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The Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16: Its Rise, Administration and Politics

Alexander Ilin-Tomich

Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow

ilintomich@gmail.com

Abstract

This paper focuses on the emergence of the Theban kingdom of Dynasty 16 in the Second Intermediate Period and explores the historical repercussions of its assumed struggle with the declining state of Dynasty 13 centered at Itjtawy. A revision of the recent evidence from Edfu raises doubts about the alleged contemporaneity of Sobekhotep IV and Khayan. A survey of administrative titles in the sources pertaining to the Theban kingdom testifies that it arose independently based on the local power structures of the Late Middle Kingdom rather than because of a relocation from the north. The separation of the nascent Theban kingdom from the state of Dynasty 13 and a surmised consequent confrontation between these entities had an impact on the ideology of the new polity and influenced the policy of its direct successor—the state of Dynasty 17 and the early New Kingdom. The original lack of legitimacy of Dynasty 16 could have been one of the reasons for overstating the power of the Hyksos in historical texts—in order to justify Theban claims to rule in Middle and Lower Egypt.

Keywords

Second Intermediate Period – Dynasty 16 – Thebes – political history – administration

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Introduction

The historiographical tradition represented by Egyptian royal inscriptions of Kamose and Hatshepsut and the accounts of Manetho gives an impression that the confrontation between Theban rulers and the Hyksos was the principal conflict in the political history of the Second Intermediate Period. Accordingly, the period is dubbed in modern Egyptology as “The Hyksos Period.”¹

However, recent research suggests that Egypt then possibly experienced another strife, which should have left a deep trace in its historical memory. A decade ago three students of the Second Intermediate Period put forward a hypothesis that the independent Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16 emerged in the south prior to the alleged overthrow of Dynasty 13 in the north by the Hyksos. This idea has been heavily discussed in connection with the chronology of the period, as the overlap of the two dynasties helps to squeeze the 75 rulers of Itjtawy and Thebes into the 250 year timespan between the fall of Dynasty 12 and the beginning of Dynasty 18. Arguably, not only chronological, but also political implications of the hypothesis, including the possible conditions and consequences of the early emergence of the Theban kingdom, deserve consideration.

To begin with, the arguments put forward in support of the coexistence of Dynasty 16 with late Dynasty 13 should be reviewed.

Three Scenarios of the Rise of the Theban Kingdom: Residence Relocation, “Power Vacuum,” and Overlap with Dynasty 13

Until fairly recently, the two alternative scenarios for the rise of the Theban kingdom considered in scholarly literature were the relocation of the royal court from Itjtawy to Thebes and the emergence of the Theban kingdom “in the power vacuum created in the south by the fall of the Thirteenth dynasty.”² The first scenario is accepted implicitly in most studies on the Second Intermediate Period up to now.³ It is supported mainly by the observation that late Dynasty 13 kings reigning after Aya are only attested at Thebes and

1 For the concept “Hyksos period,” see particularly: Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 1, 146–49.

2 Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 133.

3 Among the most recent contributions to this field adopting the theory of the retreat of the Dynasty 13 rulers from Itjtawy to the south are Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 187; Kopetzky, *Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik*, 271; both follow Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period,” 172, 186.

in Upper Egypt.⁴ However, of these kings known solely from contemporary Upper Egyptian inscriptions, only Merkaura Sobekhotep VII is securely attributable to Dynasty 13 based on the Turin King-list. KIM RYHOLT included most Upper Egyptian kings reigning after Aya in his Theban Dynasty 16 and opposed harshly the idea that the Dynasty 13 court moved to Thebes. He argued that this supposition lacks any grounds and cited the stela of Horemkhauf (for which see below) as the evidence that the later Dynasty 13 residence was still at Itjtawy.⁵ The continuity of administration of the kingdom of Dynasties 16–17 with the administration of the southernmost nomes in the Late Middle Kingdom, discussed below in this paper, provides a further argument against the relocation theory. If the court had moved to Thebes, the titles characteristic of the Late Middle Kingdom palace administration would have been preserved in the Theban kingdom, but this is not the case.

RYHOLT connected the rise of the Theban kingdom with the military actions of Dynasty 15 kings that caused the fall of Dynasty 13. According to his “power vacuum” theory, the new independent kingdom in Thebes emerged when Dynasty 13 was crushed by Delta rulers who did not, however, extend their control to the Theban region, leaving the space for a new polity. RYHOLT considered the emergence of Dynasty 15 in Avaris, the overthrow of Dynasty 13, and the emergence of Dynasty 16 at Thebes to be three consecutive events that directly followed one another in the middle of 17th century BCE. It should be noted that the linking of the advent of Dynasty 15 (“the Hyksos”) with the take-over of the Egyptian northern capital cannot be supported by any evidence beyond the Manethonian tradition.⁶

Based on three royal stelae from Abydos with otherwise unattested royal names, two of which are semantically connected with the Thinite nome, RYHOLT postulated the existence of a separate “Abydos Dynasty,” which supposedly emerged simultaneously with Dynasty 16 and served as a buffer between the Hyksos and the Theban kingdom.⁷ Later, MARCEL MARÉE refuted this surmise demonstrating that the stela of one of the supposed Abydos kings,

4 Franke, “Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches,” 258.

5 Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 79. Ryholt also cites the stela of king Sankhptahi as an example of a late Dynasty 13 royal monument from Memphis, but its Memphite origin should not be taken for granted, see n. 25 below.

6 The arbitrary equation of Manethonian “Memphis” with the actual capital of Dynasty 13 lying some 30 km to the south was recently criticized by Bader, *Avaris und Memphis*, 40.

7 Ryholt’s concept of an Abydos Dynasty is in part due to his estimation of the original extent of the Theban kingdom, which is based on monumental evidence; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 163.

Wepwawetemsaf, originated at the same workshop as that of the Theban king Rahotep.⁸ However, the original idea of RYHOLT returned to life early in 2014 with the discovery of new Second Intermediate Period royal burials at Abydos and particularly that of king Senebkay. So far, the discovery is only covered by brief press reports,⁹ not revealing all the considerations which could have led the excavators to associate the newly discovered royal burials with the Abydos Dynasty. On the available evidence, it remains unclear why king Senebkay could not belong to Theban Dynasty 16 since the location of the Dynasty 16 royal necropolis is still unknown.¹⁰ Indeed, several kings from Senowsret III to Ahmose ruling at Itjtawy and at Thebes had constructed their tombs and cenotaphs at Abydos; thus, the construction of tombs at Abydos does not necessarily imply that there was a local dynasty. The polychrome representations of protective goddesses from the tomb of Senebkay resemble in style those depicted on the foot end of some Second Intermediate Period Theban rishi coffins,¹¹ so they may probably be attributed to the same artistic tradition. Thus, the reality of an independent Abydos Dynasty remains not convincingly substantiated. Even if new discoveries bring more decisive evidence of its existence, RYHOLT'S assumption that it emerged concurrently with Dynasty 16 and not later remains groundless.

In reaction to RYHOLT'S book, three scholars independently¹² concluded in the early 2000s that there could be an overlap between the dynasties ruling at Itjtawy and at Thebes. ANTHONY SPALINGER,¹³ DANIEL POLZ,¹⁴ and CHRIS BENNETT¹⁵ all relied on the Juridical Stela¹⁶ as the primary evidence; later their conclusion was supported by JAMES ALLEN.¹⁷ The genealogical data provided by the stela imply a two-generation timespan between the reigns of a king Merhetepa, usually identified with Merhetepa of mid-Dynasty 13 (Turin

8 Marée, "A sculpture workshop at Abydos," 261–66.

9 <http://www.penn.museum/press-releases/1032-pharaoh-senebkay-discovery-josef-wegner.html> (accessed on April 15, 2014); <http://universityofpennsylvania.tumblr.com/post/75002424848> (accessed on April 15, 2014).

10 Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 160.

11 For these, see: Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture*, 38–39, compare particularly coffins rX01C, rT06NY and also rT07NY, left side.

12 As noted by Franke, "The Late Middle Kingdom," 275 n. 29.

13 Spalinger, Review of *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period*, by K.S.B. Ryholt, 298.

14 Polz in Polz and Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef*, 46–47.

15 Bennett, "A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty," 128–29.

16 Cairo JE 52453; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 65–69 no. 98.

17 Allen, "The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-list."

King-list 8.4),¹⁸ and Nebiryraw I of Dynasty 16 (Turin King-list 11.5). In the first year of Nebiryraw's reign, the governor of El-Kab Kebsi sold his office to his relative Sobeknakht; the office was inherited by Kebsi's father from the vizier Aya in the first year of Merheteptra's reign. If one adheres to the traditional viewpoint that the Theban kingdom arose after the fall of Dynasty 13, 29 kings should have reigned between Merheteptra and Nebiryraw according to the Turin King-list. The discrepancy between this number of kings and the time-span of two generations made the scholars suggest that the Theban kingdom emerged prior to the fall of the northern residence.

A further argument put forward by POLZ relies on the results of ANNE SEILER'S analysis of Second Intermediate Period pottery from Thebes. According to Seiler, early Dynasty 13 ceramics from Dra' Abu el-Naga bear signs of Memphite influence, while in the later reign of Dynasty 13 the Theban ceramic tradition was isolated from the northern influence.¹⁹

Another observation can be added to this discussion. There is a narrative that may refer directly to the overlap of Dynasty 16 and late Dynasty 13—the biography of Horemkhauf (stela MMA 35.7.55).²⁰ Horemkhauf's report of bringing statues of Horus of Nekhen and his mother Isis from the royal residence at Itjtawy is usually interpreted in the sense that he was delivering statues just produced at the royal workshop.²¹ Horemkhauf appears to be a contemporary of Sobeknakht of El-Kab,²² thus his stela was set up in the reign of Dynasty 16. Consequently, this report is understood as a nostalgic recollection of the times when Egypt was ruled from Itjtawy by the kings of Dynasty 13. However, if one assumes the overlap hypothesis, the removal of the statue of a local god from the royal residence in the north could have been related to proclaiming

18 Two kings with the praenomen Merheteptra are attested by inscriptions: Merheteptra Ini and Merheteptra Sobekhotep. Based on indirect evidence, Merheteptra of the Juridical Stela and Merheteptra of Turin King-list 8.4 are both identified with Merheteptra Ini; see: Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 231–34. But the identification of either of them with Merheteptra Sobekhotep, whose chronological position cannot be securely established, is not impossible.

19 See now: Seiler, "The Second Intermediate Period in Thebes."

20 Hayes, "Horemkha'uef of Nekhen and his Trip to It-Towe."

21 Quirke, "The Residence in Relations between Places of Knowledge, Production and Power," 118.

22 Williams, "Archaeology and Historical Problems of the Second Intermediate Period," 89; Vernus, "Le prêtre-ritualiste *Hr-mni*," 590–91; W.V. Davies, "Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab," 225.

the Theban kingdom's cultic independence from the Itjtawy kingdom.²³ The contacts between the nascent Theban kingdom and the capital of Dynasty 13 are also evidenced by the scarab of Nebiryraw of Dynasty 16 (a contemporary of Horemkhauf) found at Lisht North.²⁴

Yet, the hypothesis of the overlap between the late Dynasty 13 and Dynasty 16 cannot be considered quite convincingly proven, primarily because most rulers who are thought to be late Dynasty 13 northern contemporaries of the first Theban kings are just entries in the Turin King-list (8.09–8.27), mostly destroyed, and none of them is attested by monuments of known provenance.²⁵ It is possible though that one of these rulers, [...] *jbj* (Turin King-list, 8.22), can be identified with *jby* named in the genealogy of Memphite priests²⁶ prior to *ʕ-qn*,²⁷ which would imply that this king ruled in the north of Egypt in accord

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- 23 W.V. Davies, "Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab," 225 n. 17, however deduces that Horemkhauf may have lived long enough to witness both the terminal phase of Dynasty 13 and the ascent of Dynasty 16.
- 24 Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 389; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 111; Bourriau, "The relative chronology," 13.
- 25 Franke and Meeks doubt the Memphite origin of the stela of Seheqaenra Sankhptahi (identified with [...] *q-n-r'* of Turin King-list, 8.25 by Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 69) offering to Ptah: Franke, "The Late Middle Kingdom," 273; Meeks, "Une stèle de donation de la Deuxième Période intermédiaire," 131–32. To the evidence on the worship of Ptah in the Theban realm cited by Franke, add also the scene depicting an *wbʕw wr* "great attendant" (for the title, compare Wien Äs 100, Hein and Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches II*, 33–36) worshipping Ptah from the tomb of Sobeknakht at el-Kab (Tylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*, pl. VI, upper left) and a worship scene on the statue of Sekhemra-shedtawy Sobekemsaf MMA 25.3.330 (Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 324 fig. 93). On the contrary, Grajetzki sees the scarabs of Sankhptahi's treasurer as a sign suggesting that this was not an Upper Egyptian king, Grajetzki, "Notes on Administration," 306.
- 26 Berlin 23673, Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur Zeitlichen Festlegung*, 96–112, Bl. 2, 2a.
- 27 Arguably *ʕ-qn* is a distorted spelling of *ʕ-qn-rʕ* (Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, 108; Vandersleyen, *L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil* 2, 144). As Apophis is named separately in the genealogy as the last Hyksos king, this identification would imply that Aaqenenra was not an early throne name of Apophis, but a separate king Apophis I; such view was prevalent in earlier Egyptological research (Hayes, "Egypt: From the Death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenre II," 63), and was discarded just for the sake of parsimony (Winlock, *The Rise and Fall*, 145–46; von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*, 127–30); this would make the earlier king Aaqenenra Apophis the first king to rule Memphis (The presence of Aaqenenra Apophis at Memphis is evidenced by vessel Berlin 20366; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 56 (no. 78)) and likely a contemporary of Khayan, for they shared the habit of re-inscribing Middle Kingdom royal statues, unlike Aauserra Apophis. See below for the new evidence on the temporal distance between Khayan and Aauserra Apophis.

with the overlap hypothesis. Given that the other two scenarios are no better substantiated, the idea of the overlap between Dynasties 13 and 16 deserves further elaboration.

A Seeming Chronological Objection

The overlap theory implies that the rulers of Avaris had not yet extended their power beyond the Eastern Delta by the time of the emergence of Dynasty 16. This extension is associated with the Avaris kings bearing the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣswt*, of which one—Apophis—had demonstrably controlled Memphis, as acknowledged by his monuments found there and the genealogy of Memphite priests,²⁸ and plundered the Theban region.²⁹ The genealogy of Memphite priests indicates that some foreign kings preceded Apophis as the overlords of Memphis, but none of them is identifiable with rulers known from contemporary inscriptions, with the possible exception of Aaqenenra Apophis (see n. 27 above).

Hence, the recent findings at Edfu interpreted by NADINE MOELLER and GREGORY MAROUARD as the evidence for the contemporaneity of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣswt* Khayan with the mid-Dynasty 13 ruler Sobekhotep IV may threaten the overlap hypothesis. In the abandonment layer (US 2654) of dense debris in a Middle Kingdom administrative building at Edfu 40 sealings were discovered with the name of Khayan (all impressed by one seal and originally attached to wooden boxes and bags), and 6 sealings naming Sobekhotep IV.³⁰ Despite the impressive number of Khayan sealings, these do not indicate that a seal with his name was employed in the local administration; they probably came with a batch of goods delivered from the Delta.

NATASHA AYERS analyzed pottery remains from this abandonment layer in the same paper; according to her, they all are comparable with early Second

28 Berlin 23673, Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur Zeitlichen Festlegung*, 96–112, Bl. 2, 2a. For a summary of the inscriptional evidence for Apophis from Memphis, see: Bader, *Auaris und Memphis*, 41–42.

29 The offering stand Berlin 22487, usurped by Apophis from the Theban region (Krauss, “Zur Problematik der Nubienpolitik Kamoses,” 27–29), remains a conclusive proof that this ruler did in fact plunder Upper Egypt. The attempt by Polz to interpret the two Hyksos objects found at Gebelein (an offering stand of Khayan and an architrave of Apophis) as the trophies brought to Upper Egypt after the defeat of the Hyksos (Polz, “Die Hyksos-Blöcke aus Gebelén,” 245) is not quite convincing, for the architrave, however beautiful and small it was, does not seem to be of much attraction for a booty hunter.

30 Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers, “Discussion of late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period history,” 100.

Intermediate Period materials from Edfu, Thebes and Elephantine (from Bauschichte 12 and 11).³¹ One of the finds represents an Upper Egyptian Second Intermediate Period form that is unattested in Dynasty 13 contexts: a bottle with modeled rim.³² Of the strata of Elephantine, mid-Dynasty 13 rather corresponds to Bauschicht 13, to which most private name sealings found on the site belong, including sealings with the phrase *wḥm(w) nḥ* “repeating life,” indicating their Dynasty 13 date.³³ Bauschichte 12 and 11 are later and are datable to late Dynasty 13–Dynasty 17.³⁴

Thus, the ceramic material does not seem to support the authors’ conclusion, which is crucial for their chronological interpretation of the new findings as belonging to mid-Dynasty 13: “the possibility of a much later reuse of a Sobekhotep IV scarab for these seal-impressions has to be excluded according to the ceramic evidence . . .”³⁵ On the contrary, the ceramic parallels from Bauschichte 12 and 11 on Elephantine (late Dynasty 13–Dynasty 17) and early Second Intermediate Period materials from Thebes rather allows and favors the view that the deposition of sealings at Edfu post-dated the reign of Sobekhotep IV.

The significant chronological distance between Sobekhotep IV and Khayan is evident from stratified finds of design scarabs from Tell el-Dab’a sharing sculptural features with the scarabs of these kings. According to the observations by CHRISTA MLINAR, Egyptian scarabs featuring rectangular and trapezoid heads are found within Phase G/1–3 in Tell el-Dab’a.³⁶ These scarab types emerge during mid-Dynasty 13 as the so-called Sobekhotep-group scarabs of Sobekhotep III, Neferhotep I, Sobekhotep IV, and several subsequent kings.³⁷ This is probably the most reliable argument substantiating the Dynasty 13 date

31 Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers, “Discussion of late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period history,” 119 (US 2654).

32 Seiler, “The Second Intermediate Period in Thebes,” 44.

33 Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 242 no. 207 (deposit SVK 15,); 242 no. 278 (SVK 17b); note also the sealings of the early Dynasty 13 governor of Elephantine Khakauraseneb (Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, 43–45): 242 no. 2 (SVK 17a, 53a, b, 55a, b, c); 242 no. 3 (SVK 53a); 242 no. 50 (SVK 53a, b, 55a,b); 242 no. 51 (SVK 53a, b, 55a, b); 242 no. 53 (SVK 55a, b); 242 no. 54 (SVK 55b), all from Bauschicht 13 or its equivalent Bauschicht XIII.

34 Seiler in Polz and Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re*, 63 n. 196.

35 Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers, “Discussion of late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period history,” 107 n. 70.

36 Mlinar’s types 1a, 1c, Mlinar, “The Scarab Workshops of Tell el-Dab’a,” 107–13.

37 For the time of their emergence, see: Ward and Dever, *Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context*, 126–27, 162–63; for private-name and design scarabs sharing the key features of the Sobekhotep-group, see: Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 39–41.

of G/1–3.³⁸ The parallels to the scarabs of Khayan³⁹ exhibiting plain naturalistic backs, B- and D-type heads (the latter remarkably rounded at the ventral edge), notched legs, and serrated clypeus are found among MLINAR'S Type V scarabs from Tell el-Dab'a, which occur from Phase E/1 onwards (E/1, D/3 and D/2).⁴⁰ A recent find of a Khayan sealing in area R/III in a context associated with Phase E/1⁴¹ suggests that the king cannot postdate this archaeological layer, and combined with the preceding observation, this makes Phase E/1 the most likely date for Khayan. This is in line with the view advocated by the excavators of Tell el-Dab'a that the Hyksos period started with Phase E/2,⁴² and with their attribution of the Phase E/1–D/3 palace in area F/II to Khayan.⁴³ Thus, the temporal distance between Sobekhotep IV and Khayan can be matched with the distance between Phases G/1–3 and E/1 in the stratigraphy of Tell el-Dab'a.

Another recent discovery of sealings is surprisingly analogous with the Edfu find and calls for a similar explanation. In the so-called Hyksos palace at Tell el-Dab'a (area F/II) in different contexts, all linked to Phases E/1 and D/3 by ceramic assemblages, were found discarded impressions of Sobekhotep-group scarabs (of Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I) as well as sealings of Khayan;⁴⁴ thus mid-Dynasty 13 sealings were deposited in a much later time.

To sum up: the Khayan sealings from Edfu clearly indicate that this king predated the final stage of Dynasty 17, but do not provide sufficient evidence for his contemporaneity with Sobekhotep IV, which is otherwise unlikely. Thus, the new evidence suggests that Khayan was probably not the direct predecessor of Apophis,⁴⁵ but his reign could still be set anywhere in the reign of Dynasty 16, in a possible interregnum between Dynasties 16 and 17, or in the

38 Bietak, "Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age," 34; for linking Sobekhotep IV with Phase G/1–3, see also Bader, *Auaris und Memphis*, 705.

39 Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 43; these features are also shared by most scarabs of Yaqubar and some of the scarabs of Maaibre and Sheshi, but not those of Apophis, prince Nehsy.

40 Mlinar, "The Scarab Workshops of Tell el-Dab'a," 128–29.

41 Forstner-Müller, *et al.* "Preliminary Report on the Season 2012." This is obviously sealing no. 9465 now published by Reali, "The seal impressions," who compares it to Khayan's sealings found at Edfu.

42 Bietak, Forstner-Müller, and Mlinar, "The beginning of the Hyksos period at Tell el-Dab'a."

43 Bietak, "Le Hyksos Khayan." The attribution of the palace to Khayan is based solely on the sealings with his name, which could however be explained by reuse or long-term storage.

44 Sartori, "Die Siegel aus Areal F/II in Tell el-Dab'a."

45 This is also suggested by Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 106–09. Ryholt's principal non-sigillographic argument for placing Khayan just before Apophis is that they were both occupying Thebes, and this occupation, according to him, could last

early reign of Dynasty 17. This makes the new evidence irrelevant for the discussion of early Dynasty 16.

The trade contacts between Upper Egypt and Tell el-Dab'a of Phase E/1, to which Khayan likely belongs, are evidenced by Upper Egyptian imports belonging to this Phase at Tell el-Dab'a⁴⁶ and a Tell el-Yahudiya vessel of type L.9.5 (datable to Phase E/1 or D/3) said to come from Edfu.⁴⁷

The controversy around the date of the emergence of Dynasty 14 arising from different interpretations of the archaeological contexts, in which the scarabs of Yaqubhar and Shehi were found,⁴⁸ is irrelevant for the history of Dynasty 16, for these kings are believed to rule a tiny territory around Avaris.

It should finally be noted that the well-established archaeological sequence at Tell el-Dab'a has not yet been linked to the chronology of Upper Egypt with the exception of the terminal phase of Hyksos occupation (D/2), the end of which should coincide with the reign of Ahmose. It has been demonstrated that the development of the same ceramic forms was asynchronous in different parts of Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period.⁴⁹

The Administration of the Theban Kingdom and Its Origins

Little is known about the administration of the Theban kingdom of Dynasties 16–17.⁵⁰ That is not because sources from the period are scarce, but because they are silent about the functions of most officials. Altogether, 289 sources dat-

only for several years, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 43. The evidence for Khayan's rule over the Theban region is disputable, see n. 29 above.

46 These are the last Upper Egyptian imports before a period of isolation, Kopetzky, *Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik*, 275.

47 Aston and Bietak, *The classification and chronology of Tell el-Yahudiya ware*, 257; see p. 507 for a dated parallel.

48 See the overview of the discussion in Franke, "The Late Middle Kingdom," and the more recent contributions by Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 104–06, who presents a revised seriation of royal scarabs and new arguments substantiating a relatively late date of these kings (after Khayan) and by Ryholt, "The Date of Kings Sheshi and Yaqubhar," who defends his early dating with new arguments.

49 Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 186–88; Bourriau, "The relative chronology," 35.

50 For a general overview, see: Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*, 262–63 and "Notes on Administration," Quirke, "Identifying the Officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty," 186–88; Shirley, "Crisis and restructuring of the state," 546–70. It is not yet possible to distinguish between the administration of Dynasty 16 and that of Dynasty 17.

able to Dynasties 16 and 17⁵¹ contain 741 male titles.⁵² As is generally accepted, their repertoire is substantially poorer than that of the Late Middle Kingdom and is dominated by military and policing titles, religious titles, and “unspecific” titles (Table 1). The titles of the latter group are thought to replace the functional administrative titles of the preceding period;⁵³ only some other administrative titles retain popularity (Table 1).

Among 289 sources in consideration, 260 are private memorial monuments (stelae, statues, offering tables). It is noteworthy that the picture of a total devastation of administrative structures under Theban rulers changes markedly if one focuses on the remaining 29 sources of other types: royal stelae and graffiti, tomb inscriptions, and burial equipment (Table 2). While the common opinion is that the “unspecific” titles only rarely combine with other administrative titles,⁵⁴ this selection of sources demonstrates a very different pattern of their usage. In non-memorial sources “unspecific” titles are in most instances combined with other administrative titles, and all of the four “unspecific” titles are attested at least once in such combinations: *wr mḏw šmʿw*: docs. 1, 17, 18; *sʿb (rʿ-nḥn)*: docs. 1 (2 times), 17; *sʿnsw*: docs. 4, 5, 9, 15; *smsw ḥʿyt*: doc. 1 (cited after Table 2). In total among 20 attestations of “unspecific” titles in non-memorial sources, 11 are combined attestations and 9 are separate. By contrast, among

51 The dating criteria are discussed in Ilin-Tomich “Changes in the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* Formula” and “Особенности административного аппарата древнего Египта.”

52 Excluding the sources connected with the contemporary Avaris kingdom (For a survey of these, see: Quirke, “Identifying the Officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty”; Shirley, “Crisis and restructuring of the state,” 525–46) or Nubian fortresses subject to the ruler of Kush; private name seals are also excluded from this overview, since the production and use of private-name seals are not attested in the Theban kingdom (Grajetzki, “Notes on Administration,” 305; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 113), and the typology of private-name scarabs requires further elaboration in line with that developed for royal-name and design scarabs.

53 Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 56–58, 86–87; Quirke, “Four Titles: What is the Difference?” The title *rḥ-nsw* included by Quirke in this group along with the titles *wr mḏw šmʿw*, *sʿb rʿ-nḥn*, and *smsw ḥʿyt* stands out in terms of the temporal and geographic distribution and will not be considered below, as it was uncommon in the Theban realm. Arguably, the title *sʿnsw*, which is known to designate high officials who are not necessarily royal children during this period, may be considered a “non-specific” title like the three aforementioned (see Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 92–95).

54 Franke in Polz and Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef*, 78 n. 250; Quirke, “Four Titles: What is the Difference?” 306; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 87 n. 11–12.

135 attestations of “unspecific” titles on memorial monuments of this period, only in 9 instances are they combined with other titles (Table 3).⁵⁵

This evidence for a different pattern of title usage in non-memorial inscriptions suggests that the officials of Dynasties 16–17 did not specify their functional titles on stelae and statues, preferring the “unspecific” titles *wr mḏw šm’w*, *s3b r3-nḥn*, *s3 nsw*, and *smsw h3yt*. This indicates that memorial monuments, which constitute the most numerous group of written sources for this period and which were the principal source for the study of the administration of the preceding Late Middle Kingdom (along with private-name seals which disappear after Dynasty 13), are of little value for studying the administration of the Theban kingdom. The non-memorial sources suggest that the “unspecific” titles were indeed supplementing the functional titles borne by officials and their usage in non-memorial sources is comparable to the usage of the Middle Kingdom ranking titles⁵⁶ *jrj-p’t*, *h3tj-’*, *smr-w’tj*, and *ḥtmw-bjtj*, which are applied somewhat randomly under Dynasties 16–17 and generally fall out of use.⁵⁷

Furthermore, the non-memorial sources show that the administrative system was still dominated by titles persisting from the Late Middle Kingdom, suggesting a smaller degree of discontinuity than is traditionally surmised. Judging from the fact that the title *t3tj* “vizier” figures only in Dynasty 16 documents during this period, POLZ concluded that the central administration of Dynasty 17 differed from that of Dynasty 16 and had fewer affinities with the structure of the Middle Kingdom state.⁵⁸ However, most Dynasty 16–17 sources containing the highest administrative titles cannot be dated with due precision to differentiate between Dynasties 16 and 17. Most of the eleven titles attributed to the highest state officials of the Middle Kingdom by WOLFRAM

55 Additionally, several Middle Kingdom instances of the direct juxtaposition of a “non-specific title” with another title can be added to those cited by Franke and Quirke (n. 53 above): *h3tj-’ + wr mḏw šm’w* (Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, no. 107; Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, no. 31), *s3b + ḥrj s3t3 n sḏmt w’w + wr mšw šm’w* (Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, no. 31), *wr mḏw šm’w + jmj-r3 šnt* (Morgan et al., *Catalogue*, 24 no. 167), *s3b + smsw h3yt + sḏm sḏmt w’w m jst* (Cairo CG 2017). Note also a hybrid between two “non-specific titles” combined with a functional title: *s3b mḏw šm’w + sš* (OIM 7779, Petrie, *Abydos I*, pl. LX.4). In another instance, such titles are held by the same person, but not directly juxtaposed to each other: *t3tj + wr mḏw šm’w + smsw h3yt* (Deir el-Medina Tomb 1200, most recently discussed by Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor*, 44).

56 Contrary to the view of Stephen Quirke based mainly on memorial monuments, Quirke, “Four Titles: What is the Difference?,” 306.

57 Grajetzki, “Notes on Administration,” 308–09.

58 Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 305–07.

GRAJETZKI⁵⁹ are attested in the sources of Dynasties 16–17 (Table 4), suggesting that the offices of the highest state officials of the Middle Kingdom to some extent persisted under Dynasties 16–17.

Was the administration of the Theban kingdom a scaled-down copy of the royal administration of Dynasty 13? The repertoire of mid-rank titles at the royal residence of Itjtawy was largely dominated by those connected with the provisioning sector at the royal palace: *wḏpw* “cupbearer,” *jrj-t* “chamberkeeper,” *jhms* “assistant,” *jmj-rʒ st* “store overseer,”⁶⁰ as well as a special category of officials attached to the royal palace and central bureaux called *jmj-rʒ hnwjtj* “interior-overseer.” These titles are almost completely absent from the sources attributable to the Theban kingdom; only four attestations can be cited not counting the two explicitly referring to private servants (Table 5). Furthermore, the expressions *pr-ʒ*, *h*, and *kʒp* (all designating the palace or its parts) that commonly qualified these titles during the Late Middle Kingdom do not occur under Dynasties 16–17. Thus, the available evidence suggests that mid-rank titles widespread at the Late Middle Kingdom royal residence were not inherent to the administration of Dynasties 16–17.

The lack of titles related to the economic activities at the royal palace is counterbalanced by the abundance of titles linked to temple economy in the documentation of the Theban Kingdom. These titles are *sš n hwt-ntr* “scribe of the temple,” *sš htpw-ntr* “scribe of divine offerings,” *jhwtj n htp-ntr* “cultivator of divine offerings,” *sš wḏhw* “scribe of the altar,” *htmw ntr* “sealbearer of the god,” *sš htmt ntr* “scribe of the treasury of the god,” *jrj-ʒ n šnwt n htpw-ntr* “doorkeeper of the granary of divine offerings,” *jrj-ʒ n hwt-ntr* “doorkeeper of the temple,” *jmj-rʒ pr n htp-ntr* “estate overseer of god’s offerings,” and *hrj-hʒwt* “master of the altar.” A list of attestations of these titles is given in Table 6. In the Middle Kingdom, most categories of temple accountants only rarely figured in monumental inscriptions, but the situation changed under Dynasties 16–17. This trend complements the spread of priestly titles⁶¹ and testifies to the growing economic importance of temples in the Theban kingdom.

It is noteworthy that among the Middle Kingdom titles occurring under Dynasties 16–17 there are a number of titles frequently attested at Thebes during the preceding period. These are *jmj-ht sʒ-prw* “security official of the estate-guards,” *hrj n tm* “master of the *tm*,” *jrj pḏt* “bow keeper,” *sš n hnrt wr* “scribe of

59 Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten*.

60 See Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 64–70. I follow English renderings adopted here.

61 Grajetzki, “Notes on Administration,” 310. Shirley, “Crisis and restructuring of the state,” 564, however, concedes that the prevalence of priestly titles during this period might be a function of the evidence.

the great *hnrt*” (for attestations, see Table 7). While these titles also occur at other regions during the Late Middle Kingdom, they are best represented in the Theban administration.⁶² The title *jmj-ht s3-prw* was borne by high security officials at Thebes during the Late Middle Kingdom. They were commissioning stelae from the Theban workshops (Boston 1970.630, Cairo CG 20255, *Van Nijl tot Schelde* no. 92)⁶³ and even installing their monuments at Karnak temple (Cairo CG 42043). Two are mentioned on Theban monuments commissioned by their fathers: a *smsw h3yt* (Leiden AP 41)⁶⁴ and a *jmj-r3 gs-pr* “overseer of the half-domain” (MMA 22.3.68⁶⁵ from Deir el-Bahri). Furthermore, a *jmj-ht s3-prw* is mentioned on monument Avignon A 31⁶⁶ featuring *hwt-hr hrt-jb w3st* “Hathor who is at the middle of Thebes” in the offering formula.

The *hrj n tm* were less important officials; they were usually mentioned on monuments commissioned by their more prominent associates. Some such stelae were produced by Theban workshops (Hermitage 1086, Marseille 228, Oxford QC 1111, Wien AS 163, Trieste O.150, Boston 1970.630, Toledo o6.23),⁶⁷ or set up at Thebes (Cairo CG 20430). Two modest stelae were produced for a Late Dynasty 13 Theban *hrj tm* (Athens A155 and Firenze 6377,⁶⁸ the latter also set up at Thebes); another *hrj n tm* left three graffiti at Wadi el-Hol near Thebes.⁶⁹ The Theban origin of a further monument mentioning a *hrj n tm*, BM 234,⁷⁰ is indicated by the mention of Amun-Ra in the offering formula.

The *jrj pdt* are also well represented on the monuments of Theban dignitaries. Their association with civil administrators has recently led DETLEF FRANKE to assume that the title-holders had administrative rather than military duties.⁷¹ They usually occupy modest positions, as on a number of stelae

62 In a forthcoming paper on Theban administration in the Late Middle Kingdom I will attempt to demonstrate that the majority of preserved attestations of these titles are attributable to Upper Egypt judging from the characteristic personal names and other indices, but the evidence presented here is sufficient to show that these were common Theban titles.

63 Ilin-Tomich, “Late Middle Kingdom stelae workshops at Thebes.”

64 Ilin-Tomich, “Late Middle Kingdom stelae workshops at Thebes.”

65 <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/544166> (accessed on April 30, 2014).

66 Foissy-Aufrère, Aufrère, and Loury, *Égypte & Provence*, 76–78.

67 Ilin-Tomich, “Late Middle Kingdom stelae workshops at Thebes.”

68 Ilin-Tomich, “Late Middle Kingdom stelae workshops at Thebes.”

69 Darnell, *et al.*, *Theban Desert Road Survey* 1, 144–47.

70 Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 82–84.

71 Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 35. Note however the quiver with arrows from the tomb of a *jrj pdt*; Winlock, “The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes,” 20. The evidence brought forward

produced at Theban workshops (Guimet C 8, Cairo CG 20145, Cairo CG 20660, Cairo CG 20677)⁷² or set up at Thebes (Firenze 2553).⁷³ Two *jrj pdt* are represented among the associates of Dedusebek Dedi, a priest of Monthu at Medamud in the vicinity of Thebes (Wien Äs 5897).⁷⁴ A further *jrj pdt* figures on two stelae of the *jmj-r3 pr ḥsb jt* “estate overseer, accountant of grain” Ity (Tübingen 462 and Magdeburg),⁷⁵ obviously a Theban official as indicated by the mention of Amun in the offering formula and the title of one of his associates (on the Magdeburg stela) being *ḥry sst3 n jmn* “one who is privy to the secret of Amun.” In addition, one Dynasty 13 holder of the title is known from his tomb TT 316 at Deir el-Bahri, where two of his stone statues were found.⁷⁶

Two sources of Dynasties 16–17 contain the title *sš n ḥnrt wr* “scribe of the great *ḥnrt*,” which is related to one of the most important Theban administrative institutions of the Late Middle Kingdom, the great *ḥnrt*. While several such institutions could have existed in the Late Middle Kingdom, the administrators of the Theban great *ḥnrt* are by far the best attested;⁷⁷ this probably betrays the unique importance of this institution for the local administration. The holders of the title *sš n ḥnrt wr* were patrons of stelae executed at Theban workshops (Guimet C 8, Marseille 228, Tübingen 458, Edinburgh A.1951.344; son of patron: Firenze 2503; another associate: Cairo CG 20145) and set up at Thebes (Firenze 2553, MMA 22.3.307).⁷⁸ Like *jrj pdt*, the holders of this title are represented on both stelae of the accountant of grain Ity, and among the associates of Dedusebek Dedi.

What is most striking is that the “unspecific” titles *wr mḏw šmʿw*, *s3b r3-nḥn*, and *smsw ḥ3yt* were predominantly used in Upper Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom, constituting a specific local system of ranking or quasi-ranking titles.⁷⁹ The Theban kingdom evidently inherited this system.

This visible continuity of the administration of the Upper Egyptian kingdom of Dynasties 16–17 with that of late Middle Kingdom Thebes has implications for the political history of the time period. The lack of the principal

by Franke may rather indicate the strong military ties of many noble families in Upper Egypt.

72 Ilin-Tomich, “Late Middle Kingdom stelae workshops at Thebes.”

73 Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane*, no. 34.

74 Hein and Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* II, 153–57.

75 Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, dossiers 20, 163, 711, 757.

76 Winlock, “The Museum’s Excavations at Thebes,” 20; Schulz, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung*, pl. 77.

77 Quirke, “State and Labour,” 96.

78 Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 345–46 fig. 227 (top middle).

79 Ilin-Tomich, *Особенности административного аппарата древнего Египта*, 196–97.

mid-rank titles of the palace at Itjtawy in the sources of the Theban kingdom suggests that the idea of the retreat of the Dynasty 13 rulers from Itjtawy to Thebes should be finally abandoned. The presented evidence demonstrates that the administration of the new southern kingdom largely emerged from the Late Middle Kingdom administrative structures centered at Thebes including the local offices of high officials of central administration and the Upper Egyptian institutes with their peculiar system of “unspecific” titles, local security and temple administration offices.

Thebes and Thebans before the Theban Kingdom

In the late Middle Kingdom, Thebes was a major administrative center controlling the *tp-rsj* (“Head of the South”) region stretching from UE nome 1 to UE nome 8, and housing the offices of the major bureaux of central administration.⁸⁰ The administration of the *tp-rsj* was possibly the most powerful agency in the late Middle Kingdom administration outside the royal residence. The Theban dominance over *tp-rsj* had also a religious aspect as evidenced by Amun’s epithet *nb ntrw tp-rsj* “the lord of the gods of the Head of South” attested on a statue dated to the reign of Senwosret I (Cairo CG 42037).

Arguably, it was the prominence of Theban and Upper Egyptian noble families and the power of Theban administration under Dynasty 13 that paved the way for the Theban kingdom of Dynasty 16. During Dynasty 13, the Theban elite played an important role in the national administration. Several pharaohs and high officials have confirmable⁸¹ Theban backgrounds. Sobekhotep IV discloses his Theban origin in the inscription on his Karnak stela Cairo JE 51911 calling Thebes: (l. 4–5) *njw.t.j pw ms.n.j jm.s* “my city, in which I was born.”⁸² This declaration also implies the Theban origin of his brothers, pharaohs Neferhotep I and Sihathor. Their predecessor Sobekhotep III could also be of Theban descent, as suggested by the stela of his brother Seneb (Wien ÄS 135) executed in the same workshop as the stelae of several Theban officials.⁸³ The

80 Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt*, 116–18.

81 The arguments put forward earlier by Hayes, “Egypt: From the Death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenre II,” 45, in favor of a Theban origin of many Dynasty 13 kings are largely speculative. Particularly, the personal names Amenemhat and Senwosret owing their nationwide popularity to Dynasty 12 kings can by no means be regarded as indicators of Theban origin.

82 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 31 no. 37.

83 Ilin-Tomich, “Late Middle Kingdom stelae workshops at Thebes,” 78–80.

well-known vizier Ankhu was a grandson of a god's servant of Amun, according to the inscription on his statue Cairo CG 42034. If it is correct that the minor manuscript of pBoulaq 18 lists the members of the household of the vizier Ankhu,⁸⁴ then it implies that his hereditary estate was also located in the Theban area. In addition, the cenotaph of the estate's manager comes from a Theban workshop.⁸⁵ These data could possibly indicate the vizier's origin as being Thebes.⁸⁶

The late Dynasty 13 vizier Ibia likely belonged to a Theban family, as his son Senebhenaef ordered a stela for the burial of his brother, a scribe of the Theban *hnrt*, at Deir el-Bahri (MMA 22.3.307).⁸⁷ Another late Dynasty 13 vizier—Aya—held the post of the governor of el-Kab (a future stronghold of the Theban kingdom) and transferred it to the descendants of his second wife, the king's daughter Reditenes (was she the heiress of this post?), thereby starting a dynasty of local governors that continued into Dynasty 16.⁸⁸ This also testifies that a person related to Upper Egypt held the post of the vizier.

The Geographical Extent of the Theban Kingdom

The geographical extent of the early independent Theban kingdom is unknown. The evidence of the Kamose stelae that the Theban kingdom stretched from Elephantine to Cusae (UE nome 14)⁸⁹ refers to a much later period (*ca.* a century after the rise of the Theban kingdom). RYHOLT'S definition of its confines as from Edfu in the south to Hu in the north was based on monumental evidence⁹⁰ and interconnected with his assumption that a separate

84 Quirke, "The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom," 196–97.

85 Ilin-Tomich, "Late Middle Kingdom stelae workshops at Thebes," 73–78.

86 So already Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, 74.

87 It is supposed by some scholars that this Senebhenaef later also became a vizier and was the father-in-law of the future founder of Dynasty 16, king Djehuti; see: Bennett, "A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty," 126–28. But Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, 79, had demonstrated that this identification is unlikely because the wife of the vizier held a name different from that of Djehuti's mother-in-law.

88 Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine*, 78–79; W.V. Davies, "Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab." The genealogical reconstruction by Davies somehow excludes the evidence of statue K 258 b from Elephantine (Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 77 no. 111).

89 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 85 no. 119.

90 Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 159.

dynasty emerged concurrently at Abydos. If one agrees with MARÉE and ascribes the kings known from Abydene stelae and the newly found tombs to late Dynasty 16 (see discussion above), this would move the northern limit of the Dynasty 16 kingdom to Abydos. A sealing of the Dynasty 16 king Nebiryrau I found at the temple of Senwosret III at Abydos⁹¹ deserves a mention in this connection, though it is irrelevant for defining the limits of his power.

Judging from the continuity of administration discussed above, the kingdom of Dynasty 16 should have evolved from the administration of Thebes, which controlled the administrative zone of *tp-rsj* (“Head of the South”) stretching from Elephantine (UE nome 1) to Thinis (UE nome 8).⁹² This would be in line with the assumption that Abydos was originally the northern limit of the Theban power.

The extreme opinion that the power of the first Dynasty 16 kings was limited to the Theban region,⁹³ which is based on the pointedly local references to Thebes and “his town” in their inscriptions,⁹⁴ is dubious, because the term *w3st* “Thebes,” along with other uses, could denote the whole kingdom in Second Intermediate Period and early Dynasty 18 records. One may consider a phrase referring to a Nubian campaign of Thutmose I:

r swsḥ t3š w3st
ḥnbt ḥftt-ḥr-nb.s
r b3k n.s ḥrjw-šꜣ ḥ3stjw bwyw ntr ḥ3w-nbwt rthw qbt (Urk. IV, 83.3)

... to widen the frontier of Thebes
 (and) the lands of Who-is-across-from-her-lord,⁹⁵
 so that the sand-dwellers, the foreigners abhorring the god,
 the Haunebu, and the Retehugebet pay tribute to her (Thebes).⁹⁶

91 Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III*, 315.

92 So also Quirke, “Royal power in the 13th Dynasty,” 127; Marée, “A sculpture workshop at Abydos,” 266.

93 This is probably correct only to the extent that the central power of the Theban state was weak and relied much on local governors. Such pattern of central-local relations is suggested by the autobiography of governor Sobeknakht of el-Kab, who recounts that he had to hold back the Kushites with his own forces to be only later praised by a king, see: W.V. Davies, “Sobeknakht of Elkab and the coming of Kush” and “Kouch en Égypte.”

94 Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 1, 161.

95 This term denoting the Theban west bank was not infrequently used metonymically for the whole of Thebes; Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* 2, 27 n. 2.

96 Some scholars (most notably, Goedicke, “The Thutmosis I Inscription near Tomâs,” 164) interpret the first part of this passage literally as a reference to some town planning

The name *ḥwt-wʿrt* “Avaris” is also attested in a number of Second Intermediate Period contexts with the meaning “the kingdom of Avaris.”⁹⁷ The use of the determinative \otimes “inhabited place” does not necessarily imply that the term refers to the city and not to the kingdom, for the word *kmt* “Egypt” also had this determinative.

The Date of the Separation of Upper Egypt

The most likely moment of the emergence of an independent Theban kingdom in the relative chronology of Dynasty 13 was estimated by ALLEN using the occurrence of Dynasty 13 royal monuments in Upper Egypt.⁹⁸ The last king attested by monuments from Upper Egypt is either Merkaura Sobekhotep VII, who erected two statues at Karnak, or one of his immediate successors; several kings whose names are not preserved in the Turin King-list, but could stand in the lacuna after Sobekhotep VII are attested in the Theban region. ALLEN’s conclusion, derived from the incomplete evidence of preserved monuments, can be corroborated with a written source, the Karnak King-list (Louvre E.13481 bis). Although in this list royal names do not stand in chronological order, it has value for studying the Dynasty 13 presence at Thebes as it is suggested to be an enumeration of the kings who left their monuments at Karnak.⁹⁹ Table 8 presents the royal names of Dynasties 13–17 attested by the Karnak King-list, reordered chronologically and juxtaposed with the royal names of this period attested by Karnak monuments. It turns out that Merkaura Sobekhotep VII (or one of his two possible successors, whose exact chronological position is

activities concerning the city of Thebes and land-plots of its west-bank area. The subsequent passages and the spot in Nubia where the inscription was carved strongly suggest that this part rather refers to the vast area of Theban worldwide dominance. This reading is supported by late passages from the temples of Edfu and Dendera where *t3š* and *ḥmbt* also stay in parallel and undoubtedly refer to the limits of universal dominance, not to the confines of a city or its districts (Edfou VII. 85.14–15, see Kurth, *Edfou VII*, 146; Dendara IV, 54.14, see Cauville, *Dendara IV: Traduction*, 112–13).

97 For this interpretation of *ḥwt-wʿrt*, see: Nemirovsky and Safronov, “Did Kamose ever get to Tell el-Dab’a.” My thanks are due to the authors for sharing this work with me before it was published.

98 Allen, “The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-list,” 4.

99 Wildung, *et al.*, “Aufbau und Zweckbestimmung der Königsliste von Karnak”; it is noteworthy that a number of new royal monuments were discovered at Karnak since the publication of this paper, which corroborate this thesis; see also Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, 29–34.

unknown) is the last king of Dynasty 13 attested in the Karnak list, which supports ALLEN'S conclusion. It is also noteworthy that in the reign of Sobekhotep VII appears an epigraphic peculiarity distinguishing Second Intermediate Period inscriptions from earlier monuments, the atypical form of the sign $\underline{\text{a}}$.¹⁰⁰ The theory that the Karnak King-list—or at least its right part comprising rows v–VIII, where most Second Intermediate Period royal names are located—is an inventory of dedicators to the Karnak temple is additionally confirmed, because the two columns of the table coincide perfectly well. Not only are almost all kings in the Karnak list attested by monuments at Karnak, but also almost all rulers attested by such monuments are listed.

Recently, ELISABETH DELANGE proposed a sophisticated interpretation of the Karnak King-list, based mainly on the evidence of its left part; she considers that the listed kings were particularly relevant for Thutmose III's historical perspective, as they were his predecessors in various spheres of royal activity.¹⁰¹ But while such shrewd historical explanations may be reasonable for explaining the left part of the list (comprising mainly the kings of the Old Kingdom and Dynasties 11–12), the attempt to explain the particular historical importance of the rulers of Dynasties 13–17 is strained, and the simpler interpretation based on monumental evidence should be preferred.

In terms of the absolute chronology, the emergence of the Theban kingdom should date to the first half of the 17th century BCE.¹⁰² This event can be considered a dividing line between the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, more tangible than the rise of an independent kingdom of Dynasty 14 in the eastern Delta.¹⁰³

The Ideology of Theban Dominance

The establishment of a separate Theban kingdom should have had some ideological grounds, or at least an ideological justification. In the inscriptions

100 Stela Cairo CG 20578 (Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, Taf. 1.a), set up by a son of this king, Bebi; this earliest example is to be added to the evidence accumulated in Ilin-Tomich, "Anomalous Forms of the Sign *hṭp*," as well as a reference to the unpublished study: Vernus, *Edfou du début de la XII^e Dynastie au début de la XVIII^e Dynastie*, 631–32 (accessed with the kind permission of the author).

101 Delange, "Nouvelles clés de lecture de la chambre des ancêtres."

102 For attempts to estimate the absolute dates of the reigns of Aya and Sobekhotep VII, see: Schneider, "The relative chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos period," 181; Franke "The Late Middle Kingdom," 286.

103 For a general discussion of the issue, see: Marée, "Foreword," XI.

of the early Theban kings of Dynasty 16 Neferhotep III (Cairo JE 59635),¹⁰⁴ Mentuhotepi (Luxor CL 223 G),¹⁰⁵ and Dedumose (Cairo CG 20533),¹⁰⁶ a doctrine implying an exclusive position of Thebes is already clearly pronounced. Its development could possibly go back to pre-independence times. Previous scholars have extensively analyzed this Theban ideology,¹⁰⁷ thus only a brief outline is pertinent here.

Neferhotep III and Mentuhotepi use for the first time¹⁰⁸ the phrase, *wꜣst nḥtt* “strong Thebes,” a divine personification of military power, later widely employed in Ramesside inscriptions.¹⁰⁹ This designation is complemented by a visual representation of the warrior goddess on the stela of Neferhotep III. Mentuhotepi also calls Thebes *nbt tꜣ r dr:f* “the mistress of the land to its limits.”

It is noteworthy that a similar thematization of cities and nomes as embodiments of military strength was previously seen in the autobiographies of the First Intermediate Period nomarchs and in an inscription of the Theban king Antef II of Dynasty 11.¹¹⁰ But the ideology of the Second Intermediate Period, dubbed “Theban nationalism” by FRANKE,¹¹¹ seems to be more consistent in its claims to the domination of Thebes over all Egypt. There is not enough evidence to decide whether this new Theban ideology was built from scratch when the new kingdom emerged, or was developing imperceptibly, paving the way to subsequent political changes. Sobekhotep IV’s mention of his Theban descent on stela Cairo JE 51911 may be seen as a sign of respect regarding the growing regionalist feeling of the Theban elite.

104 Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyré Neferhotep Iykhernofert”; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 45 no. 62.

105 Vernus, “La stèle du Pharaon *Mntw-ḥtpi* à Karnak”; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte: Nachträge*, 3–5 no. 6.

106 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 43–44 no. 59; Morenz, “Soldatenkönige, Königsakklamation und eine neue Göttin.”

107 Vernus, “La stèle du Pharaon *Mntw-ḥtpi* à Karnak,” 158; Franke, “Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit—Ein Vergleich”; Morenz, “Soldatenkönige, Königsakklamation und eine neue Göttin.”

108 Private stela Cairo CG 20318 from Hierakonpolis. Another possible example of this expression cited by Vernus, “La stèle du Pharaon *Mntw-ḥtpi* à Karnak,” 158 as “Dynasty 13,” is datable to Dynasties 16–17 through the use of an anomalous form of the *ḥtp* sign (Ilin-Tomich, “Anomalous Forms of the Sign *ḥtp*”); thus, it is contemporary or later than the stelae of Neferhotep III and Mentuhotepi.

109 Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* 2, 255.

110 Franke, “Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit—Ein Vergleich,” 124–26.

111 Franke, “Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit—Ein Vergleich,” 127.

The Enemies of the Theban Kingdom

The inscriptions of the first Theban kings suggest that the early years of independence were troublesome. While some motives, such as smiting and expelling the enemies and defeating the rebellious foreign lands, are inherent to the royal ideology of the Middle Kingdom¹¹² and may not be indicative of any specific historical events, other passages unequivocally indicate that Thebes was under threat and its rulers had to struggle for the existence of the kingdom by mounting military responses to the threats. This is also reflected by the further spread of military titles in the sources of this period and the militarization of the Egyptian elite.¹¹³ On their stelae, Neferhotep III and Mentuhotepi claim to be beloved by their armies and to be the saviors of Thebes. Neferhotep III calls himself *shy njwt.f hrp.tj* “(the one) who raised his town when it sank,” while Mentuhotepi boasts to be *wf h3swt nbt nhm*¹¹⁴ *njwt.f m nhwtw.f* “(the one) who bent all the foreign lands and saved his city with his strength.” Many scholars, including PASCAL VERNUS and RYHOLT, took these expressions as evidence that the first Theban kings were repulsing the Hyksos.¹¹⁵ Moreover, the ideological novelties of Theban royalty were also explained in historiography by the confrontation with the Hyksos.¹¹⁶ However, the foreign adversaries of Dynasty 16 were not necessarily the Hyksos. The discovery of an account of a Kushite invasion in the tomb of Sobeknakht at el-Kab¹¹⁷ datable to Dynasty 16 has shown that Mentuhotepi’s words could refer to the Nubians.¹¹⁸ Further evidence for Nubian raids is provided by Middle Kingdom statuary from diverse locations found at Kerma in tumuli belonging to the final phase of Classic Kerma. GRAJETZKI also suggested that Nubian raids could have caused the troubles on Elephantine during this period, including the destruction of the Khnum temple.¹¹⁹

The idea that Nubians were the external enemies of Dynasty 16 can be corroborated by the comparison of the expression *wf h3swt nbt* used by Mentuhotepi with the name of the Middle Kingdom fort of Shalfak in Nubia

112 For which, see: Franke, “Schöpfer, Schützer, Guter Hirte!”

113 Grajetzki, “Notes on Administration,” 310; Shirley, “Crisis and restructuring of the state,” 566–70.

114 A reading proposed by Redford, “Textual sources for the Hyksos Period,” n. 70.

115 Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyré Neferhotep Iykhernofert,” 134–35; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 305.

116 Franke, “Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit—Ein Vergleich,” 128.

117 W.V. Davies, “Sobeknakht of Elkab and the coming of Kush” and “Kouch en Égypte.”

118 So also Polz, “Die Hyksos-Blöcke aus Gebelên,” 243.

119 Grajetzki, “Notes on Administration,” 310 n. 62.

wf ḥ3swt. The phrase ḥ3st bšt(-jb) “rebellious foreign” employed on the stela of Neferhotep III could also be applied to Nubia as indicated by its use in a Dynasty 13 biography recounting a military expedition sent to Kush (stela Cairo CG 20086).¹²⁰

However, the stela of Mentuhotepi suggests that Theban military activities were not limited to fighting the foreigners; the Theban rulers had Egyptian enemies as well:

[...] (8) ḥt jdbwj mj šhmt rnpt jd

[The terror of him is] throughout both riverbanks like (the terror of) Sakhmet in the year of plague.

This phrase is a close parallel to the passage from *The Tale of Sinuhe*¹²¹ praising the king:

(B 44–5)¹²² wnnw snd.f ḥt ḥ3swt mj šhmt rnpt jd

The terror of him is throughout the foreign lands like (the terror of) Sakhmet in the year of plague.

The difference between these phrases is that Mentuhotepi spreads terror over Egypt, instead of foreign lands. In royal texts of the Middle Kingdom, *jdbwj* “both riverbanks” figured with the connotations of rulership,¹²³ inheritance,¹²⁴ unification,¹²⁵ pacification,¹²⁶ jubilation,¹²⁷ and the exceptional attestations in bellicose contexts are considered references to internal clashes.¹²⁸ This suggests that Mentuhotepi also refers to internal clashes, and his enemies were in Egypt.

¹²⁰ Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 149.

¹²¹ As noted by Vernus, “La stèle du Pharaon *Mntw-ḥtpi* à Karnak,” 150 n. 150.

¹²² Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*, 31.

¹²³ Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, § A 2.6, A 2.16, A 5.5, B 1.14, B 1.22, G 1.40.

¹²⁴ Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, § A 3.3.

¹²⁵ Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, § E 1.25.

¹²⁶ Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, § E 1.42.

¹²⁷ Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, § E 1.45.

¹²⁸ Morenz, *Die Zeit der Regionen im Spiegel der Gebelein-Region*, 176; Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum*, § F 3.26.

The Koptos inscription of king Rahotep¹²⁹ suggests that internal clashes in Second Intermediate Period Egypt were resulting in major destructions, as the king claims *n[...] fh [...] hwt m h3w,j*¹³⁰ “It [never happened] that things [were] destroyed in my time,” contrasting implicitly his reign to those of his predecessors.

If the Theban kingdom emerged prior to the fall of Dynasty 13, then it is tempting to surmise that the principal internal enemy for the Thebans was the northern kingdom of the latest Dynasty 13. The Theban state should have lacked legitimacy as compared to the northern kingdom, the direct successor to the glorious kingdom of Dynasty 12. This could explain why the Theban sources of Dynasty 16 kept silent about who the opponents of the Theban kingdom were.

A Reconstruction of Subsequent Events

From the above, it is an established fact that in the initial period of its existence the Theban kingdom of Dynasty 16 was attacked from the south by Kush (a political entity centered at Kerma, which had subdued Egyptian fortresses in Lower Nubia), and it can be surmised that it struggled in the north, possibly with the remains of the Dynasty 13 kingdom.

In mid-17th century BCE, Dynasty 14 at Avaris was replaced by Dynasty 15 (not later than 1635 BCE given the length of Dynasty 15 of at least 100 years indicated in the Turin King-list;¹³¹ the lengths of 108 and 140 years have also been proposed).¹³² This was followed by two events which shaped the political situation known from the mid-16th century BCE accounts of the Theban wars against the Hyksos; these events can only be dated speculatively: (1) the expansion of the kingdom of Avaris beyond Delta and (2) the transition from Dynasty 16 to Dynasty 17 at Thebes. The territory retained by Dynasty 13 after the emergence of the Theban kingdom (the Memphis-Fayum region and

129 Although the exact chronological position of this king remains unclear, a recent study by Marée, “A sculpture workshop at Abydos,” 261–66, suggests his temporal proximity to the king Wepwawetemsaf.

130 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 60 no. 87.

131 Allen, “The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-list,” 9.

132 Schneider, “The relative chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos period,” 194 and n. 126.

Middle Egypt) largely went under the control of the kingdom of Avaris,¹³³ while the Theban kingdom eventually subdued its southernmost part (UE nomes 9–14). At some point the Hyksos plundered the Theban region, as indicated by offering stand Berlin 22487 usurped by Apophis from the Theban region.¹³⁴

Judging from the amount of preserved monuments, the political situation of the Theban kingdom became more stable under Dynasty 17 than it was during Dynasty 16. The kings of the new dynasty could lay claims to the northern territories once controlled by Dynasty 13. The northern polities retaining hostility towards the Theban state were subdued by the rulers of Avaris, who were increasingly emulating Egyptian kingship practices and appealing to local elites.¹³⁵

While historical inscriptions of Dynasty 16 kings denoted the objectives of their military activities only vaguely, in the reign of Kamose the wording became much more explicit, as it came to fighting with the Kingdom of Avaris. The reasoning of Kamose's military actions in Middle Egypt is manifested in his texts: he fought with the Asiatics and he destroyed and plundered Egyptian towns because they were loyal to the Asiatics. Line 18 of the second stela of Kamose expresses this idea explicitly:

*djw st hr sdm j{3} 3 n 3mw bt3.n.sn kmt hnwt.sn*¹³⁶

Those who let themselves serve the Asiatics, they have made themselves guilty towards Egypt, their lady.

By placing the responsibility for the destructions of the Second Intermediate Period on the Asiatics and by justifying his own ruthless military actions against Egyptian towns by the good purpose of expelling the “prince of Retjenu” from Egypt, Kamose glosses over the century long conflict of his originally separatist state with the northern Egyptian polities. By contrasting the Theban kingdom as *kmt* “Egypt” with the kingdom of Avaris, Kamose justifies his claim to rule over all Egypt, something that the local Upper Egyptian kingdom had not done before.

133 Supposedly, after Phase E/1 of Tell el-Dab'a, see: Kopetzky, *Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik*, 275.

134 Krauss, “Zur Problematik der Nubienpolitik Kamoses,” 27–29, see n. 29 above.

135 Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 149.

136 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 94 no. 119.

The Theban Historical Tradition of the Hyksos

In modern historiography, it is widely acknowledged that archaeological data largely contradicts the historical tradition of the Hyksos kings as concerns their coming to Egypt, as well as the nature and geographical extent of their rule.

Scholars who put trust mainly in archaeological evidence often disregard the written evidence as unreliable propagandistic documents,¹³⁷ and little attempt is made to explain the goals of this alleged anti-Hyksos propaganda. The depiction of the Hyksos king in Kamose's records stands out among other Egyptian portrayals of enemies as a rare example of an enemy equal in power to the native Egyptian king.¹³⁸ This can be considered as a sign of deliberate overstating, which suggests that it was important for the Thebans to show Apophis as a mighty and crafty opponent. But if the historical inscriptions of Egyptian kings and the later historical tradition reflected by Manetho distort the history of the so-called "Hyksos Period" with some propagandistic objective, this objective needs to be explained. A possible clue to this problem may be provided by the hypothesis of the early emergence of the Theban kingdom and its initial confrontation with the late Dynasty 13 kingdom: the one-time separatist state needed a justification for its claims to gain control of the former territory of the northern Egyptian kingdom, now taxed by the Kingdom of Avaris; and apparently the Egyptian elites of Middle Egypt and the Memphis-Fayum region were not prone to acknowledge the right of Thebes to rule the whole country.

The so-called "nationalism"¹³⁹ of Kamose could be a device for proclaiming the illegitimacy of his adversaries in the north, who were all declared Asiatic, and the right of the Theban kingdom to rule over all country, which was equaled with protecting Egypt.

Manetho's accounts of the massive destructions caused by the Hyksos may go back to the historical records of the Theban kings.¹⁴⁰ While early Theban kings do not attribute destructions to the Asiatics, but rather refer to intestine wars as seen from the Koptos inscription of Rahotep cited above, Kamose and later Hatshepsut in her Speos Artemidos inscription ascribe the destruction of Egypt and particularly of its temples to Asiatics. Another correspondence

137 Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period," 173; Barbotin, *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie*, 108 et passim.

138 Popko, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung der Ahmosiden- und Thutmosidenzeit*, 116, 130.

139 Spalinger, "Two screen plays: 'Kamose' and 'Apophis and Seqenenre,'" 129.

140 So, Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 101.

between Manetho and the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut is the claim that the Hyksos disregarded Egyptian gods.¹⁴¹

Manetho (as quoted by Josephus) further relates that the Hyksos king Salitis had his seat at Memphis. This assertion has been recently addressed in the fundamental comparative study of the Second Intermediate Period material culture from Memphis and Avaris by BETTINA BADER, who demonstrated that the “Hyksos” (*i.e.*, the bearers of a specific material culture heavily influenced by that of Middle Bronze Age Levant, and attested at Tell el-Dab’a and other sites in the eastern Delta) were not physically present at Memphis.¹⁴² Overall, the presence of the Hyksos beyond the Delta was very limited.¹⁴³

While no written records referring to the takeover of Memphis by the Thebans are preserved (with the exception of the ship-name *ḥ^c-m-mn-nfr* “[the one] who rose at Memphis” in *Urk.* IV 3.9), one may hypothesize that it was justified in the same manner as the destruction of Nefrusy by Kamose. Thus some historiographical document declaring Memphis to be *mḥ n ʿmw*¹⁴⁴ “a nest of Asiatics” could exist; this could have given rise to the tradition of the Hyksos presence in Memphis reflected by Manetho.

As earlier modern historiography shows, the creators of the Theban doctrine, on which the later Egyptian historical tradition builds, have indeed successfully delivered the implicit message that after the alleged Hyksos invasion, “Thebes evidently became the principal rallying-point of the native rulers” and that Theban kings “arose to keep alive the embers of Egyptian independence and to prepare the way for their warlike successors, under whom the Hyksos were eventually defeated.”¹⁴⁵

While Ahmose II eliminated the division of Egypt into separate political entities, the old confrontation between the North and the South continued to affect the policy of Theban rulers of early Dynasty 18. DIETRICH RAUE has argued that until the independent reign of Thutmose III, the territory formerly controlled by the Hyksos was not fully integrated into the Theban kingdom, as no major temples were constructed to the north of UE nome 16.¹⁴⁶ The major centers of northern Egypt were probably settled with military officials devoted to the Theban rulers. This can be inferred from the fact that an estate near

141 Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 148.

142 Bader, *Avaris und Memphis*; so already Bourriau, “Beyond Avaris,” 165.

143 The area of the spread of the pottery characteristic for Dynasty 15 was defined by Kopetzky, *Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik*, 275; see also Barbotin, *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIII^e dynastie*, 30–36.

144 Carnarvon Tablet, line 13, Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 89 no. 119.

145 Hayes, “Egypt: From the Death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenre II,” 53.

146 Raue, *Heliopolis und das „Haus des Re“*, 109–14.

Memphis was given to the overseer of ships Neshi in the reign of Ahmose as recalled in the juridical inscription of Mes.¹⁴⁷ The settlement of Memphis with the Thebans is also tangible through material culture, as ceramics of an Upper Egyptian style rapidly replaced the indigenous northern ceramic tradition with the onset of the New Kingdom.¹⁴⁸ Such policy of colonizing the North could be aimed at strengthening the control over the newly conquered northern territories, which implies that the northerners were unfavorably disposed towards the new Theban overlords.

The negative attitude of Egyptians under the rule of the Avaris kingdom towards the Thebans can tentatively be inferred from the daybook entry in the Rhind papyrus, whose author seems discontent with the military successes of Ahmose,¹⁴⁹ and retrospectively from the Dynasty 22 genealogy of Memphite priests¹⁵⁰ purporting the legitimacy of the Hyksos kings.¹⁵¹

Thus, the notion that the Theban kingdom, which according to the evidence of administrative titles emerged independently based on local power structures (as shown above), was struggling with other Egyptian polities may help to explain the gap between the might attributed to the Hyksos in Egyptian historical tradition shaped by Theban kings of late Dynasty 17–early Dynasty 18, and the archaeological data demonstrating the very limited presence of the Hyksos beyond the Eastern Delta.

Finally, I would like to add an outlandish observation, which could indicate that a repercussion of the political situation in Second Intermediate Period Egypt possibly reached the medieval Egyptian tradition. The 9th century CE historian Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam cites a legend which is surprisingly in line with the notion that a major internal struggle preceded the period of Hyksos rule, and that the spread of Hyksos rule was not an abrupt conquest as pictured by Manetho and contested by many modern scholars. According to Said ibn Ufayr

147 KRI III 428.1, see a historical discussion by Malek, "An early Eighteenth dynasty monument of Sipair from Saqqara," 75; note also the Saqqara monument of a military official presumably of Theban descent dating to the reign of Ahmose published by Malek in the cited paper.

148 Bourriau, "Beyond Avaris," 164–65. The first examples of the new pottery tradition occur in Level v at Kom el-Rabi'a, which Bourriau now dates to the late Second Intermediate Period; Bourriau, "The relative chronology," 13. However, the recent chronological study by Bader suggests that Level v was synchronous with the transition from Phase D/2 to D/1 at Tell el-Dab'a, marking the seizure of Avaris by the Thebans, see: Bader, *Avaris und Memphis*, 707.

149 Spalinger, Review of The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, by K.S.B. Ryholt, 299.

150 Borchardt, *Die Mittel zur Zeitlichen Festlegung*, 96–112, Bl. 2, 2a.

151 Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*, 28.

(an earlier writer cited by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam), the Amalekites (*i.e.*, the Hyksos)¹⁵² came to power in Egypt when the Egyptian king had died and his sons were gambling for the throne. The miseries caused by these struggles became so unbearable that they agreed to let the first stranger ascending from the ravine to be an arbiter between them; this stranger, an Amalekite, decided to proclaim himself king.¹⁵³ The origin of this motif implying a major internal confrontation in Egypt before the takeover by the Hyksos is of course obscure, but it is acknowledged that the accounts of ancient Egyptian history in the works of Arab writers often go back to indigenous oral and written Coptic sources.¹⁵⁴ In the case of these accounts of the Hyksos period, their anti-Hyksos orientation favors the Egyptian origin of an underlying historical tradition.¹⁵⁵

TABLE 1 *The most common male titles in the sources of Dynasties 16–17*

Title	Number of attestations
<u>Military and policing titles</u>	
<i>ʒṭw n tt ḥqʒ</i> “commander of the crew of the ruler”	41
<i>ʿnḥ n njwt</i> “officer of the city regiment”	36
<i>šmsw</i> “guard”	28
<i>jmj-ḥt sʒ-prw</i> “security official of the estate-guards”	10
<i>jrj pdt</i> “bow keeper”	6
<i>ʒṭw ʒ n njwt</i> “commander-in-chief of the city regiment”	5
<i>shd šmsw</i> “controller of guards”	5
<u>Religious titles</u>	
<i>wʿb</i> “pure priest”	59
<i>ḥrj-ḥb</i> “lector priest”	28
<i>ḥm-ntr</i> “god’s servant”	24
<i>sš ḥwt-ntr</i> “scribe of the temple”	12
<i>sš ḥtpw-ntr</i> “scribe of divine offerings”	6

152 Wiet, *L'Égypte de Murtadi, fils du Gaphiphe*, 24.

153 Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *The Conquest of Egypt and North Africa and Spain*, 19–20, cited after the Russian translation by S.B. Pevzner: Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, *Завоевание Египта, ал-Магриба и ал-Андалуса*, 38–39; to my knowledge, this part of the Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's work has not been translated into other Western languages.

154 El Daly, *Egyptology: the Missing Millennium*, 25–26.

155 Wiet, *G. L'Égypte de Murtadi, fils du Gaphiphe*, 24; Banschikova, “The topos of Amalekite supremacy,” 43–44. The correspondence of the Amalekite kings' names with those of historical Second Intermediate Period rulers maintained by Banschikova is debatable, see: El Daly, *Egyptology: the Missing Millennium*, 14.

TABLE 1 (cont.)

Title	Number of attestations
<u>“Unspecific” titles</u>	
<i>wr mꜥw šmꜥw</i> “chief of tens of Upper Egypt”	61
<i>sꜥb rꜥ-nꜥn</i> “dignitary, mouth of Nekhen”	41
<i>sꜥ nsw</i> “king’s son”	32
<i>smsw hꜥyt</i> “elder of the portal”	22
<u>Other Middle Kingdom administrative titles</u>	
<i>jmj-pr</i> “estate overseer”	19
<i>ḥꜥtj-ꜥ</i> (<i>jmj-rꜥ ḥmw-ntr/jmj-rꜥ ḥwt-ntr</i>) “governor (overseer of god’s servants/overseer of the temple)”	37
<i>ḥrj n tm</i> “master of the <i>tm</i> ”	7

TABLE 2 *Written sources for the administration of Dynasties 16–17 other than private memorial monuments*

Doc. Reference	Date	Male titles
1 Graffito Gasse ¹⁵⁶	Dynasty 17	<i>rḥ-nsw,</i> <i>sꜥ ḥtpw-ntr,</i> <i>sꜥb rꜥ-nꜥn + sꜥ jmj-rꜥ [...],</i> <i>jmj-rꜥ pr n ḥsb jt,</i> <i>sꜥb rꜥ-nꜥn + sꜥ [...],</i> <i>wr mꜥw šmꜥw + jmj-rꜥ [...] n ḥꜥst,</i> <i>smsw hꜥyt + jmj-rꜥ [...],</i> <i>jmj-rꜥ kꜥwt + ꜥtw [...],</i> <i>jmj-rꜥ pr,</i> <i>jmj-rꜥ sḥtjw,</i> <i>jmj-rꜥ st ꜥt t</i>
2 Royal stela BM 630 ¹⁵⁷	Dynasty 16 (?)	<i>sꜥ nsw</i>
3 Royal stela BM 833 + Laval 4560 ¹⁵⁸	Dynasty 16 or 17	<i>sꜥ ḥtpw-ntr,</i> <i>jmj-rꜥ w n ḥwt-ntr,</i> <i>ḥrj-ḥb n pr-nfr,</i>

156 Gasse, “Une expédition au Ouadi Hammâmât sous le règne de Sebekemsaf I^{er}.”157 Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 174–77.

158 Marée, “A sculpture workshop at Abydos,” pl. 69.

Doc. Reference	Date	Male titles
4 Royal stela Cairo JE 30770 bis ¹⁵⁹	Dynasty 17	<i>jmj-ḥnt,</i> <i>jmj-r3 ḥsww,</i> <i>wr mḳḳw šm'w,</i> <i>ḥnḥ n nḳwt,</i> <i>ḥtmw-bjtj + ḥ3tj-ḥ n gbtjw + jmj-r3</i> <i>gs-pr,</i> <i>s3 nsw + ḥsw n gbtjw,</i> <i>ḥtmw-bjtj + sm3 mnw + sš ḥwt-ntr,</i> <i>sš ḥtmt-ntr n jmn,</i> <i>smsw ḥ3yt</i>
5 Royal stela OIM 64 ¹⁶⁰	Dynasty 17	<i>s3 nsw + ḥrj pḳt</i>
6 Royal stela Philadelphia E.16021 ¹⁶¹	Dynasty 17	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj + jmj-r3 ḥtmtjw + šmsw</i> <i>nsw</i>
7 Royal stela BM 1645 ¹⁶²	Dynasty 17	<i>sš wḏḥw</i>
8 Royal stela Luxor J 43 (the second stela of Kamose) ¹⁶³	Dynasty 17	<i>jmj-r3 ḥtmt</i>
9 Royal statue Cairo CG 386	Dynasty 17	<i>s3 nsw + ḥm-ntr</i>
10 Juridical stela Cairo JE 52453 ¹⁶⁴	Dynasty 16	<i>s3b,</i> <i>3ḥw n tt ḥq3,</i> <i>s3 nsw + ḥtmw-bjtj + jmj-r3 gs-pr +</i> <i>ḥ3tj-ḥ,</i> <i>ḥ'ḥj-3 n nḥb + t3tj,</i> <i>ḥ3tj-3 n nḥb + ḥrj ḥ3wt n jmn,</i> <i>jmj-r3 nḳwt + t3tj + jmj-r3 ḥwt wrt 6,</i> <i>ḥm-ntr n ḥr-nḥnj,</i> <i>sš n ḥnrt wr,</i>

159 Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, Taf. 13.

160 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 75–76 no. 108.

161 Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, Taf. 11.

162 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 77 no. 112.

163 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 97 no. 119.

164 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 65–69 no. 98.

TABLE 2 (cont.)

Doc. Reference	Date	Male titles
		<i>whmw n w'rt mh'tt,</i> <i>sš n whmw n w'rt mh'tt,</i> <i>smsw hšyt</i>
11 Pebble Bruxelles E.2286 ¹⁶⁵	After Sebekhotep VI	<i>sš hwt-ntr,</i> <i>hštj-^c</i>
12 Box Cairo JE 44737 ¹⁶⁶	Dynasty 17	<i>hštj-^c</i> (= doc. 4)
13 Ostraca Berlin 11296, 11297 ¹⁶⁷	Dynasty 17 (?)	<i>sš,</i> <i>tšj,</i> <i>swtw (?)</i>
14 Ostrakon Berlin 12344 ¹⁶⁸	Dynasty 17 (?)	<i>jmj-rš pr</i>
15 Tomb el-Kab 8bis (LD Text IV 52–54)	Dynasty 16 (?)	<i>štw n tt hqš,</i> <i>sš nsw + tsw thj (?),</i> <i>hm-nsw,</i> <i>hm-nsw + rhtj,</i> <i>hm-nsw + s n mš't,</i> <i>hm-nsw + nby,</i> <i>hm-nsw + hrtj-ntr</i>
16 Tomb el-Kab 9 ¹⁶⁹	Dynasty 16	<i>štw n tt hqš,</i> <i>jmj-rš gs pr,</i> <i>jrj-p't + hštj-^c n nhb,</i> <i>w'b 'q</i>
17 Tomb el-Kab 10 ¹⁷⁰	Dynasty 16	<i>jrj-p't + hštj-^c + htmw-bjtj + smr-w'tj</i> <i>+ jmj-rš hmw-ntr + jmj-rš gs-pr,</i> <i>štw n tt hqš,</i> <i>jmj-rš hsww,</i> <i>w'tj,</i> <i>hm-ntr tpj,</i> <i>mnj(w),</i>

165 Vernus, *Edfou du début de la XII^e Dynastie au début de la XVIII^e Dynastie*, 389–91.

166 Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 43 fig. 13.

167 Gardiner and Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 3, pl. XXIX.

168 Gardiner and Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 3, pl. XLII.

169 W.V. Davies, "Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab," 227 fig. 3.

170 Tylor, *The Tomb of Sebeknekht*.

Doc. Reference	Date	Male titles
		<i>hrj-ḥb,</i> <i>wr mḏw šm'w + sš ḥtpw ntr,</i> <i>wh',</i> <i>rḥ-nsw + ḥsw,</i> <i>sš qdwt (?) ḥwt-ntr,</i> <i>hrj-ḥb tpj n ḥr-nḥnj,</i> <i>s3 nsw,</i> <i>šmsw,</i> <i>wb3w,</i> <i>ḥmw,</i> <i>wb3w wr,</i> <i>wb3w wr + s3b,</i> <i>s3b r3-nḥn (?),</i> <i>ḥrtj-ntr,</i> <i>ḥm-ntr + ḥ3tj-^c n nḥb,</i> <i>ḥtmw-bjtj + jmj-r3 pr-wr</i>
18 The tomb of Horemkhauf at Hierakonpolis ¹⁷¹	Dynasty 16	<i>sš qdwt,</i> <i>sš qdwt + wr mḏw šm'w,</i> <i>ḥm-ntr tpj n ḥr nḥnj + jmj-r3 3ḥwt +</i> <i>shd ḥmw-ntr</i>
19 Tomb Dra' Abu el-Naga K01.6 ¹⁷²	Dynasties 16–17 (?)	<i>jrj-p't + ḥ3tj-^c + ḥtmw-bjtj + smr-w'tj</i> <i>+ jmj-r3 ḥtmt</i>
20 Canopic box Cairo CG 4732 ¹⁷³	Dynasties 16–17	<i>jmj-r3 pr-wr</i>
21 Canopics Davies ¹⁷⁴	Dynasties 16–17	<i>w'b n jmn + w'b n nb-ḥpt-r^c</i>
22 Coffin BM 10553 ¹⁷⁵	Dynasty 16	<i>jmj-r3 njwt + t3tj + jmj-r3 ḥwt-wrt 6</i>
23 Coffin BM 29997 ¹⁷⁶	Dynasties 16–17 ¹⁷⁷	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj + s3 nsw smsw + jmj-r3</i> <i>mš^c wr</i>
24 Rishi coffin rT05C ¹⁷⁸	Dynasty 17	<i>3tw n tt ḥq3</i>

171 W.V. Davies, "The dynastic tombs at Hierakonpolis."

172 Polz in Polz and Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re*, 12.

173 Miniaci, "The canopic box of Khonswmes."

174 N. Davies, "The Tomb of Tetaky at Thebes (no. 15)," 12.

175 Geisen, *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges*, 32–33.

176 Parkinson and Quirke, "The Coffin of Prince Herunefer."

177 Judging from the burial place of a king's son.

178 All rishi coffins are cited after Miniaci, *Rishi Coffins and the Funerary Culture*.

TABLE 2 (cont.)

Doc. Reference	Date	Male titles
25 Rishi coffin rTo6C	Dynasty 17	<i>sš n jmj-r3 htmt</i>
26 Rishi coffin rT22mma	Dynasty 17 (?)	<i>w'b</i>
27 Ushebti BM 13329 ¹⁷⁹	Dynasty 17	<i>s3 nsw</i>
28 Bow Moscow i.l.a.1804 ¹⁸⁰	Dynasty 16 or 17	<i>s3 nsw</i>
29 Throw-stick Cairo JE 21461 ¹⁸¹	Dynasty 17	<i>s3 nsw</i>

TABLE 3 "Unspecific" titles combined with other titles on memorial monuments of Dynasties 16–17

Monument ¹⁸²	Combination of titles
Cairo CG 20168 (doc. 298)	<i>wr mḏw šm'w + mtj n s3</i> "regulator of a watch"
Cairo JE 38917 (doc. 367)	<i>s3 nsw + ṭsw n [...]</i> "commander of [...]"
Cairo JE 46200 (doc. 371)	<i>hrj-ḥb tpj n hr-bḥdtj</i> "master lector of Horus of Behdet" + <i>hrj-ḥb tpj</i> "first lector" + <i>s3 nsw ʿq</i> "king's son with right of entry"
Karnak-Nord A972 (doc. 238)	<i>hrj sšt3</i> "one who is privy to the secret" + <i>r3 nḥn</i>
Louvre E.13057 (doc. 428)	<i>ḥ3tj-ʿ</i> "governor" + <i>jmj-r3 ḥwt-nṯr</i> "overseer of the temple" + <i>s3 nsw + ṭsw jw'j n 3bḏw</i> "commander of the troops of Abydos"
Manchester 7964 (doc. 433)	<i>jrj-p't + ḥ3tj-ʿ + ḥtmw-bjtj</i> (three ranking titles) + <i>s3 nsw</i>

179 Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 71 no. 102.

180 Berlev, "Un don du roi Rahotep."

181 Tiradritti, "Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season," pl. 117.

182 Cited wherever possible after Ilin-Tomich, "Changes in the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* Formula," 30–33, where the references and dating ground are given.

Monument ¹⁸²	Combination of titles
Moscow I.1.b.32+UC 14326 (doc. 443)	<i>s3 nsw + 3tw n tt hq3</i>
Pittsburgh 9007-57 ¹⁸³	<i>s3 nsw + h3tj-^c + tsw n mntw nb drtj</i> “commander of Monthu, the lord of el-Tod”

TABLE 4 *Highest titles of the central administration in the sources of Dynasties 16–17*

Title	Memorial monuments ¹⁸⁴	Other sources ¹⁸⁵
<i>t3tj</i> “vizier”	Marseille 224 (doc. 434), in the title <i>s3 n t3tj</i> “scribe of the vizier”	Cairo JE 52453 (doc. 10; only in this case does the holder of the title undoubtedly date to Dynasty 16; further examples likely refer to pre-Dynasty 16 viziers), el-Kab tomb 10 (doc. 17), BM 10553 (doc. 22)
<i>jmj-r3 htm</i> “treasurer”	Cairo CG 20143 (doc. 333), in the title <i>hrj-^c n jmj-r3 htm</i> “assistant to the treasurer”	Luxor J 43 (doc. 8), Tomb Dra’ Abu el-Naga Ko1.6 (doc. 19), rTo6C (doc. 25), in the title <i>s3 n jmj-r3 htm</i> “scribe of the treasurer”
<i>jmj-r3 pr-wr</i> “high steward”	Cairo JE 49566 (doc. 378), Cairo CG 20302 (doc. 318), in the title <i>jrj-^t n jmj-r3 pr-wr</i> “chamber-keeper of the high steward”	El-Kab tomb 10 (doc. 17), Cairo CG 4732 (doc. 20)
<i>jmj-r3 m3^c wr</i> “chief overseer of the army”		BM 29997 (doc. 23)

183 Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, pl. 10b. A Dynasty 16–17 date is suggested by the *htp* sign with the crossed top.

184 Cited after Ilin-Tomich, “Changes in the *htp-dj-nsw* Formula,” 30–33.

185 Cited after Table 1 above.

TABLE 4 (cont.)

Title	Memorial monuments ¹⁸⁴	Other sources ¹⁸⁵
<i>jmj-r3 3hwt</i> “overseer of fields”	MMA 22.3.308, ¹⁸⁶ MMA 35.7.55 (doc. 439)	The tomb of Horemkhauf (doc. 18, the owner of stela MMA 35.7.55 from the left column)
<i>jmj-r3 htmjw</i> “overseer of sealers”	Lyon H 1576 ¹⁸⁷	Philadelphia E.16021 (doc. 6)
<i>hrp wshwt</i> “director of the broad court”	Cairo JE 39755 ¹⁸⁸	
<i>ss ‘n nsw n hft-hr</i> “secretary of documents of the king of the presence”	Berlin 7288 (doc. 263), Burnley Eg. 100 (doc. 285)	
<i>jmj-r3 shjw</i> “overseer of marshland-dwellers”		Graffito Gasse (doc. 1)

186 Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 345–46 fig. 227 (bottom left). A Dynasty 16–17 date may be indicated by the depiction of plain human eyes in the lunette (Ilin-Tomich, *Особенности административного аппарата древнего Египта*, 94); still the spelling of *jhwt 3pdw* favours an earlier date and may place the stela in the very beginning of the period.

187 A photograph courtesy of Geneviève Galliano (Musée des Beaux Arts de Lyon); the date is suggested by the late spelling of *htp-dj-nsw* and the writing of the sign U23 in the form of a leg (Leahy, “A Stela of the Second Intermediate Period,” 27–28).

188 Franke, “Middle Kingdom Hymns,” 101. A Dynasty 16–17 date is indicated by the depiction of plain human eyes in the lunette.

TABLE 5 Middle Kingdom titles of palace officials in the sources of Dynasties 16–17

Title	Memorial monuments ¹⁸⁹	Other sources ¹⁹⁰
<i>wdpw</i> “cupbearer”	BM 232, ¹⁹¹ Rio de Janeiro 632 [2424] (doc. 453)	El-Kab tomb 10 (doc. 17) (not a palace official, but a servant of a noble)
<i>jrj-ṯ</i> “chamber-keeper”	Cairo CG 20302 (doc. 318), <i>jrj-ṯ n</i> <i>jmj-rʒ pr-wr</i> “chamber-keeper of the high steward” (not a palace official, but a servant of a noble)	
<i>jḥms</i> “assistant”	Cairo CG 20143 (doc. 333), <i>jḥms n</i> <i>ṯ t</i> “assistant of the chamber of bread”	
<i>jmj-rʒ st</i> “store overseer”		Graffito Gasse (doc. 1; probably the person was a store overseer of an expedition, not at the royal palace)
<i>jmj-rʒ ḥnwtj</i> “interior-overseer”	Wien ÄS 195 (doc. 478) <i>jmj-rʒ ḥnwtj</i> <i>ntj m ḥʒ ḥd rmt</i> (a misspelling of <i>ḥʒ dd</i> <i>rmt</i> “the bureau of issuing people”?)	

TABLE 6 Titles related to temple economy in the sources of Dynasties 16–17

Title	Memorial monuments ¹⁹²	Other sources ¹⁹³
<i>sš n ḥwt-nṯr</i> “scribe of the temple”	BM 1163 (doc. 271), Cairo JE 36824, ¹⁹⁴ Cairo JE 37515 (doc. 366)	Bruxelles E.2286 (doc. 11), Cairo JE 30770 bis (doc. 4)
<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr</i> “scribe of divine offerings”	Cairo CG 20335 (doc. 326), Dublin 1920.273 (doc. 389), Louvre E.13057 (doc. 428)	BM 833+Laval 4560 (doc. 3), el-Kab Tomb 10 (doc. 17), Graffito Gasse (doc. 1)

189 Cited after Ilin-Tomich, A. “Changes in the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* Formula,” 30–33.

190 Cited after Table 1 above.

191 Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 80–81.192 Cited after Ilin-Tomich, A. “Changes in the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* Formula,” 30–33.

193 Cited after Table 1 above.

194 Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, pl. 9b. A Dynasty 16–17 date is suggested by the *ḥtp* sign with the crossed top.

TABLE 6 (cont.)

Title	Memorial monuments ¹⁹²	Other sources ¹⁹³
<i>jhwtj n htp-ntr</i> “cultivator of divine offerings”	Liverpool 1977.109.36 (doc. 422)	
<i>sš wdhw</i> “scribe of the altar”	BM 334, ¹⁹⁵ Ballerini ¹⁹⁶	BM 1645 (doc. 7)
<i>htmw ntr</i> “sealbearer of the god”	BM 204 (doc. 264)	
<i>sš htmt ntr</i> “scribe of the treasury of the god”		Cairo JE 30770 bis (doc. 4)
<i>jrj-ʒ n šnwt n</i> <i>htpw-ntr</i> “doorkeeper of the granary of divine offerings”	Cairo CG 20694 (doc. 355)	
<i>jrj-ʒ n hwt-ntr</i> “doorkeeper of the temple”	Fitzwilliam E.199.1899 (doc. 386), Liverpool 55.82.116 (doc. 421)	
<i>jmj-rʒ pr n htp-ntr</i> “estate overseer of god’s offerings”	Zagreb 5+Bologna 1911 +BM 1247 (doc. 272) ¹⁹⁷	
<i>hrj hʒwt</i> “master of the altar”	Torino Cat. 1582 (doc. 456)	Cairo JE 52453 (doc. 10)

195 The date is suggested by the writing of the sign U23 in the form of a leg (Leahy, “A Stela of the Second Intermediate Period,” 27–8).

196 Ballerini, “Antichità egiziane nel Museo Civico di Como,” 235–36. The date is suggested by the late spelling of *htp-dj-nsw*.

197 Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*, dossier 193.

TABLE 7 *Middle Kingdom Theban titles in the sources of Dynasties 16–17*

Title	Memorial monuments ¹⁹⁸	Other sources ¹⁹⁹
<i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw</i> “security official of the estate-guards”	Bruxelles E.4361, ²⁰⁰ Cairo 11.11.31.1, ²⁰¹ Cairo CG 20035, ²⁰² Cairo CG 20283 (doc. 315), Cairo JE 42824 (doc. 369), Louvre C 193 (doc. 425), Marseille 224 (doc. 434)	
<i>ḥrj n tm</i> “master of the <i>tm</i> ”	Cairo CG 20035, ²⁰³ Cairo CG 20198 (doc. 304), Cairo CG 20434 (doc. 333), Cairo CG 20687 (doc. 354), Cairo CG 20734 (doc. 359), Leiden AP 43 ²⁰⁴	
<i>jrj pdt</i> “bow keeper”	BM 255 (doc. 268), Cairo CG 20035, Cairo CG 20434 (doc. 333), Cairo CG 20610 (doc. 344),	

198 Cited after Ilin-Tomich, “Changes in the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* Formula,” 30–33.

199 Cited after Table 1 above.

200 <http://carmentis.kmkgmrah.be/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=80122&viewType=detailView> (accessed on April 30, 2014). A Dynasty 16–17 date may be indicated by the depiction of plain human eyes in the lunette.

201 Vernus, *Edfou du début de la XIII^e Dynastie au début de la XVIII^e Dynastie*, 238–41, pl. 45, the date is indicated by the late spelling of *ḥtp-dj-nsw*.

202 The date is suggested by the sign U23 in the form of a leg (Leahy, “A Stela of the Second Intermediate Period,” 27–28).

203 The date is suggested by the sign U23 in the form of a leg (Leahy, “A Stela of the Second Intermediate Period,” 27–28).

204 Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung*, no. 25 pl. xx1; a Dynasty 16–17 date may be indicated by the depiction of plain human eyes in the lunette.

TABLE 7 (cont.)

Title	Memorial monuments ¹⁹⁸	Other sources ¹⁹⁹
<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i> “scribe of the great ḥnrt”	Cairo JE 42824 (doc. 369), Louvre E.17404, ²⁰⁵ Fitzwilliam E.ss.37 (doc. 387) BM 255 (doc. 268)	Cairo JE 52453 (doc. 10)

TABLE 8 *Dynasty 13–17 kings attested by Karnak monuments and by the Karnak King-list of Thutmose III*

No. in TC ²⁰⁶	No. after Ryholt ²⁰⁷	Name	Monuments at Karnak ²⁰⁸	No. in the Karnak list ²⁰⁹
<u>Dynasty 13 kings</u>				
<7.05>	13/1	Sobekhotep I	two architraves discovered at Luxor, possibly originally from Karnak	v.5
7.10	13/8	Amenemhat VI	an altar	v.6
<7.19>	13/21	Wegaf	a stela and a statue	vii.4
7.24	13/26	Sobekhotep III	an altar and a sphinx	v.4 ?
7.25	13/27	Neferhotep I	a naos with statues	v.3

205 http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=23481&langue=fr (accessed on April 30, 2014). A Dynasty 16–17 date is suggested by the *hnp* sign with the crossed top.

206 Line in the Turin King-list after Ryholt, *The Political Situation* and Allen, “The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-list.”

207 The number of dossier in Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 336–405.

208 Unless stated otherwise, the attestations with references are listed in Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 336–405. Only royal monuments are taken into account, not private memorial monuments bearing royal names. It remains uncertain whether the Juridical Stela should be considered royal or private.

209 After *Urk.* IV 607–10. For a previous analysis of royal names of Dynasties 13–17 in the Karnak King-list, see: Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte*, 26, 70.

No. in TC ²⁰⁶	No. after Ryholt ²⁰⁷	Name	Monuments at Karnak ²⁰⁸	No. in the Karnak list ²⁰⁹
7.27	13/29	Sobekhotep IV	a stela, a statue, and door-jambs	V.2
<7.28>	13/30	Merhoteptra Sobekhotep V	three statues	VII.3
8.1	13/31, N/6	Sobekhotep VI	possibly a statue of <i>H^c-. . .]-r^cSbk-htp</i> , Louvre AF 8969 ²¹⁰ otherwise attributable to Sobekhotep I and Sobekhotep IV	VI.7
8.3	13/33	Aya	a lintel	—
8.8	13/38	Sobekhotep VII	two statues	VI.3
<u>Dynasty 13 (?) kings with exact position unknown²¹¹</u>				
	13/b	Mersekhemra Neferhotep II	two statues	VI.2
	13/c	Swahenra Sonbmijew	—	VII.2
<u>Dynasty 16 kings</u>				
<11.1>	16/2	Djehuty	—	I.8
<11.2>	16/3	Sobekhotep VIII	a stela	VI.4
<11.3>	16/4	Neferhotep III	a stela	—
11.4	16/5	Menthuhotepi	a stela	—
11.5	16/6	Nebiryrau I	the Juridical Stela	V.7 or VIII.3
11.8	16/9	Bebiankh	—	IV.4

²¹⁰ Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire*, 48–50.

²¹¹ It is believed that their names could stand in the lacuna after the name of Sobekhotep VII in the Turin King-list, Allen, “The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-list,” 4 n. 28. However, these could be Theban kings as well, as they are unattested outside Upper Egypt.

TABLE 8 (cont.)

No. in TC ²⁰⁶	No. after Ryholt ²⁰⁷	Name	Monuments at Karnak ²⁰⁸	No. in the Karnak list ²⁰⁹
<u>Dynasty 16 (?) kings with exact position unknown</u>				
	13/13	Khaankhra Sobekhotep ²¹²	a pedestal acquired at Thebes, likely from Karnak	VI.8
	16/c	Sneferibra Senwosret IV	a stela and a statue	VI.6 or VIII.2
	16/d	Merankhra Menthuhotep	a statuette	—
<u>Dynasty 17 kings</u>				
	17/1	Rahotep	—	VII.1
	17/2, N/5	Sekhemra- shedtawy Sobekemsaf	possibly any of the Karnak statues bearing the name Sobekemsaf without a praenomen	VIII.4
	17/4	Nubkheperra Antef	a stela, a statue fragment	IV.5
	17/6	Sekhemra- wadjkhau Sobekemsaf	an obelisk, a lintel, a statuette and statue BM EA 871 from Karnak ²¹³	VII.7
	17/7	Senakhtenra Ahmose I	a lintel and a jamb ²¹⁴	IV.3
	17/8	Seqenenra	two stelae ²¹⁵	IV.2
	17/9	Kamose	three ²¹⁶ stelae, a statue and a lintel	—

²¹² The traditional identification of this king with a certain Dynasty 13 ruler *sbk-[...]p* (TC 7.15) followed by Ryholt and Allen is unfounded. For a possible attribution of this king to Dynasty 16, see Ilin-Tomich, “Anomalous Forms of the Sign *h̄tp*,” 105–6.

²¹³ For the provenance of the statue, see now Delange, “Précisions d’archives . . .,” 196.

²¹⁴ Biston-Moulin, “Le roi Sénakht-en-Rê Ahmès de la XVII^e dynastie.”

²¹⁵ Jacquet-Gordon, “Two Stelae of King Seqenenre.”

²¹⁶ The remains of the third were published by Van Siclen, “The Third Stela of Kamose.”

Abbreviations

ÄgLev	Ägypten und Levant
ENiM	Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne
EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
KRI III	K.A. Kitchen. <i>Ramsside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical Vol. III: Ramesses II, his Contemporaries</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1980.
Urk. IV	K. Sethe. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, IV. Abteilung, Band II, Heft 8. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906. 2nd rev. ed. 1927.

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