' which from the Middle Kingdom onwards was used to designate Bedouin sheiks. Scarabs bearing this title, but with the word for 'countries' in the plural, are found with several undoubted Hyksos kings and, as we have seen, the final proof is in the Turin Canon. It is important to observe, however, that the term refers to the rulers alone, and not, as Josephus thought, to the entire race. Modern scholars have often erred in this matter, some even implying that the Hyksos were a particular race of invaders who after conquering Syria and Palestine ultimately forced their way into Egypt. Nothing justifies such a view, even though the actual words of Manetho might seem to support it. It is true enough that for some centuries past there had been a growing pressure of alien peoples downwards into Syria, Hurrians from the Caspian region being among the first, these paving the way for the Hittites who followed from the north-west at the end of the sixteenth century. But of such movements there can have been no more than distant repercussions on the Egyptian border. The invasion of the delta by a specific new race is out of the question; one must think rather of an infiltration by Palestinians glad to find refuge in a more peaceful and fertile environment. Some, if not most, of these Palestinians were Semites. Scarabs of the period mention chieftains with names like 'Anat-her and Ya'kob-her, and whatever the meaning of the element -her. 'Anat was a well-known Semitic goddess, and it is difficult to reject the accepted view that the patriarch Jacob is commemorated in the other name. It is doubtless impossible to suppress the erroneous usage of the word Hyksos as though it referred to a special race, but it should be born in mind that the Egyptians themselves usually employed for those unwelcome intruders the term 'Aamu, which we translate with rough accuracy as 'Asiatics' and which had much earlier served to designate Palestinian captives or hirelings residing in Egypt as servants.

DYNASTIES THIRTEEN AND FOURTEEN GENERAL: Asiatic men and women imported in large numbers as household servants. Asiatic peoples (Semites, Anu, Setjetiu, Mentjiu of Setet and Retenu – called 'Hyksos') are infiltrating the Delta region.

DYNASTY THIRTEEN GENERAL: The king is dominated by a powerful vizier. He is 'elected' by the vizierate and powerful families. The weak crown, however, isn't debilitated by internal prosperity and international relationships. Egyptian power remains intact for most of the dynasty in Nubia and western Asia. Most kings are Theban, though government resides near Memphis in the palace and fortress of Itj-Tawy. There are attempts to revive the glories of the old feudal nobility. Government administration is highly bureaucratized and elaborately organized.

THIRTEENTH DYNASTY 1786 - 1633

There were more than 70 kings in this dynasty. They were not all related to each other. Some of them may only have ruled for a couple of months, or less. Some may also have ruled at the same time as others. This list is based on www.narmer.pl/index.htm and the partial list in CAH.

WEGAF (CAH: Sekhemre Khutowy Ammenemes SOBKHOTPE I)

Rules about 5+x years

Probably a blood relative of Sobkneferu. Later notes concerning Ugaf are found in Turin Canon and Royal Table of Karnak and a block from temple of Montu at Medamud and etc. He may have been a military commander before he overtook the rule at which time he assumed the CAH name. The 5+ years may include

- his military career, his rule being only about two years. He adds to the temple At Deir el-Bahri and El-Madamud. Meanwhile, a local dynasty (XIV) begins at Xoïs.
- AMENEMHAT V Senbuf (CAH: Sekhemkare Ammenemes Senbuef) Rules about 3+x years
 [Turin Canon 6.6] Turin Canon gives about three years of rule. Some relics were found as; stone blocks of Tod, a seal, scarab, inscriptions from Semna and Aksut, statue of the temple on Elephantine.
- SEKHEMRE KHUTAWI Rules 6± years
 Turin Canon mentions six years of rule. His existence is also proved by papyri of Illahun and Nilometer of Semna in Nubia, as well as royal plate of Karnak and artifacts of Bubastis, Uronarti and Kerma.
- AMENEMHAT V (CAH: Sehetepibre (II) Ammenemes) About 1770 – 1769
 [Turin Canon 6.7] The governor of Byblos during his reign is Prince Yakinilum.
- AMENI KEMAW (SEHETEPIBRE) (CAH: Sankhibre Ameny Inyoutef Ammenemes) Rules 1± year
 [Turin Canon 6.8] Ruler authenticated by cylindrical seal and on recently discovered fragment of stela of galenite mine in Gebel Zeit at Red Sea. Remains of pyramid and sarcophagus belonging to this king were discovered in 1957 on the necropolis at Dahshur.
- IUFENI Rules 1± year
 [Turin Canon 6.9] King whose name *He belongs to me* is confirmed only by the Turin Canon.
- AMENEMHAT VI Rules 6± years
 [Turin Canon 6.10] Turin Canon and Table of Karnak give evidence to this ruler. His name was inscribed also on stone block from architrave at Heliopolis and cylindrical seals.
- NEBNUN (SEMENKARE) Rules 2± years
 [Turin Canon 6.11] Throne name of this ruler smn-kA-ra known of Turin Canon meant *Ka is the strengthened power of Re*. In faience stela of temple of Gebel Zeit discovered in 1984 is disclosed birth name Nebnwn – [My] *Lord is Nun*, which indicates that this ruler used galenite mines in Eastern Mountains.
- HORNEDJHERIOTEF (CAH: Hetepibre Amu Sihornedjheriyotef) Rules 3± years
 [Turin Canon 6.12] A ruler presumably of Asiatic origin, his name, recorded in Turin Canon meant *Horus protects his father*. Only remains of his palace at Tell el-Daba remained to date. To this king is ascribed also a scarab found at Jericho.
- SEWADJKARE Rules 2± years
 [Turin Canon 6.13] Name of this ruler means *Re of refreshing Ka*.
- NEDJEMIBRE Rules 1± year
 [Turin Canon 6.14] This regent of throne name nDmib-ra *Pleasant is the hart of Re* is documented in Turin Canon. To his are also ascribed two scarabs, one of Memphis and second of Asia Minor.
- SEBEKHOTEP I (CAH: Sekhemresuazau Sobkhotpe II) Rules 3± years
 [Turin Canon 6.15] Son of Mentuhotpe. This ruler is also mentioned in Royal Table of Karnak. On the stela of Abydos is preserved his Horus name Hr smA-tAwi; *Horus the one who unifies the Two Lands*.
- RENISENEB (CAH: Renseneb) Rules about four months
 [Turin Canon 6.16] Name means *My name is healthy*.
- HOR I (CAH: Awibre Hor) Rules 5± years
 [Turin Canon 6.17] With no doubt this king was fond of the person of Ammenemes III. This is confirmed both by Hor's canopic jars sealed with the name of Ammenemes and incredible care he put to burial place of this great pharaoh. Hor ordered to renovate the pyramid of Ammenemes III at Dahshur. Himself he wanted to be buried in unused shaft tomb in northern site of this pyramid. This tomb was discovered in 1894 by J. de Morgan and yielded remains of burial and funerary equipment.
- AMENEMHAT VII (CAH: Sedjefakare Kay Ammenemes) Rules 7± years
 Mentioned on the basis of the monument sacred to god Montu, on cylindrical seals, scarab and graffito in pyramid of queen Chuit at Saqqara.
- SEBEKHOTEP II AMENEMHAT Rules 6± years
 [Turin Canon 6.19] Son of Ammenemes VIII and queen Nubhetepi, carrying the double name of Amenemhat-Sebekhotep. Traces of building activities of Sebekhotep II are found in Theban districts, Gebelein and Kerma. D. Franke assigns to him a pyramid (Ai I?) located southeast of Khendjer's pyramid in southern Saqqara.
- (CAH: Khutowyre Ugaf) Rules two years four months
 During his reign, Egypt's southern border is still at the second cataract. Position in list uncertain.
- KHENDJER (CAH: Userkare Khendjer) Rules 4+x years
 [Turin Canon 6.20] Constructs a brick pyramid at north Saqqara, primarily 37m high, angle of slope 55°, crowned with a pyramidion of black granite, surrounded with outer and internal brick-wall. The complex

consisted also of mortuary temple, north chapel and queen's pyramid. Inside the pyramid there was a row of passages with uncommon system of blockades and arrangements securing the chamber which itself was hollowed out of a 60 ton block of quartzite. He is recorded on two papyri, of Brooklyn and Bulak-18. In the Turin Canon Khendjer is omitted.

- IMIRAMESHA (MERMESHA) (CAH: Semenkhekare (the General)) Rules 2 - 3 years
[Turin Canon 6.21] J. von Beckerath suggests that this name means *Commander of the army*, and was primarily a title adequate to his function and became his name at the moment of his taking the rule. To him are devoted two colossal sitting statues of Tanis (placed primarily at Memphis) and usurped later by Apopis.
- INTEF IV Rules 1± year
[Turin Canon 6.22] Name is in the Turin Canon, on a statue of Medinet Maadi and scarabs.
- SETH I Rules 1± year
[Turin Canon 6.23] Name only on a fragment of the Turin Canon.
- IBI (I) Unknown if this was a ruler or not; perhaps just a priest.
- AAKENI Rules 1± year
This ruler's name meaning *the brave donkey* appears merely in genealogy of priests at Memphis.
- SEBEKHOTEP III (CAH: Sekhemre Sewadjetowy Sobkhotep III) Rules 3 years 2 months
[Turin Canon 6.24] Son of Mentuhotep and Juhetibu. Scarabs and inscriptions on the island of Sekhel as well as inscriptions on rock near Hermonthis explain genealogy of Sebekhotep's family. At the beginning of his rule he probably sent military expeditions to Asia. His building activity focused mainly around Theban district, Bubastis, Sekhel and Elephantine. According to the Turin Canon he only rules one year one month.
- NEFERHOTEP I (CAH: Khasekhemre Neferhotep I) About 1740 – 1730
[Turin Canon 6.25] Turin Canon gives him 11 years and 1 month of rule. He was the son of Haankhef, the high priest from Abydos, and Kemi. His father's position helped him to gain the royal image as the king because he did not have any royal blood in his family. His two brothers, Sahathor and Sebekhotep IV, held rule immediately after him. Neferhotep resided at Ithi-tawi in central Egypt. Traces of his rule were found both at Byblos (Phoenicia), Aswan and Buhen in Nubia. The governor of Byblos is prince Yantin (Jonathin), son of prince Yakiniulum. It seems that all Neferhotep's power reached the Delta in the north and the Nubian Nome (the first cataract) in the south. Building activity was focused mainly near Fayum, Thebes, at Abydos and on Elephantine. Burial place might have been a pyramid at Mazghuna provided that it does not belong to Sebekhotep IV, as some scholars suggest.
- SAHATHOR (CAH: Sihathor) Rules 1 or 2 months
[Turin Canon 6.26] Brother of Neferhotep I and Sebekhotep IV, ruling for a short time. Apart from the Turin Canon, where data concerning period of Sebekhotep rule did not survive, his rule is documented in rock inscriptions of Sehel and Wadi Hammamat as well as two statues of a temple of Hekaib on Elephantine.
- SEBEKHOTEP IV (CAH: Khaferre Sobkhotep IV) Rules 8+x years
[Turin Canon 6.27] Stela of Edfu gives evidence of year 8 of his rule. He was brother of his immediate predecessors to the throne. Vizier is Iymeru, son of Ankh. Several years into his reign, the Hyksos take over the town of Avaris (12 miles south of Tanis) ending the dynasty's "high point". Sebekhotep left numerous monuments all over Egypt giving evidence of great significance and might of his rule; many statues of him are known. Documented war campaign into Lower Nubia is a proof of rather offensive policy at those times, however some scholars (W. Helck) suggest that in times of Sobekhotep (or directly after they ended) there was a governmental breakdown leading to formation of few independent principalities. As Hyksos power increases, the dynasty declines as the Hyksos battle to overcome the increasingly weakening dynasty. Being from a less elevated culture, they borrow heavily from the Egyptian into which they are moving. With Egypt's weakening, Nubia becomes independent. Also, Pan-Grave people of Hamitic and Negro blood from lower Nubian desert, begin migrating into Egypt from Deir Rifa to Daraw.
- SEBEKHOTEP V (CAH: Khaankhre Sobkhotep V) Rules 5± years
[Turin Canon 7.1] The Turin Canon states he rules 4 years, 8 months and 29 days. He is also mentioned on Royal Table from Karnak.
- IAIB Rules 5± years
[Turin Canon 7.2] The Turin Canon assigns to him 10 years, 8 months and 28 days. His name is also on scarabs, a seal and stele of Sahathor. His wife was queen Khaesnebu.
- AI I (CAH: Merneferre Iy) Rules 23 years 9 months
[Turin Canon 7.3] He did not have any royal blood. He was from Avaris, in the eastern Delta that was heavily populated with Hyksos. Evidence of his rule is disclosed both by relics in south and north of the land, among

others; pyramidion from his, located presumably at Saqqara, pyramid, door-frames and stone blocks of temple at Karnak and numerous scarabs. His pyramid was built near Avaris but only ruins remain from his temple.

SEBEKHOTEP VI (CAH: Khahetepre Sobkhotpe VI) Rules 4 years 9 months?
 [Turin Canon 7.4] Documented by the Turin Canon, Royal Table, statue and stele from Karnak and stele from Abydos. Precise identity of Sebekhotep remains still controversial. The Turin Canon ascribes him two years, two months and nine days of rule.

INI I (CAH: Merhetepre Ini) Rules 2 years 2 months
 Mentioned on a scarab. D. Franke identifies him as Sebekhotep VI.

SANKHENRE SUADJETU (CAH: Sekhemre Wadjkhau Sobkemsaf I) Rules about seven years
 [Turin Canon 7.5] His reign begins the dynasty's "high point". Vizier is Ankhu. He is also mentioned on the Royal plate of Karnak. Probably he ruled 3 years and 2 months.

INED
 [Turin Canon 7.6] His throne name means *Beloved is rule of Re*. In J. von Beckerath and D. Franke opinions, he may be identified with Neferhotep II.

NEFERHOTEP II (CAH: Mersekhemre Neferhotep II)
 Throne name, Merisekhemre, means *Beloved is rule of Re*. This name is identical with his predecessor's name and due to this fact J. von Beckerath assumed they were one person. Turin Canon assigns to him 3 years and one month of rule.

HORI (HOR II)
 [Turin Canon 7.7] He is mentioned solely in the Turin Canon which states he ruled no more than a year. A. Gardiner suggested that he ruled five years.

SEBEKHOTEP VII
 [Turin Canon 7.8] According to the Turin Canon he ruled over two years. He is also mentioned in the royal table from Karnak and one statue.

DIDUMES (CAH: Djedneferre Dudimose I (Tutimaios)) Rules 3± years
 Two rulers of the same name or one who changed titulary during his reign. Sometimes the ruler is identified with Tutimaios (of Manetho) under whom Egypt was probably attacked by the Hyksos. He ruled over Thebes, Deir el-Bahri and Gebelem before being brought to vassalage by Mayebre Sheshi (XV dynasty), about 1674.

IBI II [Turin Canon 7.14]

HOR (III) [Turin Canon 7.15]

SE...KARE [Turin Canon 7.16]

SENEBMIU (CAH: Sewahenre Senebmiu)
 Ruled at Thebes. Mentioned in the Turin Canon and fragment of stele of Gebelein and various items from Gebelain and Deir el-Bahari.

SEKHAENRE
 Documented in the Turin Canon (?) and remains of funerary temple of Mentuhotep II in /Deir el-Bahari. Ryholt places him as a first king of the XIV dynasty.

MERIKHEPERRE
 [Turin Canon 7.22] Also on a scarab in the British Museum.

MERIKARE [Turin Canon 7.23]

SENWESERET IV (SESOSTRIS IV) (CAH: Seneferibre Sesostris IV)
 Ruler of unknown chronology, however he should be ascribed to this dynasty. His existence and titulary are confirmed by some artifacts – royal table of Karnak, statue and fragment of stele dated to first year of his rule.

MONTUEMSAF (CAH: Djedankhre Mentuemsaf)
 Existence is confirmed by stele of Gebelein and a few scarabs.

NEFERHOTEP III (CAH: Sekhemre Sankhtowy Neferhotep III)
 King whose full titulary is known thanks to stele discovered in temple of Karnak. he is presented there as a king-warrior who defends and saves the city of Thebes – probably against the Hyksos. For the first time in Egyptian history the blue crown is mentioned in the stele of Neferhotep.

MENTUHOTEP V (CAH: Meryankhre Mentuhotpe)
 Ruled at Karnak. From his times remained only statue of god Sobek, found at Karnak.

NERKARE

WESERMONTU Known from stele and limestone block from Deir el-Bahari

SEBEKHOTEP VIII
 Documented by the royal table from Karnak. Stele built in the third pylon in temple in Karnak mentions fourth year of his rule.

INI II Known from the sitting statue devoted to Amun-re of Karnak.
 MENTUHOTEP VI Known only from a fragment from mortuary temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre at Deir el-Bahari.
 SENAIB (CAH: Menkhaure Senaayeb) Mentioned on stela of Abydos where he is presented in blue crown in front of Horus-Min.
 SEBEKHOTEP IX Confirmed on three scarabs.
 WEPWAWETEMSAF (CAH: Sekhemneferkhaure Upuautemsaf) Confirmed at stela of Abydos and hieratic graffito in a tomb of prince Amenemhat at Beni Hasan.
 HOR MERITAU
 SEBEKAI
 KHUIKER Testified in the Turin Canon and architrave with his name found at Abydos by Petrie.
 SEANKHPTAH
 SAKARE

FOURTEENTH DYNASTY 1786 - 1633

“Seventy-six Kings of Xoïs” who reigned together 184 years, according to the Africanus version of Manetho. Many of their names are preserved in columns VIII-X of the Turin Canon. Few monuments. Here are most of the kings as a part of the royal register supplied by the Turin Canon. The dynasty was ended by Hyksos leader Bebnun (or Beblem).

NEHESI [Turin Canon 8.1]

One of the few rulers of this dynasty that rule is documented in artifacts. Obelisk in front of temple of Seth at Raahu (northeast Delta), two stela of Tell Habwe, scarabs, pillar of Tanis with Nehesi’s mother’s name, Peret, mentioned on it, are only some of them. His father may have been either an Egyptian administrator or warrior that usurped royal rule in the northeastern Delta at that time. The Turin Canon places Nehesi as a second one in the kings of the Dynasty XIV register.

KHATIRE [Turin Canon 8.2]

NEBFAWRE [Turin Canon 8.3] *The Lord of Magnificence is Re.* Rules one year, five months and 15 days.

SEHEBRE [Turin Canon 8.4] *This who is strengthened by Re.* Rules three years.

MERIDJEFARE [Turin Canon 8.5] Rules three years.

SEWADJKARE (II) [Turin Canon 8.6] Rules one year.

NEBDJEFARE [Turin Canon 8.7] *The Lord of nourishment is Re.* Rules one year.

UBENRE [Turin Canon 8.8] *The Dazzling of Re.*

Unknown king [Turin Canon 8.9] Rules one year.

....DJEFARE [Turin Canon 8.10] Rules four years.

....WBENRE [Turin Canon 8.11] Rules three years.

AWTIBRE [Turin Canon 8.12]

HERWIBRE [Turin Canon 8.13] *Re of the Happy Heart.*

NEBSENRE [Turin Canon 8.14] *Their Lord is Re.* Short rule of five months and 20 days.

.....RE [Turin Canon 8.15]

SEKHEPERENRE [Turin Canon 8.16] *Shaped by Re.* Short rule of two months and one day.

DJEDKHERURE [Turin Canon 8.17] Rules only part of the Delta. Rules two months and five days.

SANKHIBRE [Turin Canon 8.18]

KANEFERTUMRE [Turin Canon 8.19]

SEKHEM...RE [Turin Canon 8.20]

KAKEMETRE [Turin Canon 8.21]

NEFERIBRE [Turin Canon 8.22]

A....(?) [Turin Canon 8.23]

KHA...RE [Turin Canon 8.24]

ANKHKARE [Turin Canon 8.25]

SEMEN...RE [Turin Canon 8.26]

DJED....RE [Turin Canon 8.27]

SENEFER...RE [Turin Canon 9.7]

MENIBRE [Turin Canon 9.8]

DJED....RE [Turin Canon 9.9]
Three unknown kings [Turin Canon 9.10 through 9.12 or 9.13]
INEK.... [Turin Canon 9.13 or 9.14]
I.... [Turin Canon 9.14 or 9.15]
IP... [Turin Canon 9.15 or 9.16]
HEBI [Turin Canon 9.16 or 9.17]
APED [Turin Canon 9.18] Perhaps a fictitious name inscribed on the Turin papyrus.
HEPW [Turin Canon 9.19] Perhaps a fictitious name inscribed on the Turin papyrus.
SHEMSU [Turin Canon 9.20] Interpreted as *Henchman*. Perhaps a fictitious inscription on the papyrus.
MENI... [Turin Canon 9.21]
URKAI [Turin Canon 9.22] Form of the name *Great and Tall* makes it presumably fictitious.
....KARE [Turin Canon 9.25]
....KARE [Turin Canon 9.26]
HEPU.... [Turin Canon 9.28]
....ANNATI [Turin Canon 9.29]
BEBNEM [Turin Canon 9.30]
IUF... [Turin Canon 10.1]
SETH II [Turin Canon 10.2]
SINU [Turin Canon 10.3] *The Sage*. Probably a fictitious character.
HOR III [Turin Canon 10.4]
NIBEF [Turin Canon 10.7] *He is not thirsty*. Probably never existed.
PENESTENSEPTI [Turin Canon 10.9]
KHERHEMWETSHEPSUT [Turin Canon 10.10] *The one who seizes [possesses] noble wives*. Probably fictitious.
KHUIHEMWET [Turin Canon 10.11] *Defender of women*. Probably fictitious.

FIFTEENTH DYNASTY 1674 – 1567

(Great Hyksos)

DYNASTY FIFTEEN GENERAL: Hyksos administration. Sponsors construction of temples and production of arts and crafts. Outstanding literary and technical works produced. Official religion is that of Seth of Avaris (seat of government) but other Egyptian gods (especially Sun God Re) are accepted. The Hyksos and Egyptian sense of “one world superiority”; Egypt is drawn into intimate contact with the rest of southwest Asia: New blood strains, new religions and philosophical concepts, new artistic styles, media and other practical innovations enter. Horse drawn cart used in warfare; the composite bow, bronze daggers, improved swords and other equipment and techniques for war and peace keeping are seen. The horse and chariot are introduced, but horses are primarily harness animals driven in pairs (they average 12½ hands).

MAYEBRE SHESHI (SALITIS) Appointed king by a Hyksos chieftain. Takes Memphis and residence city of Itjtowy. Seat is at Memphis, tribute is levied from Upper and Lower Egypt; garrisons are throughout the country. He fortifies the east against Assyrian power. Avaris becomes a 240,000 man garrison to guard frontiers, use as a troop training camp and base to campaign (“terrorize”) against foreign tribes. His influence reaches to Kerma (third cataract). Control is extended to Gebelein and the first cataract. One Hur is “treasurer of Lower Egypt”, “Sole companion of the King” and “Overseer of the Treasury”. Some scholars mention Salitis's name as "Sultan". This is an Arabic translation of the phrase 'powerful king' because the king was considered to be the founder of the Great Heksus Dynasty. Salitis captured Memphis and placed himself in higher rank than any of the royal families in the Capitol. He rules 13 years.

MERUSERRE YAKUBHER (BNON or BEON) Rules eight years.

SEUSERENRE KHYAN (Apachnan (Khian)) Khyan's power reached beyond his kingdom in Northern Egypt. Archeologists found some scarabs and seals bearing his name in Northern and Southern Egypt and some Mediterranean islands such as Crete. Trade relations existed with Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean islands. Trade with Sudan is lost. Nubia is independent and ruled by Nedjeh, “Ruler of Kush”. Khyan ends Theban dynasty XVI.

AUSERRE APOPHIS I (Auserre Apepi) His daughter, princess Herit, is possibly the wife of a Theban prince. Apophis is a patron of the arts. He rules 40 or more years.

AWENENRE APOPHIS II His domain is reduced to the area north of Bubastis.

ASEHRE KHAMUDI - Khamudi's Obelisk was discovered near the ancient city of Avaris. With the Thebans at his doorstep, he was responsible for negotiation with their army to withdraw from Avaris and most of the Delta. Khamudi was pressured to withdraw due to the successful campaign of Ahmose I's army on his capitol. However, the southern Pharaohs did not keep their agreement and pushed the Hyksos out of Egypt, ending their dynasty XV, and raided their cities in the Middle East for several years by the Theben kings of the 18th Dynasty.

SIXTEENTH DYNASTY 1674 - 1620

A dynasty of so-called "Small Hyksos", consisting of Hyksos dukes being most probably vassals of the Great Hyksos of dynasty XV. Derivation of their names is either Egyptian or Asiatic. At present, evidence is too scant to determine if they are of Egyptian origin or somehow related to the Great Hyksos ruling at Avaris. Their order, given here, is not certain, and some may perhaps be fictional. The CAH states there are eight rulers in this dynasty, and even of those eight perhaps not all of them ruled. The dynasty was brought to an end by Suserenre Khyan of dynasty XV.

ANAT-HER *Ruler of the Desert Lands*. Known from only one scarab. His title may suggest that he was a prince of one of the cities in south Palestine. (CAH: Anather)

APER-ANAT (USER-ANAT) Perhaps a minor prince in southern Palestine (J. von Beckerath). Known from only one scarab. Name means *Powerful is Anat* with the title *The Ruler of Foreign Countries*.

SEMQEN *Shimike is my god*. Minor Hyksos ruler confirmed only on a scarab. His title is *The Ruler of Alien Lands*. He and Anat-her are founders of the dynasty. They begin consolidating Egyptian power in Lower Egypt. (CAH: Semqen)

SOKAR-HOR

YAMU (YAAM) Name confirmed solely on scarabs.

YAKOBAAM (YAKOBNER) Name confirmed solely on scarabs. Sometimes he is identified with Salitis, the first ruler of dynasty XV.

AMU Local prince in central Egypt; name found on scarabs. (CAH: Amu)

PEPI (III) *The One Who Makes Life Beautiful*. Mentioned only on scarabs. (CAH: Nebkhepeshre Apophis (III?))

NEBMAATRE *The Lord of Maat is Re*. Name found on the copper blade of an ax of a tomb of Mostagedd.

Perhaps ruled over a small territory in Central Egypt.

AAHETEPRE Known only by scarabs. (CAH: Ahetepre)

AANETJERIRE MERIBRE *Of Loving Heart Re*. Perhaps was a regent. Known only by scarabs.

NEBWANKHRE *Golden Living, Re*. Known only by scarabs.

NIKARE (II) *His Ka Belongs to Re*. Known only by scarabs.

....KARE This name is mentioned only in the Turin Canon. [Is this the Ar- ? at 10.16?]

WASA (WADJ[ED]) Existence is proved only by one scarab and a short notice in the Turin Canon. His name may have a Semitic origin (J. von Beckerath).

QUR A Semitic name mentioned only on a scarab.

SHENES (Perhaps CAH: Sekhenre?)

BEB-ANKH Perhaps ruled at the end (or was last ruler) of the dynasty. A dagger of Nagada gives testimony to his existence. Some scholars (D. Franke) suggests he should be identified with the throne name swsr.n-ra (Suserenre), a name in dynasty XVII, and which is shown on the stela found at Gebel Zait at the Red Sea.

KHAUSERRE Given only by CAH.

SEKET Given only by CAH. Perhaps Turin Canon Seket- ? [10.15]

SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY C 1650 – 1567

This dynasty was a continuation of Theban dynasty XIII and likewise was paying tribute to the Hyksos ruling the delta and central Egypt. The earlier rulers made no apparent attempt to challenge Hyksos authority, and an uneasy truce prevailed. Some of these kings are known as Intef (Antef or Inyotef) and their large and heavy coffins with vulture-wing feathered decoration have been found at Thebes in the area of the Dra Abu el-Naga. The last rulers of the dynasty overthrew the Hyksos and restored Egyptian independence.

SEVENTEENTH DYNASTY GENERAL: Native rulers at Thebes carrying on traditions of Middle Kingdom, keeping alive thoughts of Egyptian independence. Controls first eight nomes of Upper Egypt from Elephantine to Abydos. Allies are kings of the remnant XIII dynasty. Nubia (“Kush”) is independent, capital at Bunen: Officials have Egyptian names and the country worships Egyptian gods. Kush is friendly with the Hyksos. The new dynasty is culturally isolated and poor: Northern Hyksos kingdom monopolizes trade with Syria; independent Kush deprives the dynasty of limestone, gold, ebony, ivory and access to quarries at Aswan and Wadi Hammamat. Mud brick is used. Learning and literacy flourish. The god Amun is precedent.

Era of *Rhind Papyrus*, a treatise on mathematics by the editor Aahmes (or Ahmes).

The list used here is different from that of CAH, but is based on more recent research, as depicted at www.narmer.pl/index.htm. The dates used there have been changed to fit this scheme.

INTEF V (Antef V; CAH: Sekhemre Wepmaat Inyotef V, “the Elder”). His tomb is mentioned in the Abbot papyrus discovered in 1860 by A. Mariette in western Thebes at the Dra Abu el-Naga necropolis. Intef’s wife was queen Sebekemsaf, daughter of the prince of Edfu. Traces of the king’s building activities are found at Koptos, Abydos and Karnak. Issued the so-called Decree of Koptos in his third year announcing the dismissal of the mayor Teti who was accused of favoring their foes. Rules C 1651 to 1648, but is found as the second ruler in the CAH list that gives him three years.

RAHOTEP (CAH: Sekhemre Wahkhau Rehotpe) Mentioned on stelae of Koptos and Abydos and royal table of Karnak. He is related to Sebekemsaf II through marriage of his son, Amenyt with Sebekemsaf’s daughter. Repairs the temples of Min at Koptos and of Osiris at Abydos. His temple is at Thebes. Rules 1648 to 1645, but is found as the first ruler in the CAH that does not give a length of rule.

SEBEKEMSAF I (Sobekemzaf I) According to partially damaged inscription in the Turin Canon this king ruled 16 years. He was the father of Sebekemsaf II. His building activities are known in Theban region, Abydos and on Elephantine. To him are ascribed graffitos at Wadi Hammamat. Burial place is a tomb at Dra Abu el-Naga, plundered by the local population. With the end of dynasty XIII (1633), native Egyptian tradition begins to be carried more energetically by this dynasty. Rules 1645 to 1629 but not mentioned in CAH.

DJEHUTI (CAH: Sekhemre Sementowy Thuty?) Known from a few monuments: Stone blocks discovered at the courtyard of the temple of Horus at Edfu, case for canopic jars at Dra Abu el-Naga (now in Berlin), and stone block of a temple at Deir el-Ballas. Also mentioned on the table of Karnak. Rules up to one year, 1629, and if he is indeed CAH Thuty, where he is listed as the fifth ruler, he rules one year.

MENTUHOTEP VII (CAH: Sankhenre Mentuhotpe VI?) Short reign of this ruler and a minor rule of regent in part of Tebaida are confirmed by a few artifacts; two sphinxes of Edfu, stela of Karnak and some scarabs. His wife may have been Satmut and his son was Herunefer. Rules up to one year, 1628, and if indeed he is CAH Mentuhotpe VI, where he is listed as the sixth ruler, he rules one year.

NIBIRAW I (NIBIRIERAWET I) – Nebirau I (CAH: Sewadhebre Neburterawet I) The Turin Canon assigns him 19 years of rule. To the times of Nibiraw is dated a famous stela discovered at Karnak in 1927 that contains a treaty of giving an office of mayor of El-Kab by Sebeknakht and his descendants. Other known artifacts include scarabs with the king’s name and a dagger found in a tomb by Dispolis Parva. Rules 1627 to 1608. He is listed as the seventh ruler in the CAH with a rule of six years.

NIBIRAW II (NIBIRIERAWET II) – Nebirau II Semenre (CAH: Neferkare (?) Nebiryerawet II) The Turin Canon give him a short rule, no longer than five months (CAH says x months). It has been suggested that double mentioning of a name in the Turin Canon is accidental and thus there would have been only one king Nibiraw. A sarcophagus of Osiris discovered in tomb of Djer at Abydos and a seal of Uronarti Island in Nubia are believed to be ascribed to him. Rules for a short time in 1608 or 1607. He is listed as the eighth ruler in the CAH.

SEMENENRE Existence testified only in the Turin Canon and an ax (in London). Rules for a short time in 1608 or 1607. He may perhaps be the CAH Semenmedjat(?)re, ninth on the list, with no length of rule given.

SUESERENRE – Suserenre (CAH: Seuserenre (Userenre?)) Identified with Beb-Anch. A part of stela found in 1984 near galena mine at Gebel Zait at the Red Sea gives evidence of both these names. Sueserenre left

- traces of building activities at Medamud – the extension of a temple. Rules 1607 to 1599. Listed as the tenth ruler in CAH which states his rule as being 12 years.
- SEBEKEMSAF II - Sobekemzaf II** (CAH: Sekhemre Shedtowy Sobkemsaf II) Son of Sebekemsaf I and queen Nubemhat (Nubkhas). His daughter(?) perhaps is (princess) Khons. He was famous for protocol of Theban commission for tomb robberies, drawn up in times of Ramesses IX. His reign is prosperous. Building activities and other public works at Karnak and Abydos. Few monuments are mainly stelae and statues found in the Theban area. Rules 1599 to 1592. Listed as the fourth ruler in CAH which states his rule as 16 years.
- INTEF VI (the ELDER) – Antef VI** (CAH: Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Inyotef VI) Among tomb equipment at the necropolis at Dra Abu el-Naga is a pyramidion, golden sarcophagus and canopic jars container. Intef VI is the brother of Intef VII, as the inscription on the sarcophagus shows. He may be the son of Sebekemsaf II(I). Rules 1592 to 1582. Listed as the third ruler in CAH with a reign stated as 1+ months.
- INTEF VII - Antef VII** (CAH: Nubkheperre Inyotef VII) Brother of Intef VI. Under his leadership, Theban rule begins resistance toward Hyksos dynasty XV. He uses the pan-grove peoples as auxiliaries, scouts and light troops. Inside his tomb on the Dira Abun-Naga is inscribed “Song of the Harper”, the theme being “Eat, drink and be merry for tomorrow we die”, and old Memphite composition. He rule is very short, sometime in 1582 or 1581. Listed as the twelfth ruler in CAH with a rule of 3+x years.
- SNAKHTENRE TAO I** (CAH: Seqenenre Tao I ‘the Elder’) Husband of queen Tetisheri. Proof of his rule are found in inscriptions on royal table of Karnak and in tomb of Khabekhnet (TT2) in Deir el-Medina, as well as in Ken’ votive table of Thebes. It is thought that he gave rise to a new dynasty of Dendera that had nothing to do with the Intefs and Sebeknemsafs. He is buried at Deir el-Bahari. He rules from 1581 to 1578. Listed as the fourteenth ruler in CAH.
- SEQENENRE TAO II (THE BRAVE)** (CAH: Seqenenre Tao II ‘The Brave’) The son of Tao I and Queen Tetisheri. When Tao received word from Apophis, ruler of the Hyksos capital in Avaris, that the hippopotami in the sacred pool at Thebes kept him awake with their snoring, Tao regarded it as an insult. The hippopotami were 400 miles from Apophis sleeping chambers! So Tao revives the ritual of harpooning hippopotami in their pool: Supposed to guarantee safety of the monarchy. This farther irritates the Hyksos (dynasty XV) because of the threat of a reviving native monarchy and the hippopotamus is a form of the Hyksos god Seth. In his fourth year (1574) Apophis I asks Tao II to quit harpooning hippopotami; the Theban refuses and Tao declared war. The Thebans force the Hyksos northward to Cusae north of Asyut. Fighting dies out and an uneasy peace descends. According to the *Story of Apophis and Seqenenre*, Tao II died in the fighting. His mummy shows evidence of blows by battle-axes, spears and lances. His ribs, vertebrae and skull were fractured. He is buried at Deir el-Bahri. His rule was from 1578 to 1573. He is listed as the fifteenth ruler in CAH.
- KAMOSE** (CAH: Wadjkheperre Kamose) He was the son of Seqenenre Tao and Queen Ahhotep and was the brother of Ahmose I. Kamose’s father had been at war with the Hyksos. When Seqenenre Tao died suddenly, Kamose assumed the throne. Theban Egypt extends from Cusae to Elephantine; Hyksos south to Cusae; Kush south from Elephantine. Egypt is at peace; agriculture carries on and Thebans pasture their cattle in the papyrus marshes of the delta region. In his third year (1570), against the wishes of the court, he begins a major offensive against the Hyksos (perhaps using Mycenaean mercenaries), attacking Nefusy north of Cusae, coming close to Avaris. Kamose goes into war with horse and chariot. His chariots were lighter and more maneuverable than in previous eras. He also had the advantage by having the Medjay as allies. These Nubian forces were ferocious hand to hand combatants that fought in the front lines. The Hyksos try to bring Nedjeh, prince of Kush in on their side but only southern border skirmishes result. Kamose moved into the oasis of Baharia, gaining control of it and the northern oases and so control of the desert route to the south. A messenger from Apophis I bound for Kush is intercepted near Sako (modern El-Qes). Kushian aid is requested for the Hyksos. The Thebans push their territory up to A-fih near the entrance to the Faiyum. He then sailed up and down the Nile in search of traitors. When Kamose died, either of natural causes or of battle wounds, without an heir, his brother, Ahmose I took the throne. Kamose ruled from 1573 to 1567. He is listed as the sixteenth ruler in CAH with a rule of 3+x years.
-

THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

With the decline of the 13th Dynasty, Egypt lost its military power as well. The military leaders and soldiers stationed in Nubia became more and more independent. Some of them may even have permanently settled in Nubia. The fortresses built along the Eastern border were either abandoned, or control on who passed the borders was not as strict as it used to be. Palestinian nomads had free entrance into a country which they considered a country of wealth and abundance.

Most of these Palestinians settled and became traders, farmers or craftsmen, but at least one of them, Khendjer, became a king. By the end of the 13th Dynasty, the Eastern Delta was populated with mostly Asians. During the early Second Intermediate Period, a group of Asians, known as the Hyksos, established their own dynasties in Egypt.

Little is known about their origins, or about the way they gained control over large parts of Egypt. It is commonly assumed that they invaded Egypt and overtook it by force. This theory may be supported by the name the Egyptians themselves gave to the Hyksos: "rulers of the foreign countries", which may indicate that the Hyksos ruled outside Egypt before invading it. The weakness of the Egyptians at the beginning of the 2nd Intermediate Period may have invited a military invasion.

On the other hand, there is no real proof of military conflicts between the Egyptians and the Hyksos at the end of the Middle Kingdom. It is also possible that the Asian settlers who had been coming to Egypt for some generations had become so powerful, that they were able to gain political control and establish their own dynasties, without a military show of force. The fact that some of them used Egyptian names and that they did not try to integrate their own Asian heritage into the Egyptian culture, may indeed lead to suppose that the Hyksos had been living long enough in Egypt before they seized power to have adapted themselves to the Egyptian culture.

By whatever means the Hyksos came into power in Egypt, they were largely accepted throughout the country as the ruling dynasty. They did, however, tolerate other dynasties to coexist with their own. The 15th Dynasty was not the only dynasty of Hyksos: there was also the less important 16th Dynasty, about which little is known. It is possible that there were still some kings of the 13th Dynasty who ruled a part of the country. The kings of the 14th Dynasty ruled the Western part of the Delta. And in Thebes ruled an Egyptian house: the 17th Dynasty.

Although the time the Hyksos ruled Egypt has often been depicted as a time of chaos and misery (especially by later generations of Egyptians), it was also a time of technological advance. Before the Hyksos, Egypt has stayed largely ignorant of the advances made in the rest of the Ancient Near East. Copper and bronze were introduced into Egypt during this period, together with many new tools and, most importantly, weapons. The rule of the Hyksos during the Second Intermediate Period would prepare the Egyptian for the adventure of the New Kingdom.

Around 1574, the 17th Dynasty first started opposing the dominion of the Hyksos kings. A New Kingdom tale teaches us how the Hyksos king Apophis sent a letter to the Theban king Seqenenre, complaining that the noise made by Seqenenre's hippopotamuses prevented him from sleeping. Seqenenre, of course, would not take such an insult, but unfortunately, this is where the story breaks of. That this story may have been based on fact, is suggested by the mummy of Seqenenre, which shows that he died a violent death, perhaps on the battlefield. The first historically recorded traces of a war against the Hyksos are dated to the reign of Seqenenre's son, Kamose. Two stelae commemorate Kamose's struggle against the Hyksos and their vassals. Against the advice of his council, Kamose started or continued the war, punishing all those who had collaborated with the foreigners. He almost succeeded in conquering Avaris, the capital of the Hyksos in the Delta, but he too may have fallen on the battlefield.

It would be Kamose's younger brother and successor, Ahmose, who would finally succeed in overthrowing the Hyksos. With his reign, a new period of prosperity and wealth would begin: the New Kingdom.

Additional reference: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Third Edition, volume I part 2, Cambridge at the University Press, 1971

Chapter XX: The Middle Kingdom in Egypt, William C. Hayes

The Cambridge Ancient History, third Edition, volume II part 1, Cambridge at the University Press, 1973

Chapter II: Egypt: From the death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenre II, William C. Hayes

Chapter VIII: Egypt: From the expulsion of the Hyksos to Amenophis I