

The Political Situation in Egypt during the XIII Dynasty

Dissertation
zur Erlangung des Grades eines
Doktors der Philosophie (Dr. phil.)

am Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften
der Freien Universität Berlin

vorgelegt von:

Ali Hassan Hassan Mohamed Eid

Berlin 2023

1. Gutachter: Univ.-Prof. Dr. Jochem Kahl

2. Gutachter: PD Dr. Jan Moje

Tag der Disputation: 07. November 2023.

I hereby declare that this dissertation was written and prepared by me independently. Furthermore, no sources and aids other than those indicated have been used. Intellectual property of other authors has been marked accordingly. I also declare that I have not submitted the dissertation in this or any other form to any other institution as a dissertation.

Abstract:

The importance of studying the political situation in Egypt during the 13th Dynasty stems from the fact that it remains an obscure period in ancient Egyptian history. The 13th Dynasty still raises debatable issues regarding its nature, including its formation, the location of its power centre, the mechanisms through which its rulers legitimized and maintained power, and its place within the conventional framework of ancient Egyptian history. The only available and indispensable source of information about the rulers of the 13th Dynasty is the Ramesside manuscript known as the Turin King-list. Unfortunately, the King-list suffers from numerous deficiencies and is largely inconsistent with the contemporary archaeological evidence of these rulers. Therefore, the main question of the current study deals with questions regarding the nature of the 13th Dynasty and examines the extent to which it formed a cohesive political regime in the literal sense of the dynastic system of ancient Egyptian history.

The methodology employed in this research involved a comprehensive re-examination of the royal evidence of the dynasty rulers as listed in the Turin King-list, along with an exploration of additional unlisted rulers who are somehow associated with those mentioned in the King-list. The re-examination of the royal evidence was conducted to evaluate its validity and to verify the relationships among the rulers of the dynasty. Furthermore, it aimed to assess the extent to which they exerted territorial sovereignty within the same geographical range. By applying the criteria of the “Dynasty” concept as a unified political system, the research aimed to verify its applicability to the group of rulers traditionally identified as the 13th Dynasty.

After a thorough discussion of key aspects exploring the nature of the 13th Dynasty, including its beginning, power base, succession of rulers, periodization, and historical boundaries, the study concluded that the 13th Dynasty comprised a collection of rulers primarily holding power beyond the eastern Delta. Their rule extended until the ascendancy of Hyksos dominance over Memphis. While the Turin King-list suggests a coherent sequence of rulers, the available royal evidence challenges the notion of a united dynasty in the literal sense. The political landscape of this period was characterized by regional autonomy and the emergence of distinct centres of power.

Kurzfassung:

Die Bedeutung der Untersuchung der politischen Situation in Ägypten während der 13. Dynastie ergibt sich daraus, dass es sich um eine unbekannte Periode in der altägyptischen Geschichte handelt. Die 13. Dynastie wirft immer noch debattierbare Fragen zu ihrer Natur auf, einschließlich ihrer Entstehung, des Ortes ihres Machtzentrums, der Mechanismen, durch die ihre Herrscher ihre Macht legitimierten und aufrechterhielten und ihrer Stellung im herkömmlichen Rahmen der altägyptischen Geschichte. Die einzige verfügbare und unverzichtbare Informationsquelle über die Herrscher der 13. Dynastie ist das ramessidisch Manuskript, das als Turiner Königsliste bekannt ist. Leider leidet die Königsliste unter zahlreichen Mängeln und ist weitgehend inkonsistent mit den zeitgenössischen archäologischen Belegen für diese Herrscher. Daher zielt die Hauptfrage der vorliegenden Studie darauf ab, die Natur der 13. Dynastie zu untersuchen und inwieweit sie in einem wörtlichen Sinne ein zusammenhängendes politisches Regime im dynastischen System der altägyptischen Geschichte bildete.

Die in dieser Forschung verwendete Methodik umfasst eine umfassende Neubewertung der königlichen Belege der Dynastieherrscher, wie sie in der Turiner Königsliste aufgeführt sind sowie eine Untersuchung weiterer, nicht aufgeführter Herrscher, die mit denen in der Königsliste in Verbindung stehen. Die Neubewertung der königlichen Belege wurde durchgeführt, um deren Gültigkeit zu bewerten und die Beziehungen zwischen den Herrschern der Dynastie zu überprüfen. Darüber hinaus sollte beurteilt werden, inwieweit sie territoriale Souveränität im selben geografischen Bereich ausübten. Durch die Anwendung der Kriterien des Konzepts einer „Dynastie“ als vereinigtes politisches System zielt die Forschung darauf ab, die Anwendbarkeit dieses Konzepts auf die Gruppe der traditionell als 13. Dynastie identifizierten Herrscher zu überprüfen.

Nach einer gründlichen Diskussion der wichtigsten Aspekte, die die Natur der 13. Dynastie untersuchen, einschließlich ihres Beginns, ihrer Machtbasis, der Nachfolge der Herrscher, der Periodisierung und der historischen Grenzen, kommt die Studie zu dem Schluss, dass die 13. Dynastie aus einer Ansammlung von Herrschern bestand, die hauptsächlich Macht jenseits des östlichen Deltas ausübten. Ihre Herrschaft erstreckte sich bis zum Aufstieg der Hyksos-Herrschaft über Memphis. Während die Turiner Königsliste eine zusammenhängende Abfolge von Herrschern nahelegt, stellt die

verfügbare königliche Evidenz die Vorstellung einer vereinten Dynastie im wörtlichen Sinne in Frage. Die politische Landschaft dieser Periode war durch regionale Autonomie und das Aufkommen separater Machtzentren gekennzeichnet.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude and appreciation to all those who have contributed to the completion of this work. Without their unwavering support, guidance, and encouragement, this work would not have been possible.

First and foremost, I am immensely grateful to my supervisor, Univ.-Prof. Dr. Jochem Kahl, for his invaluable guidance and mentorship. I am truly fortunate to have had the opportunity to work under his supervision. Then, I would like to express my deepest thanks to my former supervisor at the University of Tübingen, Prof. Dr. Ingrid Gamer-Wallert, for her support during my first months in Germany and her assistance in placing me as a PhD candidate at the Freie Universität Berlin. I would also like to thank Prof. Dr. Stephen Quirke of University College London for his valuable support and guidance. I extend my appreciation to the *Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst* (DAAD) and the Egyptian Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research for their financial support through a full PhD scholarship.

I express my gratitude to the colleagues who helped and supported me during the writing phase of the thesis, particularly Dr. Mohamed Osman for his mentoring, Dr. Christian Langer for proofreading the English language, Mr. Adel Kelany, and Mr. Nader El-Hosseiny for the facsimile illustrations. I also thank the curatorship teams of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Grand Egyptian Museum, the British Museum, the Petrie Museum, the Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Leiden Museum for providing me with the required photographs.

I would like to thank PD Dr. Jan Moje for acting as the second examiner of this thesis. Additionally, I extend my thanks to Univ.-Prof. Dr. Tonio Sebastian Richter, Jun.-Prof. Dr. Eliese-Sophia Lincke, and Dr. Tina Beck-Hasselbach for acting as members of the disputation committee.

Finally, I am deeply grateful to my family for their unwavering love, encouragement, and belief in my abilities. Their constant support, understanding, and patience during the ups and downs of this academic pursuit have been a tremendous source of strength.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	1
1. Introduction	1
2. Research Problems	1
3. Research Questions	2
4. Approach	3
5. Research Methodology	5
6. Research Outline	6
7. The 13th Dynasty in previous contributions	7
PART ONE: HISTORICAL STUDY	9
CHAPTER ONE: OUTLINE STATE POLICIES DURING THE LATE 12TH DYNASTY	10
1. Introduction	10
2. Overview of the early 12th Dynasty (c. 1938- 1837 BC.).....	10
3. State policies during the late 12th Dynasty (c. 1837- 1759 BC.).....	13
3.1. The Military Activities and the Foreign Policy.....	13
3.2. Economic activities and development projects	14
3.3. Architectural activities and urban expansion	16
3.4. Regional administration	23
4. Conclusion.....	28
CHAPTER TWO: THE END OF THE 12TH DYNASTY AND THE TURNING POINT	31
1. Introduction	31
2. King Amenemhat IV.....	31
2.1: Legitimacy	31
2.2: Activity.....	32
3. Queen Sobekneferu.....	33
3.1: Legitimacy	33

3.2: Activity.....	34
4. Tombs	35
5. The end of the 12th Dynasty.....	36
6. The Turning Point.....	38
7. Conclusion	41
CHAPTER THREE: HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE 13TH DYNASTY	
.....	42
1. Introduction	42
2. Historical sources.....	42
2.1: Manetho	42
2.2: Turin King-list.....	43
2.3: Karnak offering list	52
3. Subsidiary sources	55
4. Conclusion	69
PART TWO: ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY.....	72
Introduction.....	73
1. Introduction.....	73
2. Goals	73
3. Methodology	73
4. Limitations	75
5. Outline	76
6. Legends	76
CHAPTER FOUR: 13TH DYNASTY RULERS IN THE TURIN KING-LIST	77
13.1: King <i>Hw-t3.wj-R^c</i>	78
13.2: King <i>Shm-k3-R^c</i>	84
13.3: King <i>Jmn-m-h3.t {R^c}</i>	89
13.4: King <i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>	89
13.5: King <i>jw=f-n=j</i>	89
13.6: King <i>S:nh-jb-R^c</i>	90
13.7: King <i>S:mn-k3-R^c</i>	93

13.8: King <i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>	95
13.9: King <i>S:w3d-k3-R^c</i>	99
13.10: King <i>Ndm-jb-R^c</i>	99
13.11: King <i>Sbk-htp {R^c}</i>	99
13.12: King <i>Rn=j-[s]nb</i>	99
13.13: King <i>3w.t-jb-R^c</i>	100
13.14: King <i>S:df[3]-k3-R^c</i>	108
13.15: King <i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp</i>	113
13.16: King <i>Wsr-[k3]-R^c Hndr</i>	124
13.17: King <i>[S:mnh]-k3-R^c Jm.y-r mš^c</i>	131
13.18: King <i>[S:htp]-k3-[R^c] Jnj-jt(j)=f</i>	134
13.19: King [...]jb- [...] <i>Sth</i>	136
13.20: King <i>Shm-R^c [s:w3d-t3.wj] Sbk-htp</i>	137
13.21: King <i>H^c-[shm]-R^c Nfr-htp</i>	155
13.22: King <i>S3-Hw.t-hr{R^c}</i>	172
13.23: King <i>H^c-nfr-R^c Sbk-htp</i>	176
13.24: King <i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>	201
13.25: King <i>W3h-jb-R^c Jb-j^cw</i>	204
13.26: King <i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i>	209
13.27: King <i>Mr-htp-R^c</i>	215
13.28: King <i>S:nh.n-R^c s:w3d=tw</i>	220
13.29: King <i>Mr-shm-R^c Jnd</i>	221
13.30: King <i>S:w3d-k3-R^c Hr-j</i>	224
13.31: King <i>Mr-k3.w-R^c Sbk-htp</i>	225
13.39: King [...]r- [...]R3[...]	227
13.40: King <i>Mr-hpr- R^c</i>	227

13.41: King <i>Mr-k3-[R^c?]</i>	227
13.43: King [.....] <i>dd</i>	227
13.44: King [.....]- <i>ms</i>	227
13.45: King [...] - <i>m3.t-R^c</i> <i>Jbj</i>	227
13.46: King [...] <i>wbn-R^c</i> <i>Hr</i>	228
13.47: King [...] - <i>k3-R^c</i>	228
13.48: King [...] <i>kn-R^c</i>	228
13.49: King [...] -[...] - <i>R^c</i>	228
13.50: King [...] - <i>n</i> [...]:.....	228
CHAPTER FIVE: NON-INCLUDED 13TH DYNASTY RULERS IN THE TURIN KING-LIST	229
13.a: King <i>S:nfr-jb-R^c</i> , Senwosret IV	230
13.b: King <i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj</i> Khabaw	233
13.c: King <i>H^c-nh-R^c</i> Sobekhotep	237
13.d: King <i>Jmny-km3w</i>	241
13.e: King <i>Htp-jb-R^c</i> Qemau - <i>s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f</i>	245
13.f: King <i>Df3-K3-R^c</i> or <i>Nr-k3-R^c</i>	248
CHAPTER SIX: GENERAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS.....	249
Introduction.....	249
1. Royal names	249
2. Juxtaposed names:	255
3. The spatial activity of rulers	259
4. Art Production.....	269
5. Backgrounds of rulers.....	279
6. Prosopographical data	281
Conclusion	286

PART THREE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	289
CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION.....	290
1. The beginnings of the 13th Dynasty.....	290
2. The Residence	294
3. Legitimacy and Succession	301
4. Periodization of the 13th Dynasty	311
5. The end of the 13th Dynasty	318
CONCLUSION	322
PART FOUR: CATALOGUE	325
APPENDIX.....	547
BIBLIOGRAPHY	555

Abbreviations:

A

AcOr	Acta Orientalia
AJSL	The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, The University of Chicago
ASAE	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen
AVDAIK	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo

Ä

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
Ä&L	Ägypten und Levante
ÄF	Ägyptologische Forschungen

B

BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BEM	Bulletin of the Egyptian Museum
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BMMA	Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art
BSEG	Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève
BSFE	Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie.

C

CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History
CdÉ	Chronique d'Égypte
CRIPEL	Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres.

D

DAIK	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo
------	---

E

EA	Egyptian Archaeology
EVO	Egitto e Vicino Oriente

F

FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire
-------	---

G

GM	Göttinger Miszellen
----	---------------------

I

IFAO	l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
------	--

J

JEA	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
-----	---------------------------------

JEgH	Journal of Egyptian History
------	-----------------------------

JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
------	---------------------------------

JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
-------	--

JSSEA	Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
K	
KK.	Karnak King-list
Kêmi	Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes, Paris
KMT	KMT. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt
Kush	Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service
L	
LÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
M	
MDAIK	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo
MVAeG	Mitteilungen der Vordeasisch-Agyptischen Gesellschaft
MKS	Middle Kingdom Studies
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMJ	Metropolitan Museum Journal
P	
PAM	Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean
PM	The Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings
PSBA	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
R	
RdÉ	Revue d'Égyptologie
RT	Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes
S	
SAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur
SASAE	Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte
SIP	Second Intermediate Period
Sokar	Sokar : Geschichte & Archäologie Altägyptens
T	
TK.	Turin King-list
U	
UCLA	UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology
V	
VA	Varia Aegyptiaca
W	
WA	World Archaeology
Wb	Erman, A. and Grapow, H., Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache. 5 vols, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1926-1931.
Z	
ZÄS	Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde

Introduction

1. Introduction

The 13th Dynasty as a period in ancient Egyptian history still raises questions. The dynasty is outlined as the group of about 50 rulers listed after the 12th Dynasty's end in the Ramesside manuscript, the Turin King-list¹. Conventionally, these rulers ruled for about 150 years, from c.1803 to 1649 BC². Manetho's scheme of Egyptian history delineated the 13th Dynasty with 60 rulers of Diospolis, who ruled for 453 years. It is assumed that the 13th Dynasty is a continuation of the 12th Dynasty at the residence Itjtawy since there is no notable change, particularly the royal necropolis that lasted in the Memphite region³.

2. Research Problems

The nature of the 13th Dynasty remains elusive. The substantial source of information on the 13th Dynasty is the non-contemporary Turin King-list, which unfortunately suffers from various shortcomings. Subsequent studies adopted the King-list as a reliable source for the succession of the 13th Dynasty rulers. However, the King-List is inadequate in providing information regarding the historical frame of the 13th Dynasty compared to the 12th Dynasty. Besides, the identification of the dynastic founder is still contested due to discrepancies between the King-list and archaeological records.

Furthermore, the surviving archaeological evidence does not provide conspicuous connections between the successive names in the King-List, except for the lineage of the three brother kings Neferhotep, Sahathor, and Sobekhotep. However, familial ties do not need to be a primary criterion for the relationship between the dynasty members, especially if rulers followed similar policies and governed from the same capital. Nevertheless, evidence hints at heterogeneity between the listed rulers of the 13th Dynasty, suggesting that they may not have ruled as a cohesive dynasty.

The existence of a necropolis of the 13th Dynasty in the Memphite region, following the traditions of the 12th Dynasty, is well attested. However, the discovery of the Pennsylvania University expedition in 2014 at Abydos-South confirmed another necropolis of the 13th Dynasty. The findings from this necropolis attested the birth

¹ Allen 2010: 1, 7-8; Ryholt 1997: 71; Ryholt 2004: 136, 139-140.

² Ryholt 1997: 190.

³ Ryholt 1997: 79-84; von Beckerath 1964: 71-78; Hayes 1953: 33-38; Kemp 1983: 149.

name of Sobekhotep, which may refer to one of the well-known Sobekhotep Kings of the 13th Dynasty¹. The discovery raised issues over selecting Abydos as a second necropolis next to the one in Memphis.

Another issue that challenges the structure of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list is the overlap attested archaeologically between the late 13th and the Theban 16th dynasties.

The previous main studies of the 13th Dynasty adhered to the chronology of the dynasty in the Turin King-list². These attempted to adjust a line of about 50 rulers, with the assumption that they ruled in a continuous line of succession and from a single capital, Itjtawy. However, these studies have not presented a comprehensive examination of the archaeological evidence in conjunction with the Turin King-List in one research framework to verify the relationships between the rulers listed in the King-List. Additionally, the studies ignored the overly centralized state policies during the late 12th Dynasty, which concentrated the major activities in key administrative and religious centres, potentially influencing the political situation during the Second Intermediate Period.

3. Research Questions

All the aforementioned issues have led to the present study, which explores the nature of the 13th Dynasty. It first investigates the end and the state policies during the late 12th Dynasty that may have influenced the political situation during the 13th Dynasty.

Furthermore, the study does not solely rely on the sequence of rulers in the Turin King-list to justify the political situation of the 13th Dynasty. Various indicators suggest that the 13th Dynasty should not be approached in the same manner as stable dynasties of ancient Egyptian history, which have traditionally been studied through their foundation, succession of rulers, and eventual end. Consequently, the study critiques the reliability of the Turin King-list as a traditional source for constructing a political history of the 13th Dynasty.

¹ Wegner and Cahail 2015.

² Von Beckerath 1964; Ryholt 1997; Siesse 2019.

As a result, the study explores to what extent the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list aligns with or contradicts the archaeological record of these rulers. By doing so, it reevaluates the nature of the dynasty and provides a clearer understanding of its origins, power base, the succession of rulers, its place within the conventional framework of ancient Egyptian history, and the historical factors that contributed to determining its end.

4. Approach

The question about the nature of the 13th Dynasty should first be addressed by presenting the criteria that establish the dynastic system as an essential chronological tool for understanding the history of ancient Egypt. The association of the Greek term δυναστεία [dynasteía] (dynasty in English¹), meaning power², to ancient Egyptian history is credited to the Egyptian priest Manetho of the 3rd century BC. In his chronological scheme, Manetho grouped the rulers of ancient Egypt before Alexander the Great into 30 dynasties based on toponymic identifications, which likely indicated the rulers' origin or their residence³. QUIRKE clarifies that every group of rulers (dynasty) should “*share a common town either as the place of origin or burial or as a capital city.*”⁴

The dynastic system of Manetho appears to be an ancient Egyptian historiographical tool that categorized rulers based on their centres of power⁵. In addition to changeable factors like familial ties, professional backgrounds, and social or ethnic identities that contribute to the formation of a dynasty, geographical association remains the decisive factor in defining the ancient Egyptian dynasties. So, the term “Dynasty,” which linguistically refers to a series of rulers from one family, may not be universally applicable to all ruling groups in ancient Egypt. Alternatively, the term “House” could be used to more accurately describe ruling groups based on their geographic centre⁶, although it still implies the dominance of a single family. However, the ancient Egyptian tradition of historiography does not assign a specific term to denote the political power of a group of successive rulers.

¹ The English dictionary of Cambridge defines the term “Dynasty” as: (a period when a country is ruled by) a series of rulers or leaders who are all from the same family, See Cambridge International Dictionary of English 1999: 434.

² Classic Greek Dictionary 2010: 181; translated also as: Lordship, Sovereignty.

³ Waddell 1940; Shaw 2000: 1; Schneider 2008: 193.

⁴ Quirke 1990a: 6

⁵ The grouping of rulers based on their centers of power is exclusively utilized in the Turin King-list; See Gardiner 1959; Ryholt 2004; Ryholt 2006.

⁶ Sabbahy 2020: 4.

Given that the term “Dynasty” is indispensable for understanding ancient Egyptian history in a chronological context, it is necessary to identify the criteria that define ruling groups as dynasties in conventional meaning, regardless of how rulers are grouped in archaeological resources (the Turin King-list) or historical accounts (Manetho’s history). It is worth noting that the identification of ruling groups as dynasties becomes more challenging during periods of political instability. In such periods, the succession of rulers might not follow a clear and uninterrupted lineage. Rulers from different lineages or factions may claim power simultaneously, leading to overlapping chronological outlines. This can make it difficult to establish a clear and coherent dynastic framework. Additionally, the absence of contemporary archaeological evidence further complicates the identification of rulers as part of a single institution of kingship, despite their sequence in the King-list.

Criteria that should define the term “Dynasty” as a political or ruling system should include the following elements:

1. A group of successive rulers.
2. These rulers should exert absolute power.
3. The rulers should operate from a single power base.
4. The rulers’ authority should extend over a specific region or country.
5. This authority should be maintained for an extended period of time.

By incorporating these criteria, the term “Dynasty” in the framework of ancient Egyptian history can be defined as a chronological unit used to measure the absolute power of a group of successive rulers. These rulers exercise their power from a single power base, exerting their authority over a specific territorial range for an extended period. Interestingly, the definition aligns with QUIRKE’s definition of the term state/polity as

“A territory with a single executive authority; the mature state is characterized by fixed borders and a fixed centre at one geographical location, but may not differ greatly in its operation from states that are less developed or short-lived¹. ”

¹ Quirke 1991: 124.

In this context, “Dynasty” can thus be viewed as synonymous with “state/polity,” representing royal power over a specific territorial domain¹.

In the discipline of political geography, the “state” is defined as a political entity that exercises power and authority over the people, land, and resources within its borders. This implies that the state is closely associated with territorial sovereignty². The term “sovereignty,” within this context, indicates the highest and ultimate authority within a political entity³. Historically, this authority was represented by the sovereign, who claimed their rule based on divine right or local traditions, and sometimes enforced his rule through the use of force⁴.

Thus, it is evident that the criteria that outline the ruling groups as dynasties (polities/states) are closely linked to the determinants of the political geography field, which examines how political power is manifested in a geographical context. Therefore, when a group of successive rulers maintains absolute power over the same territory and shares the same power base, it is appropriate to designate them as a “Dynasty”. Consequently, to address the approximately 50 rulers following the end of the 12th Dynasty in the Turin King-list as the 13th Dynasty, it becomes necessary to verify the validity of using the term “Dynasty” to accurately classify those rulers as a “Dynasty”. This approach lies at the heart of addressing the main research question: “What is the nature of the 13th Dynasty?”

5. Research Methodology

To explore the nature of the 13th Dynasty, the study focuses on the direct archaeological re-evaluation of the royal evidence related to dynastic members as listed in the Turin King-list. Additionally, it includes a limited number of rulers who are associated with the rulers mentioned in the royal list. The primary goal of this approach is to assess the validity of the royal evidence in order to synthesize the political history of the 13th Dynasty rulers. This involves verifying the accuracy of the rulers’ sequence

¹ O’Connor and Silverman (1995: XVII-XXI) note that in ancient Egypt, the ruler’s significance went beyond mere rituals and symbols. The kingship occupied a prominent role in the geopolitical landscape, with the ruler exercising dominant power and control over the provinces.

² Gilmartin 2010: 19.

³ Painter and Jeffrey: 2009: 30-31; Gilmartin 2010: 28.

⁴ Gilmartin 2010: 28.

as presented in the Turin King-list and assessing the extent of the absolute dominance of the successive rulers over Egypt's political landscape¹.

Since the late 12th Dynasty, significant procedures occurred at the level of regional administration, targeting state centralization and focusing the main state activities in central centres. The research tests a hypothesis on the impact of late 12th Dynasty policies on the political landscape during the 13th Dynasty.

6. Research Outline

The research is divided into four parts:

Part One comprises a historical study, consisting of three chapters. **Chapter One** serves as a descriptive introduction, exploring the state policies of the late 12th Dynasty and their role in state centralization. **Chapter Two** provides a historical survey leading up to the end of the 12th Dynasty and the emergence of the 13th Dynasty. **Chapter Three** focuses on the historical framework of the 13th Dynasty, examining both primary and subsidiary sources as valuable historiographical tools for outlining the 13th Dynasty rulers.

Part Two presents an archaeological study divided into three chapters. Its main objective is to re-investigate the royal evidence concerning members of the 13th Dynasty and assess its validity in relation to the political history of the dynasty. **Chapter Four** examines the royal evidence of rulers included in the Turin King-list. **Chapter Five** explores the royal evidence of rulers not included in the Turin King-list but connected to the 13th Dynasty based on archaeological findings. **Chapter Six** includes an archaeological analysis to assess the homogeneity of the rulers' archaeological record according to the Turin King-list.

Part Three consists of **Chapter Seven**, which focuses on five key issues which address the central question of the study regarding the nature of the 13th Dynasty. This chapter culminates in a **conclusion** for the research.

Part Four is an illustrated catalogue that presents the archaeological evidence examined in the archaeological study.

¹ The introduction of the archaeological study (Part Two) provides a detailed overview of the methodology employed in the archaeological re-investigation of the royal evidence. It outlines the specific approach and factors used for assessing the validity of the evidence.

7. The 13th Dynasty in previous contributions

The main previous studies of the 13th Dynasty tackled it principally through the sequence of rulers in the Turin King-list as a primary source for the political history of the dynasty. Therefore, their contributions focused on restoring the king-list by fixing many non-placed names to the rulers' sequence based on stylistic grounds of the archaeological evidence and the royal names. Three main studies form the current comprehension of the 13th Dynasty: VON BECKERATH 1964, RYHOLT 1997, and SIESSE 2019.

1: VON BECKERATH 1964

The study by J. VON BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* considers the first main contribution of the political situation of the Second Intermediate Period. A notable earlier study before VON BECKERATH was penned by H. STOCK in 1942. His *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit* was based mainly on studying scarab-shaped seals. However, VON BECKERATH tackled the political history of the Second Intermediate Period in greater detail and presented several significant features that STOCK overlooked. Furthermore, his study included the first source-catalogue (*Belegliste*) for all the rulers he mentioned in the frame of the Second Intermediate Period.

2: RYHOLT 1997

Significantly, the study of K. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation in Egypt during The Second Intermediate Period*, deserves major credit for reviving interest in the political history of the Second Intermediate Period. RYHOLT offered a comprehensive interpretation model to reshape the chronological and territorial limits for the dynasties of the Second Intermediate Period. One of the most important contributions of RYHOLT's study is reconstructing the papyri fragments of the Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-list. One of his significant outcomes is the suggestion of the Abydos Dynasty. His study intensively developed VON BECKERATH's source-catalogue according to his reformation to the dynastic structure of the Second Intermediate Period.

3: SIESSE 2019

The study of J. SIESSE, *La XIII^e dynastie: Histoire de la fin du Moyen Empire égyptien* is the first to tackle the 13th Dynasty in a particular framework. The study does not focus only on the issues of chronology or royal succession but also gives wide attention to the social and administrative aspects. The study interacted partially with examining the archaeological evidence besides the typology of the royal names to put a consistent justification for the rulers' sequence. The study contains a revised version of RYHOLT's source-catalogue.

Besides, other significant studies have addressed the chronological and political aspects of the 13th Dynasty. S. QUIRKE, in his unpublished dissertation "*An Investigation into Problems of Thirteenth Dynasty Kingship with special reference to Papyrus Boulaq 18*" (1986), focused on the administrative aspects of the royal palace, specifically referencing Papyrus Boulaq 18. This work was further discussed by QUIRKE in 1990. Additionally, he explored the royal power of the dynasty and proposed a mechanism for the succession of rulers, as discussed in his 1991 work.

Moreover, the publications by D. FRANKE in 1988 and 2008 have delved into issues regarding the internal chronology of the 13th Dynasty as presented in the Turin King-list. Finally, the work of D. LANDUA-McCORMACK in 2008 focused on the political power and administration of the 13th Dynasty, utilizing the royal funeral monument corpus of the Late Middle Kingdom.

Part One: Historical Study

Chapter One: Outline state policies during the late 12th Dynasty

“So bereiteten die Maßnahmen zur Stärkung des Staates, die von den Königen der 12. Dynastie durchgeführt wurden, den Niedergang des Amtes des Pharaos vor. Sie machten ihn für das Wohl des Landes entbehrlich...”

Matzker 1985: 191

1. Introduction

Presenting the state's policies during the late 12th Dynasty could profoundly help understand the identity of the 13th Dynasty. State policies are a set of ideas or plans that a government has approved¹. The 12th Dynasty was ruled by seven kings and ended by the ruling-queen Sobekneferu² over about 180 years. Well-preserved king-lists like the Abydos and Saqqara canons give a well-documented sequence for the dynasty's rulers³. Additionally, the Turin King-List covers eight entries for the dynastic rulers, but, unfortunately, just four names are readable entirely or partially due to the poor preservation of the list.

Interestingly, the Turin King List nevertheless provides both the regnal years of every ruler and a precise limit for the end of the 12th Dynasty after a total of 213 regnal years⁴. However, the late 12th Dynasty can be characterized primarily by the rule of king Senwosret III⁵. This chapter will present a general survey of the 12th Dynasty state policies, which developed significantly during Senwosret III's and Amenemhat III's reigns. It also aims to observe notable transformations between the dynasty's earlier and later phases. The next chapter is another general survey of the circumstances surrounding the end of the dynasty and turns to a new group of rulers that are identified traditionally as the 13th Dynasty.

2. Overview of the early 12th Dynasty (c. 1938- 1837 BC.)

Sources are lacking to prove king Amenemhat I's legitimacy to hold the throne as the first ruler of the 12th Dynasty. There is no evidence that would indicate a genealogical relationship between king Amenemhat I and his predecessors of the 11th Dynasty⁶. It seems that political propaganda contributed to paving his path to power. *The prophecies*

¹ Cambridge international dictionary of English 1999: 1091.

² Grajetzki 2015: 307.

³ Beckerath 1997: 27, 132; Note: Queen Sobekneferu is not mentioned in the Abydos King-list.

⁴ Gardiner 1959: Pl. II, III.

⁵ Grajetzki 2006: 51.

⁶ Franke 1995: 736; Sabbahy 2020: 139.

of Neferti describe how *Ameny* (Amenemhat), the son of Senwosret and a Nubian woman called Nefret, defended the country against external enemies and fortified its borders (*Wall-of-Ruler*)¹. It is thought that king Amenemhat I was the vizier Amenemhat of king Mentuhotep IV, the last ruler of the 11th Dynasty². Seemingly, political circumstances were not suitable for the new king to practice his rule from Thebes. Presumably, a few years into his reign, he set up a new royal residence far to the north at *Itjtawy*³. *The Teachings of Amenemhat I* for his son or the *Tale of Sinuhe* confirm that political instability was rife in Egypt. The sources tell that king Amenemhat I was assassinated in his 30th regnal-year while his coregent, prince Senwosret, led a military campaign against Libya⁴.

The dramatic beginning of the 12th Dynasty indicates that the state still had to make great strides toward political stability. One of the most significant innovations of the new 12th Dynasty to support political stability was the institution of the co-regency⁵. This tradition began with the rule of the dynastic founder, Amenemhat I⁶, and continued throughout the dynasty to provide the ruler with legitimacy⁷. It seems that political propaganda, which accompanied king Amenemhat I accession, and the unstable political circumstances which ended with his assassination obliged him or his son to find a method, like a co-regency, to secure a smooth power transition.

The state's activity during the first phase of the 12th Dynasty focused on securing its economic interests. It commenced mining expeditions to Nubia and Sinai, and military troops protected these distant economic activities. Furthermore, by Senwosret II's reign, the state launched new irrigation and agricultural projects in the Fayum region⁸. Besides, the trade between Egypt and the Near East recorded was marked by significant activity⁹. This movement to the East had a substantial impact on the number of Asiatics living in the country. For instance, king Amenemhat II's reign attested evidence to recruit 1,554 Asiatics as captives into Egypt, described as *Aamu*¹⁰. This number of captives were functioned as labourers in the pyramid city of

¹ Goedicke: 1977.

² Sabbahy 2020: 137; Callender 2000: 158.

³ Arnold, and Jánosi 2015: 54-55; Arnold 1991: 5-48.

⁴ Helck 1969; Callender 2000: 160; Parkinson 1997: 21-53.

⁵ Hany 2020: 39-44.

⁶ Berman 1985: 173- 203.

⁷ Murnane 1977: 1- 6.

⁸ Van De Miroop 2011:101.

⁹ Callender 2000: 164.

¹⁰ Altenmüller and Moussa 1991:12.

Amenemhat II. Besides, part of them was given as gifts to the campaign's leaders to serve in their households¹. Another piece of evidence referred to king Senwosret II's reign. It documented the visit of the ruler of a foreign land, *Ibsha*, who accompanied 37 Asiatics to prince Khnumhotep II of Beni Hassan². This Asiatic presence now increased over the 12th Dynasty. This increase might explain the list of Asiatic workers who served in Theban estates during the 13th Dynasty³.

Various architectural activities date to the early dynasty. Kings of the 12th Dynasty constructed pyramids for their burial in a revival of the Old Kingdom burial tradition. The initial necropolis of the dynasty was in Lisht, which was probably the royal residence "Itj-tawy." By the reign of Amenemhat II, the necropolis had been relocated to Dahshur⁴. Then king Senwosret II selected Lahun for his tomb accompanied by a planned settlement attested as "*Hetep-Senowsret*,"⁵ which maintained Senwosret II's mortuary cult⁶. This settlement probably served as a village for Senwosret II's pyramid builders but continued to gain importance until the 13th Dynasty⁷. Moreover, numerous significant structures are attested in various locations such as Heliopolis, Abydos, and Thebes. For instance, king Senwosret I started a massive construction program at Heliopolis; also, he launched a large-scale construction for the temple of Amun, the core of Karnak⁸. Besides, he began to add structures dedicated to the god Osiris-Khentiamentiu at Abydos⁹.

Additionally, the Eastern Delta received particular attention from the 12th Dynasty's early rulers. The excavations in Tell el-Dab'a and its surroundings reveal a settlement and a temple attributed to king Amenemhat I¹⁰. It is possible that the interest in the eastern Delta enhanced Amenemhat I's claims about how the so-called "Wall-of-Ruler" reinforced the eastern boundaries against the influx migrations of Asiatics¹¹.

¹ Gundlach 1994: 170- 171; Langer 2019:13.

² Newberry 1893: I, Pl. XXXI; Waston 1987: 54, figs. 110, 111; Kanawati and Woods 2010: 36-37, Pl. 92-102.

³ Callender 2000: 163.

⁴ Grajetzki 2006: 44.

⁵ Quirke 2005: 44-45.

⁶ Kemp 2018: 213.

⁷ Quirke 2005: 8; Grajetzki 2006: 49-50, 116, 139-140.

⁸ Callender 2000: 161; Grajetzki 2006: 36; Sabbahy 2020: 154-155.

⁹ O'Connor 2009: 88.

¹⁰ Adam 1959: 207-26; Bietak 1979: 226-228.

¹¹ Franke 1995: 738.

On the other hand, the state's regional administration was characterized by decentralization, where many local centres prospered¹. The regional administration did not show any noteworthy changes regarding the political power of the regional governors. They gained their power in the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period as local ruling families. Besides, they effectively enhanced the central government situation against any internal threats during the 11th and the early 12th dynasties². At that time, governors held their position through inheritance with complete loyalty to the king in the capital³. The governors used to erect large and fully decorated rock-cut tombs⁴. Governors' tombs preserve valuable data that reflect their importance to the royal court. They practised their duties to support the central government in its economic or defensive tasks⁵. These local governors held the title *hry-tp-3*, “the great overlord of a province”, and they led their regions as small kings⁶.

3. State policies during the late 12th Dynasty (c. 1837- 1759 BC.)⁷

In the reigns of Senwosret III (c. 1870-1831 BC) and Amenemhat III (c. 1831-1786 BC)⁸, the power of the 12th Dynasty power reached its peak. State activities developed remarkably, and several measures were issued to enhance the political and economic situation; these practices aimed basically to centralize state power. The following points cover the most significant of these measures:

3.1. The Military Activities and the Foreign Policy

Well-documented testimonies reflect the Egyptian kingdom's interest in Nubia during the late 12th Dynasty⁹. The colonial policies of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III aimed at extending the southern Egyptian boundaries up to the Second Cataract¹⁰. Thus, interest in Nubia focused on securing the Nile's navigable waterway to control the trade and sending regular mining and quarrying expeditions to Nubia¹¹.

¹ Grajetzki 2013: 3. Willems 2014: 47- 53.

² Wilkinson 2010: 161-162; Grajetzki 2020: 4.

³ Grajetzki 2009: 133-136.

⁴ Franke 1991: 40.

⁵ Grajetzki 2009: 109, 111.

⁶ Grajetzki 2009: 3; Franke 1991: 54; Willems 2014: 27- 38.

⁷ Grajetzki 2006: 51.

⁸ Callender 2000: 164, 167.

⁹ Delia 1980: 24- 07; Delia 1995: 21-27.

¹⁰ Grajetzki 2006: 52-53.

¹¹ Hayes 1971: 506; Van De Miroop 2001: 113.

To implement his scheme, King Senwosret III sent four campaigns against Nubia in the 8th, 10th, 16th, and 19th years of his reign¹. Furthermore, he renewed a canal at the first cataract, dating to King Merenre I of the 6th Dynasty, called ‘beautiful-are-the-Ways-of-Khakaure’, to facilitate movements between Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia². The most significant act achieved by King Senwosret III to confirm his authority in Nubia was the construction of numerous permanent defensive points. He built a chain of fortresses in Semna, Kumma, and Uronarti to guarantee the state’s grip over the region³. Copies of administrative documents found at Thebes labelled as “Semna dispatches” describe the management of the region⁴. Due to his policy towards Nubia in extending Egypt’s southern borders, Egyptians adopted King Senwosret III as a local patron in Nubia in subsequent periods⁵. King Amenemhat III resumed the same policy towards Nubia. He fortified the Semna border and enlarged some of the fortifications⁶.

Conversely, King Senwosret III’s foreign policy towards Asia was different. He led one campaign into Palestine to subdue the groups threatening the Egyptian kingdom at its north-eastern border⁷. Maybe the outcomes of this campaign are like the former ones of king Amenemhat II against Asia⁸. It seems there was a gradual increase of the Asiatics brought to Egypt as captives⁹. Records indicate that these Asiatics worked in households and temples¹⁰. Considerably, these military campaigns towards the Levant had an interest in supplying the Egyptian kingship with cedar¹¹.

3.2. Economic activities and development projects

During the late 12th Dynasty, economic fields focused on the usual activities like mining, quarrying, agriculture, and trading. By the reign of King Senwosret III, the economic activity targeted the exploitation of Nubian resources. The aforementioned Lower Nubian fortresses sustained the Egyptian economic activity in the region. These activities concentrated on gold mining and the trade between Egypt and Nubia¹². King

¹ Tallet 2005: 40-52

² Grajetzki 2006: 52; Delia 1995: 21; Quirke 1990: 2

³ Hayes 1971: 507; Vogel 2010: 31-38; Wilkinson 2010: 176-177.

⁴ Van De Miroop 2011: 113.

⁵ El-Enany 1994: 207-213; Franke 1995: 743.

⁶ Callender 2000: 168.

⁷ Tallet 2005: 172-177; Delia 1980: 11; Gundlach: 171- 173.

⁸ Callender 2000: 166.

⁹ Gestermann 1995: P. 35.

¹⁰ Mourad 2015: 125-126.

¹¹Mourad 2015: 125.

¹² Delia 1980: 24-107; Möller 2016: 252.

Senwosret III's quarrying activity is attested in several eastern desert locations like Wadi el-Hudi, Wadi Hammamat, and Hatnub. By contrast, King Senwosret III's activities in the western desert and Sinai are inadequately attested¹.

By the reign of king Amenemhat III, the economic situation became more flourished. He launched many projects in mining, quarrying, irrigation, and agriculture. Besides exploiting traditional quarries of the Middle Kingdom like Wadi Hammamat, Wadi el-Hudi, and Ayn Soukhna, king Amenemhat III had a particular interest in Sinai. Numerous inscriptions indicate that king Amenemhat III sent many expeditions to mine turquoise in Sarabit el-Khadim, Wadi Maghara, and Wadi Nasb². Additionally, he carried out many enlargements in the temple of Hathor at Sarabit el-Khadim³. These possibly reflect the area's development and indicate the increase in the workforce. It is worth pointing out the increase of Asiatic labour in Sarabit el-Khadim as a prominent part of the Egyptian expeditions to the area. By the reign of kings Senwosret III and Amenemhat III⁴, for instance, inscriptions indicate the duty of an Asiatic called *Khebbed* in securing the mining expeditions towards Sinai. This person is designated as the brother of the prince of *Retenu*⁵.

Regarding the development of internal resources, the natural formation of El-Faiyum oasis gave the 12th Dynasty kings an excellent opportunity to start a number of agricultural and irrigation projects in this promising area. King Amenemhat III resumed the ambitious irrigation of the Faiyum, which had begun under King Senwosret II. Seemingly, an irrigation project aimed to regulate water supply from the Nile to Qarun Lake via a little Nile branch now called Bahr Yusef. A noteworthy indication is that remains of an ancient dam have been found at the entrance of the Fayoum by Bahr Yusef. Possibly, it was one of the components of this irrigation project to control the water flow into the Fayoum⁶. It is thought that this project reclaimed more than 17,000 acres of arable land north and west of Medinet El-Faiyum. This project was ultimately completed by king Amenemhat III⁷.

¹ Delia 1980: 111-115; Tallet 2005: 111-122, 143-159.

² Callender 2000: P.168; Tallet 2005: 148-159.

³ Gardiner and Peet, and Černy 1952: 37.

⁴ Van Seters 1966: 87-90; Mourad 2015: 135; Kemp 1983: 141.

⁵ Mourad 2015: 136-137, 305.

⁶ Möller 2016: 249.

⁷ Hayes 1971: 511; Matzker 1986: 125.

Additionally, some evidence offers glimpses into the economic situation according to the Nile flood height. Numerous Nile inundation records from Nubia reflect the state's competence in economic management; these records are attributed to king Amenemhat III and continued into the 13th Dynasty. Some studies relying on these records suggested an order for the late Middle Kingdom's unplaced rulers¹. However, it is still not safe to adopt it as a chronological method for the sequence of late Middle Kingdom rulers because of its irregularity².

Concerning foreign trade, the material culture generally attests to the flourishing trade between Egypt and its neighbours in the 12th Dynasty. Besides the trade between Egypt and Nubia, the evidence shows a comprehensive exchange with the Levant and the Mediterranean. Foreign or replicated objects attributed to the Minoan culture were found in different locations in Egypt. Similarly, Egyptian artefacts uncovered in Crete were imitated by Minoan craftsmen³. Other unearthed precious objects fashioned from silver, gold, and lapis lazuli were typically Mesopotamian, while others were from the Aegean and Anatolia⁴. Additionally, excavations in one of the Red Sea coastal points reveal an ancient Middle Kingdom harbour at Saww (modern Mersa/Wadi Gawasis). There, inscriptions indicate the role of the 12th Dynasty kings from Senwosret I until Senwosret III sent expeditions to the land of Punt⁵.

3.3. Architectural activities and urban expansion

During the late 12th Dynasty, architectural and urban activity expanded. kings Senwosret III and Amenemhat III continued to exploit the usual landscapes of the early 12th Dynasty but on a broader scale. Furthermore, they expanded the urban activity to new locations. It is noteworthy that the state adopted a new policy for the increased centralization of power. Therefore, it started to develop a logistical system of urban centres instead of the local governors' support, gradually weakening their influence by king Senwosret III's reign⁶. Newly planned settlements were built to serve different purposes in the whole of the country. The planning of these settlements indicates a class-ranked society. For instance, Lahun, the walled-planned settlement of Senwosret

¹ Ryholt 1997: 70.

² Grajetzki 2006: 60, 65-66.

³ Callender 2000: 178.

⁴ Van De Miroop 2011: 117- 118.

⁵ Sayed 1999: 866- 868; Callender 2000: 179.

⁶ Van De Miroop 2011: 104.

II, is a prominent example of settlement planning during the Middle Kingdom¹. The difference in the layout and sizes of houses within the Lahun settlement reflects two distinct, walled and separated social classes. The majority of settlement houses are designed on an equal and tiny scale and are attributed to commoners located in the West of the settlement. Besides, a small number of large-scale houses for the ruling class are situated in the East², including a larger unit on elevated ground, probably intended for the town's mayor³.

The architectural and urban activity by the late 12th Dynasty may have concentrated on four geographical ranges: the residential area, the Eastern Delta, Abydos, and Thebes as political and administrative center in the south.:.

3.3.1. Royal Residence

The residential region could be defined as the region from where the kings exerted their rule. Commonly, this region should contain prominent funerary and religious activities of the dynasty. As mentioned above, “Itjtawy” was the new capital of the 12th Dynasty, which king Amenemhat I, the founder of the Dynasty, selected. It is nearly certain that the modern-day Lisht, the early necropolis of the Dynasty, is the ancient Itjtawy⁴. The 12th Dynasty’s residence was expanded from Lisht to include El-Fayoum, Memphis, and Heliopolis.

During the late 12th Dynasty, the residential region still received significant interest as the main theatre of Senwosret III’s and Amenemhat III’s funerary architecture. Despite abundant evidence of the funerary activity of Senwosret III at Abydos, the residence continued to attract tremendous interest even after Senwosret III’s reign. Dahshur, the southern extension of the Memphite necropolis, was selected by King Senwosret III to host his pyramid tombs. Noteworthy is that Senwosret III imitated king Djoser’s niched enclosure wall at Saqqara in constructing his pyramid complex at Dahshur⁵. Amenemhat III also built his pyramid-tomb at Dahshur during his early reign but transferred his burial to Hawara. Presumably, his pyramid at Dahshur was inappropriate for a royal tomb due to an architectural fault⁶. However, his two

¹ Grajetzki 2006: 139.

² Van De Miroop 2011: 105.

³ Yamamoto 2015: 189; Quirke 2005: 47.

⁴ Arnold and Jánosi 2015: 55.

⁵ Arnold 2002: 19, 23; Grajetzki 2006: 57

⁶ Arnold 2002.

wives were later buried there¹. At Hawara, Amenemhat III built a massive new funeral complex, reflecting the prosperity that the state had attained during his reign². It seems that Amenemhat III selected Hawara (northwest of Lahun) due to its vicinity to Lahun, where the required logistic supplies for his new construction were located³. Greek historians like Herodotus and Strabo famously described his mortuary temple at Hawara as a ‘labyrinth’ due to its size⁴. Unfortunately, the mortuary temple’s archaeological remains did not help reconstruct its original plan⁵.

The Fayoum region received significant interest in the reign of king Amenemhat III, maybe due to the agricultural and irrigation projects started in Senwosret II’s reign and resumed under Amenemhat III. Besides his pyramid complex at Hawara, Amenemhat III commissioned many religious constructions in the Fayoum. For example, at Kiman Fares (probably a part of the ancient Shedet), a temple for the god Sobek was constructed⁶. Furthermore, he commissioned another temple to the goddess Rennutet at Madinet Madi. Besides, at Biyahmu, about 7 kilometres north of Madinet El-Fayoum, two pedestals for Amenemhat III’s colossi were erected, which might be the remains of a cult complex for Amenemhat III⁷. Moreover, at Qasr es-Sagha north of the Fayoum, an isolated, undecorated Middle Kingdom temple, probably attributed to Senwosret II, was perhaps accomplished under Senwosret III⁸. In the eastern and western vicinity of the temple of Qasr es-Sagha, two planned settlements were discovered that functioned as a labour camp, beside a cemetery to the West that served the whole area⁹.

3.3.2. Abydos:

Abydos was a prominent centre in the 8th nome of Upper Egypt beside Thinis as the capital’s nome¹⁰. During the Middle Kingdom, Abydos acquired a significant interest as a famous cult centre of the god Osiris. The religious landscape of Abydos notably developed from the 11th Dynasty until the 13th Dynasty period¹¹. Due to its popularity

¹ Arnold 1987; Grajetzki 2006: 58.

² Uphill 2000; Tallet 2005: 233-236.

³ Grajetzki 2006: 116; Kemp 2018: 211.

⁴ Oppenheim 2015: 273; Callender 2000: 70.

⁵ Leprohon 1970: 200; Lloyd 1970.

⁶ Callender 2000: 168; Matzker 1986: 126.

⁷ Habachi 1940: 721-753; Grajetzki 2006: 119, Arnold 2015, 320; Leprohon 1970: 200.

⁸ Arnold and Arnold 1979: 21; Arnold 2015: 320.

⁹ Möller 2016: 262-271; Kemp 2018: 227-228.

¹⁰ Grajetzki 2006: 94.

¹¹ Wegner 2015: 318-319.

as a religious centre of Osiris, Abydos received a continuous influx of Egyptian pilgrims to participate in religious festivals. Osiris's sacred annual procession led from Osiris-Khentiamentiu's temple (modern Kom es-Sultan, north-east of Abydos) to his tomb, identified as king Djer's tomb of the 1st Dynasty (modern Umm el-Qa'ab)¹. As a result of this growing religious activity, many cenotaphs and memorial chapels (Kachapels)² dedicated to Osiris were added to the religious landscape of Abydos by the elite. Besides, tiny votive objects like pottery or statutes were dedicated to Osiris by the populace³.

During the late 12th Dynasty, the religious landscape of Abydos had expanded southward by King Senwosret III's reign. About 2 kilometres south of Seti I's temple⁴, a sizeable mortuary temple of Senwosret III was fully revealed by J. WEGNER in 1994 of the Pennsylvania-Yale-Institute of Fine Arts expedition⁵. Previous attempts to explore the area by RANDALL-MACLVER between 1899-1900 discovered the initial existence of a temple attributed to King Senwosret III⁶. It has been considered that this temple stood isolated in the south of Abydos⁷. However, between 1901-1903 WEIGALL⁸ and, after him, CURRELLY⁹ excavated a 170-meter-long subterranean tomb cut deeply under the desert cliffs (mountain of Anubis).

The subterranean tomb starts with a T-shaped mud-brick enclosure with annexed rooms, which are probably used as offering storage. Two other tombs are adjacent to the subterranean tomb, designated as S9 and S10; now, tomb S9 is attributed to one of the Sobekhotep kings of the 13th Dynasty. Additionally, a newly discovered tomb of king Senebkay may have belonged to a local dynasty whose power did not exceed the vicinity of Abydos¹⁰. This burial context is oriented towards Senwosret III's temple, approximately 800 meters from the tomb enclosure's entrance¹¹. Due to the orientation

¹ Yamamoto 2015: 250-251.

² Wegner 1996: 119

³ Grajetzki 2006: 94-95; Yamamoto 2015: 251-252.

⁴ Wegner 1995: 59.

⁵ Wegner 2007: 5.

⁶ Randall-Maclver 1902: 57- 60, Pls. XX-XXI.

⁷ Wegner 2007: 3.

⁸ Weigall 1904: 11-20, Pls. XXXV-XXXXIX, XLII.

⁹ Currelly 1904: 22-43, Pls. XXXIX-XLI, XLIII.

¹⁰ Wegner and Cahail 2015; Landua-McCormack 2017: 399-404.

¹¹ Wegner 1996: 139-142, 357-367.

of the subterranean tomb towards Senwosret III's temple, it has been interpreted as a funerary complex of Senwosret III at Abydos South¹.

The extensive subterranean tomb is equipped with a complicated granite blocking system for protecting its burial chamber, which contains a granite sarcophagus and a canopic box. Despite the solid protective system, the tomb might have been robbed at least twice in antiquity². According to this evidence, it seems that the tomb was used as the actual burial. Unfortunately, the tomb did not contain any attestation for King Senwosret III. Consequently, it might be thought that the tomb is a cenotaph because Senwosret III has another funerary complex at Dahshur, the traditional necropolis of the 12th Dynasty³.

WEGNER's full excavation of the mortuary temple suggests the temple's function as a cult centre for Senwosret III, the deceased king, who simultaneously aligned himself with Osiris⁴. He believes strongly that the king was buried in Abydos because of some sensible observations. First, the elaborate system of granite blocking, indicates that the tomb was used. Second, according to CURRELLY's excavations in 1903, some duck-shaped alabaster vessels were found. These vessels are typed for the Middle Kingdom and might have contained offerings for the deceased king. Third, the tomb was looted, maybe after King Senwosret III's discontinued cult in Abydos. The robbers' insistence to loot the burial chamber indicates that they thought the tomb contained something valuable. Finally, Wegner bolstered his argumentation through De Morgan's observations on the Dahshur pyramid. De MORGAN reported that the burial chamber beneath the pyramid was found empty, without any indications that "*it had ever housed a burial*"⁵.

Continuous work of the Pennsylvania-Yale Institute of Fine Arts expedition (see above) led by WEGNER in Abydos south revealed a planned administrative settlement. It is located about 300 meters southeast of the mortuary temple of Senwosret III. The settlement's primary function was to maintain Senwosret III's cult activities at his nearby funerary complex. Many seal impressions attest to the name of Senwosret III's complex at Abydos as *w3h-swt-Hk3wr-m3c-hrw-m-3bdw / Enduring are the places of*

¹ Wegner 1995: 61-62.

² Wegner 1995: 69.

³ Grajetzki 2006: 55.

⁴ Wegner 1996: 308-356; Wegner 1995: 69-70.

⁵ Wegner 1995: 71; De Morgan 1903: 87-97.

*Khakaure true of voice in Abydos*¹. The findings indicate that the settlement was used from the late 12th Dynasty until the late 13th Dynasty². The settlement included a palatial residence attributed to the *Wah-swt* mayors³ and resembled Lahun's settlement in its planning⁴.

3.3.3. Thebes

The 12th Dynasty rulers still favoured Thebes due to their Theban origin; therefore, the architectural activities there continued throughout the second phase of the dynasty. Besides the constructions of the early kings of the dynasty at the temple of Amun at Karnak, Thebes attested to further contributions during the second half of the Dynasty in the temple of Amun and other locations. For instance, Senwosret III constructed religious structures at Medamud in favour of the god Monthu. It is noteworthy that a sizeable administrative unit was adjacent to a Middle Kingdom temple at Medamud⁵. Senwosret III erected other buildings at Tod and Armant. Besides, some statues were erected at Karnak and Deir el-Bahari⁶. In this respect, recent excavations revealed a 12th Dynasty settlement extended to the Second Intermediate Period. It is located behind the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak within the enclosure wall⁷. It thus revealed the original town of Thebes, which was gradually pushed back for the development of the complex of Karnak over time⁸.

King Amenemhat III, like his ancestors of the 12th Dynasty, contributed generously to the temple of Amun at Karnak. Additionally, sources indicate that Thebes at this time seemed to have become a distinct administrative department as the “Head of the South.” Moreover, some officials who lived in Thebes held executive roles as representatives of the king⁹. As “The Head of the South,” Thebes might have overseen the expanding state’s activity until the chain of fortresses at Lower Nubia. Regulated correspondences called “*Semna Dispatches*” were found in one of the Theban tombs dating to Amenemhat III’s reign. These correspondences reported the Egyptian

¹ Wegner 2001: 281-308.

² Wegner 1996: 177-181.

³ Wegner 2015: 318-319.

⁴ Möller 2016: 339.

⁵ Kemp 2018: 135-137, 221.

⁶ Delia 1980: 130-138; Grajetzki 2006: 56.

⁷ Kemp 2018: 224-225.

⁸ Möller 2016: 300-305.

⁹ Leprohon 1970: 207.

fortresses' activity in Lower Nubia to their leadership, probably stationed at Thebes¹. In this context, as a prominent, traditional centre for trade and armed missions at the southern frontier, Elephantine was integrated into the Egyptian fortified system of the Lower Nubia by the reign of Senwosret III².

3.3.4. Eastern Delta

The Eastern Delta gained an important strategic position during the 12th Dynasty, which explains the focus of the state in the region. Its importance came because it was the first line of defence against infiltrating Asiatic groups. The Tale of Sinuhe tells that king Amenemhat I was cautious about fortifying the eastern boundaries by building the Wall-of-the-Ruler to protect the eastern border against the Asiatics and Bedouins³. Moreover, the Pelusic Nile Branch harbour at Ezbet Rushdi was the marine departure point to connect with the eastern lands through the Mediterranean Sea⁴. This harbour may have also facilitated the Asiatic flow into the Eastern Delta. The economy of the Eastern Delta was necessary due to it being a vast cultivated area. As a result of the intensification of mining activities in Sinai during the second half of the 12th Dynasty, the Eastern Delta may have been the starting point of mining expeditions to Sinai⁵.

Architectural developments are attested in the region during the late 12th Dynasty. As one of the most important religious centres in the Eastern Delta, Bubastis boasted significant activity in the late 12th Dynasty. Remains of a vast mud-brick palace were excavated between 1960 and 1980 by the Egyptian Authority of Antiquities⁶. The palace dates to Amenemhat III according to a limestone lintel discovered in the location and shows the double *Heb-sed* representation of the king⁷. A high-ranked elite cemetery in the vicinity indicates that the town's governors inhabited the palace despite its large scale of approximately 16.000 sqm⁸. The plan of the palace proves that it did not function solely as a residence but also held administrative roles⁹.

To the northeast of Bubastis, there is Ezbet Rushdi, located in the northern vicinity of Hut-waret (modern Tell el-Dab'a) directly on the Pelusic branch of the Nile.

¹ Smither 1945: 3-10; Kraemer 2016: 1-65; Kemp 2018: 236-237.

² Arnold 2015: 315.

³ Grajetzki 2006: 31.

⁴ Bietak 2010: 139-142; Bietak 2016: 263-264.

⁵ Bietak 2010: 147; Bietak 1996: 10.

⁶ Bietak and Lange 2014: 4.

⁷ Bietak 2019: 225.

⁸ Bietak and Lange 2014: 4.

⁹ Bietak 2019: 243, 236.

This town was given particular interest during the Middle Kingdom. It was a planned settlement founded by King Amenemhat I, which flourished during the 12th and 13th Dynasties. The settlement contains the remains of a temple to Senwosret III and those of an administrative palace dated to the 13th Dynasty. The archaeological and anthropological evidence indicates the Asiatics' existence, although the highly attested of Egyptians¹. At Tell Ibrahim Awad, there was also a large Middle Kingdom temple that was recently discovered².

3.4. Regional administration

By the late 12th Dynasty, Egypt witnessed changes in its regional administration. The state's policy aimed for a greater centralization. This administrative reform was not documented intentionally but can be confirmed through several observations and organizational procedures in line with those. The principal executive procedure, achieved in the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, was the wresting of power from the local governors³ and the setup of a new structure for the regional administration. The following points expose how the local governors' power was eliminated gradually in favour of the new regional administrative system⁴.

3.4.1. Indications of a loss of power of local governors

Local governors, per the “*nomarch phenomenon*”⁵, held a prestigious position in the royal class until the mid-12th Dynasty. They held their positions as *hry-tp-3*, “the Great overlord of a province”⁶. According to holding titles like this, they could manage the province’s resources for their interests. Furthermore, other titles reflected the duties that they managed in their province. In addition to the foremost duty to the region’s governance, they managed the local cults and acted as the high priests at local temples. In addition, the local governor also served as the main judge of the province⁷. These titles gave them more privileges to resemble small kings; many royal aspects and insignia were attested in their large rock-cut tombs⁸.

The large rock-cut tombs were the most remarkable archaeological product of the local governors until the mid-12th Dynasty. By the second phase of the 12th

¹ Bietak 1996: 5; Grajetzki 2006: 131-133.

² Grajetzki 2006: 131.

³ Grajetzki 2013, 3.

⁴ Franke 1991: 51-55.

⁵ Kemp 1983:110-111.

⁶ Grajetzki 2009: 110.

⁷ Grajetzki 2009: 111.

⁸ Grajetzki 2009: 114; Grajetzki 2016: 57-58.

Dynasty, these large tombs began to disappear gradually. This disappearance resulted from the centralization of power realized by Senwosret III and Amenemhat III¹. Tombs of the local governors are located in six regional locations: Elephantine (Qubbat al-Hawa), Qaw el-Kabir, Assiut, El-Meir, Deir el-Barsheh, and Beni Hasan. Most of these locations are within the Tenth and the Sixteenth nomes of Upper Egypt (Table 1.1).

In parallel with the rock cut-tombs disappearance, it seems that the governors lost substantial titles like “The Great Overlord of the province.” This title was never again used after the reign of King Senwosret III. The last governors to hold this title were the governors of Elephantine, Deir Rifeh, Assiut, El-Bersheh, and Beni Hassan².

Nome	Location	Tomb's owner	Tomb's No.	King's reign
Ta-seti No.1	Elephantine	<i>hmww ntr</i> Heqaib, son of Sat-Hathor	3	Senwosret III / Amenemhat III
Wadjet No. 10	Qaw el- Kabir	<i>hmww ntr</i> Wachka	18	Senwosret III / Amenemhat III
Nedjfit – Khentet No.13	Assiut	<i>hmww ntr</i> Djefai- Hapi III	VI	
		Djefai-Hapi IV	VII	Amenemhat II / Senwosret II
		Khety ³	M12.3	Amenemhat III ⁴
Nedjfit No.14	Meir	<i>hmww ntr</i> Ukh-hotep		
		<i>hmww ntr</i> Khakheperre – Seneb	Tomb C No.1	Senwosret III / Amenemhat III
Wenet No. 15	El-Barsheh	<i>hmww ntr hry-tp-</i> ³ Djehuti-hotep	2	Senwosret III
Ma-hdj / Menat Khufu No.16	Beni Hasan	<i>hmww ntr</i> Khnumhotep II	3	Senwosret II / Senwosret III

Table 1.1: the latest rock-cut tombs of the nomarchs, dating to the reign of Amenemhat III⁵

The gradual disappearance of the large rock-cut tombs and the absolute titles are the two most critical indications of the local governor's power elimination. GESTERMANN and GRAJETZKI believe that the reduction in gubernatorial titles was a logical result of the disappearance of the large rock-cut tombs. They reckon that the revenue of substantial titles and the extraordinary tasks practised by the nomarchs were the significant financial resources for erecting like these magnificent tombs⁶. Indeed,

¹ Gestermann 1995: 37.

² Franke 1991: 53; Willems 2014: 47- 58.

³ Khety held the title “Deputy Khety”; See Kahl et al 2015: 117.

⁴ Kahl et al 2015: 117-121.

⁵ Franke 1991: 54; Gestermann 1995: 40.

⁶ Gestermann 1995: 37; Grajetzki 2009: 119.

these rock-cut tombs were needed to secure financial resources. In addition, a staff of priesthood is to be in order for the funeral rituals and the reception of offerings. So it is thought that the province's income was the most convenient financial resource to cover all of these costs.

On the other hand, FRANKE argues that it was better to distinguish between the disappearance of the title *hry-tp-³3* and the disappearance of the rock-cut tombs in Middle and Upper Egypt. He thought that the title's disappearance may have resulted from the administration changes in Egypt. He reported that tomb construction relied on personal wealth and obtaining royal and regional support besides the clever craftsmen and common funerary thoughts and customs¹.

3.4.2. Wrestling power from local governors

The elimination of the local governors' power was not a sudden or direct action². The state operated a plan to facilitate this process without any feudal resistance by the governors. It educated the nomarch's male children at the king's residence³. This procedure guaranteed the loyalty of the governors' sons to the king and the crown prince, with whom he had already been co-educated⁴. After that, the sons were appointed as local officers and received positions in the royal court and the central administration⁵.

In his important study about the “*Decline of the Nomarchs*,” FRANKE gave Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan as a case study for the nomarch's sons who were educated at the royal residence. Khnumhotep III was the son of Khnumhotep II, governor of the nome Menat Khufu and owner of tomb No. 2 at Beni Hasan in the reign of King Senwosret II. Khnumhotep II did not succeed his father as a local governor but had been sent to the royal residence when he was a child. His autobiography in his father's tomb states that he held several important positions and titles. Khnumhotep III was not buried at Beni Hasan but in his tomb at Dahshur north of King Senwosret III's pyramid⁶.

¹ Franke 1991: 52.

² Willemse: 2013: 390.

³ Franke 1991: 55.

⁴ Gestermann 1995: 38-39.

⁵ Franke 1991: 55.

⁶ Franke 1991: 56-67.

FRANKE concluded that the late Middle Kingdom was “*a socio-political process which resulted in the centralization of power and wealth at the king’s residence and in the hands of the court élite.*”¹

3.4.3. A new regional administration structure

A bulk of administrative documents referring to the late Middle Kingdom² show that new organizational titles for the regional administration of the country were created³. These titles suggest that Egypt was divided into several large administrative departments/districts. The documents differentiate among the following geographic administrative departments: (1) *Wr.t mh.tt* or the northern district, (2) *Wr.t rs.t* the southern district, and (3) *Wr.t tp rsj*, district of the head of the south⁴.

MEYER assumed that the departments or districts indicate three main territorial sections of the country: the North (Delta), the South (Middle Egypt), and the Head of the South⁵. On the other hand, HAYES mentions that KEEES and others had extrapolated that the divisions of the northern and southern *Wr.t* did not utilize the country’s regional administration in absolute. They proposed that the county was divided into certain provinces, and every province was divided into northern and southern *Wr.t* and *Wr.t* head of the south was another designation for the southern *Wr.t*⁶.

HAYES mentions that the northern and southern subdivisions were attested only in the Fayoum region –Lahun–, the 12th Dynasty residence, or at Thebes, designated as the Head of the South. So, this means that both the Fayoum and Thebes were divided into southern and northern local districts. Every district oversaw a specific geographic range.

¹ Franke 1991: 65.

² According to Quirke, the term “Late Middle Kingdom” was covering the period from Senwosret III to Sobekhotep IV and his immediate successor; See Quirke 1990: 3.

³ Quirke 2004: 115-117; Quirke compiled Ward’s administrative titles of the late Middle Kingdom in: Ward 1982: n. 374, 415, 77, 1489, 1417, 1586, 217, 746, 1088, 699, 143, 31, 1274, 1277, 1426, 1591-2.

⁴ Gestermann 1995: 36.

⁵ Meyer 1908: 250-251, n. 284.

⁶ Hayes 1953: 32.

Period	Main centers	Northern district <i>W'r.t mh.tt</i>	Southern district <i>W'r.t rs.t</i>	Head of the South <i>W'r.t tp rsj</i>
12th + 13th? Dynasty	Fayoum	Delta + Memphis	Memphis ↓ Thebes	Thebes adjoining with the first six nomes of Upper Egypt ¹
Later SIP	Thebes “Head of the South”	Kusae ↓ Thebes	Thebes ↓ Elephantine	

Table. 1. 2: Geographical subdivisions of Egypt according to HAYES.

HAYES explains (Table 1. 2) that Fayoum’s northern district oversaw Memphis and extended to the Delta, while the purview of the southern district extended into Nubia. Due to the great distance between the Fayoum and Nubia, Upper Egypt was divided into two departments: the South, which included Middle Egypt, and the Head of the South, which covered Thebes as the leading centre adjoining the first upper nomes of Upper Egypt. By the late Second Intermediate Period, Egypt had lost its authority over northern Egypt due to the Hyksos invasion, which controlled the territories until Kusae².

In addition, QUIRKE emphasized the organizational subdivisions of *W'r.t mh.tt* and *W'r.t rs.t* belonged only to the local (Fayoum and Thebes), not the regional (Lower and Upper Egypt) levels³. He thinks that it was clear that the documents designated only the *W'r.t tp rsj* “Head of the South” district, centred at Thebes and extending between the First Cataract to the north of Abydos⁴. The designation of the “Head of the South” also motivated QUIRKE to divide the Egyptian territories into three areas: (1) Lower and Middle Egypt, centred on Itjtawy; (2) Upper Egypt as “Head of the South”, centred on Thebes and extending from Aswan to Abydos; (3) Lower Nubia⁵.

3.4.4. A new hierarchy for the regional administration

In parallel with the new regional structure, a group of administrative titles appeared dating to the late Middle Kingdom. It seems that a restricted hierarchy

¹ The first six or seven nomes of Upper Egypt formed the Theban realm of the early 11th Dynasty; Grajetzki 2006: 78.

² Hayes 1953: 32-33.

³ Quirke 1990: 4, 7 n. 8.

⁴ Quirke 2004: 116; See also Helck 1958: 11-13.

⁵ Quirke 2004: 115-116, 118.

governed the new districts and guaranteed the state centralization¹. For instance, instead of the absolute title of *hry-tp-3*, “the great overlord of a province”, the state appointed the “*h3.ty-3*,” “Mayor,” as a less-powerful official to govern the cities and the new urban centres (settlements)². Archaeological evidence, which came from towns like Lahun, Wahsut, and Tell el-Dab'a, indicates that governors of the towns were called “mayors”³.

On the regional level, another significant title that appeared as the equivalent to the “*h3.ty-3*” is the “*wḥmw (nsw)*”, translated literary as “who refers to the king”⁴. However, HAYES and QUIRKE translated it as “reporter”⁵. This title is attested mainly at Thebes⁶ and indicates superiority compared to a local official⁷.

Another group of titles that imply a new regional administrative structure appeared during the Late Middle Kingdom. Apart from the titles of “*h3.ty-3*” and “*wḥmw*”, QUIRKE projected other titles as (1) “*knbty n w*” the “district councillor”, who is receiving the commissions from the bureau of the vizier⁸; (2) “*sš sp3t*” the “secretary of the district⁹; (3) “*imy-r gs-pr*” the overseer of the half-domain, who possibly managed the estates of the “king’s domain” in a given local district¹⁰. In general, the persons who held these titles of in the new hierarchy were appointed directly by the king¹¹, and the positions like “mayor” or “reporter” could not be inherited¹².

4. Conclusion

The early 12th Dynasty could achieve the main principles of the kingship setup irrespective of the unstable internal conditions of the dynasty’s foundation. The first rulers avoided political conflicts on the throne and created the co-regency system for smooth power transmission. Royal activities reflected the desire of the dynasty to recapture the Old Kingdom spirit. The first rulers concentrated on defensive actions

¹ Hayes 1953: 32.

² Quirke 2004: 111. Ward 1982; n. 864.

³ Grajetzki 2009: 119

⁴ Pignattari 2018: 38

⁵ Hayes 1953: 32; Quirke 2004: 112; Kemp 1991: 156.

⁶ Ward 1982; n. 744a.

⁷ Quirke 2004: 112-113.

⁸ Quirke 2004: 113-114.

⁹ Quirke 2004: 114-115.

¹⁰ Quirke 2004: 115.

¹¹ Franke 1991: 52; Gestermann 1995: 36.

¹² Pignattari 2018: 37

against the intruders like Asiatics and Libyans. Besides, they exploited different economic resources and started constructing pyramid-funeral projects and religious architectural programs in several prominent locations. The royal activity was enhanced by the support of powerful local governors. Besides, the state began to rely on planned settlements to lend logistical aid to its projects. Finally, it seems that the state had a plan to recruit captives as cheap labour for various projects.

The later 12th Dynasty attests to further notable changes in state policies - the subject of the present chapter -, representational art and religious beliefs¹. The state activities focused on combining all the possible economic resources. In order to this aim, the imperial interest of the state expanded considerably towards Nubia to secure mining operations and trade. The Sinai and Eastern Delta also attracted great interest due to mining and trade with the Levant and the Eastern Mediterranean. The irrigation and agricultural projects contributed significantly to the development of the Fayoum area and its surroundings. Besides, almost all the architectural projects focused on four main areas: the residence (the Fayoum and Memphite region), Abydos, Thebes, and the Eastern Delta.

The state intended to concentrate all power around the royal court; thus began a gradual plan to reduce the power of the local governors gained earlier. In parallel, the state completed its plan by forming a new regional administration. Apparently, the country was divided administratively, at least into two departments. As the Head of the South, Thebes became the equivalent to *Itjtawy*, the formal capital in the North². Furthermore, the two central departments were divided into minor divisions. The new regional division was supported by a new hierarchy that followed the royal court directly.

In order to achieve an ambitious plan for the centralization of the country, the state depended on the expansion of the planned settlements or so-called *internal colonization* policy³ as a human logistical network for the supply of the major state activities instead of the support of the now powerless local governors. A rigid administrative system operated these settlements, which may have functioned according

¹ Grajetzki 2013: 2

² Quirke 2004: 116.

³ Kemp 1991: 157-166.

to their location. The settlements secured the technical labour force, which might have been moved among the different settlements¹.

Finally, as a foremost border and entry point, the Eastern Delta involved an administrative unit managing the state's economic activities that focused on foreign trade, agriculture and possibly regulating mining expeditions towards Sinai. Also, the Eastern Delta looks like it was prepared to receive waves of Asiatics who had a role in the different state's activities². However, during the 12th Dynasty, Egypt experienced a notable increase in foreigners. Moreover, it seems that they were functioned in the state's enormous projects, which needed a substantial workforce.

¹ Wilkinson 2010: 173.

² Van Seters 1966: 119.

Chapter Two: The End of the 12th Dynasty and the Turning Point

1. Introduction

Unlike their predecessors, the rule of King Amenemhat IV and Queen Sobekneferu is characterised by inadequate data on their legitimacy, short reigns, and unknown burials. Nevertheless, they are listed as the last rulers of the 12th Dynasty in the historiographical records. Presumably, the end of the 12th Dynasty foreshadows the Second Intermediate Period despite the alternative extension of the Middle Kingdom until the late 13th Dynasty¹. The chapter reviews the state activities during the reign of King Amenemhat IV and Queen Sobekneferu. In addition, it aims to contextualize the causes leading to the end of the Dynasty, and the shift to a new succession of rulers, or the so-called 13th Dynasty.

2. King Amenemhat IV

2.1: Legitimacy

King Amenemhat IV is mentioned in the Saqqara canon and the Turin King-list as the penultimate ruler of the 12th Dynasty, while the Abydos canon lists him as the last ruler of the dynasty, followed by King Ahmose². The Turin King-list assigns him a rule of 9 years, 3 months, and 27 days³. Likely based on a Sinai inscription, the last known regnal year is year 9. The burial place of the king is still unknown⁴.

At Medinet Madi, there is a relief depicting the king and his mother, Hetepet⁵. Interestingly, the inscription announces Hetepet as a noblewoman and Lady of the Two Lands but does not mention her as a royal wife⁶. This raises doubts about the royal birth of Amenemhat IV⁷. Nevertheless, the well-attested evidence presents a co-regency of Amenemhat IV with Amenemhat III⁸. Since King Amenemhat III had no male heir, he presumably chose as his successor a senior person, Amenemhat IV, as a member of a family with high-ranking officials⁹. In contrast, possibly Amenemhat IV's mother,

¹ Callender 2000: 171–172; Grajetzki 2006: 63–75; Marée: 2010: XI.

² Von Beckerath 1997: 27, 132. Gardiner 1961: 147.

³ Gardiner 1959: Pl. III.

⁴ Grajetzki 2006: 61; Pignattari 2018: 95.

⁵ Grajetzki 2006: 61.

⁶ Pignattari 2018: 16.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 210.

⁸ Matzker 1986: 47–48, 93–94; Murnane 1977: 13–20; Valloggia 1969: 107–133; Pignattari 2018: 23–33.

⁹ Ryholt 1997: 209–212, 294.

Hetepti, was one of the royal consorts of King Amenemhat III but she was not a royal wife¹.

It is worth mentioning that archaeological evidence, mainly from Hawara, attests to a filial relationship between princess Neferuptah and King Amenemhat III. Her name was attested inside an additional burial chamber at Amenemhat III's pyramid at Hawara. Besides, about 2 km southeast of Amenemhat III Hawara Pyramid, there are remains of a small pyramid that is attributed to the princess. Further evidence indicates that the princess had a substantial political and religious role since she held priesthood titles and her name is enclosed in a cartouche. Due to her prestigious position, one can assume that the princess was the eldest daughter of King Amenemhat III, and she probably died while her father was still alive². Since King Amenemhat III presumably had no sons, he secured the transfer of power to his co-regent Amenemhat IV through the marriage with his daughter, Princess Neferuptah³. However, the titles of Princess Neferuptah do not include that of a king's wife⁴. In addition, Neferuptah's name did not appear in any context with King Amenemhat IV⁵.

2.2: Activity

A remarkable difference in the scale of state activities is observed between King Amenmehat IV and his predecessor Amenemhat III. However, it is not sound to compare the state activities of Amenemhat IV during his nine regnal years to Amenemhat III, who ruled for about 45 years⁶. Nevertheless, the usual state activities continued during Amenmehat IV's reign. King Amenemhat IV's activity is attested in a few different locations distributed in and outside Egypt⁷. In the residential region, he is attested in the temple of Renenutet at Medinet Madi⁸. Besides, some architectural elements were found in Lisht, Memphis and Dahshur, the latter two uncertain though. On the Mediterranean coast, some sculptures containing sphinxes and parts of sphinxes referring to the king were found in a Ptolemaic temple at Abukir to the east of Alexandria. Apparently, such sculptures were usurped by Ramses II and transferred to

¹ Pignattari 2018:15-17.

² Pignattari 2018: 5-12.

³ Valloggia 1969: 109-113; Ryholt 1997: 210.

⁴ Matzker 1986: 25-26.

⁵ Pignattari 2018: 8.

⁶ Grajetzki 2002: 24.

⁷ Pignattari 2018: 59-84.

⁸ Grajetzki 2006: 61; Callender 2000: 170.

the site from other places in a later era¹. In Upper Egypt, indirect evidence attested the king at Abydos². He is also well-attested in Thebes. And at Wadi Shatt el-Rigal south of Edfu, graffiti documents the third year of his rule³. In Nubia, the king continued Amenemhat III's tradition of the Nile-level recording that reached 7.3 m higher than average. However, Amenemhat IV's Nile-level records are found at Semna and dated to his regnal years 5, 6, and 7⁴.

In addition, the mining activities during Amenemhat IV's reign focused mainly on Sinai and Wadi el-Hudi. It seems that the king echoed King Amenemhat III's interest in Sarabit el-Khadim and Wadi Maghara. He sent four expeditions to the area in the years 4, 6, 8, and 9 of his reign. About 17 inscriptions document his extensive activity there⁵. In addition, an inscription documents his expedition in the Eastern desert at Wadi el-Hudi dated to his second regnal year⁶.

Furthermore, the maritime trade of the 12th Dynasty was still ongoing in his reign., King Amenemhat IV is testified in Mersa Gawasis at least once. His name is shown on a wooden box and dates to his 8th regnal years⁷.

Likewise, few objects attest to King Amenemhat IV outside Egypt, mainly in Beirut and Byblos⁸. However, it is not easy to determine the original location of these objects or the reasons for their movement to the Levant. It was possibly transferred in the context of diplomatic relations or due to the Hyksos' looting of artistic and architectural elements from traditional Egyptian centres of the Memphite region and the Fayoum⁹.

3. Queen Sobekneferu

3.1: Legitimacy

According to the available sources, Queen Sobekneferu was the last sovereign of the 12th Dynasty and the first woman to rule Egypt while holding a full royal titulary¹⁰.

¹ Pignattari 2018: 60-61.

² Pignattari 2018: 62.

³ Pignattari 2018: 62-63.

⁴ Hintze-Reineke 1989: nos. 502-4; Dunham-Janssen 1960: RIS 16; Pignattari 2018: 67-68.

⁵ Tallet 2005: 252; Pignattari 2018: 73-76.

⁶ Tallet 2005: 252.

⁷ Mahfouz 2010: 163-173.

⁸ Pignattari 2018: 189-193.

⁹ Von Beckerath 1964: 29; Pignattari 2018:77-78. Ryholt: 139.

¹⁰ LÄ V: 1050; Grajetzki 2006: 61; Matzker 1986: 19; Callender 1998: 228.

According to the Turin King-list, she ruled for 3 years, 10 months, and 24 days¹. Like in the case of her predecessor, the tomb of Queen Sobekneferu is unknown. She is mentioned in the Saqqara canon, and her name is evidenced in the offering-list of Karnak². Manetho mentioned that she was the sister of Amenemhat IV and the daughter of Amenemhat III, assuming that Amenemhat IV was the son of Amenemhat III³. Further evidence assumes filial ties between Queen Sobekneferu and King Amenemhat III. A block from Hawara attested her name in a cartouche as a king's daughter juxtaposed with Amenemhat III without any clues about her reign⁴.

The relationship between Queen Sobekneferu and Amenemhat III was supposedly not a coregency since Amenemhat IV held the throne after Amenemhat III before her⁵. Indeed, the available evidence on Sobekneferu attests to her only as a queen and does not give sufficient data on her life before the coronation⁶. Conversely, the archaeological record keeps a closer relationship between King Amenemhat III and Princess Neferuptah, who seemed to have a high position⁷. Possibly, Queen Sobekneferu as Amenemhat III's younger daughter married Amenemhat IV and played the political role that was supposed to be played by her older sister Neferuptah, who died while their father was still alive. There is no evidence that Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu had children; and after Amenemhat IV's death, Sobekneferu intended to confirm her right to the throne by attributing herself genuinely to Amenemhat III as a legal heir⁸. However, Queen Sobekneferu did not testify as a king's wife, and the archaeological record never combined her with Amenemhat IV. This may imply that the power transfer proved difficult⁹, although there is no indication of violence.

3.2: Activity

Very little evidence of Queen Sobekneferu is mainly concentrated in Hawara. Her name is attested beside King Amenemhat III on several fragments of red granite columns, which may originate in Amememhat III's mortuary temple "Labyrinth"¹⁰. An unnamed

¹ Gardiner 1959: Pl. III.

² Tallet 2005: 253.

³ Grajetzki 2006: 62.

⁴ Callender 1998: 230; Pignattari 2018: 211.

⁵ Habachi 1952: 464- 465; Von Beckerath 1964: 29.

⁶ Pignattari 2018:12.

⁷ Siesse 2019: 127.

⁸ Habachi 1952: 466- 467; Von Beckerath 1964: 29.

⁹ Habachi 1952: 467.

¹⁰ Callender 1998: 230.

inscription, found on the northern side of Amenemhat III's pyramid, reads: "...her monuments to her father forever"¹ formed the thought that the queen completed her father's funeral constructions at Hawara². It is unclear who the father is in this context, perhaps it connotes a god³. Furthermore, her name appears on a group of broken sculptures found near Tell el-Dab'a. The inscriptions indicate that such sculptures were originally attributed to the Fayoum region since her name was associated with the Sobek of Shedyet. Such sculptures may have been transported later to the Eastern Delta by the Hyksos⁴. Worthy mentioning that the queen held the birth name *k3-Sbk-R*⁵ while her throne name was *Nfrw-Sbk-śdtj*⁶. Certainly, attributing her name to the God Sobek of *Shedyet* reflects her interest in the Fayoum region, which flourished under Amenemhat III's reign and became a leading economic and religious support centre for the ruler⁷

Interestingly, the last Nile-level record of the 12th Dynasty is attributed to Queen Sobekneferu, which indicates that Egyptian political power still extended into Nubia. It is a graffito found at the Kumma and dates back to her third regnal-year, the last year that Sobekneferu is attested on the Turin King-list as a ruling queen. The record shows the Nile level at only 1.83 m, which is a low measure compared with the previous records of Amenemhat III and IV⁸. In addition, the queen is not attested in Sinai, and she had no apparent dominance in the Eastern Delta.

4. Tombs

The late-12th Dynasty tombs of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu are unknown. Former kings of the 12th Dynasty exploited four areas for their burials in the range of the residence at Lisht, Lahn, Dahshur, Hawara and possibly also at Abydos during Senwosret III's reign⁹. Dahshur notably served as the primary cemetery for the rulers of the 13th Dynasty¹⁰.

Remains of two pyramids at Mazghuna, Dahshur South, were employed to fill the knowledge gap of the unknown burials of the two last rulers of the 12th Dynasty. Based on structural similarities between Amenemhat III's Hawara pyramid and the two

¹ Habachi 1952: 466, Pl. XIII [B].

² Callender 1998: 231.

³ Grajetzki 2006: 62.

⁴ Habachi 1952: 458-470; Callender 1998: 230; Pignattari 2018: 14.

⁵ Leprohon 2013: 60.

⁶ Pignattari 2018: 14.

⁷ Callender 1998: 232.

⁸ See previous chapter.

⁹ Dodson 1987.

pyramids of Mazghuna, MACKAY assumed that the southern and northern pyramids of Mazghuna could be attributed to Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu, respectively¹. Nevertheless, neither the two pyramids demonstrate any names or human remains that allow them to be attributed to any ruler². However, the southern one was undoubtedly used for an unknown ruler's burial. At the same time, the unfinished northern one appears to have never been used.

For example, DODSON suggested dating the two pyramids to the 13th Dynasty since the northern pyramid resembles the pyramid of Amney-Qemau. In addition, the southern pyramid is close in the form of its superstructure to the pyramid of king Khendjer, located to the south of Saqqara³. Likewise, GRAJETZKI attributes the two pyramids of Mazghuna to the 13th Dynasty and proposes that Hawara is the proper burial place for Amememhat IV and Sobekneferu⁴. Finally, LANDUA-McCORMACK proposed to date the two pyramids of Mazghuna to the beginning of the 13th Dynasty⁵.

The surviving evidence does not reflect the interest of either Amenemhat IV or Sobekneferu in the area of Dahshur and its southern extension at Mazghuna. Although King Amenemhat III built his first funeral complex at Dahshur, there is no indication that his successors had an interest in the area. A relief bearing the name of Amenemhat was found near debris, about 125 m south of Amenemhat II's pyramid, that may be attributed to Amenmehat IV or another Amenemhat of the 13th Dynasty⁶. However, it is possible that Amenemhat IV chose Dahshur or even Mazghuna for his last resting place since he is never attested at Hawara. Meanwhile, it seems likely that Queen Sobekneferu was buried in Hawara⁷. It is not easy to accept that Sobekneferu, who shows her complete loyalty to Amenemhat III, would choose her burial place far from Hawara, where the burials of her father and sister were located.

5. The end of the 12th Dynasty

Having a queen for a ruler may have contributed to the decline of governance since kingship was exclusive to males according to Egyptian traditions⁸, although, the case of

¹ Mackay 1912: 41-55

² Mackay 1912: 54; Matzker 1986:173-174; Lehner 2008: 184.

³ Dodson 1994: 27-28.

⁴ Grajetzki 2002: 27.

⁵ Landua-McCormack 2008: 239-240.

⁶ Pignattari 2018: 97; Theis 2009: 336-337.

⁷ Tallet 2005: 260

⁸ Gardiner 1961: 130; Hayes 1962: 4; Pignattari 2018: 100.

Hatshepsut of the 18th Dynasty contradicts that. However, the absence of a male heir is still a meaningful explanation for why the 12th Dynasty came to an end¹. Despite the soundness of this argument, it is not sufficient for understanding the end of the dynasty, which can be outlined as follows.

The decline of the monumental projects of the dynasty and the absent pyramid-tombs of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu are clues to the state's worsening economic situation. The short reigns of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu rendered them incapable of erecting tombs like their predecessors. However, King Senwosret II also ruled for about 9 years and constructed his funeral complex in Lahun². Despite the substantial economic activity of King Amenemhat IV, it seems likely that most revenue was spent on purposes other than monumental construction³. Amenemhat IV probably had not been granted absolute power, and perhaps he devoted the state income for the sake of preserving his rule.

Similarly, Queen Sobekneferu's monumental activities focused on the royal residence, and her limited activity may indicate an economic decline. Her non-attested name in Sinai indicates the termination of the traditional mining expeditions of the dynasty there. In addition, the low Nile level recorded during the last year of her reign may indicate unfavourable economic conditions, perhaps accelerating the end of her rule⁴.

In the political sphere, the emergence of Asiatics as a political rival in the Eastern Delta may have been a crucial factor in the ousting of the 12th Dynasty. RYHOLT argues that west Semitic migrations from Canaan to the Eastern Delta led to the downfall of the 12th Dynasty and to the set-up of a governance system known as the 14th Dynasty. Likewise, the large Amorite migrations in Mesopotamia and Syria during the 19th century B.C. caused the fall of the 3rd Dynasty of Ur and established several Amorite dynasties in Babylonia and Syria⁵.

The 12th Dynasty rulers significantly invested in the Eastern Delta, which was a trade hub for the entire Eastern Mediterranean. Besides, the Eastern Delta were likely a

¹ Van De Mieroop 2011: 102.

² Grajetzki 2006: 48-51.

³ Ryholt 1997: 295.

⁴ Pignattari 2018: 99, 105.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 293-294.

point of departure for the mining expeditions to Sinai. Thus, losing the Eastern Delta at least after the 9 regnal years of Amenemhat IV may have been a valid reason to constrict the political and economic dominance of the 12th Dynasty.

Lastly, the arrhythmic data of the royal succession during the 12th Dynasty's last phase may provide evidence for internal political struggle¹. Amenemhat IV is not well-attested as a son of Amenemhat III despite their coregency. The absence of a male heir of Amenemhat IV granted Sobekneferu to ascend the throne without evidence of any ties between her and Amenemhat IV. She is never mentioned as a king's sister or king's wife. Conversely, she demonstrated intentional ties with Amenemhat III as a king's daughter. Thus, the historical context may imply an undeclared feud between Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu.

In this context, RYHOLT proposed a scenario of a “*Dynastic struggle*” following the death of Amenemhat III. Accordingly, Egypt fell into a civil war that may have facilitated the secession of the Delta under a Canaanite population². Finally, the short reign of Sobekneferu was perhaps caused by her sudden death; her unknown burial and her undesignated successor³ shed doubts over the presence of hostile actions⁴. However, this assumption is still conjecture due to the lack of supporting evidence.

6. The Turning Point

The Turin King-list gives a precise end for the 12th Dynasty, which is succeeded by a new line of rulers labelled traditionally as the 13th Dynasty. The Turin King-list ends the 12th Dynasty at Col. 7/3⁵ as: *njs.wt n hnw [jt-t3.wj] 8 ir.n rnp.t 213 3bd 1 hrw 17, “(Total of) kings of the residence [Itjtawy] 8 who ruled 213 years, 1 month, and 17 days”*⁶. Sequentially, the list demarcates the beginning of the 13th Dynasty at Col. 7/4 as: *nj[s.wt n.t.jw hr] s3 ms[.w nsw.t-]bj.t [Sht]p-jb-R‘ nh wd3 snb*⁷, “*Kings who are after the children (?) of King Sehtep-ib-re, life, prosperity, and health*”⁸.

Thus, the Turin King-list draws a clear outline of the 12th Dynasty, where eight kings ruled for about 213 years from Itjtawy. Moreover, irrespective of the non-evident

¹ Pignattari 2018: 100.

² Ryholt 1997: 295.

³ Pignattari 2018: 105.

⁴ Grimal 1988: 210.

⁵ After the modifications of Ryholt on the order of papyrus fragments; Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁶ Ryholt 2004: 141.

⁷ Allen 2010: 1.

⁸ Ryholt 2004: 142.

correlations between Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferu, the list marked all eight rulers as offspring of *s:htp-jb-R*^c Amenemhat I, the founder of the dynasty. Furthermore, the royal list did not relate Amenemhat I's offspring and those succeeding them. Nevertheless, there is no break in continuity between the two lines¹.

In this respect, some interpretations claim relationships between the last rulers of the 12th Dynasty and the first rulers of the 13th Dynasty². Such interpretations base their arguments on an unattested struggle between the two lines³. Apparently, the archaeological record implies a continuity between the 12th Dynasty and 13th Dynasty⁴, whose rulers reigned from the same residence of the 12th Dynasty and used the same cemetery at Dahshur⁵.

One possibility to interpret the beginning of the 13th Dynasty is to do with marriage. Since there was no male heir to the throne, Queen Sobekneferu may have married the eventual founder of the 13th Dynasty. However, VON BECKERATH excluded this scenario since the Queen did not intend to be a queen mother for a new dynasty, and she is mentioned clearly in the royal canons between the kings of Egypt, not her alleged husband. Furthermore, the origin of the 13th Dynasty does not establish a relationship with Sobekneferu⁶.

MATZKER, in his “Die letzten Könige der 12. Dynastie,” suggests another scenario to explain the transition to the 13th Dynasty⁷. He believes that the absence of a male heir to the 12th Dynasty is a reasonable cause for its end. At the same time, no person could claim their right to the throne. Additionally, there is no indication of any serious threat to the country that could pave the way to a new saviour as a dynastic founder. Similarly, there is no record of political propaganda that promotes someone to be a new king. Simultaneously, the late 12th Dynasty policies caused a political vacuum that allowed heterogeneous ephemeral rulers to ascend the throne, since there were no strong families like those of the First Intermediate Period to hold power, albeit after a

¹ Gardiner 1961: 147.

² Pignattari 2018: 99-101.

³ Beckerath 1964: 29; Matzker 1986: 190; Dodson-Hilton 2004: 100.

⁴ Grimal 1988: 228.

⁵ Allen 2010: 1.

⁶ Beckerath 1964: 29.

⁷ Matzker 1986: 189-192.

struggle. As mentioned earlier, the reformation of the provincial administration during the late 12th Dynasty subdued the local governors in favour of the central power¹.

In this respect, MATZKER proposed that the supposedly most qualified person after the king was the vizier. His suggestion does not mean that the vizier would become the new king. However, the vizier would be very influential in determining the next king regardless of his legitimacy. The king's position is an essential compound in the Egyptian religion for maintaining the world's order², and while no one can claim legitimacy to the throne, so anybody can be a king, even if he was an Asiatic. At the same time, the vizier did not engage in a power struggle, but he was still strong enough to keep his position far away from any conflicts³.

MATZKER's argument is consistent with the significant position of the vizier during the 13th Dynasty; the vizier Ankhu is an outstanding example⁴. Remarkably, the 13th Dynasty members ruled only briefly, on average 3 years, while the vizier could inherit the vizierate within his family. To sum up, the king's role during the 13th Dynasty became subordinate to the vizier; in this case, it does not matter who held the throne after the 12th Dynasty.

RYHOLT proposed a different transitional scenario that corresponds with the continuity between the two lines. He supposed that the first two rulers of the 13th Dynasty were Amenemhat IV's sons, who challenged Sobekneferu over their father's throne. As previously mentioned, RYHOLT proposes the "dynastic struggle" scenario after the death of Amenemhat III as a cause for the end of the 12th Dynasty⁵. In order to set up his argument, he applied the theory of "*Filiative nomina*"⁶ to connect Amenemhat IV and the first two rulers of the 13th Dynasty. Since the first two rulers' names contain the syllable "Amenemhat," he believed that these two rulers attributed themselves to Amenemhat IV as their father⁷.

¹ Previous chapter: Regional administration.

² Quirke 1992: 38, 70-130.

³ E. CRUZ-URIBE also adopts the same interpretation regarding the end of the Middle Kingdom and the influence of the vizier in shaping the political scene during the 13th Dynasty; See Cruz-Uribe 1987: 111.

⁴ Matzker 1986: 190-192.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 294-295.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 207-208; "*Filiative nomina*" theory will be discussed in the next chapter as a Ryholt's approach for the 13th Dynasty study.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 209-210.

Considering RYHOLT's conclusion, the Turin King-list mentioned King *hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf as the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty. Simultaneously, the archaeological record does not put King Wegaf as the first king of the dynasty. There is general agreement to identify King Amenemhat Sobekhotep instead of Wegaf as the first king of the 13th Dynasty¹ followed by *shm-k3-R*^c Amenemhat-Senbef². Despite the soundness of RYHOLT's perception, the theory of "*Filiative nomina*" has been criticized³. The theory is not valid enough to prove succession legitimacy in the absence of evidence of familial titles like the king's mother or the king's wife⁴.

Finally, the recent study by S. PIGNATTARI, "*The end of the 12th Dynasty*," does not believe in dramatic events like a rebellion or a coup to end the 12th Dynasty. Like MATZKER, she attributes the rise of the 13th Dynasty to moves among court members to fill the political vacuum after Sobekneferu⁵.

7. Conclusion

The end of the 12th Dynasty indicates political instability that included a tough economic situation. The general state's activity was diminished geographically and it seems that the country lost its dominance in the Eastern Delta. Regardless of the continuity of 12th Dynasty practices into the new 13th Dynasty, the absence of transitional justifications between the two dynasties indicates a conspicuously fragile political situation. Thus, the identity of the 13th Dynasty is still a dilemma that requires separate historical analysis rather than simplifying it as a continuation of the 12th Dynasty. In this context, the issue of the periodisation of the 13th Dynasty comes to the fore. Does it belong to the Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate Period? Since state fragmentation is the decisive criterion to designate the status of the so-called "intermediate periods" in ancient Egyptian history⁶, the present study approaches this question through a political-geographical examination of the rulers listed under the 13th Dynasty.

¹ The issue of the identity of the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty is one of the subjects that will be tackled in the next chapters.

² Ryholt 1997: 73.

³ See the next chapter.

⁴ Quirke 2006: 263-264; Pignattari 2018: 103.

⁵ Pignattari 2018: 106.

⁶ Redford 1979: 16-17; Franke 1988: 245-246; Ryholt 1997: 311-312; Marée: 2010: XI-XII.

Chapter Three: Historical Framework of the 13th Dynasty

1. Introduction

The so-called 13th Dynasty required an arrangement to assign the rulers that should be tackled in its historical frame. Previous studies of the SIP presented various lists for the 13th Dynasty based primarily on the Turin King-list alongside interpretations of contemporaneous archaeological evidence. The framework of the 13th Dynasty is contested since the famous commemorative lists of the 19th Dynasty at Abydos and Saqqara omit rulers between the late 12th Dynasty and the early 18th Dynasty¹. Meanwhile, the Turin King-list, an essential source to produce the SIP history, is a non-official and poorly preserved document, despite its relative reliability².

This chapter presents the diverse historical sources of the 13th Dynasty that have been gathered from the history of Manetho, the Turin King-list, and the Karnak Offering-list. Additionally, the contemporaneous archaeological evidence serves as a primary source, supporting the identification of a group of non-included rulers in the Turin King-list and placing them within the framework of the 13th Dynasty but without a guaranteed chronological order.

2. Historical sources

2.1: Manetho

The Manethonian scheme of ancient Egyptian history “Aegyptiaca” is the basic historiographical framework that categorizes the rulers of Egypt into 30 groups as “Dynasties”³. The Egyptian history of Manetho is not preserved in its original version⁴. Two sources contain the Egyptian History of Manetho: (1) original quotations reported by the Jewish historian Josephus used to advance nationalist aims⁵; (2) Remains of an *Epitome* of Manetho’s history preserved by Christian chronographers, mainly by Africanus and Eusebius⁶. Manetho’s history possibly reflects the ancient Egyptian tradition of recording history in the form of king-lists⁷, particularly the King-list of

¹ Von Beckerath 1997: 27.

² Málek 1982: 93-94.

³ Waddell 1940: xxv, 11; Greenberg 2004: 12-13.

⁴ Redford 1986: 206.

⁵ Waddell 1940: xvi, 77; Van Seters 1966: 192; Redford 1992: 99; Van De Mieroop 2011: 147

⁶ Waddell 1940: xv-xvi; Redford 1986: 206-207.

⁷ Waddell 1940: xx-xxiv.

Turin¹, albeit with several dissimilarities². Besides his dynastic system, Manetho arranged the ruler-groups according to their residence or rather their place of origin. Furthermore, he mentioned mainly the regnal years of every king or their sum for some dynasties, the adopted method in the Turin King-list³.

According to Africanus and Eusebius, Syncellus relayed that the 13th Dynasty consisted of 60 rulers from Diospolis (Thebes) over a period of 453 years. However, rulers' names are unknown⁴. Scholars assume that those 453 years indeed represent 153 years⁵, which would correspond with the entries in the Turin King-list; the list assigns an average of 3 years for each king. RYHOLT proffered a duration of the 13th Dynasty from 1803 BC to 1649 BC, between the end of the 12th Dynasty and the Hyksos invasion of Memphis.⁶

2.2: Turin King-list

2.2.1: Overview

The Turin King-list is the primary source of the 13th Dynasty political history. It is the sole document that contains a sequence of rulers' names following the 12th Dynasty⁷. "Turin King-list" or "papyrus Turin inv. 1874 verso" or "the Royal Canon of Turin" – all these terms refer to the same document that is kept in the Egyptian Museum of Turin⁸. Acquired by the Italian diplomat DROVETTI around 1820, it was probably found in the tomb of an official in Thebes⁹. The document could be described as the "true King-list" since it supposedly contains all kings, including the ephemeral kings or even the foreign Hyksos kings¹⁰. Contrarily, other commemorative king-lists of Abydos and Saqqara contain a select number of Egyptian kings.

The papyrus is written in hieratic. Its verso comprises more than 300 royal names in over 11 columns¹¹; the recto contains a tax list dating to Ramses II¹. The

¹ Redford 1986: 229-230; Redford, 2001: 336-337; Ryholt 1997: 31, 33; von Beckerath 1964: 71; LÄ III, 1180-1181.

² O'Mara 1997: 49-61; Redford 1986: 13.

³ Redford 1986: 13, 231; von Beckerath 1964: 7-8.

⁴ Waddell 1940: 72-73, Fr. 38, 39.

⁵ Weigall 1927: 138; Von Beckerath 1964: 17; Greenberg 2004: 117.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 190

⁷ Farina 1938: 41-44; Gardiner 1959: Pl. III [Col. VI-VI], Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁸ Ryholt 2004: 135.

⁹ Redford 1986: 4; Ryholt 2004: 135-136.

¹⁰ Ryholt 2006; Ryholt 2004: 135; Ryholt 1997: 18.

¹¹ The King-list was supposed to include more one or two more columns, but they were lost in antiquity, See Ryholt 2004: 136.

papyrus measures L. 1.7 m and H. 42 cm and now consists of more than 300 fragments due to its poor preservation². The bifunctional document was not official but rather a draft; it was copied carelessly from an imperfect original³. Besides, the low quality of the papyrus indicates that it got damaged before it was ever used⁴.

Ryholt	Gardiner	Dynasties in Ryholt's columns
Column 1	Col. I	
Column 2	Includes Frg.41-42 (Gardiner, Col. IX), Frg. 150-152, and Frg. 22+unnumbered fragment (Gardiner Col. X)	Mythological Kings God and demigod King: 1-2 Spirit kings: 2
Column 3	Col. II	
Column 4	Col. III	
Column 5	Col. IV	
Column 6	Col. V	
Column 7	Col. VI	
Column 8	Col. VII	
Column 9	Col. VIII	
Column 10	Includes Frg. 105+108 (Gardiner, col. IX), Frg. 138 (Gardiner, Col. X) and unnumbered fragments (Gardiner, Col. X.13-2)	1st-5th Dynasty: 3/11-4/25 6th-8th Dynasty: 5/1-5/13 9th-10th Dynasty: 5/18-6/9 11th Dynasty: 6/12-17 12th Dynasty: 6/20-7/2 13th Dynasty: 7/5- 8/27 ⁵ 14th Dynasty: 9/1 to 10/20. 15th Dynasty 10/ [22]-29. 16th Dynasty 10/ [30]-11/15. 17th Dynasty ⁶ or Abydos Dynasty? ⁷ 11/16-31.
Column 11	Col. XI	Historical kings

Table. 3. 1: Enumeration of the King-list cols. following Ryholt.

The papyrus fragments were investigated and edited over the past 150 years⁸. The three most significant attempts to arrange the papyrus fragments were by FARINA in 1938, GARDINER in 1959, and RYHOLT in 1997⁹. FARINA's edition of the king-list includes only the large fragments and is presented in transcription and translation with some commentary and photographs¹⁰. GARDINER's edition adds a hieroglyphic transcription for all fragments of verso and recto for the first time. Noteworthily, he used Latin numbers to order the columns¹¹. RYHOLT, in his comprehensive study of the *Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period*, offered a reconstruction of the papyrus fragments (Fig. 3. 1)¹²that offered a partly different order from GARDINER's edition¹². RYHOLT's method for the new arrangement was based

¹ Redford 1986: 2; Ryholt 2006: 26.

² Ryholt 2004: 136, 138; Ryholt 2006: 27.

³ Ryholt 2006: 27.

⁴ Ryholt 2004: 138.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁶ Allen 2010: 1, 10.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 165.

⁸ Ryholt 2004: 137.

⁹ Ryholt 2004:137.

¹⁰ Farina 1938.

¹¹ Gardiner 1959.

¹² Ryholt 1997: 69-75, 94-97, 118-119, 151-159, 163-165; Ryholt 2000: 87-100.

on matching the fragments' fibres¹, and for distinction, he used Arabic numbers to mark the sequence (table. 3. 1)².

2.2.2: Characteristics

The King-list contains three groups of rulers: (1) God and demigod kings (*ntr.w*), (2) spirit kings (*3h.w*), (3) human / historical kings (*rmt.w*), who cover cols. 3 (bottom half) to 11. Interestingly, the section of historical kings is divided into subsections starting with a “heading” seemingly according to the residence location like *'It-t3.wj* and ending with a “summation” mentioning the total number of kings and their regnal years. The headings and summations are marked with red ink to highlight every section³.

Every historical subsection contains a list of kings who are drawn up with the title *nsw-bj.tj*, the throne name or sometimes birth name enclosed in a cartouche, the kingship formula *ir.n=f m nsw.yt* “he acted in kingship”, and then the period⁴. The registration of the kings’ regnal years throughout the whole King-list indicates that the list is based on five different sources since the year format changes over the five historical subsections⁵. In this context, the copyist used the ditto marks instead of repeating the kingship formula “he acted in kingship” that often comes with every dynasty’s head after the royal name⁶.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 19-28.

² Ryholt 2004: 136, 139-140. The present research follows Ryholt’s new numeration of Ryholt.

³ Redford 1986: 10-13; Ryholt 2004: 141-142.

⁴ Redford 1986: 7-9; Ryholt 2004: 140.

⁵ Ryholt 2004:145-146.

⁶ Ryholt 2004: 140.

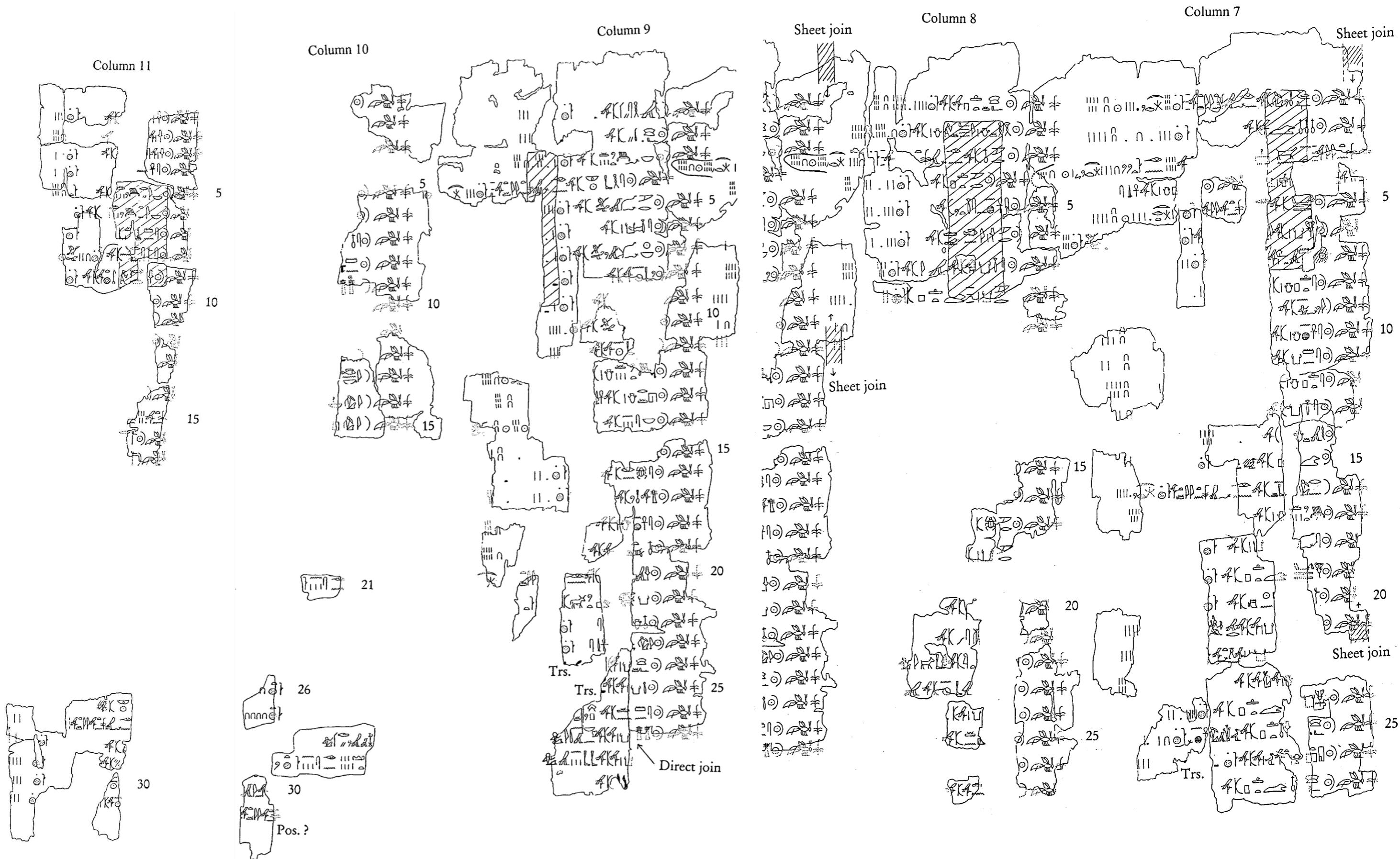


Fig. 3. 1: SIP in Turin King-list, After Ryholt 1997: Figs. 10, 11, 14.

2.2.3: The 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list

As mentioned earlier¹, the end of the 12th Dynasty in the King-list in Col. 7/3 is marked by a summation of eight kings who ruled from Itjtawy for 213 years. While in Col. 7/4, a heading reads as: *nj[s.wt] n.t.jw Hr] s3 ms[.w nsw.t-]bjt [S:ht]p-jb-R^c nh wd3 snb*², “Kings [who are] after the children (?) of King *S:htp-jb-R^c*, life, prosperity, and health”³. The heading does not mention a residence of the new line of rulers like that of the 12th Dynasty; probably, the new kings resided in Itjtawy as well since their necropolis was at Dahshur, one of the 12th Dynasty necropolis. Simultaneously and according to RYHOLT, the next summation is in Col. 10/21, albeit without entries. Therefore, the kings “who are after the children of King *S:htp-jb-R^c*” from cols. 7/5 to 10/20 represented the 13th and 14th dynasties.

Col.	Throne name	Birth name	Col.	Throne name	Birth name
7/5	<i>Hw-t3.wy-R^c</i>		8/1	<i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>	
7/6	<i>Shm-k3-R^c</i>	<i>J[mn-m-h3.t]?</i>	8/2	<i>W3h-jb-R^c</i>	<i>Jb-j^c</i>
7/7		<i>[J]mn-m-h3.t {R^c}</i>	8/3	<i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i>	
7/8	<i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>		8/4	<i>Mr-htp-R^c</i>	
7/9		<i>Jw=f-n-j</i>	8/5	<i>S:c nh.n-R^c</i>	<i>Sw3d=tw</i>
7/10	<i>S:c nh-jb-R^c</i>		8/6	<i>Mr-shm-R^c</i>	<i>Jnd</i>
7/11	<i>Smn-k3-R^c</i>		8/7	<i>Swd-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Hrwj</i>
7/12		<i>S:htp-ib-r^c?</i>	8/8	<i>Mr-k3.w[...]</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>
7/13	<i>S:w3d-K3-R^c</i>		8/9		
7/14	<i>Ndm-jb-R^c</i>		8/15	<i>Lost</i>	
7/15		<i>Sbk-[ht]p{R^c}</i>			
7/16		<i>Rn-[s]nb</i>			
7/17	<i>3wt-jb-R^c</i>		8/16	<i>[...]r-[...]-R^c</i>	
7/18	<i>S:df[3]-k3-R^c</i>		8/17	<i>Mr-hpr-R^c</i>	
7/19	<i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>	8/18	<i>Mr-k3-[R^c]</i>	
7/20	<i>Wsr-[k3]-R^c</i>	<i>Hndr</i>	8/19	<i>Lost</i>	
7/21	<i>[S:mnh]-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Jmy-r mš^c</i>	8/20	<i>[...]-d[...]</i>	
7/22	<i>[S:htp]-k3-[R^c]</i>	<i>Jn-it=f</i>	8/21	<i>[...]-ms[...]</i>	
7/23	<i>[Mr]-jb-[R^c] [...]</i>	<i>Sth</i>	8/22	<i>[...]-m3^c.t-R^c</i>	<i>Jbi</i>
7/24	<i>Shm-R^c-s[w3d-t3.wy]</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>	8/23	<i>[...]-wbn-R^c</i>	<i>Hrw</i>
7/25	<i>H^c-shm-R^c</i>	<i>Nfr-htp s3 h3-`nh=f</i>	8/24	<i>S.[...]-k3-R^c</i>	
7/26		<i>S3-Hw.t-hrw {R^c}</i>	8/25	<i>[...]-k-n-R^c</i>	
7/27	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>	8/26	<i>[...]-[...]-R^c</i>	
7/28	<i>Lost?</i> ⁴	?	8/27	<i>[...]-n[...]</i>	

Table 3. 2: The 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list

● Birth name outside Cartouche

Traditionally, the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list (Table 3. 2) extends from Col. 7/5 to Col. 8/27, while the 14th Dynasty ranges from Col. 9/1 to Col. 10/20⁵. It

¹ See the 2nd chapter.

² Allen 2010: 1.

³ Ryholt 2004: 142.

⁴ According to Ryholt 1997: 231- 232, this entry may be of *Mr-htp-r^c* Sobekhotep.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 71-37, 94-95, 98.

would not seem that a summation ends the 13th Dynasty sequence; also, there is no heading for the 14th Dynasty. Possibly, the 13th and 14th dynasties were intentionally merged into a single line of rulers; nothing separates the last name in Col. 8/27 and the first name in Col. 9/1. Therefore, King Nehsy (the Nubian)¹ in Col. 9/1 and the kings listed after him were probably part of the 13th Dynasty. Recently, ALLEN² and after him, SIESSE³ suggested replacing Fr. 134, which contains a part of the kingship formula [*ir.n=f m*] *nsw.yt [rnpt-sp...]*, from Col. 10/30-31⁴ to Col. 8/28 to mark the first ruler of the 14th Dynasty.

Interestingly, the distribution of the archaeological evidence is a decisive criterion for assigning King Nehsy to the 14th Dynasty. King Nehsy's monuments are attested in different locations in the northeastern Delta, such as Tell Habwa⁵, where no monuments of the 13th Dynasty are attested⁶. At the same time, the distribution of his monuments corresponds well with the distribution of the Canaanite MB II/ a-b culture⁷. Accordingly, RYHOLT suggests a *wsf* lacuna at the end of Col. 8 would have contained a summation for the 13th Dynasty and/or a heading for the 14th Dynasty. Besides, based on a serration of royal scarab-seals five Semitic kings came before King Nehsy, the first listed 14th Dynasty ruler in Col. 9/1⁸. It is noteworthy that the 14th Dynasty in the Manetonian tradition was composed of 76 kings who ruled from Xois for 184 years⁹. At the same time, the King-list gives about 50 entries for 14th Dynasty royal names¹⁰. RYHOLT suggests that the 14th Dynasty's list should account for 56 Kings¹¹ their dominance concentrated mainly in the eastern Delta, while the residence was at Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a)¹².

The 13th Dynasty royal names in the King-list have some notable features. The king-list gives about 50↓↑ entries for the dynasty's rulers that were drawn up as 22 throne names | 5 birth names | 16 throne + birth names. REDFORD argues that the registration tradition in the King-list adopted the throne name since it was the official

¹ Leprohon 2013: 75.

² Allen 2010: 1-2.

³ Siesse 2019 :26.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 95.

⁵ Bourriau 2000: 191-192; Abd el-Maksoud 1983.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 94; von Beckerath 1964: 82-86.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 94.

⁸ Ryholt 1997: 94-96.

⁹ Waddel 1940: 75.

¹⁰ Allen 2010: 7-8.

¹¹ Ryholt 1997: 98.

¹² Ryholt 103-105.

name of the kings that actually exerted power. In contrast, the kings listed with only their birth names are almost unknown or ephemeral since they ruled for brief periods and could not get a throne name through a coronation. Besides, the kings listed with both birth and throne names probably had a particular identity, such as foreigners or natives that had distinguished themselves before coming to power, such as the military leaders¹.

Col.	King	Reign	Col.	King	Reign
7/5	<i>Hw-t3.wy-R^c</i>	2Y., 3M., 24D.	8/1	<i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>	4Y, 8M., 29D.
7/6	<i>Shm-k3-R^c</i>	[...] ^{+wsf} Y.	8/2	<i>W3h-jb-R^c Jb-j^c</i>	10Y., 8M., 28D.
7/7	{r ^c } [J]mn-m-h3t	2Y., [...]	8/3	<i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i>	23Y, 8M., 18D.
7/8	<i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>	x+1Y., [...]	8/4	<i>Mr-htp-R^c</i>	2Y., x-2M., 9D.
7/9	<i>Jw=f-n-j</i>	[...]	8.5	<i>S:^cnh.n-R^c sw3d=tw</i>	3Y., x-2M., [...]
7/10	<i>S:^cnh-jb-R^c</i>	[...], 23D.	8/6	<i>Mr-shm-R^c Jnd</i>	3Y., 1M., 1D.
7/11	<i>S:mn-k3-R^c</i>	[...], 22 D	8/7	<i>S:wd-k3-R^c Hrwj</i>	5Y., [...], 8D.
7/12	<i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>	[...], x+1M., 27D.	8/8	<i>Mr-k3.w[...] Sbk-htp</i>	2Y., [...], 4D.
7/13	<i>S:w3d-K3-R^c</i>	[...], x+11D.	8/9		
7/14	<i>Ndm-ib- R^c</i>	7M., [...]	8/15	Lost	
7/15	{R ^c } <i>Sbk-[ht]p</i>	[...], x+2D.			
7/16	<i>Rn-[s]nb</i>	[...], 4M.			
7/17	<i>3wt-ib-R^c</i>	[...], x+7D.	8/16	[...] ^{r-[...]- R^c}	[...]
7/18	<i>S:d[3]-k3-R^c</i>	[...]	8/17	<i>Mr-hpr-R^c</i>	[...]
7/19	<i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj</i> <i>Sbk-htp</i>	[...]	8/18	<i>Mr-k3-[R^c]</i>	[...]
7/20	<i>Wsr-[k3]-R^c</i> <i>hndr</i> {R ^c }	[...]	8/19	Lost	[...]
7/21	<i>[S:mnh]-k3-R^c</i> <i>Im.y-r ms^c</i>	[...], x+4D.	8/20	[...] <i>d[...]</i>	[...]
7/22	<i>[S:htp]-k3-[R^c]</i> <i>In-it=f</i>	[...], x+3D.	8/21	[...] <i>ms[...]</i>	[...]
7/23	<i>[Mr]-jb-[R^c]</i> [...] <i>sth</i>	[...], x+6D.	8/22	[...]- <i>m²c.t-R^c jbj</i>	[...]
7/24	<i>Shm-R^c-s[w3d-t3.wj]</i> <i>Sbk-htp</i>	4Y, 2M, [...]	8/23	[...]- <i>wbn-R^c hrw</i>	[...]
7/25	<i>H^c-shm R^c</i> <i>Nfr-htp s3 h3-^cnh=f</i>	11Y, x+1M., [...]	8/24	<i>s.[...]-k3-R^c</i>	[...]
7/26	<i>S3-hwt-hr-{R^c }</i>	0Y+xM., x+3 D.	8/25	[...] <i>k-n-R^c</i>	[...]
7/27	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c Sbk-htp</i>	[...]	8/26	[...]-[...]- <i>R^c</i>	[...]
7/28	Lost?	?	8/27	[...]- <i>n[...]</i>	[...]

Table 3. 3: 13th Dynasty regnal years in the Turin King-list.

Additionally, the King-list gives the regnal years of rulers (Table 3. 3) in years, months, and days preceded by the usual formula *jr.n=f m nsw.yt* “he acted in kingship”². Simultaneously, the copyist used the ditto marks to abbreviate the formula

¹ Redford 1986: 7.

² Siesse 2019: 27-28.

in the 13th Dynasty list. Noteworthy is that the notation *wsf* appears once in the 13 Dynasty list (Col. 7/6) followed by a group of six years. The 13th Dynasty list possibly contained other notations of *wsf*¹, but that is uncertain owing to the fragmentation of the papyrus.

2.2.4: The Turin King-list as a source for the 13th Dynasty

Since the King-list contains more than 300 sequential royal names along with their corresponding regnal years, which are divided into groups based on their main residence, the document's reliability is significantly increased. Fortunately, the list of the 13th Dynasty occupies almost a privileged position in terms of its preservation in the Turin King-list, despite the papyrus being heavily fragmented. Moreover, the Manetho account defines the 13th Dynasty with 60 kings, relatively matching the entries in the Turin King-list. Thus, the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list should run from cols. 7/5 to 8/ 27². Accordingly, the list is a vital source for 13th Dynasty historiography.

Nevertheless, the document suffers from many deficiencies. It is an unofficial manuscript that was copied from several sources. The preservation of the papyrus raises concerns over the reliability of the arrangement of the 300 fragments. The dating of the document to the Ramesside period places it well after the otherwise badly documented SIP.

The 13th Dynasty in the King-list is obviously different from the well-documented 12th Dynasty, framed by a heading and summation that give a total of rulers along with their regnal years and residence. Meanwhile, the list seemingly combines the 13th and 14th dynasties in a single historical frame. Thus, the geographical distribution of evidence is crucial in differentiating between the two lines of rulers. In this context, RYHOLT proposed that the royal residence be in Memphis until the end of the 13th Dynasty in the King-list. He restored the remains of the name [...]k-n-R^c (Col. 8/25) as [s.h]k-n-R^c to be the birth name for the King's throne name Sankhptahi “*the one whom Ptah sustains*”³, who is attested on an unprovenanced stela devoted to Ptah of Memphis⁴. Since none of the kings of the SIP are attested in Memphis except for those of the 13th Dynasty, this suggests that the king in question

¹ Ryholt 1997: 10- 12.

² Bennett 2006: 232.

³ Leprohon 2013: 71-72.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 69, 238-239, 358.

belongs to the 13th Dynasty. This helped RYHOLT to assign the 13th Dynasty's residence in Memphis until the end of the Dynasty in Col. 8/27. However, that one stela alone is insufficient to prove the king's dominance over Memphis, despite its dedication to Ptah. It is possible that the stela refers to another unplaced king in the Turin King-list.

On the other hand, King Nehsy is the first name of Col. 9/1 and is attested only on monuments in the eastern Delta. This indicates another group of rulers labelled as the 14th Dynasty, whose dominance concentrated on the eastern Delta¹. Moreover, only one other king among those mentioned in Col. 9 is attested solely in the eastern Delta, that is King Merdjefare in Col. 9/5²; the rest names are attested only in the Turin King-list cols. 9-10/20³.

Additionally, the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list prompts rethinking the sequence of rulers. The archaeological record of the 13th Dynasty correlates with the royal names regardless of their locations on the King-list. The identity of the dynastic head is one of these issues since the first entry in the King-list (Col. 7/5) does not reflect his leading position⁴. Moreover, in some cases, the royal names in the King-list are attested in connection with other royal names that are not on the list⁵. Furthermore, the archaeological record overlaps with the 13th Dynasty rulers in Col. 8 and those of the 16th Dynasty in Col. 11⁶. Lastly, many royal names are not mentioned in any historical source and are known only by their archaeological evidence and probably belong to the native dynasties of the SIP; this raises questions over their attribution to the 13th Dynasty. This led SIP scholars to synthesize various negotiated lists to incorporate those rulers into the 13th Dynasty⁷.

To sum up, the importance of the King-list for the 13th Dynasty political history should be limited to incorporating the royal names post-12th Dynasty while the other Ramesside annals never mention them. At the same time, the list may not be a vital clue for the royal sequence since their sequence occasionally contradicts their contemporary archaeological record, which should reflect the power range of every ruler and his bonds with other rulers. Finally, the political-geographical criterion must be considered

¹ Quirke 1991: 126.

² Ryholt 1997: 379.

³ Ryholt 1997: 95.

⁴ Von Beckerath 1959; Ryholt 1997: 315-320; Siesse 2016-2017.

⁵ Evidence of these cases will be tackled in the archaeological study of the present work.

⁶ Bennett 2002; Ilin-Tomich 2014: 144-149.

⁷ Von Beckerath 1964: 30-69; Ryholt 1997: 73; Siesse 2019: 99.

to identify the rulers' grouping in the list, particularly the contemporaneous dynasties of the intermediate periods.

2.3: Karnak offering list

2.3.1: Overview

A royal list in a small chamber in the southwestern corner of the festival hall known as the *3h-mn.w* of King Thutmose III at Karnak. The chamber is also known as the chamber of ancestors. Regrettably, the chamber was seized in 1843 for display in the Louvre. The Karnak offering list was to store 61 seated statues of selected kings from different periods (Fig. 3. 2)¹. The scenes inscribed in the chamber show King Thutmose III performing offerings for the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt accompanying their names. The scenes are divided symmetrically into left and right sides. On each side, the scenes are divided into four rows, and King Thutmose III performs offerings to every two rows running from the left or right sides that end back-to-back on the back wall².

According to the Kings' distribution (Table 3. 4), most of the left portions contain kings from the Old and Middle kingdoms; just six places contain kings from the SIP, while the right side mainly contains kings from the 13th, 16th, and 17th dynasties. Apparently, the listing of kings does not reflect a chronological sequence like the other later Ramesside lists. Nonetheless, the kings are listed in homogeneous groups. The kings illustrated from the higher to lower left row stem from the 4th, 5th, 6th, 11th, and 12th dynasties. The right side shows those from the 13th to 16th and 17th dynasties³.

2.3.2: Purpose

As mentioned above, the list cannot offer a chronological ruler sequence. However, it certainly categorizes rulership groups between the Old Kingdom and the later SIP. So, the list of Karnak invokes the question of what connects groups of rulers attributed to stable periods like the Old and the Middle kingdoms and those of the SIP in a reverential or cultic context by King Thutmose III. REDFORD presents consistent interpretations for the purpose of the list. For example, WIEDEMANN and LACAU focused on some kings reigning from Thebes or attested in the temple of Amun. VON BECKERATH suggests that they were known at Karnak⁴. MASPERO and WILDUNG

¹ Lepsius 1842: Taf. I.

² Delange 2015: 16-107; Siesse 2019: 33-35; Redford 1986: 29-31.

³ Delange 2015: 102- 103; Siesse 2019: 33-34.

⁴ Von Beckerath 1964: 26.

more precisely argue that King Thutmose III honoured the memory of kings whose statues were removed in favour of his renovations in the temple of Amun¹. REDFORD himself suggests that those kings were important to the priesthood, owing to their dedications for Amun at Thebes or probably their coronation at Karnak².

Consistent with the above interpretations, it is possible that the rulers' placement on the list reflects the spatial distribution of the statues of these kings within the temple of Amun³. This may imply chronological bonds among the kings of the SIP who sequentially developed certain zones within the temple.

2.3.3: The 13th Dynasty in the Karnak offering List

The 13th Dynasty kings in the Karnak offering list occupy about 13 places on the right side of the list. They are illustrated in the first three rows and simultaneously mixed with the Theban 16th and 17th dynasties. The arrangement of the kings does not always correspond with their sequence in the Turin King-list (Table 3. 5). Nevertheless, the first three kings in the first row (Nos. 33–35) are very close in the Turin King-list.

Noteworthy in this context is that nine out of 12 names hold the birth name Sobekhotep or Neferhotep. Additionally, most likely 10 kings are well-attested in the temple of Amun at Karnak (Table. 7). King *Shm-r‘-hw-t3.wj* Sobekhotep is traditionally identified as the dynastic head⁴, placed in No. 36; he is not attested clearly in the temple of Amun, but he had a notable activity within Thebes, in particular at Madamud. However, the King probably erected a chapel for Amun-Re, which was later restored by King *H‘-nfr-R‘* Sobekhotep⁵.

Most likely, the combination of the 13th Dynasty in the list reflects common bonds among this group. Although the list does not hold chronological value, the archaeological evidence of this group could illuminate the relationships among those rulers. One may propose that this group centred its activity around Thebes due to their Theban origin⁶, or some of them took Thebes as a base for their rulership that extended over Upper Egypt⁷.

¹ Redford 1986: 31.

² Redford 1986: 32-33.

³ Siesse 2019: 35; Grimal 2011: 343-370.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 315-317.

⁵ Cat. 13.23.17

⁶ Gardiner 1961: 148.

⁷ Winlock 1947: 93-94.

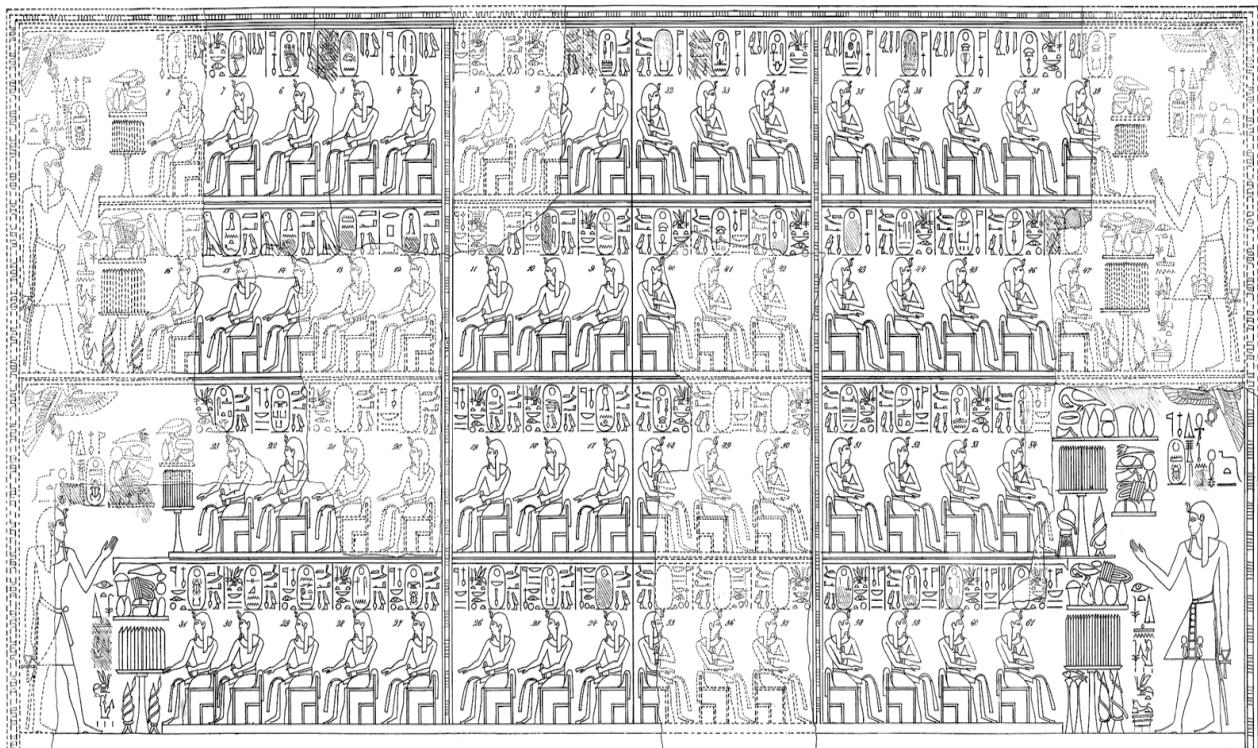


Fig. 3. 2: After Lepsius: Taf. I

12th	24	Lost		9	Lost		1
17th	25	12th		17	11th		4th
17th	26	12th		18	11th		5th
16th	27	Lost		19	11th		4
17th	28	Lost		20	11th?		5
11th	29	12th		21	6th		Lost
11th	30	12th		22	6th		7
Lost		17th?		23	6th		16th
13th	31	Lost		32	17th		19th
13th	33	13th?		34	13th		16th?
13th	34	13th		35	16th		16th?
13th	35	16th		36	Lost		13th
13th	36	Lost		37	13th?		16th?
13th	37	13th?		38	13th		16th/13th?
13th	38	Lost		39	13th		Lost
13th	39	Lost		40	17th		17th
13th	40	Lost		41	17th		19th
13th	41	Lost		42	16th		16th?
13th	42	16th		43	13th		16th?
13th	43	13th		44	13th		16th?
13th	44	13th		45	13th?		16th?
13th	45	Lost		46	13th		16th?
13th	46	Lost		47	17th		19th
13th	47	Lost		48	17th		19th
13th	48	Lost		49	17th		19th
13th	49	Lost		50	16th		16th?
13th	50	16th		51	13th		16th?
13th	51	13th		52	Lost		Lost
13th	52	Lost		53	Lost		Lost
13th	53	Lost		54	Lost		Lost
13th	54	Lost		55	Lost		Lost
13th	55	Lost		56	Lost		Lost
13th	56	Lost		57	Lost		Lost
13th	57	Lost		58	Lost		Lost
13th	58	Lost		59	Lost		Lost
13th	59	Lost		60	Lost		Lost
13th	60	Lost		61	Lost		Lost
13th	61	Lost		62	Lost		Lost
13th	62	Lost		63	Lost		Lost
13th	63	Lost		64	Lost		Lost
13th	64	Lost		65	Lost		Lost
13th	65	Lost		66	Lost		Lost
13th	66	Lost		67	Lost		Lost
13th	67	Lost		68	Lost		Lost
13th	68	Lost		69	Lost		Lost
13th	69	Lost		70	Lost		Lost
13th	70	Lost		71	Lost		Lost
13th	71	Lost		72	Lost		Lost
13th	72	Lost		73	Lost		Lost
13th	73	Lost		74	Lost		Lost
13th	74	Lost		75	Lost		Lost
13th	75	Lost		76	Lost		Lost
13th	76	Lost		77	Lost		Lost
13th	77	Lost		78	Lost		Lost
13th	78	Lost		79	Lost		Lost
13th	79	Lost		80	Lost		Lost
13th	80	Lost		81	Lost		Lost
13th	81	Lost		82	Lost		Lost
13th	82	Lost		83	Lost		Lost
13th	83	Lost		84	Lost		Lost
13th	84	Lost		85	Lost		Lost
13th	85	Lost		86	Lost		Lost
13th	86	Lost		87	Lost		Lost
13th	87	Lost		88	Lost		Lost
13th	88	Lost		89	Lost		Lost
13th	89	Lost		90	Lost		Lost
13th	90	Lost		91	Lost		Lost
13th	91	Lost		92	Lost		Lost
13th	92	Lost		93	Lost		Lost
13th	93	Lost		94	Lost		Lost
13th	94	Lost		95	Lost		Lost
13th	95	Lost		96	Lost		Lost
13th	96	Lost		97	Lost		Lost
13th	97	Lost		98	Lost		Lost
13th	98	Lost		99	Lost		Lost
13th	99	Lost		100	Lost		Lost
13th	100	Lost		101	Lost		Lost
13th	101	Lost		102	Lost		Lost
13th	102	Lost		103	Lost		Lost
13th	103	Lost		104	Lost		Lost
13th	104	Lost		105	Lost		Lost
13th	105	Lost		106	Lost		Lost
13th	106	Lost		107	Lost		Lost
13th	107	Lost		108	Lost		Lost
13th	108	Lost		109	Lost		Lost
13th	109	Lost		110	Lost		Lost
13th	110	Lost		111	Lost		Lost
13th	111	Lost		112	Lost		Lost
13th	112	Lost		113	Lost		Lost
13th	113	Lost		114	Lost		Lost
13th	114	Lost		115	Lost		Lost
13th	115	Lost		116	Lost		Lost
13th	116	Lost		117	Lost		Lost
13th	117	Lost		118	Lost		Lost
13th	118	Lost		119	Lost		Lost
13th	119	Lost		120	Lost		Lost
13th	120	Lost		121	Lost		Lost
13th	121	Lost		122	Lost		Lost
13th	122	Lost		123	Lost		Lost
13th	123	Lost		124	Lost		Lost
13th	124	Lost		125	Lost		Lost
13th	125	Lost		126	Lost		Lost
13th	126	Lost		127	Lost		Lost
13th	127	Lost		128	Lost		Lost
13th	128	Lost		129	Lost		Lost
13th	129	Lost		130	Lost		Lost
13th	130	Lost		131	Lost		Lost
13th	131	Lost		132	Lost		Lost
13th	132	Lost		133	Lost		Lost
13th	133	Lost		134	Lost		Lost
13th	134	Lost		135	Lost		Lost
13th	135	Lost		136	Lost		Lost
13th	136	Lost		137	Lost		Lost
13th	137	Lost		138	Lost		Lost
13th	138	Lost		139	Lost		Lost
13th	139	Lost		140	Lost		Lost
13th	140	Lost		141	Lost		Lost
13th	141	Lost		142	Lost		Lost
13th	142	Lost		143	Lost		Lost
13th	143	Lost		144	Lost		Lost
13th	144	Lost		145	Lost		Lost
13th	145	Lost		146	Lost		Lost
13th	146	Lost		147	Lost		Lost
13th	147	Lost		148	Lost		Lost
13th	148	Lost		149	Lost		Lost
13th	149	Lost		150	Lost		Lost
13th	150	Lost		151	Lost		Lost
13th	151	Lost		152	Lost		Lost
13th	152	Lost		153	Lost		Lost
13th	153	Lost		154	Lost		Lost
13th	154	Lost		155	Lost		Lost
13th	155	Lost		156	Lost		Lost
13th	156	Lost		157	Lost		Lost
13th	157	Lost		158	Lost		Lost
13th	158	Lost		159	Lost		Lost
13th	159	Lost		160	Lost		Lost
13th	160	Lost		161	Lost		Lost
13th	161	Lost		162	Lost		Lost
13th	162	Lost		163	Lost		Lost
13th	163	Lost		164	Lost		Lost
13th	164	Lost		165	Lost		Lost
13th	165	Lost		166	Lost		Lost
13th	166	Lost		167	Lost		Lost
13th	167	Lost		168	Lost		Lost
13th	168	Lost		169	Lost		Lost
13th	169	Lost		170	Lost		Lost
13th	170	Lost		171	Lost		Lost
13th	171	Lost		172	Lost		Lost
13th	172						

Table 3. 4: Distribution of the kings in the Karnak offering List

Karnak list		Turin King List		Attestations in Karnak	
No.	King	No.	King	Object	Cat. No.
33	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c</i>	7.27	<i>H^c-nfr-r^c Sbk-htp</i>	Pair of door-jambs. Stela Statue inscription	13.23.16 13.23.17 13.23.18 13.23.19
34	<i>H^c-shm-R^c</i>	7.25	<i>H^c-shm-r^c Nfr-htp</i>	Block (joint with <i>H^c-nfr-r^c Sbk-htp</i>) Naos with two statues	13.21.10 13.21.11
35	<i>Shm-R^c-s: w³d-t³.wj</i>	7.24	<i>Shm-r^c-[s:w³d-t³.wj] Sbk-htp</i>	Sphinx Alter	13.20.5 13.20.6
36	<i>Shm-R^c-hw- t³.wj</i>	7.19	<i>Shm-r^c-hw-t³.wj Sbk- htp</i>	Chapel?	13.23.17?
37	<i>S: nh-ib-R^c</i>	7.10	<i>S: nh-ib-r^c</i>	Offering-table	13.6.1
38	<i>S:w³d-n- R^c?¹</i>	7.12	<i>s:htp-jb-R^c</i>	_____	_____
41	<i>Mr-shm-R^c</i>	8.6	<i>Mr-shm-r^c ind</i>	Statue } Statue } <i>Mr-shm-r^c Nfr-htp</i>	13.29.1 13.29.2
42	<i>Mr-k³.w-R^c</i>	8.8	<i>Mr-k³.w[R^c] Sbk-htp</i>	Pair of Statues	13.31.1[a, b]
45	<i>S:nfr-(ib)-R^c</i>		uncertain	Statue} <i>s:nfr-ib-r^c SenwsretIV</i>	13.a.1
46	<i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>	8.1	<i>H^c-htp-r^c</i>	_____	_____
47	<i>H^c-nh-R^c</i>		non-included	Pedestal of a statue?	13.c.3
50	<i>Mr-htp-R^c</i>	8.4	<i>Mr-htp-r^c</i>	Statue } Statuette } <i>Mr-htp-r^c Sbk-htp</i> Stela	13.27.2 13.27.3 13.27.4
51	<i>Hw-t³.wj-R^c</i>	7.5	<i>Hw-t³.wj-r^c</i>	statue stela	13.1.2 13.1.3.

Table: 3. 5: The 13th Dynasty in the Karnak list and their traces in the Turin King-list

3. Subsidiary sources

Further archaeological and textual sources could supplement the understanding of the genesis of the 13th Dynasty. These sources are used constantly as historiographical tools for tracing the chronology of the 13th Dynasty.

3.1: Royal necropolis

Understandably, the 13th Dynasty is a continuation of the 12th Dynasty in the Memphite region². Therefore, the rulers of the new line mainly chose the Dahshur necropolis to set up their burials (Fig. 3. 3)³. Apart from the famous pyramids of the 4th and 12th dynasties, the Dahshur necropolis contains eight other pyramids and shaft-tombs, which are mostly attributed to the 13th Dynasty⁴.

¹ See chapter Four, 13.8: King *s:htp-jb-R^c*.

² Ryholt 1997: 79; von Beckerath 1964: 71-78; Hayes 1953: 33-38.

³ McCormack 2008: 152-294; Stadelmann and Alexanian 1998; Dodson 1987; Dodson 1994.

⁴ Dodson 1994: 26-27.

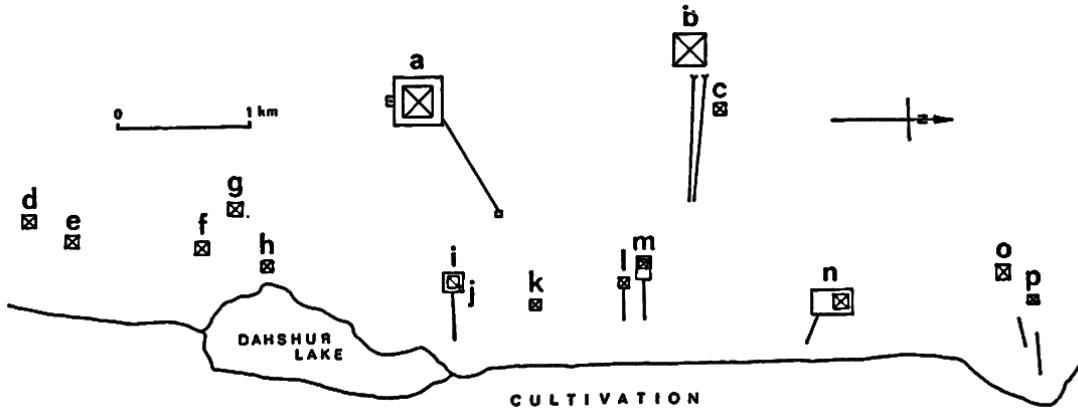


Fig. 1. Sketch Map of the Memphite Necropolis, from Southern South Saqqara to Mazghuna.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. Bent Pyramid | i. Pyramid of Ammenemes III |
| b. North Stone Pyramid | j. Tomb of Hor |
| c. Lepsius Pyramid L | k. Lepsius Pyramid LV |
| d. Mazghuna, South Pyramid | l. Lepsius Pyramid LIV |
| e. Mazghuna, North Pyramid | m. Pyramid of Ammenemes II |
| f. Pyramid of Ameny-Qemau | n. Pyramid of Sesostris III |
| g. South Dahshur Pyramid B | o. South Saqqara, Unfinished Pyramid |
| h. South Dahshur Pyramid A | p. Pyramid of Khendjer |

Fig. 3. 3: Dahshur necropolis, After Dodson 1987: 36.

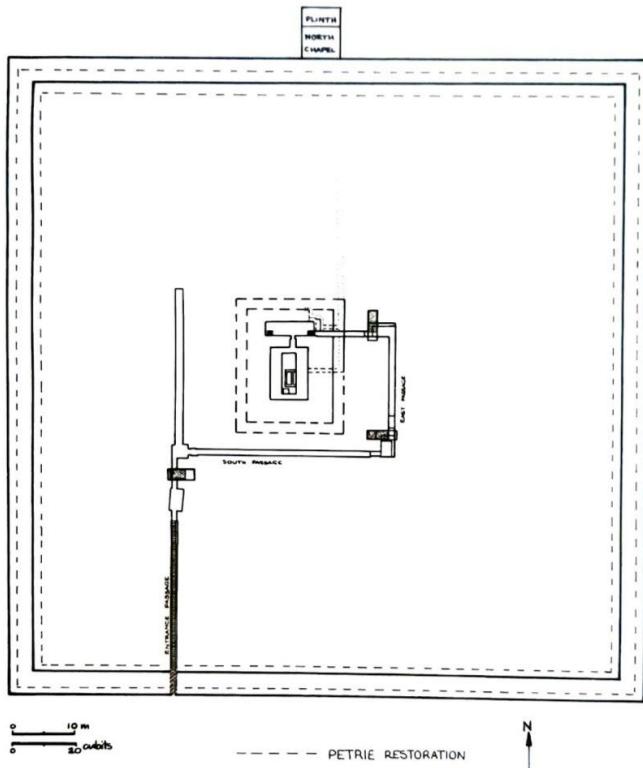


Fig. 3. 4: Amenemhat III pyramid of Hawara, After: Uphill 2000: Fig. 9

The pyramid-tombs architecture of the 13th Dynasty obviously points to the post-Hawara style, which followed the inner-architectural pattern of King Amenemhat

III's pyramid at Hawara (Fig. 3. 4)¹. D. McCORMACK² described the post-Hawara architectural style³:

“The royal tombs are composed of corridors blocked periodically by portcullis stones, 4rtcullises concealing passages that continue on at a higher level. The burial was placed in a sarcophagus chamber which could be one of two types. The first contained a sarcophagus base set below floor level. A lid would be placed on top, usually being affixed in a niche at one end. Once the lid was in place, a portcullis stone would be pushed into position, sometimes over the top of the sarcophagus lid, locking it into place. In the second type of sarcophagus, a sand hydraulic system was used. This involved having both a fixed part of the sarcophagus lid and a mobile section. The mobile section sat upon supports until the time of the burial. Once this was complete, plugs were knocked free allowing sand to pour out from beneath the bottom of the supports. Gradually, the supports would lower, allowing the sarcophagus to slowly close, never to be opened again. The sarcophagi were composed of quartzite”.

Any attested royal name in the Memphite region, mainly in Dahshur or even in the Fayoum region⁴, should be attributed mostly to the 13th Dynasty if the name is not explicitly listed in the Turin King-list or it does not belong to the earlier 13th Dynasty⁵. Therefore, the Dahshur necropolis is a historiographical tool for incorporating the unnamed rulers in the Turin King-list within the body of the 13th Dynasty as long as they were attested in the royal necropolis.

Based on the previous assumption, from the royal names of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list, two names are identified securely in the necropolis of Dahshur. First is King *3w.(t)-Jb-R*⁶ Hor (Col. 7/17), buried in one of the burial shafts of the complex of King Amenemhat III⁶. Second is King *Wsr-k3-R*⁷ Khendjer (Col. 7/20); his pyramid in Saqqara-South is identified by its inscribed pyramidion⁷. At the same time, King Ameny-Qemau is attested in the Dahshur necropolis, and he was never listed in the Turin King-list. Yet he should be in the 13th Dynasty due to his pyramid being located

¹ McCormack 2008: 152-366; Wegner and Cahail 2015.

² McCormack 2008.

³ McCormack 2017: 399.

⁴ For more proposed sites for the 13th Dynasty burials at Memphite region, see McCormack 2008: 268-290; Dodson 1987: 43.

⁵ C. THEIS proposed a division to outline the burials within the Memphite region that should be of the 13th Dynasty and others maybe of an earlier period, see Theis 2019a.

⁶ Cron and Johnson 1995-1996: 58-63.

⁷ Jéquier 1933: 3-30; Cat. 13.16.2; Cat. 13.d.1.

in Dahshur, 1.5 km south of that of Amenemhat III¹. King Ameny-Qemau is also attested in Dahshur in a pyramid-tomb structure less than 1km to the south of his first pyramid in the south of Dahshur. The new pyramid was discovered by the Egyptian antiquities authority in April 2017 and likely belonged to his royal daughter². This discovery suggests that it is possible for one king to have had multiple tombs. Therefore, it is not necessary to associate the anonymous tombs in Dahshur exclusively with kings, as members of the royal family were also laid to rest in separate tombs within the same necropolis.

In addition, the centre of the Dahshur necropolis contains remains of a potential burial about 125 m south of the ruins of King Amenemhat II's pyramid³. These remains are known as Lepsius Pyramid LIV, about 40 meters square and approached by a causeway. A fragment was found among the debris inscribed with King Amenemhat's name⁴; possibly, the relief refers to a burial of Amenemhat IV or one of those of the 13th Dynasty in col. 7/6, 7/7, 7/10, 7/18⁵. Likewise, the fragment may have come from the rubble of Amenmehat II's pyramid⁶.

Furthermore, a pyramidion referring to King *Mr-nfr-r*^c Aya (col. 8/3) was found at Al-Khata'na⁷. This discovery opened the door for anticipating another 13th Dynasty necropolis in the eastern Delta⁸. The reliefs show the king performing offerings to God Ptah. Therefore, the pyramidion was likely transferred from the Memphite region to the eastern Delta⁹.

¹ Dodson 1987; Dodson 1994; McCormack 2008:166-190, 241-251, 208-217; Cat.

² <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2017/05/11/archaeologists-uncover-ancient-egyptian-princess-tomb-in-dahshur> ;See documentary by Chris Naunton <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NToAZjOzXAI>

³ Theis 2009a: 324.

⁴ Dodson 1994: 27.

⁵ See Chapter Two.

⁶ McCormack 2008: 277.

⁷ Cat. 13.25.1.

⁸ Habachi 1952: 471-474, 478, 558; Dodson 1994: 32.

⁹ Kemp 1983: 152-153.

King's burial	TK col.	Burial's location	Parallel
<i>3w{.t}-ib-r^c</i> Hor	7/17	Tomb-shaft within Amenemhat III complex	
<i>wsr-k3-r^c</i> Khendjer	7/20	South of Saqqara	Southern Pyramid of Mazghuna
Undesignated-Unfinished pyramid	-----	south to Khendjer's pyramid “Southern South Saqqara pyramid”	1st burial chamber resembles those of Khendjer and Maghzuna-south pyramids
			2nd burial chamber resembles the burial chamber of Ameny-Qemau's pyramid
Amenemhat IV/ V/ VI/ VII?	?	125m south to pyramid of Amenemhat II.	
Undesignated pyramid remains	-----	Near of Ameny-Qemau's pyramid (Southern Dahshur A)	
Undesignated pyramid remains	-----	Near of Ameny-Qemau's pyramid (Southern Dahshur B)	
Ameny-Qemau Ameny-Qemau's Daughter	-----	1.5 km of Amenemhat III's pyramid	Northern Pyramid of Mazghuna.
		About 750 m south of Ameny-Qemau's pyramid	
S9/ Neferhotep (I) <i>H^c-shm-r^c</i> ?	7/25?	South Abydos	- the superstructure elements are mostly linked to the Southern Pyramid of Mazghuna. - the sarcophagus is similar to S10.
S10/ Sobekhotep (N) / (IV) <i>H^c-nfr-r^c</i> ?	7.27?	South Abydos	- the sarcophagus is similar to that of Ameny-Qemau. - shares characteristics of Amememhat III's pyramid at Dahshur
<i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i> Aya	8.3	Memphite region?	

Table 3. 6: Attested royal burials of the 13th Dynasty

Typologically, the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau precedes the northern pyramid of Mazghuna. Both pyramids have common architectural elements such as huge laterally sliding blocks and trap-door roof blocks¹. However, the northern pyramid of Mazghuna was never used as a tomb². Simultaneously, the southern pyramid of Mazghuna relates in its structure to that of King Khendjer at the opposite edge of the Dahshur necropolis in Saqqara-South (Table 3. 6). South of Khendjer's pyramid is an unfinished pyramid; at 91 meters square, it is the largest pyramid of the dynasty. It has two burial chambers; the first is similar in its closure techniques to the pyramids of Khendjer, Amenemhat III at Hawara, and the southern pyramid of Maghzuna. Likewise, the second burial chamber is similar in its architectural elements to the burial chamber of Ameny-

¹ Dodson 1994a: 27-28.

² See chapter two.

Qemau¹. Worthy of note is that one of the blocks was used in the structure inscribed with a graffito that possibly reads as *Wsr-hw*². RYHOLT suggests that *Wsr-hw* is a Nebty name that was common among the kings of the 13th Dynasty³. However, this is not sufficient to ascertain the pyramid's owner.

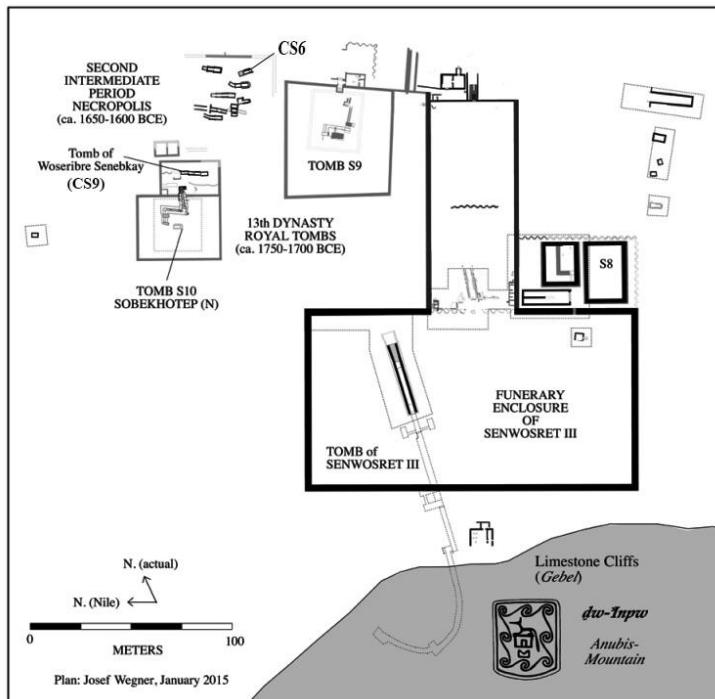


Fig. 3. 5: After Wegner-Cahail 2015: 126.

In parallel, two tombs designated as S9 and S10 at South Abydos include the same subterranean design as the 13th Dynasty pyramids at Dahshur⁴. As mentioned earlier, the two tombs are adjacent to a sizeable subterranean tomb thus far attributed to King Senwosret III? (Fig. 3. 5), despite the absence of textual evidence for King Senwosret III within the tomb⁵. S9 is situated adjacent directly to the lower projection of the T-shaped enclosure of King Senwosret III's tomb, while S10 is situated about 35 meters to the southwest of S9⁶.

Between 1901-1902, the two tombs were excavated and sketched for the first time by A. WEIGALL, who designated them as Mastabas "S9" and "S10". He stated that the tombs had been looted due to a fragmentation of the architecture, but he could

¹ Dodson 1987; Dodson 1994a: 26-30; Dodson 1994b: 29-30.

² Jéquier 1933: 63.

³ Ryholt 1997: 80-81.

⁴ McCormack 2010: 75-78; McCormack 2017.

⁵ See chapter one.

⁶ Wegner and Cahail 2015: 125; McCormack 2008: 305.

not identify their owners¹. He reported that tomb S9 had a quartzite sarcophagus with box-recess to the south behind the head to preserve objects buried with the mummy. Apparently, this box was assigned to hold the canopic jars. The sarcophagus was covered by a lid composed of two quartzite blocks. The tomb elements were destroyed, and the plunderers made a hole between the two blocks of the lid to empty the sarcophagus items. WEIGALL reported that the debris shows burned funeral pieces that were used as fuel. Mackay, in 1912, assumed a similarity between the sarcophagus chambers of S9 and the South Mazghuna pyramid².

For tomb S10, WEIGALL noted that the tomb was relatively parallel to the S9, and both relied on the same design³. The sarcophagus was not found in the tomb; just a flat quartzite sarcophagus lid was separately found out of context⁴. Furthermore, he found remains of alabaster canopic jars inscribed with truncated hieroglyphs (birds and snakes without legs or tails) like those of King *3w-ib-r*^c Hor but did not give entries for their owner⁵.

Recently, the tombs, in particular S9, were examined in detail by D. McCORMACK⁶. She put forth that the S9 superstructure was linked with the south Mazghuna pyramid, and its portcullis was the type found with the Amney-Qemau sarcophagus chamber⁷. At the same time, tomb S10 shares many characteristics with the pyramid of King Amenemhat III at Dahshur⁸. Generally, besides their same planes, the tombs share structural features such as limestone corridors and quartzite portcullis. Interestingly, McCORMACK documented human remains and burned fragments of mummy wrappings, countless pieces of wood, and faience found within the archaeological context, likely attributed to the owner of S9⁹. Besides the fragments of the canopic jars mentioned above, such clues indicate using the tomb as an actual burial.

After examining the ceramic assemblage of S9, McCormack assumed that the owners of S9 and S10 had access to the Memphis region since the ceramic was created from the fabric of the Memphite region. However, she dates the tombs probably to the

¹ Weigall 1904: 13-15, Pls. XXXVI-XXXVIII.

² Mackay 1912: 46.

³ Weigall 1904: 14-15.

⁴ McCormack 2008: 307.

⁵ Weigall 1904: 15-19; McCormack 2008: 309; Wegner-Cahail 2015: 126.

⁶ McCormack 2006; McCormack 2008; McCormack 2014.

⁷ McCormack 2010: 76.

⁸ McCormack 2008: 365.

⁹ McCormack 2008: 354; McCormack 2014.

first half of the 13th Dynasty¹. In addition, she proposed that the S9 and S10 might belong to kings Neferhotep (I) *Hr-shm-R*^c and his brother Sobekhotep (IV) *Hr-nfr-R*^c due to their activity in Abydos².

Lastly, during a large-scale survey of the private cemetery at South Abydos (2013-2015) by J. WEGNER, new clues were presented as to the owner of the S10³. The expedition initially aimed to investigate the cluster tombs to the north of S10 (Fig. 3.5). These burials may be private tombs associated with the royal tombs S9 and S10. Intriguingly, the excavations revealed that these cluster tombs are royal tombs related to the SIP. The cemetery is comprised of at least eight comparable royal tombs. The SIP cemetery is significantly different in design from those of the 13th Dynasty (Fig. 3. 6); the tombs were formed in a passage-style composed of two or three brick-built chambers entered via an opened brick ramp, with a burial chamber quilted in the stone slabs⁴.

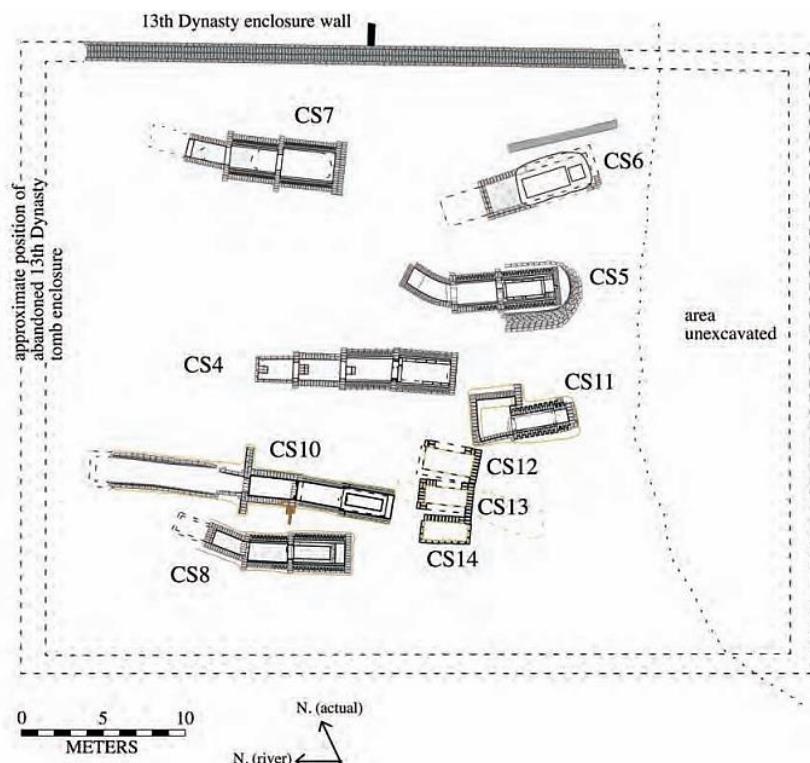


Fig. 3. 6: After Wegner-Cahail 2021: 247, Fig. 11.5

¹ McCormack 2008: 365-366; McCormack 2010: 80.

² McCormack 2008: 358-364.

³ Wegner and Cahail 2015.

⁴ Wegner and Cahail: 128.

In the summer of 2013, the expedition discovered one of these passage-style tombs about 100 meters north of S10. The tomb is now designated as CS6. Interestingly, its burial chamber kept a ca. 60-ton red-purple quartzite sarcophagus identical to the one still in situ in tomb S9. It is also similar to that of Amney-Qemau. Since the CS6 tomb design is not of the 13th Dynasty, its massive sarcophagus may stem from tomb S10 and was thus reused as a burial chamber during the later SIP¹. It is noteworthy that the 60-ton red-purple quartzite sarcophagus was cut out from the quarries at Gabel Ahmer near Heliopolis and transported to South Abydos. This exemplifies the territorial dominance of its owner and his ability to manage his resources effectively².

In January 2014, the expedition discovered a royal tomb 10 meters in front of the tomb S10. The newly discovered tomb was labelled as CS9 and refers to the King *Wsr-Jb-R*^c Seneb-kay dated after the 13th Dynasty. It implies the domination of a local royal family over Abydos³. An ivory magic wand was discovered earlier in North Abydos in tomb D78⁴, now in Cairo Egyptian Museum (JE 34988/CG 9433), bearing the birth name Seb-kay⁵, whom RYHOLT places in the 13th Dynasty as two kings, a father (Seb) and his son (Kay)⁶. However, it is evident now that Seneb-Kay's name was inscribed mistakenly on the magic wand as Seb-Kay.

In this context, RYHOLT imagined a local Abydos-based family labelled as the Abydos Dynasty. Save from three provincial stelae of three kings of poor quality found in Abydos⁷, they are attested nowhere. He believes that these kings formed a political regime, ruling from Abydos or Thinis, the capital of the nome⁸. RYHOLT's assumption is based on the birth-name interpretation of two of those kings. The first is King *p3-n-tny*, "He of Thinis", and King *wp-w3wt-m-s3=f*, "Wepwawet is his protection"⁹, whose name is devoted to the God Wepwawet-Re of Abydos¹⁰.

¹ Wegner and Cahail 2015: 129.

² Wegner and Cahail 2015: 131-132.

³ Wegner and Cahail 2021.

⁴ Randall-Maciver and Mace 1902: 69, 87, 92, 100, Pl. XLIII

⁵ Wegner and Cahail 2021: 346, Fig. 14.5.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 73, 219, 341.

⁷ These three kings are: Wepwawemsaf, Pantjeny, and Snaaib.

⁸ Ryholt 1997: 163-166.

⁹ Leprohon 2013: 89.

¹⁰ Ryholt 1997:163.

According to the dynastic division in the Turin King-list, RYHOLT sees the Abydos Dynasty after the 16th Dynasty. Inasmuch as the 16th Dynasty of Thebes¹ is listed in the last line of col. 10 until col. 11/14 and ends with a summation line in col. 11/15², the rulers recorded in col. 11/16-35 could be assigned as the Abydos Dynasty. RYHOLT proposes that the Abydos Dynasty was contemporaneous to the 16th Dynasty before the emergence of the 17th Dynasty in Thebes. In turn, the Abydos Dynasty was a buffer between the Hyksos 15th Dynasty in the north and the 16th Dynasty in Thebes³.

Surprisingly, the new line of rulers in Col. 11/16 starts with the king *wsr-[...]-R*^c; evidence that may support RYHOLT idea about the Abydos Dynasty since King *wsr-[...]-R*^c, indeed King *Wsr-Jb-R*^c Seneb-kay, may have been the owner of tomb CS9⁴. Regrettably, King-list entries in col. 11/16-35 are very poorly preserved, rendering it a challenge to match any names with the current archaeological record⁵. However, the new royal tomb in South Abydos and the adjacent cemetery strongly indicate the existence of a local dynasty in Abydos during the SIP, irrespective of its localization in the King-list.

The new clues from tomb CS9 indicate that S10's owner is one of the 13th Dynasty Sobekhotep kings, whom J. WEGNER identifies as Sobekhotep (N). Inside CS9, a fragment of a limestone stela was found bearing the well-known birth name Sobekhotep as *s3 R*^c *Sbk-[htp]*. Besides, decorated cedar planks were found that were assigned for a canopic box. Interestingly, the inscriptions of the chest display a group of coffin texts that also keep the original owner's name King Sobekhotep as *nsw-bj.tj Sbk-htp*⁶. WEGNER's hypothesis suggests that the wooden sarcophagus of Sobekhotep (N) was disassembled and reused as a canopic box for King Seneb-Kay⁷. The archaeological context signifies that the funeral items of S10 of Sobekhotep (N) were reused in an adjacent cemetery of a local dynasty that emerged at Abydos during the later SIP. That is testimony to the severe economic and political situation in the later SIP that pushed a provincial family at Abydos to loot the 13th Dynasty cemetery.

¹ The studies before Ryholt identify one Theban Dynasty as 17th Dynasty, see Ryholt 1997; von Beckerath 1964: 165-199.

² Ryholt 1997: 151-162.

³ Ryholt 1997: 164.

⁴ Wegner and Cahail 2021: 341-343.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 153.

⁶ Wegner and Cahail 2015: 141-155.

⁷ Wegner and Cahail: 149-155.

Exposing the name of King Sobekhotep (N) associated with tomb S10 significantly supports McCORMACK's assumption that S9 and S10 are possibly attributed to Kings Sobekhotep IV and Neferhotep I. Interestingly, J. WEGNER and K. CAHAIL delineated S10's owner using McCORMACK's hypothesis¹. They identify King Sobekhotep (N) based on the longest reigns among the 13th Dynasty Sobekhotep kings as S10 and S9 took about three years to construct. Moreover, who had a particular interest in Abydos among those Sobekhotep Kings.

Accordingly, King Sobekhotep (N) could be identified as King Sobekhotep IV (*Hr-nfr-Rˁ*) since his 9 to 12 year-long reign permitted him to execute a large-scale burial project that involved transporting about 60 tons of quartzite blocks from Gebel Ahmer in the north to Abydos. Furthermore, King Sobekhotep IV had intensive architectural activity in the temple of Osiris in North Abydos, inverse to other Sobekhotep kings. Correspondingly, based on the similarity in design and contents between S10 and S9, the owner of S9 could be identified as one of the kings closer to King Sobekhotep IV; particularly based on kinship, regnal length, and the interest in Abydos. Therefore, WEGNER and CAHAIL named King Neferhotep I (*Hr-shm-Rˁ*), the brother and predecessor of King Sobekhotep IV, as S9's owner who reigned for 11 years and had a particular interest in Abydos as well².

Identifying an actual 13th Dynasty cemetery at South Abydos raises questions about the shift of the royal necropolis from Dahshur to Abydos. Such a procedure may recast the political situation during the 13th Dynasty. WEGNER and CAHAIL offer their interpretation of the 13th Dynasty cemetery adjacent to Senwosret III's tomb in South Abydos for the following reasons: (1) the desire of King Neferhotep I to be buried close to King Senwosret III's tomb at Abydos in search of legitimization since he himself was not of royal origin; the archaeological record of the King revealed his association with King Senwosret III by imitating his scenes on Sehel island; (2) due to their Theban origin, the administrative and economic activity of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV focused mainly on Thebes and Abydos. Therefore, they certainly chose Abydos for their interment, particularly to utilize the *Wah-Sut* settlement as a working and administrative centre for constructing their tombs³.

¹ Wegner and Cahail: 156-162.

² Wegner and Cahail 2015: 158-159.

³ Wegner and Cahail 2015:159-162.

A dual necropolis for the 13th Dynasty rulers implies a change in the political landscape since the royal necropolis is associated with a power base. The present study will tackle this issue by figuring out the political-geographical identity of the 13th Dynasty rulers to verify the actual power centres during that period.

3.2: Lahun archive

Lahun is an important religious and administrative centre in the Middle Kingdom,

where King Senwosret II erected his funeral complex  *Shm-z(j)-n wsr.t*. It contained a planned settlement to guarantee the continuation of his royal cult and supply the public works in the area with a labour force¹. As mentioned earlier, the settlement lasted until the 13th Dynasty². Several hieratic papyrus fragments found by PETRIE were part of an archive of activities in the town³. This archive had a significant role in identifying the early kings who filled the political vacuum after the 12th Dynasty and confirmed the continuation of the administrative procedures into the 13th Dynasty.

Two fragments document a list of household members (*wpw.t*) of two officials who lived in Lahun during the 13th Dynasty⁴. The fragments are categorised as legal documents now in Petrie Museum (UC 32163, UC 32166)⁵. Document (UC 32163) refers to a soldier “*snfrw*” and dates to year 3, month 4 of the flood, day 15 under King  *Shm-k3-R*⁶. According to the Turin King-list, King *Shm-k3-R* (col. 7/6) is the second king of the 13th Dynasty. Unfortunately, his regnal years are lost in the list, but his entries show lost information that is marked with the notation *wsf* followed by six regnal years⁷.

On the other hand, the document (UC 32166) lists the household members of the regular lector of *Shm-s(j)-n wsr.t* “*H-k3.w-R-snfrw*”, and dates to year 1 of King  *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj*⁸. The document indicates that a son was born to “*H-k3.w-R-snfrw*” in the 40th regnal year; unfortunately, the document did not preserve the king’s name who ruled for 40 years. Since King Amenemhat III was the last king whose

¹ Quirke 1990: 156.

² See Chapter 1.

³ Griffith 1898.

⁴ Griffith 1898: 19-29, PL. IX-XI.

⁵ Collier and Quirke 2004: 110-111, 116-117.

⁶ Collier and Quirke 2004: 110-111.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁸ Collier and Quirke 2004: 116-117.

regnal years exceeded 40 years, so this son was supposedly born during his reign. Therefore, King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* may be one of the early kings of the 13th Dynasty who followed the 12th Dynasty rulers at Itjtawy¹. GRIFFITH thought that King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* was the head of the 13th Dynasty, and his name is listed in the Turin King-list as *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ* in col. 7/5; yet the sign  *shm* was omitted by the list scribe². According to this, the throne name *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ* does not belong to King *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ* Wegaf.

In the Turin King-list, the only king who bears the throne name *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* is King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep (col. 7/19) after King *S:df3-k3-Rˁ* Amenemhat-Kay (col. 7/18). STOCK proposed that the kings' names of *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ* Wegaf and *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep were interchanged in the Turin King-list³. This argument is firmly based on the archaeological record that preserves the names of King *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ* Wegaf alongside King *S:df3-k3-Rˁ* Amenemhat-Kay in Madamud⁴.

The previous argument could be wholly accepted if only one king bore the throne name *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*. Nonetheless, the archaeological record attests to two other kings who bore the same throne name and seemingly belonged to the same period: Kings *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw and King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Pantjeny. There is a consensus that the latter king did not belong to the 13th Dynasty but to the later SIP. RYHOLT placed this king in the local Abydos dynasty based on his birth name "He of the Thinis"⁵. So, identifying the head of the 13th Dynasty requires a reassessment of the archaeological evidence of two kings holding the same throne name, *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep and *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw, as presented in the archaeological study of the current work.

However, most likely King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* was one of the early kings of the 13th Dynast. The same throne name appears in three Nile-records in Lower Nubia, a 12th Dynasty procedure that lasted until the beginning of the 13th Dynasty (See below).

¹ Ryholt 1997: 315.

² Griffith 1898: 26; Gardiner 1961: 150-151; Hayes 1962: 6.

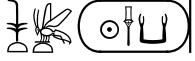
³ Stock 1942: 49.

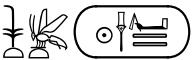
⁴ See Cat. 13.1.1 and 13.14.2.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 163-164; Franke 2013: 174-177; Wegner and Cahail 2021: 353-354.

3.3: Nile-records

Since the inundation, Nile recording was a common procedure attested since the reign of King Amenemhat III that lasted until the early 13th Dynasty¹; it makes historiographical sense to identify unplaced rulers as being closer to the early 13th Dynasty². However, one has to remember that the inundation of the Nile was not registered annually through this period³. Among the three kings with Nile-records attributed to the 13th Dynasty, only one appears undoubtedly as part of the early 13th

Dynasty in the Turin King-list: King  Shm-k3-R^c (col. 7/6) in his third⁴ and fourth regnal years⁵. In comparison, placing the other two kings in the frame of the

13th Dynasty is still under debate. The first king is  Shm-r^c-hw-t3.wj; his Nile-records date to regnal years 2, 3, and 4⁶ (App. 1). The second king is , possibly read as Df3-K3-R^c⁷ or  Nr-k3-R^c⁸.

3.4: Contemporary Archaeological evidence

In addition to the previous historical and archaeological sources of the 13th Dynasty, the archaeological record preserves many royal names that probably belong to the framework of the dynasty. Indeed, previous scholarship on the 13th Dynasty assigned many unlisted rulers to the dynasty. VON BECKERATH accumulated 61 rulers for the 13th Dynasty. He accounted for 46 rulers mentioned by name in the Turin King-list, one in the *wsf*-lacuna in Col. 7/6, and suggested an additional 14 unplaced rulers according to the archaeological record⁹.

Additionally, RYHOLT includes 57 placed rulers in the 13th Dynasty that should be mentioned in the Turin King-list¹⁰. Besides, four more rulers probably belonged to the dynasty¹¹. The methodology of RYHOLT to restore the list of the 13th Dynasty relied on more than one *wsf*-lacuna and what is in col. 7/6; hence more rulers appear based on the *Filiative Nomina* argument. He suggests *wsf*-lacunae in cols. 7/7

¹ See chapter One; Two.

² Ryholt 1997: 315,318, 320.

³ Grajetzki 2006: 60.

⁴ Vercoutter 1966: 139-140; Cat. 13.2.5

⁵ Hintze and Reineke 1989: no. 506, Taf. 209; Cat. 13.2.6.

⁶ Hintze and Reineke 1989: no 382A, 508, 509, Taf. 133, 210, 211.

⁷ Hintze and Reineke 1989: no. 510, Taf. 212 [510].

⁸ Ryholt 1997: 318 n. 1100.

⁹ Von Beckerath 1964: 30-70, 226-262.

¹⁰ Ryholt 1997: 73.

¹¹ Ryholt 1997: 336-359.

and 7/17 to place five more kings. His argument rests on the fact that the bipartite and tripartite birth names of this period consisted of the king's birth name preceded by his father and grandfather¹. Conversely, VERNUS presented that double naming was a common feature of personal names in the late Middle Kingdom and did not imply a filial expression². Moreover, bipartite and tripartite birth names should not be confused with the epithets added to the birth names to distinguish the members of the same family or to designate some characteristics of a person³.

Finally, SIESSE produced a list of 25 rulers in the Turin King-list, besides six rulers that probably belonged to the 13th Dynasty based on stylistic aspects⁴. He merged several names listed in RYHOLT's SIP dynastic division and disregarded many other names in the Turin King-list that come without attestations⁵.

However, the current study places some of the rulers known only from their attestations. The archaeological study in the next section of the current work mentioned in detail the potential correlations of those rulers to the 13th Dynasty list. Those rulers appear juxtaposed in the cases of King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw⁶ and, probably, King *S:nfr-ib-Rˁ* Senwosret⁷. As mentioned above, King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw bears the same throne name as King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Sobekhotep Amenemhat (Col. 7/19). Besides, King *Htp-jb-Rˁ* Qemau -*s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f* was probably associated with King Ameny Qemau. In addition, King *Hˁ-‘nh-Rˁ* Sobekhotep probably belongs to the line of well-known Sobekhoteps at the end of col. 7 based on stylistic causes.

4. Conclusion

The framework of the 13th Dynasty is principally built on the rulers in the Turin King-list. Nevertheless, a list of 50 rulers from Cols. 7/5 to 8/27 still seems too large to be placed within a single political institution as a dynasty. It is not clear that the compiler of the King-list planned to outline this large number of royal names as one group, as with the 12th Dynasty. The distribution of royal attestations put a hypothetical limit between the end of the 13th Dynasty and the beginning of the 14th Dynasty. However, all 14th Dynasty rulers are known only from the Turin King-list with the exception of

¹ Ryholt 1997: 207-209.

² Vernus 1986; Quirke 2006: 263.

³ Ward 1989: 225.

⁴ Siesse 2019: 55-107.

⁵ Siesse 2019: 99.

⁶ Cat. 13. b.1.

⁷ Cat. 13.1.4.

two kings who are attested in the eastern Delta. Interestingly, most 14th Dynasty names in the Turin King-list are Egyptian names that resemble names of the 13th Dynasty in several instances.

By contrast, Manetho's history offers a historical frame for the 13th Dynasty, irrespective of the exaggerated number of years for the dynasty. Manetho linked the 13th Dynasty to Thebes which may refer to the dynastic origin or indicate their power base. However, he also connected the 12th Dynasty to Thebes, which might point to an association between the 12th and 13th dynasties. He may have done that due to their origin since their residence was attested in *Itjtawy*. By comparison, Manetho linked the 14th Dynasty to Xois in the middle of the Delta. Perhaps he realized the changing of the political landscape of that period. Therefore, he related the 13th Dynasty to Thebes because the 14th Dynasty emerged in the Delta.

It seems that the Karnak Offering-list is not a reliable chronological source. However, the list still plays a vital role in confirming the relationships between the kings mentioned there and those mentioned in the Turin King-list, as some of them appear close to each other in both lists. Moreover, the Karnak list serves an important purpose in confirming the significant presence of some of the 13th Dynasty rulers in the Theban region.

The attested royal necropoles of the 13th Dynasty in Dahshur and Abydos significantly contribute to restoring the dynasty's list as long as royal names are attested in the necropoles but missing or miscopied in the Turin King-list. The prominent case of King Ameny-Qemau is a clear instance of how a royal necropolis can be used as a historiographical tool. Although not mentioned in the King-list, he can still be listed in the frame of the 13th Dynasty based on his tomb, which corresponds with the post-Hawara funerary corpus at 13th Dynasty Dahshur.

The Lahun archive and Nile-records are essential contemporaneous sources to determine the beginning of the 13th Dynasty. Both are linked by two kings who are placed securely at the top of the dynasty. Fortunately, one of those kings, *Shm-k3-R^c*, is attested in the Turin King-list as the second ruler of the 13th Dynasty. The other king, *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj*, was certainly the first king of the dynasty based on the Turin King-list. Unfortunately, the first royal name in the King-list read as *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* indicates that he was not the dynastic head. The archaeological record preserves two kings

bearing the same name *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj*, both belong to the 13th Dynasty. The first king is *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Sobekhotep Amenemhat, mentioned in col. 7/19 of the King-list; and King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw, who is not mentioned in the King-list but instead appears on a piece of evidence that refers to the 13th Dynasty. In addition, a Nile-record attests to an unplaced king who may have been an early 13th Dynasty king. His name could be read as *Df3-K3-R^c* or *Nr-K3-R^c*. Finally, three other kings may fall within the framework of the 13th Dynasty; they are somehow associated with the kings listed in the Turin King-list or with those linked with the 13th Dynasty necropolis. They are *S:nfr-ib-R^c* Senwosret, *H^c-nh-R^c* Sobekhotep, and *Htp-jb-R^c* Qemau-*s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f.*

Part Two: Archaeological Study

Introduction

1. Introduction

This part of the study presents the royal attestations of the 13th Dynasty rulers, as they were outlined in the previous chapter. These are the rulers included in the Turin King-list in cols. 7/5 to 8/27 as well as those not included in the list but somehow associated with the former. The study presents the royal attestations that indeed coincide with rulers' names according to their sequence in the King-list, regardless of other royal lists proposed in previous studies and associated bibliographical catalogues. Nevertheless, the study considerably relies on such catalogues but does not literally follow their assigned royal attestations. This is because sometimes each study depends on its own interpretation for attributing the attestations.

2. Goals

The primary purpose of the archaeological study is to verify the spatial activity of the 13th Dynasty rulers and how their activity reflects actual sovereignty in the same territorial range. In addition, it aims to verify the relationships between the rulers according to their sequence in the Turin King-list by tracing the common characteristics of the royal attestations and evaluating the potential ties between the rulers.

3. Methodology

Based on these goals, the archaeological study uses a two-pronged approach:

1.1. Level one:

The study examines the dossier of attestations for each king to assess the political-geographical context based on the validity of these attestations. This is because not all attestations indicate the actual dominance of the rulers. The dossier of every king includes entries in the Turin King-list and the Karnak Offering-list, along with royal titles attested in the sources.

The translation of royal titles through archaeological study primarily follows Ronald Leprohon's translation, as presented in his book "The Great Name: The Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary, 2013." This study was chosen because it is the only one so far that provides complete English translations (the language of the current study) for the royal titulary of all ancient Egyptian rulers. Additionally, the current study adopts Hannes Buchberger's reading system for the kings' throne names that exclusively incorporate the God Re, while Leprohon's reading gives an unsatisfactory interpretation

in some cases. In his study "Transformation und Transformat, 1993," Buchberger concluded that the name of the god "Re" in kings' throne names should be read separately from the entire name, functioning as an epithet/component in the king's throne name and representing the king himself as "Re." He proposed using the epithet "Re" for the living king, signifying the king's affiliation with the class of the Sun God. This practice is widespread in the context of royal theology¹.

Buchberger's approach is also efficient in the cases of kings who are listed in the Turin King-list, as their birth names strangely incorporate the component "Re" (Col. 7/6, 7/15, 7/26) giving the impression that the king-list compiler miscopied those names with the component "Re" that is typically used in the throne names. However, considering Buchberger's approach, this practice could be interpreted as the King-list compiler using the component "Re" as a technique to legitimize the rulership of these kings. Conversely, the list contains other birth names that appear without referring to "Re," which may be a sign of the devaluation of these rulers as non-legitimized rulers.

Furthermore, the archaeological study provides a detailed description of the provenanced attestations based on their spatial distribution from north to south. The study also takes into account unprovenanced attestations when presenting geographical or religious entries. Each dossier is accompanied by an illustrated catalogue containing primary data, photographs/facsimiles, and texts as possible.

The archaeological study at this level should cover three types of evidence²:

- (A) **The archaeological evidence:** concerning the location, material, the quality of execution, the current condition, and the current location.
- (B) **The textual evidence:** the royal names, epithets, regnal-years, deities, toponyms, deeds, private names, and titles.
- (C) **The artistic evidence:** including the description of the iconography and discussing paleographic and stylistic peculiarities.

The assessment of the validity of the royal attestation to confirm the dominance of the rulers over a specific geographical range uses a set of factors as shown in the following table:

¹ Buchberger 1993: 616-619.

² This model of documentation is derived from: Ilin-Tomich 2012: 69-70.

Factor	Significance
Location	For verifying the dominance of a ruler over a territory, three geographical data of the attestations are conducive. (1) The discovery location is the actual provenance of the attestations based on the secured archaeological context. (2) The find spot is not the provenance of the attestation based on the textual evidence; this occurs when attestations are relocated. (3) The attestation is unprovenanced but bears geographical/religious entries that may indicate its provenance. (4) The attestation is unprovenanced and does not bear geographical entries.
Function	Implies the nature of the ruler's activity in the location, which should reflect actual dominance or not.
Patron	Implies the relationship between the attestation and its discovery location. In addition, it identifies the religious landscape during the ruler's reign.
Material	Reflects the ability of the ruler to exploit the available resources (i.e., quarries) in the territories under his presumed control.
Quality	Reflects the execution degree of the attestations that could indicate the use of the art production workshops of prominent centres like Memphis, Abydos, and Thebes or other provincial centres. The quality of execution is concluded by comparing the attestations with similar ones within the framework of the 13th Dynasty.
Authenticity	To verify the attribution of the attestation to the ruler by examining the concordance of the inscriptions and motifs, particularly in the cases of (1) juxtaposed names and the names outside the context of the inscriptions programme; (2) usurpation and reuse; and (3) modern/forged attestations.

1.2. Level two:

A general analysis contains a collection of similarities and common factors based on the archaeological study, such as the patterns of royal titles, common features, general spatial activity, policies, prosopographical data, and common artistic characteristics.

4. Limitations

The archaeological study focuses solely on the evidence that confirms the royal names listed in the Turin King-list or associated ones. This approach applies specifically to non-royal attestations, such as officials, who only provide evidence of the royal names. Furthermore, due to the abundance of unprovenanced scarabs in the royal archaeological record of the 13th Dynasty, the current study only provides selected examples of these scarabs to identify their stylistic characteristics. These characteristics can be utilized for chronological purposes. It is important to note that the current study does not utilize a numerical system to differentiate between kings with the same birth name. Instead, it presents the king's birth name combined with their throne name.

5. Outline

The archaeological study includes three chapters:

Chapter Four: contains dossiers of rulers listed in the Turin King-list from Cols. 7/5 to 8/27

Chapter Five: contains dossiers of six unlisted rulers associated with those of the Turin King-list as:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 13. a: King <i>S:nfr-ib-R^c</i> , Senwosret | 13. b: King <i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj</i> Khabaw |
| 13. c: King <i>h^c-nh-R^c</i> Sobekhotep | 13. d: King <i>Jmny-km3w</i> |
| 13. e: King <i>htp-jb-R^c</i> Qemau - <i>s3-Hr-nd-hr</i>
<i>jt=f</i> | 13. f: King <i>Df3-K3-R^c / Nr-K3-R^c</i> |

Chapter Six: contains the general archaeological analysis.

6. Legends

The following legends are used in the tables and maps of the archaeological study:

Legend	Meaning
●	Certain
●	Uncertain
○	Non-contemporaneous
■	Written in one cartouche
?	Probably
—	No data

Chapter Four: 13th Dynasty Rulers in the Turin King-list



13.1: King *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ*: the first ruler listed in the Turin King-list following the end of the 12th Dynasty. The entries of the King-list give the king's reign as 2 years, 3 months, and 23 days¹. According to the archaeological record, king *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ* is identified as *S3 Rˁ Wg3=f*. He is also mentioned in the Karnak offering list No. 51² as



According to the attestations below³, the king held the following royal titulary:⁴

Horus *Shm-ntr.w*, The might of the gods; Two Ladies *H3j-b3w*, the glorious appearance of might; Golden Horus *Mry-[t3.wj]*, Beloved of the [Two Lands]; Throne *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ*, The protector of the Two Lands, Re⁵; Birth *Wg3=f*, The commander or May he chew (?)⁶.

13.1.1: Attestations:

1. Madamud

Royal names on bark-stand/ Cat. 13.1. 1 and 13.14. 2
block:

A red granite bark-stand dedicated to God Monthu of Wast in Madamud genuinely attributed to King *S:df3-k3-Rˁ* Amenemhat Kay, the 14th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list (Col. 7/18). The front side of the bark-stand juxtaposes King *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ* Wegaf's royal names with King *S:df3-k3-Rˁ* Amenemhat Kay's in three semi-equal rectangular frames. The middle frame exposes the throne and Horus names of King *S:df3-k3-Rˁ* Amenemhat Kay, flanked by the other two frames that display King *Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ* Wegaf's royal titles⁷. The homogenous position of the three frames indicates

¹ Gardiner 1959: PL. III; Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Delange 2015: 103, 107; Siesse 2019: 36-37.

³ Cat. 13.1.1,2.

⁴ Von Beckerath 1999: 88-89; Leprohon 2013: 66 [21].

⁵ According to Buchberger's reading for the throne names; See Buchberger 1993: 616- 619.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 219; Leprohon 2013: 66.

⁷ Bisson de la Rouque - Clère 1928: 83-84, 115-116, 12-131, Fig. 61-62, Pl. III; PM V: 145; Helck 1983: 1 [2]; Eder 2002: 109-110; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/21 [2]; Siesse 2019: no. 11 [2].

that they were inscribed simultaneously despite some nuances¹. This possibly indicates an association between the two kings.

2. Karnak

Stela fragment: Cat. 13.1.2

An upper fragment of a limestone stela, this stela was found in the Karnak cache by a French archaeological expedition ². A winged sun-disk forms the top above the remains of six horizontal lines of hieroglyphs³. To the left side of the stela are two vertical columns of writings that are almost attributed to the main text. The stela is dedicated to the God Amun-Re. The text indicates that the king had ordered one of his officials, the scribe of rites, to perform purification rituals and offerings for Amun-Re.

Fragment of a statue: Cat. 13.1.3

This fragment of a grey granite statue was found at Karnak in 1897 beside the granite sanctuary of King Thutmose III. It is one of many crumbled statues that were found on the site⁴. This fragment is part of a cubic seat of a life-sized seated statue⁵, which bears the king's birth name. The statue was probably dedicated to Amun-Re like the stela above. The low quality of the engraving and the granite reflect the poor level of the statue's execution.

3. Elephantine

Ostracon: Cat. 13.1.4

A gridded double-face ostracon was found at Elephantine by Rubensohn in 1906 and is known as "*Plaquette Rubensohn*". The recto bears the royal names of King Wegaf in a horizontal line and the birth name of one of the Senwosrets in a vertical line. The verso bears demotic writings indicating that the ostracon belongs to the Late period. It is possible that this ostracon was used as a writing plate for education purposes in the

¹ Siesse 2016-2017: 174-175.

² Legrain 1905: 133 [XX]; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/21 [4]; Siesse 2019: no. 11 [4].

³ Helck 1983: 2 [3].

⁴ Legrain 1905: 133 [XVIII]; PM II², 110; Davies 1981: 22, no.1; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/21 [3]; Siesse 2019: no. 11 [3].

⁵ Von Beckerath 1946: p.30.

area¹. Maspero had doubts about its antiquity; he believed that people of the area had a tradition of copying earlier cultural productions².

Despite the younger age of the plaquette, it was copied from a 13th Dynasty original since the sign  separating the royal names of King Wegaf is a common epigraphical characteristic in 13th Dynasty royal titles. Therefore, the name of King Senwosret may have been copied from the same source. Consequently, one can assume an association between King Wegaf and King Senwosret, although Senwosret was not mentioned in the 13th Dynasty royal list. King Senwosret could be King Senwosret IV, who is attested in the Karnak offering list as *S:nfr-(ib)-R'*, and whose colossal statue was found at Karnak³. Alternatively, he may be of the 12th Dynasty, particularly King Senwosret III, who was worshipped in Nubia⁴.

4. Semna

Statuette: Cat. 13.1.5

This seated limestone headless statuette was found by Wallis Budge in Semna during his excavations in a sanctuary belonging to King Taharka of the 25th Dynasty⁵. King Taharka dedicated the sanctuary to King Senwosert III, who was worshipped as a local patron in the area⁶. The statuette represents King Wegaf envelopes in the *Heb-Sed* mental. The king wears a collar of three rows of beads, crossing his arms on his chest and holding the two sceptres *nhh* and *hk3*. One side of the throne is inscribed with three rows of hieroglyphs. The inscriptions give the royal titulary of king Wegaf. Furthermore, the inscription indicates that King Wegaf is the lord of Ta-Seti (Nubia) and beloved of the god Dedun, one of the gods worshipped in Nubia⁷.

¹ Legrain 1907: 250-252 [XLIX]; PM V: 226-227; Von Beckerath 1964: 30; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/21 [7]; Siesse 2019: no. 11 [9].

² Legrain 1907: 250 [XLIX].

³ Von Beckerath 1964: 30, 62.

⁴ Grajetzki 2006: 52.

⁵ PM VII: 149; Davies 1981: no. 2; Vercoutter 1975: 227-228, Fig. 1, Pl. 22 [b]; Legrain, Notes D'inspection, LXIV, ASAE 10, (1907), p.106; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/21 [6]; Siesse 2019: no. 11 [6].

⁶ Budge 1907: 481-485.

⁷ Traunecker 2001: 105.

5. Mirgissa

Stela: Cat. 13.1.6

This small sandstone stela was found in the northwest corner of the Mirgissa fortress by the French archaeological Expedition in Sudan between 1964 and 1965¹. It is topped by a winged sun-disk with a uraeus. The upper part of the stela contains the royal protocol of King Wegaf. The second part shows the king with the royal military custom. He wears the *nemes* with a uraeus, wide necklace, and short triangular skirt. He holds a mace in his right hand and a long staff in his left hand².

6. Unknown location

Scarab: Cat. 13.1.7

This scarab is attributed to the royal sealer of Lower Egypt and the commander of troops, Wegaf³. It is uncertain that this scarab refers to King Wegaf. Nevertheless, the highly administrative and military names on the scarab support the possibility that King Wegaf is the owner of the scarab, and he perhaps held these names before he ascended to the throne.

13.1.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf is attested exclusively in Upper Egypt, and his activity extended from Thebes to Lower Nubia. (Map. 13.1). The archaeological examination of the evidence (Table 13.1.2) shows the poor quality of the material and small scale except for the bark-stand of Monthu at Madamud which is undoubtedly attributed to King Amenemhat-Kay. Such clues point to a harsh economic and political situation during his reign. Nevertheless, the king held the full royal titulary that ensured his domination of Upper and Lower Egypt (Table 13.1.1)

¹ Vercoutter 1968: 12-13, Pl. 1[a-b]; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/21 [5]; Siesse 2019: no. 11 [5].

² Vercoutter 1975: 222. Pl.22[a].

³ Martin 1971: no. 439; Hall 1929: Pl. I [3]; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/21 [1]; Siesse 2019: 379, no. 11 [1];

www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=149455&partId=1&searchText=37686&page=1

Titles		Horus <i>Shm-ntrw</i>	Two Ladies <i>H-b3w</i>	G. Horus <i>Mry</i> [t3.wj]	Throne <i>Hw-t3-wj-Rc</i>	Birth <i>Wg3=f</i>
Location	T. K				x	
	K. K				x	
	Madamud	x			x	x
	Karnak	x	x	x	x	
	Elephantine				x	x
	Semna				x	x
	Mirgissa				x	x

Table 13.1.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Madamud	stand	dedication	Monthu	granite	good	no	no	●
Karnak	stela	dedication?	Amun-Re	limestone	fair	yes	no	●
	statue	dedication	Amun-Re?	granite	fair	yes	no	
Elephantine	ostraca	educational	—	limestone	good	no	?	●
Semna	statuette	political	Dedwen	limestone	fair	yes	no	●
Mirgissa	stela	political	—	sandstone	fair	yes	no	●

Table 13.1.2: Royal attestations validity assessment

His birth name *wg3=f* is possibly foreign, perhaps derived from the Semitic military title *wkf*¹. It may mean “commander,” thus perhaps equivalent to the Egyptian title “*jmy-r ms*”, which implies military and foreign domination of the royal court². This interpretation may correspond with the title “commander of the troops” on the scarab mentioned above (Cat. 13.1.7). Nevertheless, S. QUIRKE suggests that the name does not reflect the Semitic title *wkf* since it is not written by the linguistic group that distinguished the foreign names³. RYHOLT suggests that the name gives the Egyptian meaning “may he chew” since it contains the determinative ⁴, “tusk of an elephant” (Gardiner’s list F 18)⁵.

Since Wegaf’s names were inscribed alongside those of King Amenemhat-Kay, who is listed in a later position in the Turin King-list (Col. 7/18), his position as head of the 13th Dynasty has become questionable. Rearranging the 13th Dynasty King-list for Wegaf to become successor to Amenemhat-Kay is an uncertain assumption unless there are other clues to connect them. Affirming such a connection between the two kings should be based on the juxtaposed names in comparison with similar 13th Dynasty

¹ Ryholt 1997: 219.

² Quirke 1991:131: JOHN RAY’S interpretation to S. QUIRKE.

³ Quirke 1991: 131; Ryholt 1997: 219.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 219-220.

⁵ Gardiner 1957: 463.

evidence. Besides, the assessment of the relief's consistency in the three rectangles and the other reliefs on the bark-stand. Furthermore, the two kings' activities should be examined independently to confirm or refute this association¹.

King *Hw-t3.wj-R* Wegaf, who is attested in Upper Egypt so far, possibly exerted his power from Thebes and showed devotion to its main god Amun-Re. His activity in Lower Nubia reflects the continuation of 12th Dynasty policies despite the small scale and provincial style of his attestations there. Due to his royal names on the bark-stand of King Amenemhat-Kay at Madamud, King Wegaf is not the head of the 13th Dynasty. As far as the preserved record shows that the king had never been attested in Lower Egypt, so it is possible to move his position to a later phase within the 13th Dynasty when Egyptian territorial unity was lost due to the political fragmentation or perhaps the Hyksos expansion in Lower Egypt. Indeed, this assumption is provisional considering the archaeological landscape of King Wegaf and may change with further clues in Northern Egypt.



Map 13.1 The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

¹ See Chapter Six: Juxtaposed names.



13.2: King *Shm-k3-R^c*: listed as the second king of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. His entries are largely lost but at the end of col. 7/6 appears the *wsf* notation with six regnal-years¹. It is possible that *Shm-k3-R^c* reigned for six years. The scribe of the King-list may have inscribed the king's regnal-years mistakenly at first and then corrected the number at the end of the line with the notation *wsf*².

According to attestations, the king held the royal names “Horus *Mh-Jb-t3.wj*, The one who fills the heart of the Two Lands; Two Ladies *Jtj-shm=f*, The one who has seized his power; Throne *Shm-k3-R^c*, The one with the powerful Ka, Re³/ Powerful is the Ka of Re; Birth *Jmn-m-h3.t, Jmn-m-h3.t snb=f*, Amenemhat, Amenemhat Senebef⁴.

13.2.1: Attestations:

1. Fatimid Cairo⁵:

Sphinx Cat. 13.2.1

A sphinx found in Fatimid Cairo bears the throne name of King *Shm-k3-R^c*. The statue was reused as a lintel for a postern set into the Fatimid wall of Cairo, about 100 m east of Babel-Nasr⁶. A column of writings runs on the chest and between the paws, giving the King's throne name and dedication to Re-Horakhty. The sphinx came probably from Heliopolis and was reused in the walls of Fatimid Cairo⁷.

2. Lahun:

Lahun archive

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² For further explanations, see the chapter three, section II.2.2.

³ According to Buchberger's reading for the throne names; See Buchberger 1993: 616- 619.

⁴ Leprohon 2013: 61 [2].

⁵ The capital of the Fatimid Caliph, its urban sphere extends from Bab Al-Futuh to Bab Zuwayla inside an enclosure identified as the walls of the Fatimid Cairo; see Al-sayyed 2013: 55-76.

⁶ Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020.

⁷ Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020: 1-3, Figs. 18-23.

King *Shm-k3-R*¹ is attested in the town of Lahun in his regnal-years 2, 3, 5¹.

3. Tod:

Blocks	Cat. 13.2.2
--------	-------------

The king is attested in the temple of Monthu at el-Tod on two fragmented blocks with his throne and Horus names². The blocks are the remains of the right (Inv. No. 1491) and left (Inv. No. 1497) doorjambs³. The condition of the inscriptions reflects a high level of execution.

4. el-Mo'alla:

Cylinder-seal	Cat. 13.2.3
---------------	-------------

A well-executed cylinder-seal has three faces showing the king's royal names came from el-Mo'alla, as reported by NEWBERRY⁴. The cylinder-seal shows the king's birth name as *Jmn-m-h3.t snb=f*, which is the only time the birth name is written in this designation. The Two Ladies name is written in the same frame under the Horus name. Perhaps the seal originated elsewhere and was found at el-Mo'alla since it has no textual evidence attesting to its provenance.

5. Elephantine

Statue	Cat. 13.2.4 [a, b]
--------	--------------------

King *Shm-k3-R*⁵ Amenemhat is attested in Elephantine on a statue found in the sanctuary of Heqaib⁶. According to HABACHI, the statue was found in six fragments, and this is the largest royal statue found in the sanctuary⁷. The six fragments of the statue were fixed together, but it missed the head, the neck, the arms, and a large piece of the legs⁷. Subsequently, it was proposed that the statue fits the head of an anonymous broken royal statue of the same material acquired by the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna⁸. The statue represents the seated king wearing the royal headdress *nemes* and a decorated *shendyt*-kilt. The king rests his hands on his knee, and his feet rest upon an

¹ See chapter three, III. 2: Lahun archive.

² Bisson de La Roque 1937: 125, Fig. 76; Ryholt 1997: 336 File 13/2 [1]; Siesse 2019: 373, no. 2 [3].

³ Eder 2002: 144.

⁴ Newberry 1908: 114, Pl. VII [3]; Hayes 1953b: 342, Fig. 226; Ryholt 1997: 337 File 13/2 [2]; Siesse 2019: 373, no. 2, [4].

⁵ Habachi 1985: 113-114, Pls. 198c-200; Davies 1981: no. 3; Ryholt 1997: 337 File 13/3 [1]; Siesse 2019: 373, no. 2 [5].

⁶ Habachi 1985: 113.

⁷ Habachi 1985: 114.

⁸ Fay 1988: 67-77, Pls. 18-29; Satzinger 1994: 18-19.

elevated pedestal. Traces on each side of the seat show the *sm3-t3.wj*-motif. On both sides of the front of the seat, two symmetrical writing columns inscribed the king's throne and birth names and a dedication for the Goddess Satet, the mistress of Elephantine.

6. Askut

7. Semna

8. Unknown location:

Statuette of Vizier Khenmes Cat. 13.2.7

The King's throne name is attested on a fragment of a statuette of vizier Khenmes (*Hnms*), the son of Sat-Khenti-Khety. Vizier Khenmes held the titles of the chief of the pyramid town and overseer of the Six Great Mansions. The statue is a royal gift to vizier Khenmes by King *Shm-k3-Rˁ*, and dedicated to God Sobek-Re, Lord of *Semenu*⁴. It may thus have originated from Gebelein.

13.2.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Shm-k3-R^c* Amenemhat held four royal names that indicate his lordship over Lower and Upper Egypt (Table 13.2.1). His birth name, “Amenemhat”, connects him spiritually with the predecessors of the 12th Dynasty. The king’s birth name is

¹ Vercoutter 1966: 139-140.

² Smith 1995: 25-28.

³ Hintze and Reineke 1989: 151, no. 506, Pl. 209.

⁴ Newberry 1901: 222-223; Grajetzki 2000: 24 [1.25]; Helck 1983: 3 [5]; Siesse 2019: 374, no. 2 [9].

designated as Amenemhat Senebef on his cylinder-seal from el-Mo'alla. However, the syllable Senebef most certainly reflects a distinction or epithet rather than being a parental name.

	Titles	Horus <i>Mh-Jb-t3.wj</i>	Two Ladies <i>Jtj-shm=f</i>	G. Horus _____	Throne <i>Shm-k3-Rc</i>	Birth <i>Jmn-m-h3.t</i>
Location	TK. K.K Fatimid Cairo/ Heliopolis Lahun Tod el-Mo'alla Elephantine Askut Semna				x	
					x	
		x			x	
	x	x			x	x+ <i>Snb=f</i>
					x	x
					x	
					x	

Table 13.2.1: Royal names distribution

The king is securely attested in Lower and Upper Egypt (Map. 13.2), and his position in the Turin King-list seems correct as his attestations reflect the continuation of 12th Dynasty policies, particularly the interest in the high Nile record (Table 13.2.2). The high level of the art execution (Elephantine statue) also indicates the continuation of 12th Dynasty royal workshops. Therefore, it is almost certain that the king practised power from the same 12th Dynasty residence in the Memphite region. Consequently, it is possible that his interment was in one of the anonymous burials at the Dahshur necropolis. Note that the king's vizier *Hnms* bore the title of chief of the pyramid town, which should be situated in the Memphite region.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Fatimid Cairo/ Heliopolis	Sphinx	dedication	Re-Horakhty	quartzite	good	yes	yes	●
Lahun	document	Admin.	_____	papyrus	_____	Yes	no	●
Tod	blocks	dedication	Monthu?	limestone	_____	Yes	no	●
el-Mo'alla	seal	Admin	_____	steatite	good	Yes	no?	●
Elephantine	statue	dedication	Satet	schist	v.good	Yes	no	●
Askut	Nile-record	Admin	_____	rock inscription	fair	Yes	no	●
Semna	Nile-record	Admin	_____	rock inscription	fair	Yes	no	●

Table 13.2.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.2: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13.3: King *Jmn-m-h3.t {Rˁ}*: the third ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. The preserved entries of his regnal years show two years¹. This king seems anonymous as the name Amenemhat was common in the Middle Kingdom. It is hardly possible to associate the king with another person of the same birth name without archaeological evidence.



13.4: King *S:htp-jb-Rˁ*: the fourth ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. The preserved entries of his regnal years show one year². RYHOLT and SIÉSSE identify this king as King *Htp-jb-Rˁ Qemau-s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*³. The present study puts King Qemau -*s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f* among the unplaced kings of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list since his name is not mentioned clearly there. The name *S:htp-jb-Rˁ* is similarly common during the Middle Kingdom and cannot be associated with anyone else given the absence of evidence.

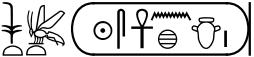


13.5: King *jw=f-n=j*: the fifth ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years are lost. There are no attestations for the king.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Ryholt 1997: 71.

³ Ryholt 1997: 338, File 13/6; Siesse 2019: 374, no. 4.

TK. Col.7/10: 

13.6: King *Sennedjemib-Ra*: sixth ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. The king's regnal years are lost except for 23 days. Notably, the same name is mentioned in the King-list among the 14th Dynasty rulers in col. 9/18.

The King's name is mentioned in the Karnak Offering-list No. 37 as¹  Simultaneously, the king is attested in the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak on an offering table that gives the king's full royal names² as Horus  *Shr-t3.wj*, The one who has pleased the Two Lands; Two Ladies  *shm-h3.w*, Powerful of appearances; Golden Horus  *Hk3-m3.t*, The one who rules (through) Maat; Throne  *Sennedjemib-Ra*, The one whom the mind of Re has sustained; Birth  *Jmny jnj-jtj=f Jmn-m-h3.t*, Ameny Intef Amenemhat³.

The throne name *Sennedjemib-Ra* is also attested in Heliopolis on an architrave of an individual accompanied with the Horus name  *Sennedjemib-t3.wj*. RYHOLT dated the architrave to the reign of King *sennedjemib-Ra* Ameny Intef Amenemhat. His argument is based on the possibility that the king may hold two Horus names and used the throne name as Horus name, like in the case of Amenemhat I (*Sennedjemib-Ra*) who is attested with the Hours name *Sennedjemib-t3.wj*⁴. Nevertheless, ILIN-TOMICH has recently re-examined the architrave and proposed that it dates to the late 11th Dynasty or the beginning of the 12th Dynasty based on the phraseological style⁵. Therefore, the architrave will be excluded from the present archaeological study.

¹ Siesse 2019: 36-37; Delange 2015: 103, 107.

² Cat. 13.6.1

³ Leprohon 2013: 63 [8].

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 338, File 13/8 [no. 1]

⁵ Ilin-Tomich 2015: 145-168; Siesse 2019: 61-62.

13.6.1: Attestations:

1. Karnak

Offering-table Cat. 13.6. 1

The king is attested on an offering table found in the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak. The offering table is composed of two symmetrical blocks. The surface of each block has 20 sculpted bowls lined up as four bowls in five rows and encircled with a band of hieroglyphs comprising a dedication to Amun-Re. The four sides of the table are inscribed with the king's royal names and a dedication to Amun-Re, Amunet, Khonsu, and Khnum¹.

2. Gebelein?

Cylinder-seals Cat. 13.6. 2

Two unprovenanced cylinder-seals (beads)² bear the king's throne name and a dedication to Sobek, Lord of *Semenu*³. Possibly the seals/beads originated in Gebelein, judging by the dedication to Sobek of *Semenu*. The cylinder-seal in the current catalogue appears suspicious as the execution of the signs suggests it is a forgery.

13.6.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *S:nh-jb-R* Ameny Intef Amenemhat is securely attested only in Thebes (Map. 13.6). Nevertheless, the king's royal names indicate his rule over the Two lands (Table 13.6.1). The king is the third listed ruler in the 13th Dynasty, whose birth name is associated with the name Amenemhat. Similarly, his throne name *S:nh-jb-R* resembles the composition of the throne name *S:htp-jb-R* of King Amenemhat I. These may confirm the king's position in the King-list as a continuation of the rulers of the 12th Dynasty. Thus, perhaps the king ruled in the Memphite region like his predecessors despite the absence of secure attestations. The architrave from Heliopolis that is stylistically not attributed to the period of the 13th Dynasty may be indicative. However, it clearly bears a throne name that perhaps belongs to King *S:nh-jb-R* Ameny Intef Amenemhat as long as there are no attestations for other kings who

¹ Mariette 1875: 45-46, Pl. 9-10; Kamal 1909: no. 23040; PM II: 294; Ryholt 1997: 338, File 13/8 [3]; Siesse 2019: 375, no. 5 [1].

² The present study catalogue exposes one example of the Metropolitan Museum.

³ Hayes 1953b: 342, Fig. 226; Yoyotte 1957: 88, [2cc]; Ryholt 1997: 338, File 13/8 [4]; Siesse 2019: 375, no. 5 [2,3].

probably bore the same throne name. Consequently, the king's tomb is probably situated in the Memphite region (Table 13.6.2)

Titles		Horus <i>Shr-t3.wj</i>	Two Ladies <i>Shm-h3.w</i>	G. Horus <i>Hk3-m3.t</i>	Throne <i>S3nh-jb-R3</i>	Birth <i>Jmny jnji=f Jmn-m-h3.t</i>
Location	TK.				x	
KK.					x	
Karnak		x	x	x	x	x

Table 13.6.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Karnak	offering Table	dedication	Amun-Re	quartzite	good	yes	no	●
Gebelein?	cylinder-seals	dedication	Sobek	steatite	fair	?	?	●

Table 13.6.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.6: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13.7: King S:*mn-k3-R*: is listed as the seventh ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. The king's regnal years are missing in the list except for 22 days¹.

The king is attested only at Gebel el-Zeit and held only the throne and birth names as Throne  King *S:mn-k3-R*¹, The one whom the Ka of Ra has established; Birth  *Nb-nwn* (My) lord is Nun².

13.7.1: Attestations:

1. Gebel el-Zeit

Stela Cat. 13.7.1

The king is attested on a fragmentary stela found at Gebel el-Zeit on the Red Sea coast, about 50 km south of Ras Gharib³. It is a round-topped stela made of blue faience with black-coloured inscriptions. The king is depicted symmetrically on both faces. Both faces show the winged sun-disk *Bhd.t*. Below, the king performs an offering once to Ptah, and the text gives the king's throne name, proceeding with the title *ntr-nfr* and dedication to Ptah *rsy-jnb=f*. The other face depicts the king performing an offering to Horus; the text gives the king's birth name and a dedication to Horus, Lord of the desert⁴. Recently, M. MARÉE rejoined two other fragments to the stela⁵

13.7.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

Although the king (Table. 13.7.1) is attested only at Gebel el-Zeit (Map. 13.7), it is a sufficient clue that he could exploit some of the country's mining resources. Gebel el-Zeit had been an important site for mining, particularly galena, since Amenemhat III's reign⁶. The dedication to Ptah on the stela indicates that the mining expedition to the site was authorized from the Memphite region, where the king resided (Table 13.7.2). However, the scarcity of the king's attestations and the tiny scale of his stela indicate that he was privileged with geographically limited resources.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Leprohon 2013: 63 [9].

³ Castel and Soukiassian 1985: 285, 290, Pl. 62; Ryholt 1997: 338, File 13/9 [1]; Siesse 2019: 375, no. 6 [1].

⁴ Castel and Soukiassian 1985: 290, Pl. 62; Régen and Soukiassian 2008: 15-16, 56 [stela 1,2].

⁵ Marée 2009: 149-151.

⁶ Castel and Soukiassian 1985: 285-293; Castel and Soukiassian 1989: 7-16.

Titles		Horus	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne <i>S:mn-k3-R</i>	Birth <i>Nb-nwn</i>
Location	TK. Gebel el-Zeit				x x	x

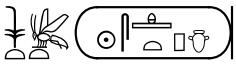
Table 13.7.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Gebel el- Zeit	stela	dedication	Ptah <i>rsy-jnb=f</i> , Horus	faiience	fair	yes	no	•

Table 13.7.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.7: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

TK. Col.7/12: 

13.8: King *S:htp-jb-R*: listed as the eighth ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. The king's regnal years are lost, except for 27 days¹.

The name *S:htp-jb-R* is listed twice in the 13th Dynasty section in cols. 7/8 and 7/12. Thus, it is challenging to determine the king's identity according to the available archaeological record attesting to the name *S:htp-jb-R* in a 13th Dynasty context. Since the name *S:htp-jb-R* is attested at Gebel el-Zeit, like his predecessor in col. 7/11 *S:mnk3-R* Nebnun, so King *s:htp-jb-R* can be assigned to col. 7/12².

What makes an attestation of *S:htp-jb-R* at Gebel el-Zeit doubtful is that he is attested as Horus *S:wsh-t3.wj* and Son of Re *S:htp-jb-R*, while the king is listed in the King-list with the throne name *S:htp-jb-R*. MARÉE proposed that the king was recorded in the list with his birth name like many other kings³. Conversely, RYHOLT presented the king's throne name as *S:htp-jb-R* regardless of any contradiction with the archaeological evidence⁴. In the context of the royal 13th Dynasty inscriptions at Gebel el-Zeit, MARÉE presented more information to tackle the identity of King *S:htp-jb-R*⁵. He brought together the two parts of the king's stela (below); one of them certainly came from Gebel el-Zeit, and another unprovenanced one bears the king's throne name. He concluded that the king bears the throne name *S:w3d-n-R*.

Interestingly, the name *S:w3d-n-R* is recorded in the Karnak Offering-list No. 38 as  next to (No. 37) the name of King *S:nh-jb-R*, the sixth ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list col. 7/10⁶. This clue enhances the position of King *S:w3d-n-R* as King *S:htp-jb-R* in col. 7/12 in the Turin King-list⁷. Previously, the name *S:w3d-n-R* in the Karnak Offering-list No. 38 was assigned to King *S:w3d-n-R* Nebiryau in col. 11/5 in the Turin King-list⁸.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71

² Ryholt 1997: 338, File 13/10; Siesse 2019: 376, no. 7

³ Marée 2009: 153.

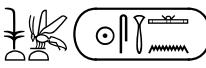
⁴ Ryholt 1997: 338, file 13/10; Quirke 2006: 266.

⁵ Marée 2009: 151-156.

⁶ Siesse 2019: 36-37.

⁷ Marée 2009: 153.

⁸ Delange 2015: 103,107.

According to the king's stela from Gebel el-Zeit¹, the king bears the royal names: Horus  *S:wsh-t3.wj*, The one who has widened the Two Lands²; Throne  *S:w3d-n-R*³, The one whom Re has made flourish³; Birth  *S:htp-jb-R*⁴, The one who has gained the favour of the mind of Ra⁴/ The one whom the mind of Re has satisfied.

13.8.1: Attestations:

1. Gebel el-Zeit

Stela	Cat. 13.8. 1[a, b]
-------	--------------------

This is a little basalt stela composed of two fragments⁵. The first fragment (GZ 1) was acquired by bedouins in the area, who showed it together with other objects to the oil engineer P. MEY during an oil survey oil under the supervision of the Egyptian Ministry of Energy in 1977. MEY illustrated the objects and published them with G. CASTEL and C. GOYON in 1980⁶.

The fragment is the lower left part of the stela and shows the remains of the main scene. One can see the lower part of the standing king wearing the rectangular kilt with a hanging tail. The king holds an *'nh*-sign in his right hand and traces of a sceptre in his left hand. The lower register of the stela is inscribed with two lines of hieroglyphs that give the king's Horus name *S:wsh-t3.wj* and birth name *S:htp-jb-R* as well as a dedication to Goddess Maat, the daughter of Re⁷.

Recently MARÉE attached the fragment (GZ 1) that fits with a fragment in the Egyptian Museum of Bonn (L 1628). Acquired by a private German collector, the fragment is unprovenanced, but most likely, it was among the Bedouin finds from Gebel el-Zeit⁸. The fragment is the upper part of the round-topped stela headed by the winged sun-disk. The remains of the main scene show the king performing an offering in front of the goddess Maat. Above the scene a text gives the king's throne name as the Good

¹ Marée 2009: 151-156; Siesse 2019: 376, no. 7.

² Leprohon 2013: 63 [10].

³ Leprohon 2013: 84 [6].

⁴ Leprohon 2013: 63 [10].

⁵ Marée 2009: 151-156; Siesse 2019: 376, no. 7[1].

⁶ Mey 1980.

⁷ Mey 1980: 304, 305 [Fig. 1]; Régen and Soukiassian 2008:17-18, 57 [stela 4].

⁸ Marée 2009: 152.

God *S:w3d-n-R^c* and a dedication to Maat, daughter of Re, the same goddess as in the lower text of the stela¹.

13.8.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

The king's royal names imply that he ruled over Upper and Lower Egypt (Table 13.8.1). His birth name *S:htp-jb-R^c* betrays his spiritual association with the founder of the 12th Dynasty and places him securely among the early rulers of the 13th Dynasty. King *S:w3d-n-R^c* Sehetepibre is certainly attested so far in Gebel el-Zeit (Map. 13.8). The name *S:w3d-n-R^c* may be attested in other locations, but it is difficult to discern him from a 16th Dynasty king of the same throne name². However, the king was possibly attested in the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak since his name is very close to the kings of the 13th Dynasty in the Karnak Offering-list. The scarcity of the king's attestations (Table 13.8.2) is possibly a clue to the country's worsening economic and political situation during his reign.

Titles		Horus <i>S:wsh-t3.wj</i>	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne <i>S:w3d-n-R^c</i>	Birth <i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>
Location	T.K				x	
	K.K					x
	Gebel el-Zeit	x			x	x

Table 13.8.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Gebel el-Zeit	stela	dedication	Maat	basalt	fair	yes	?	●

Table 13.8.2: Royal attestations validity assessment

¹ Pieke 2007: 61; Marée 2009: 151-156.

² Siesse attests the king at el-Tod, Abydos south, Lish north; See Siesse 2019: 376.



Map 13.8: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13.9: King *S:w3d-k3-Rc*: the ninth ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years are lost. There are no attestations for the king.



13.10: King *Ndm-jb-Rc*: the 10th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years are lost. There are no attestations for the king.



13.11: King *Sbk-htp {Rc}*: the 11th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years are lost. Sobekhotep is a common name in the 13th Dynasty and cannot be associated with another king. RYHOLT deals with this king as *Hc-nh-Rc* Sobekhotep since he is known through his significant attestations mainly in Abydos and is not mentioned in the Turin King-list like the other known Sobekhoteps. However, the present study reads King *Hc-nh-Rc* Sobekhotep as an unplaced 13th Dynasty king.



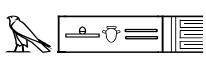
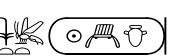
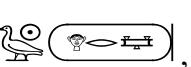
13.12: King *Rn=j-[s]nb*: the 11th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years allocate 4 months¹. The king may be mentioned on an unprovenanced bead as *Jmn-m-h3.t Rn-snb*². However, the evidence is insufficient to associate the two names.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Ryholt 1997a: 95-96; Ryholt 1997: 399, File 13/14 [1].

TK. Col.7/ 17: 

13.13: King 3w.t-jb-R^c: the 13th king of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. His regnal period is lost in the list, except for traces of 7 days¹. Another king with an identical name is labelled under the 14th Dynasty in col. 9/12 and ruled for 18 years². According to the archaeological record, one king with the same throne name, yet slightly different from the name's composition in the Turin King-list, is King 3w-jb-R^c Hor, well-attested in the Dahshur necropolis. However, since any unlisted king in the dynastic system is attested in the traditional necropolis, Dahshur, he almost likely belongs to the 13th Dynasty, albeit another king is bearing the same name elsewhere, or his name does not correspond with the Turin King-list or even his name is mentioned only in the necropolis³. Therefore King 3wt-ib-R^c col. 7/17 will be considered King 3w-jb-R^c Hor of Dahshur. King Hor possibly reigned for a short period. He could not erect his own tomb and was buried in one of the burial-shafts of King Amenemhat III's complex at Dahshur.

According to King Hor's attestations, he holds the full royal names as⁴: Horus  *Htp-ib-t3.wj*, The mind of the Two Lands is satisfied; Two Ladies  *Nfr-h^c.w*, perfect of appearance; Golden Horus  *Nfr-ntr.w*, The perfect one of the gods; Throne  *3w-jb-R^c*, The very joy of Re/The one with the happiness of the heart, Re⁵; Birth   *Hr*, Hor.

13.13.1: Attestations:

1. Tanis

Lintel

Cat. 13.b.1

The King's Horus name  *Htp-jb-t3.wj* is inscribed juxtaposed with King Khabaw's Horus name at Tanis⁶.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71; Von Beckerath 1964: 44.

² Ryholt 1997: 95.

³ See Chapter three: The royal necropolis.

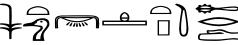
⁴ Leprohon 2013: 64 [15].

⁵ According to Buchberger's reading for the throne names; See Buchberger 1993: 616- 619.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 339, file 13/15 [1]; Siesse 2019: 377, no. 9 [1].

2. Dahshur

The burial of King Hor was discovered by J. DE MORGAN in 1894 in one of the tomb-shafts on the north-eastern side of King Amenemhat III's pyramid complex at Dahshur¹. Unfortunately, the tomb was not safe from tomb robbers, who drilled through the burial chamber and ransacked the tomb². Nevertheless, the tomb is the earliest intact and well-preserved royal burial³.

Another burial was found in the next burial shaft of King Hor. The burial belongs to a female of the royal family titled  *s3.t nsw.t Nbw Htp.ty hrd*, the king's daughter *Nbw Htp.ty* the child⁴. The princess was probably the daughter of King Amenemhat III⁵. She may have also been the daughter of King Hor due to the proximity of both tombs and the similarity of the burial equipment⁶. Princess *Nbw htp.ty* the Child could have been the daughter of King Hor and the Queen, King's Mother *Nbw htp.ty*, known from her seals at Semna⁷. DODSON's investigation of Princess *Nbw htp.ty*'s tomb equipment shows differences in the formulations of texts and spells in the Canopic chests and the canopic jars between King Hor and Princess *Nbw htp.ty* the Child⁸. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that the textual evidence from both burials shares the paleographical phenomenon of the truncated hieroglyphs⁹, which appeared earlier in Hawara in the tomb of royal princess Neferuptah, the daughter of Amenemhat III¹⁰.

King Hor's burial is categorized as a “court type burial” that contains royal insignia to identify the deceased as Osiris, king of the dead¹¹. The tomb offers vital information about burial equipment during the Middle Kingdom and SIP¹². The king's skeleton was found in a rough condition¹³, adorned with a mummy mask and preserved in an inscribed sarcophagus containing a gilded wooden coffin¹⁴. Besides, the tomb included many other items, such as a stone canopic chest, alabaster vessels, alabaster

¹ De Morgan 1895: 86,88-106; PM III²: 888-889; Dodson 1994 b: 30-36.

² De Morgan 1895: 90; McCormack 2008: 244.

³ Grajetzki 2003: 55- 56; Aufrère 2001: 2.

⁴ De Morgan 1895: 115.

⁵ Grajetzki 2005 b: 71.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 217; Tallet 2005: 276.

⁷ Hari 1980: 47; Ryholt 1997: 218.

⁸ Dodson 1994 b: 32-33.

⁹ De Morgan 1895: 104, 115; Ryholt 1997: 217, no. 750.

¹⁰ Miniaci 2010: 115.

¹¹ Grajetzki 2007: 48-50.

¹² Dodson 1994 a: 30.

¹³ McCormack 2008: 244.

¹⁴ Grajetzki 2003: 55-57; Grajetzki 2005 b: 71.

stelae, and many wooden sceptres (Fig. 13.13.1) placed next to the dead king, who was identified as Osiris¹.

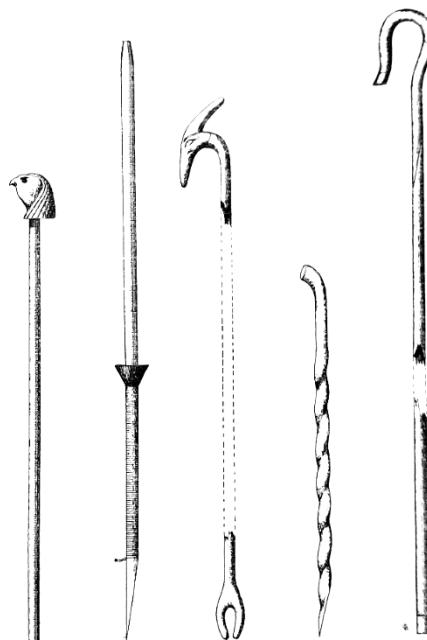


Fig. 13.13.1: After De Morgan 1895: 96

Furthermore, a wooden life-size statue represents the king crowned with the *Ka*-sign². All the burial contents were documented initially by J. de Morgan³, and fully reinvestigated by S. AUFRÈRE⁴. In this context, the present study will engage with some of the textual evidence that mainly presents the king's titles through the original photographs and facsimile illustrations:

Canopic chest:

Cat. 13.13.1

A quartzite canopic chest still in situ containing remains of a wooden canopic chest and four alabaster canopic jars were found at the foot end of the sarcophagus. The wooden canopic chest was largely destroyed and decorated with inscribed gold strips from all sides⁵. The chest lid was sealed with the cartouche of *Nj-m³.t-R*⁶ (Fig. 13.13.2),⁶ most like King Amenemhat III. DODSON documented the inscriptions of the gold strips of the wooden chest and placed the texts according to their location on the box surface⁷.

¹ Grajetzki 2003: 55-58.

² Aufrère 2001: 1-41; Grajetzki 2010: 98-99.

³ De Morgan 1895: 86-106.

⁴ Aufrère 2001: 1-41.

⁵ Dodson 1994 b: 30-36; 115; Ryholt 1997: 339, file 13/15 [2]; Siesse 2019: 377, no. 9 [4].

⁶ De Morgan 1895: 105, Fig. 246.

⁷ Dodson 1994 b:144-145.

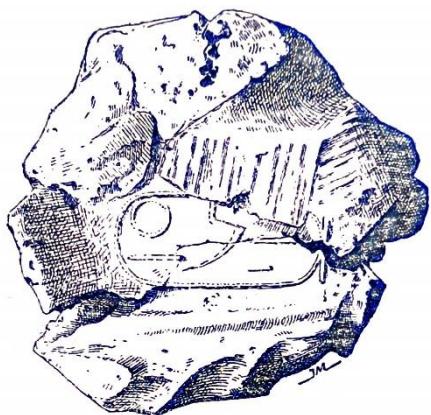


Fig. 13.13.2: After De Morgan 1895: 105

Four Canopic Jars:

Cat. 13.13.2 [a, b, c, d]

Four canopic jars in calcite were found inside the wooden canopic chest in intact condition for viscera keeping. All the jars are formed in anthropoid-headed but bear the traditional formula, which determines the distribution of the protector goddesses (Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selqet) and the four sons of Horus (Imseti, Hapy, Duamutef, and Qebhehseuef). Dodson reports that King Hor's jar lids are poor compared to the elegant ones of the late 12th Dynasty, which were adorned with beards and intricate coiffures¹.

Ka-statue:

Cat. 13.13.3

One of the wooden masterpieces in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, the statue is headed by the hieroglyphic sign *Ka*². The statue was found lying in a wooden naos in the same direction as the mummy in an antechamber before the sarcophagus. Almost likely, the *Ka*-sign was dismantled at the time of discovery, and it was re-fixed to the statue for museum display³. The statue represents the king naked and wearing a striated wig with lappets reaching the chest but leaving the ears free; a long-curving beard is attached under the chin. Noteworthy are the inlaid eyes of rock crystal and the whites of quartz outlined with bronze. The statue once held a sceptre in the right hand and bore a staff in the left. The arms, the left leg, and the feet edges are attached with pegs to the rest of the body⁴. The naos outer line probably bears the royal titulary on both sides and is topped by the winged sun-disk of *Bhd.t*⁵. The inscriptions were executed in gilded

¹ Dodson 1994 b: 32; Ryholt 1997: 440, file 13/15 [1]; Siesse 2019: 377, no. 9 [7].

² Connor 2020: 49-50; Ryholt 1997: 440, file 13/15 [1]; Siesse 2019: 377, no. 9 [2].

³ Grajetzki 2003: 55.

⁴ Saleh-Sourouzian 1987: no. 117; Davies 1981: no. 8; Russman-Finn 1989: 75-78; PM III²: 888.

⁵ De Morgan 1895: 93; Aufrère 2001: 17; PM III²: 888.

plaster and inscribed in complete hieroglyphs, unlike the other textual evidence written in disfigured hieroglyphs¹. The inscriptions were found in a fragmented condition and are housed in the Carlsberg Glyptotek Museum (no. AE.I.N. 1982)².

Pyramid texts stela: Cat. 13.13.4

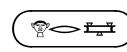
An alabaster stela was found in the antechamber to the left of the *Ka*-statue³. The stela is composed of fourteen lines of pyramid texts (PT 204-205) that were inscribed in blue colour. The text is misleading the reader because it reads from left to right in the opposing direction of the signs. The text was written in truncated hieroglyphics, probably to avoid harm by the birds, snakes or bees⁴. The spells 204-205 of the pyramid texts help the deceased not be hungry or thirsty and to have sexual relationships⁵.

Offering formula stela: Cat. 13.13.5

An alabaster stela was found in the antechamber of the *Ka*-statue. The stela is composed of four lines of hieroglyphs inscribed in blue colour that dedicate the king's offering to different gods: Osiris, Geb, and the big and little Ennead. The text is similar to one on an offering table, also from the antechamber⁶.

3. Unknown location

Plaque Cat. 13.13.6

It is an unknown-location square faience plaque that was purchased in 1877 in Cairo. According to the inscriptions, the plaque is attributed to King Hor. The plaque bears inscriptions on both sides, raising a debate about King Hor's dating. One of the sides shows the standing king wearing the double crown and bearing the birth name  and presents a sceptre to the double-crowned Horus standing on the *Serekh*,

 while the name of the town  *Bhd.t* is inscribed in the upper left corner. On the other

¹ Miniaci 2010: 114.

² Koefoed-Petersen 1951:14 [4], Pl. xix.

³ De Morgan 1895: 94; Siesse 2019: 377, no. 9 [8].

⁴ Forman-Quirke 1996: 101.

⁵ Aufrère 2001: 26-27.

⁶ De Morgan 1895: 94-95; Aufrère 2001: 27-28; Siesse 2019: 377, no. 9 [9].



side, Goddess Wadjet holds a *w3s*-scepter and then a cartouche (*Nj*)-*m3t-R*¹, almost likely the throne name of King Amenemhat III.

A group of glazed steatite scarabs: Cat. 13.13.7 [a, b, c]

One of these scarabs (BM 37652) is inscribed with the throne names *3w-jb-R*^c of King Hor and *H*^c-*k3.w-R*^c of King Senwosret III². Another scarab³ (BM 28813) is inscribed as

3w-jb-Hr? inside a cartouche, which is flanked by the deities Renenoutet and Horus, maybe of Shedet⁴. Likewise, a scarab (BM 39436) is inscribed as *3wt Hr*⁵ and

likely reads as *3wt (jb-R)-Hr*⁶. Noteworthy is the birth name *Hr* in the same style as the birth name on the outer line of the wooden naos. In addition, it is the only time that the name is written with (*t*), the same style as in the Turin king-list.

13.13.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *3w-ib-R*^c Hor is attested only in the north of Egypt (Map. 13.13); nevertheless, his tomb items indicate that his power extended to the south of the Egyptian territories. Many of the tomb's objects were adorned in gold, a sign of the continuous supply of gold from the Nubian mines. Besides, the alabaster objects indicate the state's capacity to send the quarrying expeditions, almost likely to Hatnub (Table 13.13.2). Furthermore, if the Horus name *htp-ib-t3.wj* (Table 13.13.1) is the same name that appears juxtaposed with King Khabaw, it is an adequate testimony of the sovereignty of the two kings over the whole of Egypt.

	Titles	Horus <i>htp-ib-t3.wj</i>	Two Ladies <i>Nfr-h3.w</i>	G. Horus <i>Nfr-ntr.w</i>	Throne <i>3w-ib-R</i> ^c	Birth <i>Hr</i>
Provenance	T. K				<i>3w{t}-ib-R</i> ^c	
Tanis	x					
Dahshur	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 13.13.1: Royal names distribution

¹ Erman 1895: 142-143; von Beckerath 1964: 44; Ryholt 1997: 440, file 13/15 [3]; Siesse 2019: 378, no. 9 [16].

² Hall 1913: 13 no. 137; Legrain 1906: 137-138.

³ Hall 1913: 13 no. 138.

⁴ Aufrère 2001: 7.

⁵ Hall 1913: 13 no. 139.

⁶ Aufrère 2001: 7.

The high-quality of King Hor's tomb contents strongly implies an advanced position on the list of the 13th Dynasty, despite his position as the 13th ruler in the Turin King-list. Apparently, Hor utilized the royal workshops of the 12th Dynasty whose activity ceased until the early phase of the 13th Dynasty.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Tanis	lintel	reused	—	granite	?	yes	yes	●
Dahshur	sarcophagus	funeral	—					●
	chest	funeral	—	quartzite	good	yes	no	●
	chest	funeral	Four sons of Horus – four goddesses of protection	wood gold	—	yes	no	●
	canopic jars	funeral	Four sons of Horus – four goddesses of protection	alabaster	good	yes	no	●
	Seal-impression “ <i>Nj-M3.t-R</i> ”	funeral		mud	?	?	no	●
	<i>Ka</i> -statue	funeral	living <i>Ka</i>	wood, gold	very good	yes	no	●
	<i>PT</i> stela	funeral	Osiris - Horus Re - the two Enneads - Myout - Chouset - Nekhbet - Nofret	alabaster	very good	yes	no	●
	<i>htp-di-nsw</i> stelae	dedication	Osiris - Geb - great Ennead - little Ennead	alabaster	very good	yes	no	●
Unknown locations	plaque	dedication	Wadjet Horus	faiience	good	yes	?	●
	scarabs	?	Horus Renenoutet	steatite	—	?	?	●

Table: 13.13.2: Royal arrestations validity assessment

As mentioned above, the throne name *3wt-ib-R*, noted twice in the Turin king-list, does not entirely correspond to *3w-jb-R* Hor, the owner of the burial-shaft tomb at Dahshur. Therefore, the king's affiliation to the 13th Dynasty is proposed due to his tomb's location in the 13th Dynasty necropolis at Dahshur. Nonetheless, the dating of

King Hor to the 13th Dynasty is still debatable due to his possible affiliation with the 12th Dynasty¹.



Map 13.13: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

¹ See chapter six: the archaeological analysis: Juxtaposed names.



13.14: King *S:df[3]-k3-Rc*: is the 14th name of the 13th Dynasty according to the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years are lost. The king's name *S:df3-k3-Rc* corresponds with the Birth name Amenemhat-Kay according to the attestation that combines the two names. The king held the full royal titles as¹: Horus *Hr.y-tp-t3.wj*, The Lord of the Two lands; Two ladies *Ntr.j-b3.w*, Divine of might. Golden Horus *3-ph.tj*, Great of strength. Throne *S:df3-k3-Rc*, The one whom the ka of Re has endowed; Birth *Jmn-m-h3.t k3y*, The one who belongs to the Ka, Amun is at the forefront.

13.14.1: Attestations:

1. Saqqara

Graffito

H. GAUTHIER's “*Le Livre des Rois*” provides the only reference for this graffito. M. LORET found it in the tomb of Queen Khuit at Saqqara dated to the end of the 5th or the 6th Dynasty². LORET had copied the graffito and told GAUTHIER about it³. The graffito reads as *Af*, the Good God *S:df3-k3-Rc*, may he be given life.

2. Fayoum?

Cylinder-seal: Cat.13. 14. 1

It is a cylinder-seal that bears the throne name of King Amenemhat-Kay as *S:df3-k3-Rc* and is dedicated to the God Sobek of *Shedet*⁴. The find spot is unknown, but according to the inscription it may stem from Medinet El-Fayoum⁵.

3. Madamud

Bark-stand/Block: Cat. 13.1.1 and 13.14.2

¹ Von Beckerath 1999: 92-93; Leprohon 2013: 65 [20].

² Grajetzki 2005: 18, 21; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/20 [1]; Siesse 2019: 378, no. 10 [1].

³ Gauthier 1912: 93; Peden 2001: 46.

⁴ Kaplony 1981: 541, PL.149 [64]; Yoyotte 1957: 86 [1p].

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/20 [2]; Siesse 2019: 378, no. 10 [10].

Mentioned earlier as one of the attestations of King *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* Wegaf, it is indeed attributed to King *S:df3-k3-R^c* Amenemhat-Kay¹. Besides, the middle rectangle frame on the front side of the bark-stand gives the royal titles of King Amenemhat Kay. A band of hieroglyphs runs around the upper part of the bark-stand, showing that King Amenemhat-Kay made this stand from granite for his father Monthu, the lord of Thebes in Madamud. It is noteworthy that the king's Throne name was inscribed in the upper band as  or as² , but in the middle rectangle as , which corresponds with the same writing group used in the Turin King-list.

4. Gebelein?

Cylinder-seals Cat.13.14. 3 [a, b, c]

Two cylinder-seals and two cylindrical beads³ give the same texts as the Good God *S:df3-k3-R^c*, beloved of Sobek lord of *Semenu*. Another cylinder seal gives the King's Horus name *Hr.y-tp-t3.wj*, beloved of Sobek-Re lord of *Semenu*⁴.

5. Unknown location

Scarab Cat.13.14. 4

A scarab-seal bears the throne name of King *S:df3-k3-R^c*⁵.

13.14.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King Amenemhat-Kay held the full royal titulary and his Horus name asserts his dominance over the Two Lands (Table 13.14.1). In this context, note that his throne name *S:df3-k3-R^c* is written as , except when it appears as  in juxtaposition to the royal titles of King Wegaf at Madamud.

The king is well attested in Upper Egypt (Map. 13.14) at Madamud by the enormous granite bark-stand of the god Monthu (Table 13.14.2), which reflects his activity in the granite quarries in Aswan. Besides, cylinder-seals bear his throne name

¹ Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/20 [3]; Siesse 2019: 378, no. 10 [4].

² According to the transcription of Bisson de la Rouque, see: Bisson de la Rouque - Clère 1928: 83-84, 115-116, 12-131, Fig. 61-62.

³ Petrie 1917: PL. XVIII [13.DF. 1,2]; the present study catalogue exposes one example of every type.

⁴ Hayes 1953: 342, fig. 226; Yoyotte 1957: 88 [25 hh]; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/20 [4].

⁵ Newberry: 1908,15, PL. IV [50]; Tufnell 1984: 179; Ryholt 1997: 341, File 13/20 [5].

and attest his dedication to Sobek of Semenu; unfortunately, its find spot is unknown. *Semenu* is identified as one of Sobek's cult centres¹ and located not far to the north of modern Gebelein (modern el-Mahamid Qibli), all located about 28 km south of Thebes and subordinate to Armant².

Conversely, his attestations in Lower Egypt imply uncertainty over his dominance there. His graffito mentioned only by GAUTHIER was depicted in one of the royal tombs of the Old Kingdom at Saqqara, so it is difficult to confirm its historiographical acceptance. Furthermore, a cylinder-seal dedicated to Sobek of *Shedet* perhaps indicates the king's dominance in the traditional residence at *Ijtawy* and its surroundings (the Memphite- Fayoum region), but its unknown location weakens this assumption. In contrast, cylindrical beads were found at Lahun but dedicated to the Sobek of *Semenu*.

It is possible that King Amenemhat-Kay had power in Lower Egypt because he is mentioned in the Turin King-list following King Hor, whose tomb is attested in Dahshur. The king's birth name, Amenemhat, may also support his association with his powerful ancestors of the 12th Dynasty, who exerted their power from Lisht.

	Titles	Horus <i>Hr.y-tp t3.wj</i>	Two Ladies <i>Ntr-b3.w</i>	G. Horus <i>3 ph.tj</i>	Throne <i>S:df3-k3-Rc</i>	Birth <i>Jmn-m-h3.t k3y</i>
Provenance	TK. Saqqara Fayoum? Madamud Gebelein?				x x x x x	

Table 13.14.1: Royal names distribution

¹ Bakry 1971: 131-146.

² Fiore Marochetti 2013: 2-3; Betrò 2006: 91.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Saqqara	graffito	—	—	—	—	—	no	●
El-Fayoum ?	cylinder-seal	dedication	Sobek of <i>Shedet</i>	steatite	—	—	?	●
Lahun	cylindrical beads	dedication	Sobek of <i>Semenu</i>	steatite	good	—	?	●
Madamud	bark-stand	dedication	Monthu	granite	good	yes	no	●
Gebelein?	cylinder-seals	dedication	Sobek Re of <i>semenu</i>	steatite	good	—	?	●

Table 13.14.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.14: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

There is uncertain evidence that could imply the power of King Amenemhat-Kay over Lower and Upper Egypt and associate him closer with the beginning of the 13th Dynasty. As long as the Nile records are one of the continuous procedures from the late 12th Dynasty until the beginning of the 13th Dynasty, one of these Nile records

bears the throne name  *Df3-K3-R^c*¹. This cartouche is probably attributed to King *S:df3-k3-R^c* but without the sign . In this case, it could shift the king's location to occupy an advanced position in the royal list of the 13th Dynasty.

However, different opinions read the name as  *Nr-k3-R^c* and put it in place of *wsf*, indicating a missing entry for a royal name in Col 7/6 after the King *Shm-k3-R^c*, who also is attested in a Nile record².

¹ Hintze-Reineke 1989: no. 510, Taf. 212 [510].

² Ryholt 1997: 318.



13.15: King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp*: the king is listed as the 15th name in the Turin King-list, and entries for his regnal-years are lost¹. His cartouche contains his throne name as *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* and his birth name as *Sbk-htp*. The king appears in the Karnak list No. 36 as *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*.

The archaeological record indicates that the king's name matches King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep. The king's attestations keep his royal titles as Golden Horus:

nh ntr.w, the life of gods; Throne: *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*, the powerful one of Re, the protection of the Two Lands; Birth: *Jmn-m-h3.t Sbk-htp*, Amun in the front Sobek is satisfied². Probably the king held the Horus name *Mnh[....]*, but that is uncertain since this title appears separately from the throne and birth names (see below)³.

13.15.1: Attestations:

The royal attestations under discussion are only those containing throne and birth names matching the entries of the Turin King-list (Col. 7/19), regardless of whether further attestations bear the throne name *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*. In this context, it is worth mentioning that the throne name *shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* overlaps with two other names, *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*, with the Horus name Khabaw, and *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*, with the birth name Pantjeny. Both are attested only through the contemporary archaeological record. Furthermore, two kinds of evidence mentioning only the throne name *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* are the Nile-records and the Lahun archive; both are essential to determine the identity of one of the early kings of the dynasty among those discussed above⁴.

1. Madamud

¹ Gardiner 1959: PL. III; Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Leprohon 2013: 61 [1].

³ Cat. 13.15.4.

⁴ See Chapter three.

Many architectural fragments attest to a *Heb-sed* sanctuary of King *Shm-R^c-hw-t³.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep. These were found at Madamud by the IFAO and are now housed at the Cairo Egyptian Museum¹.

Gate of the sanctuary

Cat. 13.15.1

Blocks of a dismantled gate showing King Amenemhat Sobekhotep celebrating the *Sed*-festival². The gate is an identical copy of the gate of King Senwosret III (App. 2), which was dismantled and reused with the gate's blocks of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep for the construction of the Ptolemaic temple at Madamud³. COTTEVIEILLE-GIRAUDET and GARDINER arranged the blocks of both gates, which are housed in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo⁴. According to the archaeological investigation, Senwosret III's gate shows a higher quality in comparison to that of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep⁵.

The lintel of the gate shows the main motif of the *Sed*-festival, which is topped by the winged sun-disk⁶. The king is represented in a double scene wearing the mantle of jubilee and seated back-to-back on the pavilion of the *Sed*-festival. On the right side, the king wears the crown of Upper Egypt, and in front of him, God Set of *Nbwt* ☰⊗ upon a stand with anthropoid arms gives him the *rnpt*-sign }. While on the left side, the king wears the crown of Lower Egypt and holds the *rnpt* from the God Horus of *Bhd.t* ☰=. On both sides in front of the seated king appears the throne title of the king as:



Unfortunately, the upper part of the lintel is lost, but since the gate is a copy of the gate of King Senwosret III, it is supposed that the upper left of the lintel shows God Horus upon a stand and gives life to the birth name of King *Jmn-m-h3.t Sbk-htp*. On the upper right side, God Thoth supposedly performed the same action. The lower left side of the lintel shows God Amun-Re giving life to the king's throne name *Shm-R^c-hw-t³.wj*. In contrast, the opposite side shows God Monthu of Madamud, lord of *Wast* doing the same.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 336, File 13/1 [2]; Siesse 2019: 371, no. 1 [3-6].

² Bisson de la Rouque-Clère 1929: 58-68

³ Cottevieuille-Giraudet 1933:1-3, Pl.V.

⁴ Cottevieuille-Giraudet 1933:1-3, Pl.V; Gardiner 1944: PL. IV; Willem 1983: 103.

⁵ It was difficult to get original photographs for the two gates' lintel due to tight spaces in front of the showcases in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

⁶ Eder 2002: 92-95; Werner 1985: 90, Fig. 19.

The gate-jambs presumably bear the same vertical text on both sides like the gate of Senwosret III. The writings immortalize the king's ascending the throne as a king of Upper and Lower Egypt¹. Each side of the gate contains a different combination of deities in its human or semi-human figures, giving life to the King as Amun-Re and Monthu in the upper lintel. These gods likely represent Upper and Lower Egypt.

Although the gate is an identical copy of Senwosret III's gate, it gives a meaningful testimony to the legitimization of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep as king of Upper and Lower Egypt. The king chose to imitate King Senwosret III to seek affiliation with the mighty kings of the 12th Dynasty.

Lintel

Cat. 13.15.2

A lintel of the rear façade of the *Heb-Sed* sanctuary represents King *Shm-ṛ-hw-t3wy* Amenemhat Sobekhotep performing offerings to God Monthu². The lintel is relatively similar but not identical to the lintel of King Senwosret III (App. 3). King Senwosret III's lintel also came from Madamud, housed now at Louver (E 13983)³. The lintel of Amenemhat Sobekhotep is symmetrically divided and shows God Monthu standing back-to-back and receiving offerings from the King. The king wears the white crown of Upper Egypt and beard and offers wine to the right side. On the left, the king wears the double-feather crown of Amun and beard and offers milk. On both sides, the king wears a projected triangle kilt knotted on his belly and a bull's tail hanging from his lower back⁴.

Comment:

King Amenemhat Sobekhotep did not imitate King Senwosret III in the present lintel like in the case of the *Sed*-festival gate. King Senwosret III stands back-to-back and offers the same offerings to the god Monthu. In contrast, King Amenemhat Sobekhotep performs the offering while the god Monthu stands back-to-back in front of him. King Senwosret III wears a headdress with a uraeus. On the other side, King Amenemhat Sobekhotep wears the crown of Upper Egypt on the right side and the double-feather crown of Amun on the left side. One can notice that the king does not wear the crown of Lower Egypt but rather that of Amun as an equivalent to the crown of Upper Egypt on

¹ Bisson de la Rouque-Clère 1929: 60; Eder 2002: 95.

² Bisson de la Rouque 1930: 90-93, Pl.V; Eder 2002: 99-101, Taf. 46.

³ Werner 1985 91.

⁴ Bisson de la Rouque 1930: 90-93, Pl.V.

the left side. This observation concerns the significance of the crown of Amun in the context of the *Sed*-festival alongside the Upper Egypt crown. Possibly there is another scene depicting the king with the Lower Egypt crown elsewhere in the sanctuary but not in the same part of the rear façade, which was exclusively for the Upper Egypt crown and the two-feathered crown of Amun.

Previous scenes attributed to King Menthuhotep II, *Nb-h^tp.t-R^t* depict the King wearing the two-feathered crown of Amun from his chapel in Dandara dedicated to goddess Hathor. Another scene from the temple of Hekaib at Elephantine shows the King with the crown of the God Amun¹. King Menthuhotep Nebheptre occupies a unique position in ancient Egyptian history. He is one of the founders of the significant historical phases besides the kings Menes and Ahmose I. King Mentuhotep Nebheptre, who represents himself in the god Amun and undoubtedly reveres the god, started to acquire a special status in Egyptian religious thought².

Possibly there is a strong relationship between the veneration of the god Amun and the imposition of political dominance over the country. It is worth noting that the unification phase required sufficient religious support that King Mentuhotep Nebheptre sought this support via more veneration of Amun as his human representative. The same thing possibly happened in the case of king Amenemhat Sobekhotep who may have sought to impose his power over the whole country like King Menthuhotep Nebheptre. Furthermore, perhaps the crown of Upper Egypt indicates that the power base of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep is located in the south of Egypt, in particular Thebes. Interestingly, a later stela (App. 4) depicted King Sobekhotep *Shm-R^t-s:wsr-t3.wj*³ of the 16th Dynasty (col. 11/2) performing offerings while wearing the double-feather crown of Amun in front of the God Hapy and the crown of Upper Egypt in front of god Amun-Re⁴.

Slabs of the left interior wall⁵ Cat. 13.15.3

Fragments of limestone slabs compose an interior wall decoration, perhaps of the *Sed*-festival sanctuary, and are housed now in the Egyptian Museum⁶. The main scene of the

¹ Habachi 1963: 24- 27.

² Habachi 1963: 51- 52.

³ Identified as Sobekhotep VIII.

⁴ Abdul-Qader Muhammad 1966: 146-148, Pl.III; Baines 1974.

⁵ Eder 2002 : Taf. 45

⁶ Cottevieuille-Giraudet 1933 : P.7, Pl. VI.

decoration shows the king wearing the double crown and accompanied by God Thoth, and the winged sun disk tops the scene. The decoration displays three of the king's royal titles: the Throne, Birth, and the Golden Horus. An adjacent scene is topped with Goddess Nekhbet, and the king offers  *sȝ.y.t* bread to God Montu, lord of Madamud. Like most of King Amenemhat Sobekhotep's attestations at Madamud, the decoration is almost parallel to one referring to king Senwosert III¹.

Slabs of the right interior wall² Cat. 13.15.4

Among the blocks found by the French mission at Madamud are limestone slabs that form a part of interior wall decoration. The scene shows a king wearing the crown of Lower Egypt and accompanied by the Horus name  *Mnh[....]*³. This scene may be attributed to King *Shm-r‘-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat-Sobekhotep because of its similar style to the artistic details of the other scenes that belong to the king and bear the royal protocol⁴. RYHOLT attributed the Horus name *Mnh* to King Amenemhat-Sobekhotep⁵, while Quirke thought it might belong to another king attested in Madamud⁶. However, in the context of the present study, the Horus name *Mnh* will be treated with caution since it does not appear alongside the throne and birth names of King Amenemhat-Sobekhotep.

2. Deir el-Bahari

Lintel Cat. 13.15.5

According to E. NAVILLE "*fine piece of a door lintel in limestone*". The lintel was found in the temple of King Menthuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari⁷. The lintel bears the king's throne and birth names separated by the sign  and both of them are topped by the winged sun-disk⁸.

3. Dra' Abu el-Naga

¹ Werner 1985: 91; Cottevieille-Giraudet 1933: Pl. II.

² Eder 2002 · Taf. 44

³ Bisson de la Rouque-Clère 1928: 117; Cottevieille-Giraudet 1933: Pl. VII.

⁴ Siessen 2019: 58

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 316–336.

⁶ Quirke 2006: 264-265.

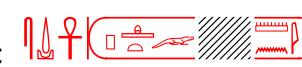
⁷ Naville 1910: 11-12; PM II² 1972: 392.

⁸ Ryholt 1997: 336 File 13/1 [4]; Siessé 2019: 371 no. 1 [7]

Papyrus Boulaq 18

Two manuscripts identified as Papyrus Boulaq 18 were found by Mariette in 1860 in a tomb at Dra'Abu el-Naga. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 58069)¹, it is most

likely the tomb belongs to  *sš n hnr.t-wr Nfr-htp*, the scribe of the main enclosure, Neferhotep². The large manuscript documents the daily routine of the royal palace in Thebes, containing the accounts of income and expenditure³, during 12 days in the 2nd and 3rd months of inundation of the 3rd regnal year of King  *Shm...[R]*⁴. In contrast, the smaller manuscript is dated to the 5th regnal year⁵.

According to QUIRKE, the larger manuscript's account belongs to one of the kings whose birth name is *[Sbk]-htp*⁶. Besides, it contains a broken cartouche written in red ink, unusual in the writing of royal names:  *Jmn[...] Sbk-htp*⁷. Recently SH. ALLAM released a complete edition of Papyrus Boulaq 18 and suggests the cautious reading  *Jmnj[...] Sbk-htp*⁸. Nevertheless, the reconstruction is still disputed⁹; possibly the papyrus refers to King *Shm-R-s:w3d-t3.wj Sobekhotep* (col. 7/24)¹⁰.

The papyrus account gives entries for several events inside the royal palace. The larger manuscript documents the royal visit to the temple of Monthu at Madamud, accompanied by many provisions orders in favour of the visit¹¹. The provisions orders contain officials and craftsmen in the palace or yards; their duties possibly concern the cult of Monthu at Madamud¹². Additionally, the manuscript reports the arrival of the

¹ Mariette 1872: 6-8, Pls. 14-55.

² Quirke 1990: 10; Mourad 2015: 104.

³ Scharff 1922: 51-68; Quirke 1990: 17-24.

⁴ Allam 2019: Pl. 1 (SCH 3) 12.

⁵ Quirke 1990: 12-13.

⁶ Quirke 1990: 27, n. 12; Hayes 1953: 38.

⁷ Scharff 1922: Pl. 15; Quirke 1990: 12; Siesse 2019: 69-71.

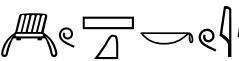
⁸ Allam 2019: 2, 70, Pl. 18 (SCH 52) 2.

⁹ Ryholt 1997: 319.

¹⁰ Hayes 1953: 38-39.

¹¹ Quirke 1990: 17-18.

¹² Quirke 1990: 22, 33 no. 39.

men of Medjay of , *3wšk-kwy*¹, to  *wr.t tp-rs.j*, district of the Head of the South “Thebes”, who also received daily provisions².

Furthermore, the manuscript lists many royal family members³ headed by Queen *J*⁴, the king's brothers, sisters, and daughters, and the king's son named *rdj-n=f-n=j*⁵.

On the other hand, both the larger and smaller manuscripts reference the vizier  Ankhu as “the Overseer of the City, the Vizier, the Overseer of the Six Mansions”⁶. Another entry attests to the property of Ankhu in Thebes⁷ as “*This northern granary of the estate of the vizier Ankhu*”⁸. The vizier Ankhu's name is attested in other archaeological evidence incorporated with his family within the 13th Dynasty framework⁹. Such evidence builds connections among a part of the 13th dynasty's royal list. However, vizier Ankhu's attestations should be re-examined to verify how these bonds should be accredited.

Obviously, the location of the events occurred in southern Egypt, focusing on Thebes. Besides, other toponymic indicators are attested in the papyrus giving clues on

the activity of the palace in Thebes that also received incomers from  *nfrw.sy*, Kusae¹⁰. Furthermore, clues are attested regarding bringing products like the beer of  *gb.tiw*, Kotpos¹¹, and wine of  *ds ds*, Bahariya oasis¹², which was given to the incomers to the palace.

In this context, the toponym *ds ds* implies a clue on the dominance of the 13th Dynasty ruler mentioned in Papyrus Boulaq 18 regardless of whether he was *shm-Rc-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep or *Shm-Rc-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep over the production centres in the western desert. In this regard, *ds ds* is attested on a scarab

¹ Allam 2019: 82, 83, Pl. 31 (SCH 69, 70).

² Quirke 1990: 19.

³ Ryholt 1997: 243.

⁴ Allam 2019: Pl. 11 (SCH 33) 19; Pl. (SCH 38) 12.

⁵ Allam 2019: Pl. 4 (SCH 11 suite a) 4; Pl. 13 (SCH 38) 13; Pl. 34 (SCH 74 suite b) 9.

⁶ Allam 2019: Pl. 2 (SCH 10); Pl. 3 (SCH 11) 3; Pl. 12 (SCH 34) 2; Pl. 19 (SCH 55) 2; Pl. 24 (SCH 60) 3; Pl. 33 (SCH 74) 2.

⁷ Allam 2019: Pl. 39 (2) Col. 1,9.

⁸ Ilin-Tomich 2021: 154.

⁹ Franke 1984: 136-137.

¹⁰ Allam 2019: frgmt B vs Pl. 40 (5) 3+7.

¹¹ Allam 2019: Pl. 22 (SCH 59) 14; Pl. 32 (SCH 73) 10.

¹² Allam 2019: Pl. 20 (SCH 56) 6.

most probably attributed to the 13th Dynasty¹. The scarab bears the name of *Mntw-htp* and his title as *Jmj-r pr wr n ds ds*, the great overseer of the house of *ds ds*².

4. Gebelein/modern Rizeiqât?

Cylinder-seal

Cat. 13.15.6

Unknown-location cylinder-seal bearing the king's birth name as Amenemhat-Sobekhotep³ the beloved of God Sobek-Re, the lord of *Jw-mjtrw*⁴



Jw-mjtrw is likely modern Rizeiqât, located between Gebelein and Armant⁵.

5. Kerma

Statuette

Cat. 13.15.7

A limestone statuette represents the seated king⁶. The statuette was found in Kerma in an area designated as Tumulus X. Unfortunately, the upper part of the statuette is damaged and has suffered cracks because of the water effect and the bad quality of the limestone. The statuette represents the king wearing the *shendyt*-kilt, and his left-hand rests upon his thigh, while the right-hand holds a folded cloth⁷.

According to RYHOLT's description, a "ceremonial lion's tail is hanging down the front of the throne between his legs"⁸. Both sides of the throne are depicted with the *sm3-t3.wj* motif. There are two symmetrical columns of wirings on the front of the throne that read⁹: *the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands shm-Rc-hw-t3.wj, the Son of Re, form his body J[.....]*¹⁰. None of the 13th Dynasty kings bears the throne name *shm-Rc-hw-t3.wj*, and his birth name begins with the sign  , except King Amenemhat Sobekhotep's, so the statuette may belong to him. The inscriptions do not give any clues about the provenance of the statuette. Nevertheless, it is possible that the statuette was

¹ Martin 1971: 48 (566).

² Giddy 1987: 62-63; Siessé 2019: 360-362.

³ Newberry 1908: 195, Pl. XLIII [3]; Hayes 1953: 342, fig. 226; Ryholt 1997: 336, File 13/1 [5]; Siessé 2019: 372, no. 1 [29].

⁴ Newberry's illustration mistakenly gives the reading as , he illustrated the sign  instead of  , for more information see Eid 2022: 157-163.

⁵ Fiore Marochetti 2013: 2-3.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 336, File 13/1 [10]; Siessé 2019: 372, no. 1 [13].

⁷ Davies 1981: no. 9.

⁸ Ryholt 1998: 32.

⁹ Ryholt 1998: Fig. 1.

¹⁰ Ryholt 1998: 32.

brought from Elephantine since another royal statuette belonging to the 13th Dynasty (Cat. 13.24.2) also found in the area was dedicated to Goddess Satis, Lady of Elephantine. RYHOLT proposes that these statuettes were taken as booty by a Nubian raid against the island of Elephantine¹.

13.15.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

Most attestations (Table. 13.15.2) of the king Amenemhat Sobekhotep focused mainly on Thebes and probably extended in part to Elephantine (Map. 13.15). Nevertheless, the king's throne name indicates his lordship upon Upper and Lower Egypt (Table 13.15.1). Moreover, the king simulated king Senwosret III's monumental activity at Madamud as a sign of his willingness to be a great king like those of the 12th Dynasty. Simultaneously, the king implicitly expressed his affiliation to God Amun and maybe to his Upper Egyptian origin by wearing the Upper Egyptian crown and the double-feather crown of Amun in a scene at Madamud.

The king's throne name *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* mentioned in the Karnak-list may be due to his contribution to the temple of Amun. There is a clue that the king erected a chapel in the temple of Amun-Re restored later by King *Hˁ-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep². Two other kings have the same throne name and may also be candidates to be listed in the Karnak King-list, but they have no attestations in Thebes; therefore, it is reasonable to attribute the throne name in the Karnak King-list to Amenemhat Sobekhotep.

	Titles	Horus <i>mnh[...]</i> ?	Two Ladies —	G. Horus <i>'nh ntr.w</i>	Throne <i>Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj</i>	Birth <i>Jmn-m-h3.t Sbk-htp</i>
Location	T.K				x	<i>Sbk-htp</i>
	K.K				x	
	Madamud	x		x	x	x
	Deir el-Bahari				x	
	Dra'Abu el-Naga				x?	x?
	Rizeiqât?					x
	Kerma				x	<i>J[.....]</i>

Table 13.15.1: Royal names distribution

It is noteworthy that the king's birth name is affiliated with the Gods Amun and Sobek, which probably fulfils religious-political considerations for power support. According to the surviving attestations, the king showed reverence to God Amun at Thebes while showing reverence to God Sobek-Re at modern Rizeiqât near Gebelein.

¹ Ryholt 1998: 32-33.

² Cat. 13.23.17

However, since the king is mentioned in the Turin King-list as *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp*, VON BECKERATH argues that the king's original birth name is Sobekhotep, and he probably got the name Amenemhat before ascending the throne as a prestigious name¹.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Madamud	Heb-Sed sanctuary	political	Monthu/ Amun	limestone	fair	yes	no	●
Deir el-Bahari	lintel	—	—	limestone	—	yes	—	●
Dra'Abu el-Naga	manuscript	Admin.	Monthu/ Amun	papyrus	—	?	no	●
Gebelein/ Rizeiqât?	cylinder-seals	dedication	Sobek-Re of <i>Jw-mjtrw</i>	steatite	good	yes	?	●
Kerma?	statuette	—	—	limestone	bad	yes	yes	●

Table 13.15.2: Royal attestations validity assessment

Despite the uncertain reading of his cartouche in Papyrus Boulaq 18, it likely belonged to him due to his prominent activity at Madamud, the main theme in the papyrus. Papyrus Boulaq 18 implies that a royal residence was in Thebes. The assumption is that the king and his court were on a royal visit to the royal palace at Thebes while the main royal residence was in Memphis². Nevertheless, the account did not reference the king's arrival in Thebes. Alternatively, the account strongly indicates that state affairs were practised from the Theban palace. Regardless of the activities concerning the cult of Monthu at Madamud, the arrival of a delegation of Medjay is a strong indication that serious affairs were managed from the royal palace at Thebes. Therefore, if the archaeological record did not present unambiguous evidence that King Amenemhat Sobekhotep is attested in the Memphis region, one should accept that the king exerted his power from the palace at Thebes. Such an assumption would be supported by the King's Theban origin.

¹ Von Beckerath 1964: 35.

² Hayes 1953: 35-38; Quirke 1990: 17-24.



Map 13.15: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

13.16: King *Wsr-[k3]-Rˁ Hndr*: listed as the 16th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Unfortunately, entries for his regnal years are lost¹. The king's cartouche contains his throne and birth name. The king's birth name is written as *Ny-dr-Rˁ*, but it seems that the royal list's scribe mistakenly noted $\odot Rˁ$ instead of $\equiv h^2$. The birth name *hndr* is not Egyptian and is interpreted as a foreign name *hnzr* and equated with the Semitic personal name *H(n)zr*, 'boar'³.

The king held the royal names as Two Ladies  *W3h-ms.wt*,
 Enduring of birth⁴; Throne  *Wsr-k3-Rˁ*, The one with a strong Ka, Re⁵/
 Strong is the Ka of Re; Birth  *Hndr*, Khendjer 'the boar'⁶.

13.16.1: Attestations:

1. Athribis?

Cylinder-seals	Cat. 13.16.1
----------------	--------------

The king's throne name is attested on three unprovenanced cylinder-seals⁷. Since the seals are dedicated to God Khenty-Khetu, it is thought that they originated at Athribis, the god's local cult centre⁸. The current study exposes one example from the collection of the Brooklyn Museum.

2. Saqqara-South

The pyramid of King Khendjer is located far south of Saqqara and is considered the most complete pyramid of all the post-Hawara pyramids (Fig. 13.16.1). As mentioned earlier, the pyramid is similar to the south Mazghuna pyramid⁹. The pyramid was excavated and published in detail by G. JÉQUIER in 1933¹⁰. The pyramid was

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Von Beckerath 1964: 49, Ryholt 1997: 220, no. 763.

³ Ryholt 1997: 220-221; Helck 1971: 81.

⁴ Leprohon 2013: 66 [22].

⁵ According to Buchberger's reading for the throne names; See Buchberger 1993: 616- 619.

⁶ Leprohon 2013: 66.

⁷ Williams 1926: 81-83; Yoyotte 1957: 91 [20 c, d]; Ryholt 1997: 342, File 13/22 [1]; Siesse 2019: 380, [16].

⁸ Williams 1926: 81-83; Yoyotte 1957: 91 [20 c, d]; Ryholt 1997: 342, File 13/22 [1].

⁹ See chapter three: royal necropolis.

¹⁰ Jéquier 1933; PM III [2]: 434-435.

originally about 52 m square and 37 m in height with an estimated angle of 55°. The structure was erected in mudbricks and casing of Tura limestone¹.

Two enclosure walls surrounded the pyramid. The outer wall encloses a subsidiary pyramid to the northeast corner, which contains two burial chambers, which may be assigned to the royal wives. On the eastern side of the pyramid are the remains of a mortuary temple, while a chapel is situated in the middle of the northern side; both are entirely destroyed. In the chapel's remains were found fragments of a granite pyramidion that attributed the pyramid to King *Wsr-k3-R*² Khendjer² and fragments of royal statuettes³. In addition, twenty control marks in red and black ink were found with the building of the complex. These control marks dated from the 1st year until the 5th year of King Khendjer's reign and give names and titles of persons associated with the construction of the complex⁴.

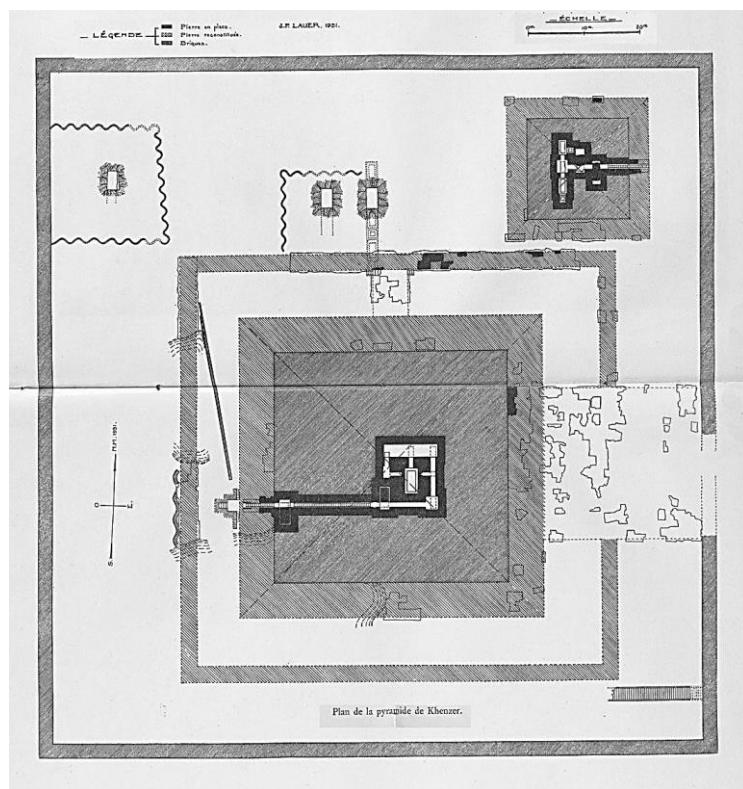


Fig. 13.16.1: Plan of King Khendjer's Pyramid. After Jéquier 1933: Pl. II

The pyramid's entrance is situated to the south of the west side. A staircase ramp leads down to a portcullis chamber. The portcullis block in its recess was never slipped

¹ McCormack 2008: 168-170.

² Jéquier 1933: 19-26.

³ Jéquier 1933: 18-19; McCormack 2008: 173-174.

⁴ Arnold 1990: 176-181; Jéquier 1933: 10-15; McCormack 2008: 174.

across the passage. A second staircase leads to the east on the same axis, down to a doorway. Then a passageway in the same axis ends with a square chamber leading to a northern passageway ending in the antechamber. In the middle of the antechamber, there is an entrance for another passage that leads to the quartzite sarcophagus chamber, which contains niches for the coffin and canopic chest¹.

Pyramidion:

Cat. 13.16.2

As mentioned above, fragments of a granite pyramidion were found in the ruins of the chapel to the north of the pyramid. The pyramidion is inscribed with the king's royal names and the spells 788 of the coffin texts². Since the texts on the fragments are similar to that of the pyramidion of King Amenemhat III, which was found at Dahshur, JÉQUIER was able to reconstruct the pyramidion after carefully examining the fragments³. Obviously, the four sides of the pyramidion were fully decorated, much more than Amenemhat III's pyramidion. The top four sides of the pyramidion are depicted with the winged sun-disk *Bhd.t*. Every side is dedicated to a god: the east to God Re, the west to God Anubis, the south God Ptah *rs.y-jnb=f*, and the north side to God Ptah-Soker-Osiris⁴.

Statuettes fragments

Cat. 13.16.3 [a, b, c]

Three fragments of royal statuettes were found in the ruins of the north chapel. The fragments bear no names and likely represent King Khendjer as follows⁵:

- (a) The upper part of a royal statuette, with the bottom half missing. It represents the king wearing the bag wig adorned with a uraeus.
- (b) The seated statuette represents the king wearing the *shendyt*-kilt and resting his hands upon his thighs. The upper half and the pedestal with feet are missing. The remains of inscriptions on the front right side of the throne read as: the Good God, Lord of action [.....].
- (c) Fragment of the left thigh and arm of a seated statuette.

3. Lisht

¹ Jéquier 1933: 3-30; McCormack 2008: 166-182.

² McCormack 2008: 174.

³ Jéquier 1933: 19.

⁴ Jéquier 1933: Fig. 17-20; Rebinguet 1997: 363-366; Trench and Fuscaldo 1989: 83-84.

⁵ Jéquier 1933: 19, Pl. V [b, c]; Davies 1981: no. 10-12; Ryholt 1997: 342, File 13/22 [2]; Siesse 2019: no. 12 [6-8].

Tile**Cat. 13.16.4**

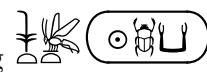
A fragment of a tile found north of Lisht attesting the name of King Khendjer, was found during the works of the Metropolitan Museum expedition at Lisht¹.

4. Abydos**Stela****Cat. 13.16.5 [C 11, C 12]**

The cartouche of King Khendjer is attested on a stela found in Abydos, now in the Louvre (C 11)². The stela is one of three found in Abydos³ and attributed to the same person, the chief of the priesthood of Abydos Amney-Seneb⁴.

The stela (C 11) tells about the work that was executed by Ameny-Seneb in Abydos on order of the king. Amney-Seneb says that he received another order as the king was satisfied and rewarded him for his work. The king demanded Ameny-seneb continue his work of restoration in the temple complex (*r3-Pr*) and every chapel in the temple⁵.

Indeed, the content of the stela seems to correlate with another stela attributed to Ameny-Seneb, which does not contain royal names; that stela is also in the Louvre (C 12). The stela tells that Ameny-Seneb got a call to meet the chief of the city and the vizier Ankhu in his office. There Ameny-Seneb received a command to clean up the

temple complex (*r3-Pr*) of Abydos which was erected by the King  *Hpr-k3-R'*, Senwosret I. Ameny-Seneb was supplied with craftsmen to fulfil his task with help from the priesthood of this district (where the vizier resided). Ameny-Seneb reports that he finished his task, and it seems that he went to tell the king in the temple. Then the king thanked him and gifted him 10 *dbn* and a half of calf. The *sr n k3p* (Palace's officials) travelled north to examine the work at the temple⁶. In this context, Amney-seneb was supposed to meet the king south of Abydos, probably at Thebes, since the *sr n k3p* travelled north to Abydos to inspect the restoration works⁷.

It seems that the events of the stela (C 12) occurred before the events of (C 11), which attested to the name of King Khendjer. In other words, QUIRKE clarifies that

¹ Hayes 1953b: 257, 342.

² Kubisch 2008: 143-145; Ryholt 1997: 342, File 13/22 [4]; Siesse 2019: 380 [12].

³ 2 stelae at Louver Museum (C 11, C12), 1 stela at Liverpool Museum (E. 30)

⁴ Baines 2009; Lichtheim 1988: 80-83.

⁵ Lichtheim 1988: 82; Kubisch 2008: 143-145; Baines 2009:8.

⁶ Lichtheim 1988: 81-82; Kubisch 2008: 139-142; Baines 2009: 7-8.

⁷ Lichtheim 1988:82; Baines contradicts this assumption and supposes that residence was at Itjtawy, See Baines 2009: 9.

stela (C11) is designed to complement the narrative of stela (C12). Nevertheless, he does not believe that the two stelae are attributed to King Khandjer; he assumed that stela (C 12) refers to a preceding king of Khendjer who was supposed to be *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (col. 7/19). Ankhu is attested in the Papyrus Boulaq 18 that simultaneously attests King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat-Sobekhotep¹. QUIRKE assumed the second stela (C 11) was carved later and attributed to King Khendjer's reign after the short reign of his predecessor².

However, the issue that raises doubts around the attribution of the stela to the reign of King Khendjer is the execution of the king's cartouches on the stela lunette (Fig. 13.16.2). The stela shows the king's birth name as *Hndr* encircled in a one-lined cartouche, while the king's throne name is *Nj-m3^c-n-h^c-R^c* or *Nj-m3^c.t-R^c* encircled in a double-lined cartouche.



Fig. 13.16.2: Lunette of stela C 11



Fig. 13.16.3: Names of King Khendjer on the pyramidion

In addition, the king's birth name seems crudely executed in comparison with his birth name on his pyramidion at Saqqara (Fig. 13.16.3). Simultaneously the king's throne name is *Wsr-k3-R^c*, as attested on the pyramidion, but is depicted here differently as *Nj-m3^c-n-h^c-R^c* or *Nj-m3^c.t-R^c* in a garbled inscription. Such indications raise a question about the identity of King Khendjer of Stela C11. Scholars suggested that there may be two kings with the birth name Khendjer³. VON BECKERATH suggested that

¹ See: 13.15: King *shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp*

² Quirke 1991: 134-135.

³ Von Beckerath 1964: 50; Stock 1942: 50-51; Hayes 1953: 38; Hayes 1955: 146.

perhaps the king changed his throne name, and there was no possibility of assigning two kings with the rare name Khendjer. He suggested that the king may have wanted to associate himself with King Amenemhat III. VON BECKERATH proposed that the throne name cartouche was inscribed later after the birth name by another hand¹.

Compared with the throne name of King Senwosret I in stela C12, it was engraved with the double-lined cartouche like the king's throne name in stela C11. This reinforces the genuineness of the throne name's cartouche of stela C11 despite the uncommon composition and the disorder of the signs inside. In contrast, the birth name cartouche of *Hndr* was carelessly engraved and appears intrusive in context of the motif. Note that signs behind the birth name cartouche are engraved differently than those behind the throne name cartouche. Therefore, the attribution of the stela C11 to the reign of King *Wsr-k3-R^c* Khendjer should be reconsidered. At the same time, no other king with the same name seems secure in light of the scarce evidence.

5. Unknown location:

Scarab Cat. 13.16.6

Unprovenanced scarab containing the king's throne and birth names under the title *nsw-bj.tj*².

13. 16. 2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

The king's royal names do not indicate his dominance over the two lands (Table 13.16.1). The king reigned an attested five years. King *Wsr-k3-R* Khendjer is attested mainly in the Memphite region (Map. 13.16). Most of the surviving material (Table 13.16.2) from his pyramid indicates that he relied on northern resources like limestone and quartzite. The king has no secured attestations in Upper Egypt except his birth name at Abydos, which likely was ambiguously added on stela (C 11) after its execution. Nevertheless, he may have reached southern resources like granite to supply his pyramid constructions.

Titles		Horus	Two Ladies <i>w3h-ms.wt</i>	G. Horus	Throne <i>Wsr-k3-R</i> ^c	Birth <i>Hndr</i>
Provenance	T.K				X	X
	Saqqara-south		X		X	X
	Abydos					X

Table 13.16.1: Royal names distribution

¹ Von Beckerath 1958: 265-266; Von Beckerath 1964: 50.

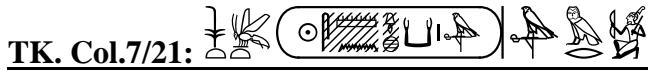
² Fraser 1900: no. 65; Schöggl (ed.) 1978: 75, Fig. 236; Ryholt 342, File 13/22 [5]; Siessé 2019:380 [15].

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Saqqara-south	pyramidion	funeral	Re, Anubis, Ptah <i>rsy-</i> <i>jnb=f,</i> Ptah- Soker- Osiris.	granite	good	yes	no	●
	statuettes	—	—	basalt	fair	?	?	●
Abydos	stela	command	Webwawet	limestone	good	no	no	●

Table 13.16.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.16: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13. 17: King [S:*mnh*]-*k3-R*^c *Jm.y-r mšc*: listed as the 17th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Unfortunately, entries for his regnal years are lost except for four days¹. The king's throne name is mentioned inside the cartouche, while his birth name *Jm.y-r mšc* is mentioned outside, which is possibly interpreted also as a title “the overseer of the army/the general”. However, the king's birth name is mentioned as *Jm.y-r mšc* inside a cartouche according to his attestations.

The king held the royal titles as: Throne  *S:mnh-k3-R*, The one whom the Ka of Re has made potent; Birth  *Jm.y-r mš*, the overseer of the army/the general².

13.17.1: Attestations:

1. Tanis

A pair of colossal statues Cat. 13. 17. 1

King *S:mnh-k3-R*^c Imyremeshaw is attested on two identical colossal statues found in Tanis by PETRIE³. The statues represent the seated king resting his hands upon his thighs and wearing the royal headdress *nemes* adorned with a uraeus, ceremonial beard, and the *shendyt*-kilt. The front side of the throne is inscribed with two texts on both sides that give the king's royal names and dedication to God Ptah *rs.y-jnb=f*. Therefore, it seems certain that the statues originated in Memphis and transferred later to the Eastern Delta. The large scale of the colossal statues strongly indicates that they were placed in front of a massive religious complex of God Ptah at Memphis⁴.

Interestingly, the two statues' right arm bears the names of the Hyksos King '3-wsr-R' Apepi. Such a clue indicates that the statues were shipped to the eastern Delta, in particular Tell el-Dab'a, during the Hyksos' sack of Memphis. Besides, the left side, the back, and the pedestal of the throne in both statues are inscribed with the royal names of King Ramses II, which means that the statues were later transferred from Tell el-Dab'a

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Leprohon 2013: 66 [23].

³ Petrie 1889: 8-9, Pl. III [17 a-c], Davies 1981: no. 14-15; Ryholt 1997: 342, File 13/23 [1]; Siesse 2019: 381, no. 14 [1].

⁴ Connor 2020: 55-56.

to the Ramesside capital at Pi-Ramesses, Qantir, in the reign of Ramses II¹. Finally, the statues were moved to their found location at Tanis in the 21st Dynasty.

2. Fayoum?

Bead	Cat. 13.17.2
------	--------------

The king's throne name is attested on an unprovenanced bead dedicated to God Sobek, Lord of *Shedet*². Perhaps, the bead came from the Fayoum according to the dedication to God Sobek of *Shedet*.

13.17.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *S:mnh-k3-R^c* Imyremeshaw is attested in Lower Egypt so far (Map. 13.17). His limited royal names do not offer clues about his dominance over Upper and Lower Egypt (Table 13.17.1). Nevertheless, the king's epithet on the colossi statues notes that he was the Lord of the Two Lands.

The king's colossal statues imply he was able to exploit Aswan's granite resources. In addition, based on the large scale of the statues, perhaps the king's lost attestations were also characterized by the hugeness (Table 13.17.2). JÉQUIER proposed that it is possible that King *S:mnh-k3-R^c* Imyremeshaw was the owner of the bigger southern pyramid next to Khendjer's pyramid at Saqqara-South³. Unfortunately, the pyramid is unfinished and there are no clues about its owner.

	Titles	Horus	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne <i>S:mnh-k3-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Jm.y-r mš^c</i>
Provenance	TK.				x	x
Tanis					x	x
Fayoum?					x	

Table 13.17.1: Royal names distribution

¹ Connor 2022: 112-114.

² Vassilika 1995: 201; Ryholt 1997: 342, File 13/23 [2]

³ Jéquier 1933: 68; Connor 2020: 55, 133.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Tanis	pair of colossal statues	dedication	Ptah <i>rs.y-jnb=f</i>	granite/ granodiorite?	good	yes	yes	●
Fayoum?	bead	ornament	Sobek	steatite	good	?	?	●

Table 13.17.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.17: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13.18: King [S:*htp*]-*k3*-[Rˁ] *Jnj-jt(j)=f*: listed as the 18th rulers of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. His regnal years are lost except for three days¹. Like the preceding ruler in the King-list, King Imyremeshaw, the king's birth name here also is written outside the cartouche. According to the archaeological record, the name in col. 7/22 is King *S:*htp*-*k3*-Rˁ jnj-jt(j)=f*, who is attested mainly in Medinet Madi.

The king held the royal names as: Throne *S:*htp*-*k3*-Rˁ*, The one whom the Ka of Re has satisfied; Birth *Jnj-jt(j)=f*, Intef².

13.18.1: Attestations:

1. Medinet Madi

Statue	Cat. 13. 18. 1
--------	----------------

King *S:*htp*-*k3*-Rˁ*, Intef is attested on a broken statue found at the temple of Goddess Renenutet at Medinet Madi³. The statue lost its upper half, right hand, and right thigh. The statue represented the seated king, wearing the *shendyt*-kilt and resting his hands upon his knee. The front of the throne is inscribed with two identical columns of inscriptions on both sides. The inscriptions give the king's throne and birth name, and a dedication to Goddess Renenutet.

13.18.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *S:*htp*-*k3*-Rˁ* Intef is exclusively attested in Lower Egypt (Map. 13.18). His royal names do not contain signs of his control of Upper and Lower Egypt (Table 13.18.1). Nevertheless, his epithet on the statue of Medinet Madi describes him as the Lord of Two Lands. However, this king had probably limited access to resources, and maybe his dominance did not exceed the Memphite region.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Leprohon 2013: 66 [24].

³ Voglano 1942: Pl. IX-X; Davies 1981: no. 16.

	Titles	Horus	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne <i>S:htp-k3-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Jnj-jt(j)=f</i>
Provenance	T.K Medinet Madi				X X	X X

Table 13.18.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Medient Madi	statue	dedication	Renenutet	quartzite	fair	yes	no	●

Table 13.18.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.18: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

13.19: King [...]jb-...] Sth: the 19th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years are lost except for three days¹. RYHOLT read the king's name as [Mr]-jb-[R] Sth² based on an usurped lintel bearing traces of the signs ⳦ and ⳪ from Madamud³. RYHOLT believes that the king's attestations in Abydos and Madamud were usurped by his successor in the King-list, King *H-s-hm-R* Sobekhotep⁴. This is doubtful because the architectural elements usurped by *H-s-hm-R* Sobekhotep reflect a high-level execution most likely attributed to King Senwosret III⁵. The association of the king with God Seth raises questions about his identity, in particular, that God Seth was worshipped in the eastern Delta and later became the main god of the Hyksos⁶. This raises doubts over his place among the 13th Dynasty rulers.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Ryholt 1997: 285, n.1031.

³ Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 44944.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 342, File 13/25.

⁵ See Cat. 13.20.5

⁶ Junker 1939: 72; Van Seters 1966: 99.

TK. Col.7/24:

13:20: King *Shm-R* [s:w3d-t3.wj] *Sbk-htp*: listed as the 20th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. According to the entries, he reigned for 4 years and 2

months¹. GARDINER² transcribed the name as

FARINA³ suggested

VON BECKERATH mentioned that none of the Sobekhotep kings' throne names contained the sign , and proposed to designate the cartouche in col. 7/24 to King *Shm-R-s:w3d-t3.wj Sbk-htp*, who must have been one of the prestigious Sobekhoteps of the 13th Dynasty, judging by stylistic criteria⁴. RYHOLT concurs that the king's name was distorted in the King-list⁵.

The king is mentioned in the Karnak list No. 35. Conspicuously, his location in the list is close to Kings *H-shm-R* Neferhotep No. 34 (TK. col. 7/25) and *H-nfr-R* Sobekhotep No. 33 (TK. col. 7/27). That affirms the king's position in the Turin King-list (col. 7/24) regardless of his broken and miscopied name.

According to the archaeological record, the king bears the five royal titles⁶:

Horus *Hw-t3.wj*, The protector of the Two Lands; Two Ladies

H-m-shm=f, The one who has appeared through his power; Golden

Horus *htp-hr-M3.t*, Contented with Maat; Throne *Shm-R s:w3d-t3.wj*, The (very) power of Re, who has made the Two Lands flourish; Birth

Sbk-htp, Sobek is satisfied.

13.20.1: Attestations:

1. Tell ed- Daba'a

Seal-impression

Cat. 13. 20.1

¹ Siessé 2019: 27.

² Gardiner 1959: Pl. III, Col. VI/ 24.

³ Farina 1938: 43.

⁴ Von Beckerath 1964: 55; see Petrie 2014: 211

⁵ Ryholt: 1997: 17.

⁶ Leprohon 2013: 67 [26].

The excavations of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Cairo, and the Egyptological Institute of Vienna University at Tell el-Dab'a between 2006 and 2008 unearthed part of a seal-impression that is most likely attributed to King *shm-R^c s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep. The seal-impression was found in the west of Tell el-Dab'a at the so-called “*Palatiale Anlage*”, a palace of the early Hyksos period¹. The seal impression can be read as *ntr nfr Shm-R^c-s:w3d-[t3.wj] ms [n mw.t nsw.t jwh.t-jb.w]*² ‘See below the king’s scarab-seal accompanied by his mother’.

2. Lisht

Two scarabs³ Cat. 13.20.2[a, b]

Found by the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the rubble near the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht⁴. The scarabs give entries for the King’s parents who had not acquired a royal status (Fig. 13.20.1). The scarab (Cat. 13.20.1.a) gives the throne name of the king preceded by the title *ntr nfr* who is begotten by the god’s father *Mn(t)w-htp*⁵.

In comparison, the scarab (Cat. 13.20.1.b) gives the king’s throne as born by the king’s mother, *jwh.t-jb.w*⁶; an identical scarab bears the same inscription, perhaps originating from Koptos and now stored in the Petrie Museum (11536)⁷. Besides, two seal-impressions (MMA 32.1.149-150)⁸ were found in the south of Lisht bearing remnants of the king’s throne name⁹.

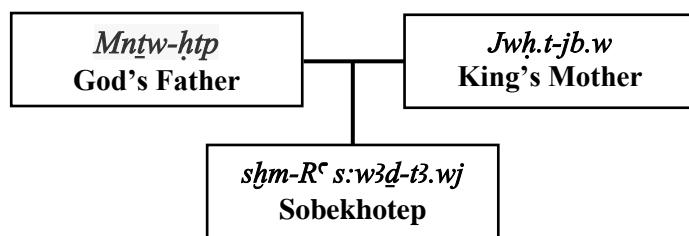


Fig. 13.20.1

¹ Sartori 2010: 281,284; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [19].

² Sartori 2010: 284.

³ There are many of these types of scarabs that belong to the king but are of unknown origin; for more information see Ryholt 1997: 344, File 13/26 [27] (14 scarabs); Siesse 2019: 383, no. 15 [44-62] (18 scarabs).

⁴ Hayes 1953b: 342; Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [3].

⁵ Martin 1970: no. 570, Pl. 25 [21].

⁶ Hayes 1953b: 342.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 343, Tufnell 1984: no. 3100.

⁸ Ryholt 1997: 343.

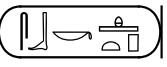
⁹ Hayes 1953b: 191, 342.

3. Abydos?

Stela

Cat. 13.20.3

A stela of fine limestone bears the Horus, throne and birth names of the king¹. Its provenance is unknown, but most likely it came from Abydos since it is dedicated to *Mn-Hr -nht s3 Wsjr hr(y)-jb 3bdw*, God Min-Horus-the-victorious, the son of Osiris, lord of Abydos². Besides, the stela is dedicated to *Wsjr ntr ⲉ nb 3bdw*, Osiris the Great God, Lord of Abydos, and *Wp(j)-w3.wt šm(.w) Mḥ(.w)* Wepwawet of Upper and Lower Egypt .

The high quality of the stela implies that it was executed in one of the important royal workshops³. Noteworthily, the king's birth name is written as 

without the determinative . The stela depicts two royal daughters, princess *Jwh.t-jb.w* named Nose/Nosy and on a smaller scale princess *dd.t-‘nk.t*, both born of the royal wife *Nni*. The text did apparently not mention the genealogical relationship between the king, the two princesses, and the king's wife *Nni*, but most likely, they are his wife and his daughters (Fig. 13.20.2). Interestingly, the name of princess *Jwh.t-jb.w* is encircled in a cartouche, and having been named after her grandmother this may indicate a special position within the royal family⁴. The two princesses perform prayers in front of the ithyphallic God Min-Horus-the-victorious, who is depicted as a mummy⁵.

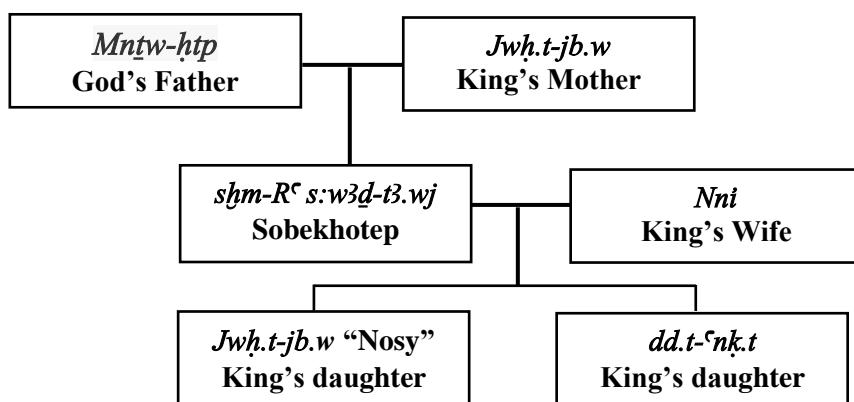


Fig. 13.20.2

¹ Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [6]; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [22].

² Staring 2017: 251-252; Siesse 2020: 33-39.

³ Szafranski 1990: 248-249.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 224.

⁵ Petrie 2014: 211.

5. Koptos

Scarab

Cat. 13.20.4

A scarab of the king was found in Koptos by Petrie¹. It gives the king's throne name accompanied by the formula "born of the king's mother, *jwh.t-jb.w*"².

6. Wadi el-Hol

Rock inscription

Cat. 13.20.5

A rock inscription cut as a round-topped stela was found in Wadi el-Hol³, located to the west of the Nile in the middle of the desert road that crosses the Qena Bend between Farshut and Western Thebes⁴. Wadi el-Hol was a stopping point for the travellers between Thebes and the sacred sites of Hiw and Abydos⁵. It was also used as a social space for entertainment during the Middle Kingdom⁶.

This stela was studied first by Newberry and republished in drawing by Macadam⁷. The inscriptions are in bad condition and many parts are lost. The stela is headed by the winged sun-disk (*Bhd.t*) and is composed of upper and lower scenes separated in the middle by the sign . Each of the two scenes is accompanied by the remains of 16 columns of Hieroglyphs.



The upper register shows the king receiving the sceptres from *Mntw-Hr*, "the falcon-headed Montu", the deity of Armant. The king is followed by his father Monthuhotep, and two females with the double-feathered crown; the first is the princess *Jwh.t-jb.w*, the king's mother; then princess *Snb-hn's*, the king's wife, who is privileged as *ir.jt-p'.t wr.t-j3m wr.t-hs.t hnw.t-t3.wj-tmw hm.t-nsw hnm(t)-nfr-hd.t*, "hereditary princess, great of the grace and great of favour, the mistress of the Two Lands entire, the wearer of the beautiful white crown".⁸

The lower register lost its right section except for part of a theophoric name that ended with *Mntw*. It depicts a queue of persons starting with traces of a figure followed

¹ Petrie 1917: Pl. XVIII [13.20.2]; Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [7].

² Tufnell 1984: no. 3100.

³ Macadam 1951; Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [8]; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [30].

⁴ Darnell 2013: 1-2.

⁵ Darnell 2013: 4.

⁶ Darnell 2013: 6.

⁷ Macadam 1951: 23, Pl. IV.

⁸ Macadam 1951: 23

by two ladies. The name of the first one is lost, while the second is designated as the king's daughter *Jwh.t-jb.w*. The dressing and hairstyle of the two ladies indicate that they are the king's daughters who are depicted on the stela of Abydos (Louvre C8). The first lady is most likely identified as the princess *dd.t-^cnk.t*. Then comes a third lady captioned as *irj.t-p^c.t wr.t-j³m wr.t-hs.t*, “hereditary princess, great of the grace and great of favour”¹; her name is lost except for the ending *ḥ*. RYHOLT identifies her as the king's wife *Nni* of the Abydos stela (Louvre C8)².

Furthermore, two males appear as the king's sons *Snb* and *H^c-k³.w*. The two princes were depicted on an altar of King *Shm-R^c s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep at Sehel island. They are accompanied by God's father, Mentuhotep, who appears as their father (Fig. 13.20.3)³. Besides, Prince *Snb* is depicted on stela Vienna 135 as “begotten by the God's father Monthuhotep” and born of the king's mother *Jwh.t-jb.w*⁴. Thus, the princes appear as King Sobekhotep's brothers⁵ despite their designation as “King's sons”. However, the depiction of the two princes at the rear of the queue implies their position as brothers rather than the king's sons. Besides, the depiction of the king's spouses indicates that the crowned queen *snb-hn^cs* was the formal wife of the king; queen *Nni* did not hold the same status.

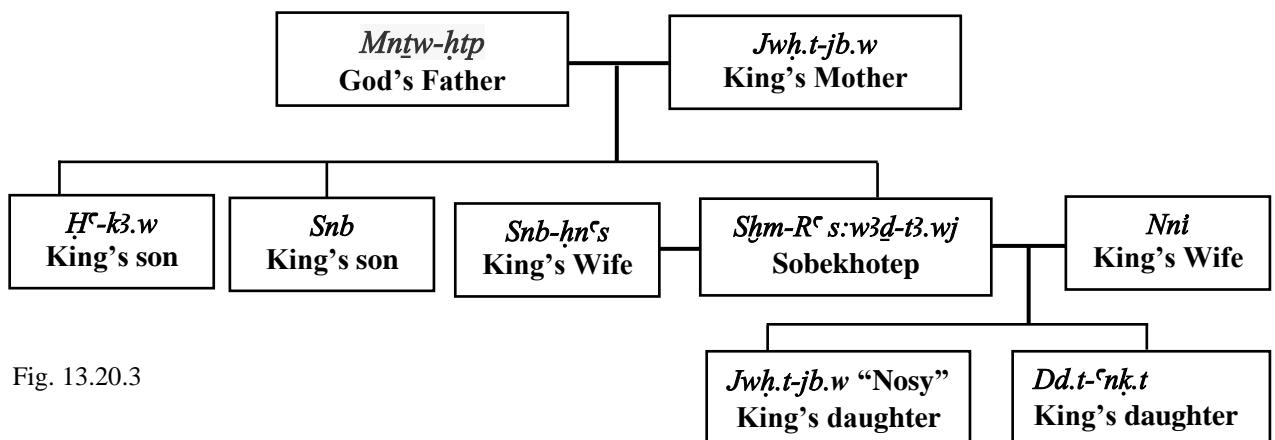


Fig. 13.20.3

¹ Macadam 1951: 26.

² Ryholt 1997: 224.

³ Wild 1951: Pl. VI.

⁴ Hein - Satzinger 1989: 4,44–47; Franke 1984: nr. 612.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 223.

7. Madamud

During the excavations of the IFAO at Madamud, several architectural elements dedicated to God Monthu bearing the royal titles of King *Shm-R^c S:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep were found¹. These elements are four columns in the form of bundle-papyrus with closed capitals, a gate, and architraves of another two gates. They are now housed in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 44944, 44945 a, 44946 a-c, 44950 b-d)² and the Louvre (E 13891, 13948)³. All were usurped. Regardless, the scraping and re-editing of the royal names are consistent with King *Shm-R^c s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep. The elements reflect a high quality, which implies a powerful economic and political situation of their original owner. One example in the current research is the gate in the Louvre (E 13891).

Gate Cat. 13.20.6

A fine limestone gate was found dismantled at the Temple of Monthu at Madamud, now in the Louvre (E 13891). The lintel is topped by the winged sun-disk of *Bhd.t* and followed with a double throne title of the king as *ntr nfr Shm-R^c s:w³d-t³.wj* separated with . Conspicuously, the throne name on both sides was carved after scraping the original owner's name except for the sign , which occupies a remarkable space in the cartouche of the gate's original owner. Both the gate-jambs contain the exact text as:

Horus *Hw-t³.wj*, the Golden Horus *htp-Hr-M³t*, Son of Re *Sbk-htp*, beloved of *Mntw*, lord of Wast. All cartouches on both sides were hacked and recurred with the royal names of the king. A fragment of another gate-jamb gives the throne name and perhaps the Two Ladies name as⁴:

[Two Ladies] *H^c-m-shm=f*, King *Shm-R^c-s:w³d-t³.wj*, Lord of Wast, the Bull who is located in Madamud.

The usurpation of the gate and the other architectural elements raise questions about their original owner. The candidate's throne name must contain ☭ as the only

¹ Bisson de la Rouque - Clère 1929: 85-86, fig. 78-79, bloc no. 14, 48; Bisson de la Rouque 1930: 107-108, fig. 95, Inv. 4124-4125, blocs 133-133 bis ; Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [9]; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [23-25].

² Siesse 2019: 382.

³ Siesse 2019: 382.

⁴ Bisson de la Rouque and Clère 1929: 89, fig. 84.

surviving clue of the original owner's name. In this context, MONTET proposed that the gate is genuinely attributed to King Senwosret III and then usurped by Wegaf and *Shm-R^c-s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep¹. Recently, RYHOLT suggested that the gate belongs to King [mr]-jb-[R^c] Seth, the direct predecessor of King *Shm-R^c-s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep in the Turin King-list². According to the high-level implementation of the gate, it cannot be attributed to any 13th Dynasty ruler. King Senwosret III is well attested in the temple of Monthu at Madamud. His monuments reflect a high artistic degree compared to the few and modest monuments of the 13th Dynasty rulers there; this gate and other usurped elements are most likely attributed to him.

8. Thebes

Brooklyn papyrus

King *Shm-R^c-s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep is attested in an administrative papyrus of unknown provenance purchased in the late 19th century and now in the Brooklyn Museum (35.1446)³. The papyrus is shattered into ca. 600 fragments and gives entries on its recto and verso. HAYES stated that the entries on the recto seemingly date the papyrus to King Amenemhat III's reign based on the palaeographical features and an entry for the regnal year 36; Amenemhat III was the only king in the Late Middle Kingdom to rule for more than 30 years⁴. Meanwhile, the verso conspicuously dates the papyrus to the 1st and 2nd regnal years of King *s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep⁵.

The papyrus seemingly came from Thebes due to administrative lists, decrees, and actions that usually took place in Upper Egypt. It mentions the “*hnr.t wr*”, an administrative institution that is supposed located in Thebes according to Papyrus Boulaq 18⁶ and the *Stèle Juridique*⁷. Besides, other entries state administrative measures in the “Southern City”, i.e. Thebes, the location of the administration of the “*w^cr.t tp-rs.j*, District of Head of the South.”⁸

The main theme of the recto is year 31 of an unnamed king, probably Amenemhat III, and records decisions against 80 persons who fled from their labour site

¹ Montet 1951: 163-170; Von Beckerath 1946: 24; Eder 2002: 104.

² Ryholt 1997: 343.

³ Hayes 1955: 5; Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [10]; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [28].

⁴ Hayes 1955: 11-13; Quirke 1990: 130.

⁵ Hayes 1955:16.

⁶ See King *Shm-r^c-hw-t³wy* Amenemhat Sobekhotep in the present study.

⁷ Lacau 1949: 24; Cat. 13.27.4.

⁸ Hayes 1955: 16-17.

without achieving tasks or performing services ordered by the state. This incident was followed by punitive measures issued by the “*hnrt wr*” against the fugitives. HAYES interpreted “*hnrt wr*” as the “great prison”¹, while QUIRKE proposed to interpret it as a “work camp” and translated it as the “main enclosure”².

Moreover, the recto has two insertions that most likely date to the 13th Dynasty. The insertions are two copies of royal decrees written separately from the recto’s main theme. The two decrees were brought to the office of the reporter of the southern city and addressed to the overseer of the city, the vizier, the overseer of the six mansions, Ankhu³. The vizier Ankhu is mentioned earlier in Papyrus Boulaq 18, which dates with uncertainty to King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep⁴. Since Ankhu is attested in both Boulaq 18 and the Brooklyn papyrus, HAYES suggested to read the King’s name in Boulaq 18 as *S:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep⁵.

The decrees do not provide the King’s name. Unfortunately, the first decree lacks the regnal year of the king, while the second gives a 6th regnal year. Both decrees concern petitions of officials to the king at the royal palace. The first decree exposes a petition by a guilty official called “Pay” followed by a royal order to the vizier to bring “Pay” to the residence “*hnw*” for questioning concerning his transgression⁶. The second decree shows a petition of the King’s seal bearer, overseer of the fields of the southern city. The official complains that he lost people (his workmen) and asks the king for replacements from the office of the provider-of-people⁷. The king responded to the official’s petition and ordered the vizier to inform the “relevant authorities” at Thebes to be aware of the case. Apparently, the office of the provider-of-people was in Thebes and it operated directly under the supervision of the vizier⁸.

At this point, it is clear that the vizier Ankhu received the royal decrees from a king who resided in the “*hnw*” while Ankhu was practising his tasks as a vizier in the southern city, which was under his supervision. The textual context of the manuscript implies that the southern city is Thebes and that it is simultaneously the *wr.t tp-rs.j*, the

¹ Hayes 1955: 19-33.

² Quirke 1990: 130-140; Quirke 1988: 87-92; Di Teodoro 2018: 65.

³ Hayes 1955: 71-72.

⁴ For more attestations of the Vizier Ankhu see Franke 1984: 136-137.

⁵ Hayes 1953a: 38-39.

⁶ Hayes 1953a: 71; Quirke 1990: 142-144.

⁷ Hayes 1953a: 72.

⁸ Quirke 1990: 146.

Head of the South. While “*hnw*” is not designated, but it is almost likely not located in Thebes.

The dominant theme in the papyrus verso is a list of household servants of a noblewoman called Senebtisy, who asks to establish her legal ownership of her servants. A part of the servants list refers to Senebtisy as an inheritance from her husband Resseneb¹, who was most likely the vizier Ankhu's son and his successor². Another part lists the servants as "her people" given as a generous donation in the 2nd year of King *Shm-Rˁ-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep³. Another marginal text dates the donation to the 1st year⁴. The list preserved 95 servants, 45 of whom are undoubtedly Asiatic based on the designation '3m or '3m.t. The Asiatic names contain about 20% infants (males and females),⁵ indicating the ability of the Asiatics even as servants to set up their social system based on marriage and family.

It is evident that both the recto and verso contents are related. The manuscript documents administrative affairs in one of the official bureaus at Thebes concerning labour management, whether it was Egyptian or foreigner. The administration of such a bureau provided the required labour for the state's activity, labour's ownership transfer, monitoring the labour activity, and imposing sanctions against infracts. Such actions must have been associated with what is designated as the "*hnr.t wr*"⁶.

9. Karnak

Sphinx

Cat. 13.20.7

A headless small-sized sphinx of granite found at Karnak and bearing the king's throne name⁷. The sphinx lost most of its parts except for part of the chest and its extended anterior paws, which imitate human hands. Such style seems to dominate in the sphinxes sculpture from the late 12th and 13th dynasties through the New Kingdom⁸. A vertical dedication to Amun-Re text runs from the chest to the base between the paws. The remnants on the paws reflect a fair degree of artistic execution.

¹ Hayes 1953a: 111-123.

² Quirke 1990: 147-149.

³ Hayes 1955: 87, 111-124.

⁴ Quirke 1990: 147.

⁵ Mourad 2015:117.

⁶ For further clarification of *hnr.t wr* see Di Teodoro 2018: 62-82.

[26].

Altar

Cat. 13.20.8

rose granite altar bearing the throne name of the king *shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* found in the southern part of the Middle Kingdom court at Karnak¹. Due to the bad preservation of the granite, the inscriptions on the altar are mostly unreadable. However, the digital photogrammetry by LABARTA helped verify the king's throne name and reveal some of the king's royal protocol². Most likely the altar is dedicated to the God Amun-Re.

10. Gebelein?

Cylinder-seal

Cat. 13.20.9

A two-sided cylinder-seal bearing the King's Horus name *Hw-t3.wj* on one of its sides and the epithet of beloved of Sobek, lord of *Semenu* on the other side³. The provenance of the cylinder-seal is unknown; according to its reference to God Sobek of *Semenu*, it probably came from Gebelein.

11. El-Kab:

Blocks of a sanctuary:

Cat. 13.20.10

King *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep is attested in the temple of Goddess Nekhbet at *Nhb*, El-Kab. In 1938, J. CAPART⁴ found fragments of limestone decorated blocks bearing the royal names of the king. In 1968, Ph. DERCHAIN⁵ raised the blocks that had severely suffered from soil salinity. DERCHAIN documented and photographed a total of 14 blocks to reconstruct the sanctuary scenes. Unfortunately, all blocks are now destroyed. Recently, C. EDER used the DERCHAIN photographs and facsimiles to reconstruct 30% of the sanctuary scenes⁶.

The scenes reveal that the sanctuary was dedicated to Goddess Nekhbet, “The white of Hierakonopolis” and God Horus of Hierakonopolis. The king is shown receiving gifts and performing offerings to both deities in different positions and costumes, particularly his appearance with the White and Red crowns. The surviving inscriptions give the king's throne, birth, and Horus titles.

¹ Barguet 1962: 155, n. 5; Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [11]; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [27].

² Labarta 2017: 279-288.

³ Hayes 1953b: 343, fig. 226; Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [15].

⁴ Capart 1938: 625-626[4-5]; Capart 1940: 22-25, pl. 30 c, 31-2 ; Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [16]; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [31].

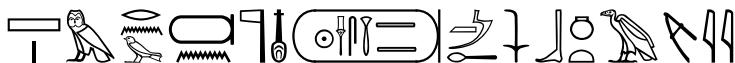
⁵ Derchain 1970: 26-27, fig. 3.

⁶ Eder 2002: 7-55, pl. 1-17, 58-70.

An official's tomb:

The king's throne name is mentioned in the tomb of Sobeknakht at El-Kab¹. The tomb was published first by C. TYLOR under tomb no. 10². Recently, the tomb has been identified as the tomb of Sobeknakht II, no. 66³. Sobeknakht II was the local governor of El-Kab. He inherited the office from his father Sobeknakht I, who held the governorship of El-Kab in the reign of Nebiryau I of the 16th Dynasty (TK. col. 11/5)⁴, According to the *stèle Juridique*⁵

The tomb inscriptions mention the king as follows:



“I was one who petitioned the king for the fields of his (my god) in the town of ‘Ageny which were fixed with boundary stelae bearing the great name of the Good God *Shm-R‘-s:w3d-t3.wj*, deceased, beloved of Nekhbet”⁶.

The text reports the request of Sobeknakht II to his unmentioned king to gift him the fields of a deity in the town ‘Ageny, which were gifted to this deity by the king *Shm-R‘-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep⁷.

The text indicates the state administration in the reign of King *Shm-R‘-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep in the region of El-Kab. ‘Ageny was a town between Esna and Asfoun and probably corresponds to the modern el-Mata‘na⁸. The text also indicates that Sobeknakht II is dated to a time after the death of King *Shm-R‘-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep, who had acquired a respectful status by the time of Sobeknakht II.

12. Edfu

Fragments of a gate-jamb Cat. 13.20.11

¹ Ryholt 1997: 343, File 13/26 [17]; Siesse 2019: 383, no. 15 [63].

² Tylor 1896.

³ Davies 2016; Warmenbol-Hendrickx 2009: 77, fig. 1.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 153, 158.

⁵ Lacau 1949; Cat.13.27.4.

⁶ The translation as noted in Smither 1939: 35.

⁷ Smither 1939: 35.

⁸ Gauthier 1924:160

Two blocks of a left gate-jamb were found to the west pylon of the Horus Temple at Edfu¹. The blocks bear the King's throne name and dedicate the king's monuments to *Hr Bḥd.t* God Horus Behdeti in *db3*, Edfu. The doorjamb must have been more than 2 meters high². The current location of the blocks is unknown³.

13. Sehel:

Alter Cat. 13.20.12 [a, b, c]

King *shm-R^c s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep is attested on the island of Sehel, probably on an altar or a sanctuary⁴. The altar scenes were sketched by W. J. BANKES between 1815 and 1821⁵. Unfortunately, the altar was dismantled and scenes were lost except for a broken relief found later in early 1951 in the Cairo art market now housed in the Brooklyn Museum (no. 77.194)⁶. The altar is dedicated to the goddesses Anuket and Satis and mentions the royal family.

The only surviving relief (Cat. 13.20.10.a) was reused as a grain grinder; a hole was drilled in the centre of the scene. Furthermore, most of the hieroglyphic inscriptions are broken away. However, according to Banks' drawings, the altar refers to King *shm-R^t-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep. The king is depicted standing back-to-back and performing the same offering to goddess Anuket, lady of Sehel, on the right and goddess Satis of Elephantine to the left.

Two other un-survived reliefs are known only through BANKES' sketches. The first (Cat. 13.20.10.b) exposes the king wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt and standing between two ram-headed anthropomorphic gods. The inscriptions give the god to the right as "Khnum, who dwells in Elephantine and who presides over Nubia."⁷ Unfortunately, the identity on the left side is lost. WILD speculated that it might be "Seth, the Ombite" as the representative god of Upper Egypt. Moreover, maybe in another lost relief, the king is depicted in an identical scene wearing the Red Crown of Lower Egypt between the Khnum and Horus, the representative of Lower Egypt⁸.

¹ Gabra and Farid 1981: 181; Ryholt 1997: 344, File 13/26 [18]; Siesse 2019: 383, no. 15 [33].

² Gabra and Farid 1981: 182-183 [Abb.2], Taf. 30[b].

³ Ryholt 1997: 344.

⁴ Wild 1951: 12-16; Ryholt 1997: 344, File 13/26 [19-20]; Siesse 2019: 383, no. 15 [36-37].

⁵ Macadam 1946: 57-59.

⁶ Fazzini *et al.* 1989: no. 29.

Pazzini et al. 13

⁸ Wild 1951: 14-15

However, in the absence of the original evidence, WILD's interpretation is still uncertain, and possibly the other headed-ram god is Khnum himself.

The second relief (Cat. 13.20.10.c) exposes the king in a symmetrical double scene. To the right, the king is standing and receiving the  sceptres from the goddess Satis. Behind him shows the god's father Monthuhotep in the upper right corner, followed respectively by his sons *snb* and *ḥ-k3.w*. To the left, the king receives the same sceptres from the goddess Anuket and behind him, in the upper left corner, is an anonymous male figure followed by the king's mother, princess *Jwh.t-jb.w*, then *s3.t=s ir.jt-p̣.t rn-snb nb.t Jm3h*, her daughter, the hereditary princess *rn-snb*, the mistress of reverence, who is not found in other familial evidence of the king. Princess *rn-snb*, the deceased, is affiliated with her mother *Jwh.t-jb.w* and does not hold the title of king's sister or king's daughter. RYHOLT suggested that the princess is not a daughter of the god's father, Monthuhotep; instead, she was a daughter of the king's mother *Jwh.t-jb.w* from a later husband who may be the anonymous male figure in the upper left corner¹.

14. Elephantine?

statuette's pedestal

Cat. 13.20.13

A pedestal of a black granite statuette inscribed with the king's Throne and Birth

 names² and dedicated to  God Khnum, Lord of *kbh.t*, the cataract. The statuette represents the king standing on the nine bows. Its provenance is unknown but most likely came from Elephantine, the cult centre of God Khnum³.

15. Mirgissa

Seal-impression

Cat. 13.20.14

Two fragments of seal-impression were found in the Mirgissa fortress⁴. The impression bears the king's throne and birth in one cartouche accompanied by his mother, the royal wife *jwh.t-jb.w*⁵.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 223.

² Ryholt 1997: 344, File 13/1 [21].

³ Peterson 1970-1971: 8 [IX], 10, Abb. 6; Davies 1981: no. 18; Connor 2020: 57, Pl. 40[2.8.3b].

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 344, File 13/26 [23]; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [38].

⁵ Dunham 1967: 164 [32-1-120], 171 [fig. 10.5]; Tufnell 1984: no. 3106.

16. Unknown location

Axe's handle: Cat. 13.20.15

A butt-end of a wooden handle of an axe¹. Apparently, the handle was burned until its butt-end. The base of the butt bears the throne name of the king *shm-R^c s:w³d-t³.wj* following the title *ntr-nfr*².

Group of scarabs³ Cat. 13.20.16

A group of unknown provenance scarabs most likely refers to King *Shm-R^c-s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep. The scarabs bear the name of commander Sobekhotep, the son of the commander Monthuhotep as: *3tw n tt hk3 Sbk-htp s3 3tw n tt hk3 Mntw-htp*, commander of the crew of the ruler Sobekhotep, son of the commander of the crew of the ruler Mentuhotep. Since the king's father is called Monthuhotep, the scrabs most likely belong to King *Shm-R^c s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep as an elite officer before ascending the throne.

13.20.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *shm-R^c-s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep bears the five royal titles (Table 13.20.1), which appear entirely in Thebes. The royal titles ensure the dominance of the mighty king over the Two Lands. The affiliation of the king to God Sobek may be attributed to Sobek of Gebelein according to a cylinder-seal devoted to the Sobek of *Semenu*.

According to King *shm-R^c s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep's attestations (Table 13.20.2), the king is attested in northern and southern Egypt (Map. 13.20). Nevertheless, it is not certain that the king had equal control over the Two Lands. The King is attested in Lower Egypt by weak clues that do not indicate his uncontested rule. The seal-impression at Tell el-Dab'a from an early Hyksos palace does not indicate more than mutual connections between the settlers of the eastern Delta and the Egyptian state. At the same time, the tiny number of scarabs from Lisht is inadequate to prove the king's dominance in the Memphite region since those finds were found in an insecure archaeological context. It was possible to accept the existence of the king's dominance in the Memphite region as long as his attestations were found in one of the official tombs or one of the cultic institutions in the region.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 344, File 13/26 [26]; Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [39].

² Davies 1987: 54-55, Pl. 30, 31[170].

³ The current study presents one example of these scarabs. For more information see Ryholt 1997: 343 File 13/26 [1] (15 scarabs); Siesse 2019: 382, no. 15 [2-17] (16 scarabs).

	Titles	Horus <i>Hw-t3.wj</i>	Two Ladies <i>Hr-m-shm=f</i>	G. Horus <i>Htp-hr-M3.t</i>	Throne/ Good God <i>Shm-Rs:w3d-t3.wj</i>	Birth <i>Sbk-htp</i>
Provenance	T.K				x	x
	K.K				x	
	Tell el-Dab'a				x	
	Lisht				x	
	Abydos	x			x	x
	Wadi el-Hol	x			x	x
	Madamud	x		x	x	x
	Karnak		x		x	
	Gebelein?	x				
	El-Kab	x			x	x
	Edfu				x	
	Sehel				x	x
	Elephantine?				x	x
	Mirgissa				x	x

Table 13.20.1: Royal names distribution

Brooklyn papyrus (35.1446) gives a strong clue as to the King's dominance over the Memphite region since the king resided in the *hnw* "Residence". Based on the available textual resources, in particular the Turin King-list, *hnw* is designated as *Jtjtawy*. The king thus resided in the traditional residence of the 12th Dynasty at *Jtjtawy*¹. Unfortunately, the papyrus does not locate the *hnw*. The content of the Brooklyn papyrus conspicuously occurred in the southern city "Thebes", where crucial state affairs were managed by the vizier Ankhu as the overseer of the Southern City. The king's presence in the context of the papyrus indicates that he was well-incorporated in the occurrences in Thebes, and he managed state affairs indirectly through his vizier, whose activities were concentrated in Thebes. Possibly, Egypt from Thebes to *Jtjtawy* was under the control of the king, but the power base would be in Upper Egypt.

Furthermore, the Brooklyn papyrus indicates an Asiatic presence in Upper Egypt. The mentioned servants within the property transfer to the noblewoman Senebtisy indicate the growth of the Asiatic labour, about 50% of the total. This suggests a continuous Asiatic flow into Egypt, either through the slave trade² or possibly having been incorporated into Egyptian society as a labour class after they came to Egypt as immigrants³. The Asiatic presence situation in Thebes may reflect non-hostile relations with the Levant or rather the Asiatic settlers in the Eastern Delta.

¹ Hayes 1953a: 33-38.

² Hayes 1955: 114, 128; Larkman 2007: 111.

³ Mourad 2015: 117.

The king's attestations attest royal family in many locations in Upper Egypt, who accompanied the king in Wadi Hol and Sehel and sought his patronage at Abydos. Inscriptions of Wadi Hol document the royal visit to the site or a stop for a rest during their journey from Thebes to Abydos. The stela from Abydos shows the royal ladies performing rituals in front of God Min-Horus-the-victorious, the son of Osiris, lord of Abydos. This ascertains a visit of the royal family to Abydos. The royal family is also attested at Sehel while the king was seeking the patronage of the triad of Elephantine, securing the Nile flood flow.



Map 13.20: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Tell el-Dab'a	seal-impression	mailing	—	mud	—	yes	?	●
Lisht	scarabs	Admin.	—	steatite	good	yes	?	●
Abydos?	stela	dedication	Min-Horus Osiris Wepwawet	limestone	v. good	yes	?	●
Wadi el-Hol	inscription	dedication	Montu-Horus	graffiti	—	yes	no	●
Thebes	document	Admin.	/	papyrus	—	yes	?	●
Madamud	Architectural elements	dedication	Monthu	limestone	v. good	no	no	●
Karnak	Sphinx	dedication	Amun	granite	good	yes	no	●
	alter	dedication	Amun	granite	bad	yes	no	●
Gebelein?	seal	dedication	Sobek	steatite	v. good	yes	?	●
El-Kab	sanctuary	dedication	Nekhbet Horus	limestone	—	yes	no	●
Edfu	cartouche	Admin.	‘Ageny	relief	good	yes	no	●
	gate	dedication	Horus	—	—	yes	no	●
Sehel	alter	dedication	Khnum, Satis, Anuket	quartzite	good	yes	no	●
Elephantine?	statuette	dedication	Khnum	granite	bad	yes	no	●
Mirgissa	seal-impression	mailing	—	mud	—	yes	no	●

Table 13.20.2: Royal attestations validity assessment

Apparently, the king was keen to profess his devotion to the gods in the prime religious centres from Abydos to Elephantine. As mentioned above, the Brooklyn papyrus documents the King's activity in Thebes and his works for Amun in Karnak justify his appearance in the Karnak King-list. At the same time, his attestations at Madamud are devoted to God Monthu, but clarify that the economic situation was not ideal since he usurped many architectural elements possibly attributed to Senwosret III. Then the king worshipped God Sobek of *Semenu* (Gebelein). He also had an outstanding activity at El-Kab. He is documented while worshipping Goddess Nekhbet and God Horus of Hierakonopolis. Furthermore, his memory was still alive there until the time of the 17th Dynasty in the tomb of Sobeknakht II, suggesting a short period. The king is attested in Edfu devoting himself to God Horus *Behdeti*.

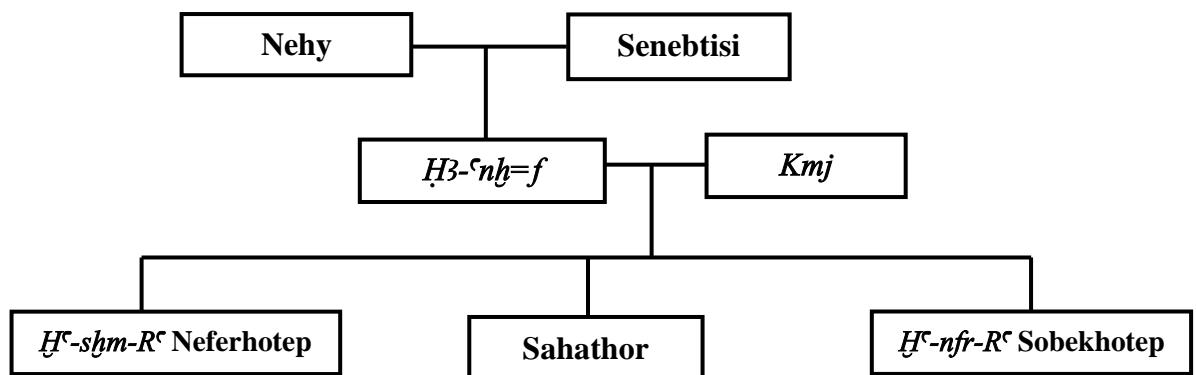
A royal seal-impression is attested at Mirgissa, indicating the lasting correspondence between the Middle Kingdom's fortification at Mirgissa and the administrative base at Thebes.

TK. Col. 7/ 25, 7/ 26, 7/ 27

At this point, the Turin King-list starts a ruling family of three brother kings: *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep, Sahathor, and *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep. The three brothers were born by

God's father, *H3-nh=f*, and the royal mother, *Kmj*. The genealogical relationships of the three brothers are proved according to: (1) A bulk of scrabs attributed to Kings *H3-shm-Rc* Neferhotep¹ and *H3-nfr-Rc* Sobekhotep² that show the paternal or maternal relationship with the king. (2) A group of family lists came from Sehel island, Philae Road³, and Wadi Hammamat⁴. (3) Two statues of Prince Sahathor from Elephantine⁵.

Concerning the family's origins of *H3-nh=f*, it is known from a stela of King *H3-nfr-Rc* Sobekhotep from the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak that he was born in Thebes⁶. The family may be attributed to a high-officials family according to an inscription of a statue that mentions his owner, God's father *H3-nh=f*, born to the Lady of the House, Senebtisi. The inscription shows God's father *H3-nh=f* is "the Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt"⁷. In addition, a stela, housed in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro⁸, is attributed to the god's father *H3-nh=f*, "the Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt". The stela shows that *H3-nh=f* was born to the Lady of the House Senebtisi and the Officer of the Town Nehy. The title possibly indicates his martial background⁹.



Family of *H3-nh=f*

¹ Cat. 13. 21. 2, 3, 7

² Cat. 13. 23. 5, 6, 13, 24

³ Cat. 13. 21. 15, 16

⁴ Cat. 13. 23. 12

⁵ Cat. 13. 22. 1, 2

⁶ Cat. 13. 23. 17

⁷ Habachi 1981a: 81: the statue is housed in Egyptian museum Berlin as is attested by Habachi.

⁸ Kitchen 1990: 66-71, Pls. 22.

⁹ Ryholt 1997: 225-226; Quirke 1991: 131.



13:21: King H^c -[*shm*]- R^c *Nfr-htp*: the 21st ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries on the Turin King-list describe the king as a son of $H3-nh=f$ and give 11 years for his reign while months and days are lost¹. The king is listed in the Karnak-list Nr. 34² as H^c -*shm-R*³.

According to the archaeological record of King H^c -*shm-R* Neferhotep, he held the full royal names as Horus $Grg-t3.wj$, The founder of the Two Lands; Two Ladies $Wp-m3t.t$, The one who has inaugurated Maat; Golden Horus $Mn-mrw.t$, Enduring of love; Throne H^c -*shm-R*, The (very) appearance of the power of Re/ The appearance of the power, Re⁴; Birth $Nfr-htp$, The perfect one is satisfied⁵.

13.21.1: Attestations:

1. Byblos

Stela Cat.13.21.1

A fragment of a limestone stela discovered in the temple of obelisks at Byblos gives a broken cartouche most possibly attributed to King [H^c -*shm-R*] Neferhotep⁶. The stela shows an incomplete seated outstanding personality on an Egyptian-style seat. In front of him, two broken vertical lines of hieroglyphs show partially the birth name [...] and a dedication to God Ra-Horakhty from the ruler of Byblos *Jntn*.

The available archaeological record keeps three kings bearing the birth name Neferhotep belonging to the Second Intermediate Period⁷. King H^c -*shm-R* Neferhotep is attested securely only in Upper Egypt and relatively uncertain in Lower Egypt. In

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71; Siesse 2019: 26.

² Review Chapter 3, II.3: Karnak Offering List

³ Delange 2015: 103, 107.

⁴ According to Buchberger's reading for the throne names; See Buchberger 1993: 616- 619.

⁵ Leprohon 2013: 67 [27].

⁶ Dunand: 1937-1939: 197-198, Fig. 183; Kopetzky 2016: 144-145; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [1]; Siesse 2019: 384, no. 16 [1].

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 73, 358, 388.

contrast, the two other Neferhoteps are barely restricted to Thebes. Therefore, it is most likely that the broken cartouche of the current stela gives the throne and birth name of King *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep, whose scarabs are scattered in a few locations in Canaan and the Eastern Delta¹.

The Egyptian-style stela gives entries to the subordination of the ruler of Byblos “*Intn*” to the Egyptian King Neferhotep. It is clear that “*Jtn*” is not an Egyptian name but most likely west Semitic², yet he bears the Egyptian title *h3ty-*^c designating local Egyptian governors. The relationship between the two individuals is subject to interpretation³. However, the unique relationship between the Egyptian rulers and Byblos is rooted in history⁴. In this context, the activity of king *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep is assessed below in the context of his geopolitical activity, measuring to what extent the king’s rule exceeded the Egyptian boundaries in the east.

2. Canaan

Scarabs	Cat.13.21.2
---------	-------------

Two identical scarabs were found in Canaan; their current location is unknown⁵. The first was found during the rescue excavations of a tomb at the Druz village of Fassuta⁶. The second was found at Tell el-Ajjul (near Gaza)⁷. The scarab bears the king’s throne name next to his father’s name as: *ntr-nfr H^c-shm-R^c [di] nh jrj.n jt-ntr h3-^cnh=f*, The Good God *H^c-shm-R^c*, to whom life is given, begotten of the God’s father *H3-^cnh=f*. If the archaeological context of the scarabs is any indication, their find spots in Canaan may reflect mutual commercial activity between the Egyptian state and Canaanite cultural centres.

3. Tell el-Dab’ा

Seal-impression	Cat.13.21.3
-----------------	-------------

A part seal-impression was found during excavations of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, Cairo, and the Egyptological Institute of Vienna University at Tell el-Dab’ा between 2006 and 2008 (Inv. Nr. 9370H-3970J). Like that of King *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj*

¹ Ryholt 1997: 345; Siesse 2019: 348-385.

² Ryholt 1997: 88.

³ Mourad 2015: 166; Smith 1965: 16; See 13. 21. 2: Historical synthesis.

⁴ Kemp 1983: 145-147; Kilani 2016.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [2-4].

⁶ Kempinski 1992: 71.

⁷ Martin 1971: no. 932, Pl. 26[12].

Sobekhotep, the seal-impression was found at an earlier Hyksos period palace and bears the same features¹.

The impression reveals the title *ntr-nfr* before the king's cartouche, which contains only remnants of the signs ⠈ and ⠉ beside the cartouche. The seal may give the name of King *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep since he used the same style of scarabs with the throne name and the title *ntr-nfr* beside his mother's name just like his predecessor King *shm-R s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep. Traditionally, this type of scarab is labelled as the “maternal genealogical scarab”. According to another specimen (Fig. 13.21.1)², the inscriptions on the seal-impression read as: *ntr-nfr nfr-htp ms n mw.t-nsw Kmj*, The Good God *nfr-htp*, born of the king's mother *Kmj*.



Fig. 13.21.1

After Tufnell 1984: 367 Pl. LIV [3124]

4. Tell el-Yahudiya

Scarab	Cat.13.21.4 (example)
An identical Scarab of the “maternal genealogical scarabs” type was found at Tell el-Yahudiya, but the cartouche here is preceded by the title ⠈. The available source for this scarab (Fig. 13.21.2) is an illustration of a catalogue of G. FRASER ³ . The current study presents an identical example, which is housed now in the Louvre E 7728.	

¹ Sartori 2010: 284, 285; Siesse 2019: 384, no. 16 [2].

² Tufnell 1984: 366, Pl. LIV [3124]; Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 21[3].

³ Fraser 1900: no. 47; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [5].



Fig. 13.21.2

After Fraser 1900: no. 47.

5. Lahun

Scarab

Cat.13.21.5

The scarab was found by Petrie in Lahun¹ and is categorised as a paternal genealogical scarab. The inscriptions give the king's throne name introduced by the title *ntr-nfr* and accompanied by the formula *jrj.n jtj-ntr H3-‘nh=f*, begotten of the God's father *H3-‘nh=f*.

6. Fayoum?

Statuette

Cat.13.21.6

A remarkably fine statuette representing the king sitting and resting his hands on his thighs. The statuette is unprovenanced but is most likely from the Fayoum since it was dedicated to God Sobek of *Shedet*³. According to the petrological examination of the Earth science department of the University of Bologna, the statuette's material is classified as Microdiorite or Microgabbro, whose source is at Aswan⁴. The king wears the *shendyt*-kilt and the royal headdress *nemes* adorned with the uraeus. Two symmetrical columns of hieroglyphs are inscribed on both sides of the throne, giving the throne (right) and birth names (left) and are dedicated to the gods Sobek and Horus at *Shedet*⁵. Both sides of the throne are decorated with the *sm3-t3.wj* motif, while the inscriptions on the rear side give the king *z3* (protection) and *‘nh* (life)⁶.

¹ Petrie 1890: Pl. X [15]; Petrie 1917: Pl. XVIII [13.21.1]; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [6]

² Marten 1971: no. 924.

³ Bissing 1914: Pl. 28Aa, b; Davies 1981: no. 20; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [8].

⁴ Quirke 2010: 66: a contribution by Claudio D'Amico and Daniele Picchi on the petrological classification of the Neferhotep's statuette. The statuette the statuette was previously thought to be cut from obsidian (Quirke 2010: 61).

⁵ Pernigotti 1980: 29-30, Pl. I [fig. 2- N.3].

⁶ Pernigotti 1980: XXVII, XXIX.

7. Abydos

The Great stela

Cat.13.21.7

A sandstone stela found by MARIETTE fixed in the mud-brick walls of the way leading to the Middle Kingdom temple of Osiris¹. The stela counts 40 lines of hieroglyphs and narrates the king's effort to refashion the Osiris cult statue in his shrine at Abydos. Fortunately, MARIETTE published the stela in full drawings² and stated that the stela was left in situ³. BREASTED recorded that the stela was transported to the Boulaq museum in Cairo for protection⁴ under an inventory number JE 6307⁵, but its current location is unknown. Therefore, the original drawing of MARIETTE is the sole source for this stela despite its notable errors⁶.

MARIETTE's drawing was investigated by PIEPER, who published a revised edition of the text, including a hieroglyphic transcription with some corrections and a transliteration and translation⁷. HELCK resumed the attempts to reform the transcriptional errors and restore the gaps in MARIETTE's edition. HELCK's edition is now the most reliable reference for the following scholarships, which tackled the stela, for example, SIMPSON's translation of the text as a literature corpus⁸. Then, HOFMANN considered the stela as a type of "Königsnovelle" which is a text dedicated to describing the virtues and actions of the king⁹. Recently, the text was examined and fully republished by NEALE in a refurbished English edition focusing on the political significance, including the function of kingship and the expression of royal legitimacy and authority through the text¹⁰.

The stela dates to the 2nd regnal year of King *Hr-shm-Rˁ* Neferhotep and gives the full royal titles of the king besides his filiation to his mother, Kemi. The text states that the king resides upon the throne of Horus in *ḥ wts-nfr.w* "palace of Exalted of

¹ PM V, 44; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [12]; Siesse 2019: 384, no. 16 [4].

² Mariette 1880a: 29- 30 (no.200), Pl. 28, 29, 30; Mariette 1880b:233-234.

³ Mariette 1880b: 233.

⁴ Breasted 1962:332, (n. a).

⁵ PM V, 44.

⁶ Breasted 1962: 332 (n. a)

⁷ Pieper 1929

⁸ Simpson 2003: 339-344.

⁹ Hofmann 2004: 85-99.

¹⁰ Neale 2016.

Beauties”¹. It presents incoherent aspects of the king’s deeds for renewing God Osiris’ cult statue in his shrine at Abydos².

In this context, the king declares to his courtiers his desire to examine the earliest writings of Atum in the house of writings (the library) to know the image of his father, God Osiris, in his original form so he may fashion him together with his Ennead. Indeed, the king opened the writings and noticed that his father, Osiris, was formed as a king of Upper and Lower Egypt. Afterwards, he ordered one of his followers to travel south to Abydos to bring the statue/image of Osiris upon the *neshmet*-barque to the *hnw* “the residence”. The king headed through a canal to meet the barque, made an offering to God Osiris and accompanied him in a procession together with the Ennead led by God Wepwawet to the shrine. There Osiris with the Ennead was fashioned in the workshop under the supervision of the king.

The text does not reveal the location of the palace of Horus, “Exalted of Beauties,” where the king resides. It may have been in Heliopolis³. This assumption would be sensible if the palace was a real rather than a metaphoric place to give legitimacy to the king, as Horus, heir of Osiris. On the other hand, the earliest writings of Atum may have been attached to the palace itself or one of the temples, be that the temples of Atum or Osiris⁴. However, the king’s order for his followers to travel south to Abydos suggests that the palace was in the north; this means that the Memphis region was the most likely location.

Likewise, the text does not specify the location where the king met the barque of Osiris. Possibly, the residence is the exact location of the “Exalted of Beauties” palace if the palace “*h*” and residence “*hnw*” were both the same place. However, a king had several residences in various locations, but only one designated power center⁵. Besides, it is unclear whether the king travelled to Abydos or whether he just accompanied Osiris in a procession to the workshop within the residence. Nevertheless, the current translations assume that the king personally travelled to Abydos⁶. Conversely, QUIRKE surmised that the workshop was a part of the king’s residence as the centre of the

¹ Simpson 2003: 339; Neale 2016: 32; Quirke translated *wts-nfr.w* as “Raising-perfection”, See Quirke 2009: 128.

² Simpson 2003: 339.

³ Breasted 1962: 333.

⁴ Quirke 2009: 129.

⁵ Quirke 2009: 112.

⁶ Breasted 1962: 332-333; Simpson 2003: 339; Neale 2016: 25.

sculptural production¹. As a result of the above, the text does not work as geographical evidence to determine the vital centres of the state otherwise.

On a political level, the text discusses the king's relationship with the Gods, particularly Osiris, to ensure his legitimacy as a king. The king expresses his gratitude to the Ennead because they gifted him the inheritance of "Geb" and the full sun disk "*Itn*", who made him the protector of the Ennead. The King confirms that he is the son of Osiris and his protector. As mentioned earlier, the king was described as appearing upon the throne of Horus in his palace. In this context, the primaeval writings of Atum state that Osiris had been created as the King of Upper and Lower Egypt in his original form. Thus indicates that king Neferhotep is the heir of Osiris like Horus.

The King assured his legitimacy by presenting himself as the defender of Osiris' procession against his enemies and rebels. Indeed, King Neferhotep's monuments for God Osiris in Abydos and his demand to the priests to sustain his remembrance in the shrine is a reference to the priests' support. Osiris made him a king and gifted him the Maat as a reward for the king's deeds, whereby the king becomes qualified for rulership.

In sum, it seems that the stela was part of political propaganda to legitimacy to King Neferhotep. The King did not belong to a royal family and most likely needed to get the support of the priests. Abydos likely had not only religious importance but also a significant impact in the political sphere alongside the substantial centres of Thebes and Memphis.

A decree-stela: Cat.13.21.8

A rose granite stela found by MACE at Abydos² shows the Horus, throne, and birth names of King *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep and is dated to year 4 of his reign. The stela is devoted to God Wepwawet, the Lord of *t3-dsr*, the Sacred Land. The condition of its inscriptions is insufficiently-executed; it is superficially-incised and then filled with white pigment to elaborate the text. The stela was published for the first time by RANDALL-MACIVER and MACE³, and republished by LEAHY⁴. There are doubts about its attribution to King *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep since his royal names are seemingly

¹ Quirke 2009: 130.

² Randall-Maciver and Mace 1902: 63-64; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [11]; Siesse 2019: 384, no. 16 [5].

³ Randall-Maciver and Mace 1902: 63-64,84,93, Pl. xxix.

⁴ Leahy 1989.

chiselled over the original. The signs of the three royal names are scrambled except for the sign ⊖ in the throne name, which appears clear (Fig 13.21.3). Therefore, LEAHY proposed that the stela is attributed to King *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* Wegaf¹. Worthy of mention according to the Turin king-list the highest regnal year of King Wegaf is 2 years, 3 months, and 23 days², whereas the present stela is dated to the 4th regnal year. VON BECKERATH suggested that the stela belongs to the predecessor in the Turin King-list, *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep³. In contrast, RYHOLT proposed that the stela belongs to King *Mr-jb-R^c* Seth, listed in the Turin King-list 7/23⁴. However, the general condition of the text is disturbed and scratched in many locations, perhaps caused by unprofessional artists or the use of a low-quality engraving tool.



Fig. 13.21.3: Upper part of the stela

The stela is most likely one of four stelae, two to the north side and two to the south side, which were set up to demarcate the sphere of the Sacred Land of the God Wepwawet. According to LEAHY, the Sacred Land could be identified as the area between the Osiris temple and Umm el-Qa'ab (tomb of King Djer)⁵. The king prevented the existence in the area except for the priests and warned that anyone else would be burnt. Besides, if anyone built his tomb in the area of the Sacred Land, even if an official, he would be executed. Moreover, the king declared that burials were allowed only outside this area.

The stela strongly reflects the great interest of King Neferhotep in Abydos and clarifies the management of the surrounding landscape. It also reflects the substantial

¹ Leahy 1989: 47-48.

² Gardiner 1959: PL. III; Ryholt 1997: 71.

³ Von Beckerath 1964: 56.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 342-343, File 13/25 [1].

⁵ Leahy 1989: 49-54.

pilgrimages to Abydos and the willingness of the pilgrims to be close to Osiris and their desire to get buried nearby, in particular the state's officials.

Scarabs: Cat.13.21.9

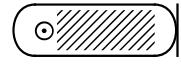
Another two identical scrabs found at Abydos are typed as paternal genealogical scarabs¹. The scrabs bear the king's throne name introduced by the title *ntr-nfr* alongside the formula *jrj.n jtj-ntr H3-`nh=f*, begotten of the God's father *H3-`nh=f*². The study presents one scarab found by MARIETTE and is now housed in the Grand Egyptian Museum.

8. Karnak

Block Cat.13.21.10

An evenly shaped block was found in the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak and attributed to King Neferhotep and his brother Sobekhotep³. The current location of the block is unknown⁴. Only two opposite sides bear inscriptions. One side of the inscriptions exposes the throne and birth names of King *ḥc-shm-r* Neferhotep, topped by the sky-sign  and followed by the formula  In contrast, the opposite side exposes the same motif but with the throne and birth names of King *Hc-nfr-R* Sobekhotep. Possibly, the block was part of a dedicated element to God Amun-Re.

Naos: Cat.13.21.11

A fragmented twin-statue naos was discovered in the Cachette of Karnak⁵. The inscription gives the intact Horus name *Grg-t3.wj* of King Neferhotep. The naos contains two identical fragmented royal standing statues. The statues wear the royal headdress adorned with uraei, *Shendyt*-kilt, and the exterior hands hold a cloth. Both statues lost many parts of their arms and legs, while the left statue lost a part of its torso. Supposedly, the two statues were holding their inner hands. Between the two statues appears the title *ntr-nfr*, Lord of the Two Lands, and traces of a broken cartouche . Both inner sides of the naos give almost the exact text; unfortunately, most inscriptions on the left side are lost, and it is challenging to discern different

¹ Martin 1971: no. 925, 93; Fraser 1900: no. 46; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [14]

² Martin 1971: no. 925, Pl. 26[7].

³ Mariette 1875: 45 [n°19], Pl. 8 [n-o].

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [16]; Siesse 2019: 384, no. 16 [12].

⁵ Legrain 1906: 13-14, no. 42022; Davies 1981: 25, no. 19; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [17]; Siesse 2019: 384, no. 16 [11].

readings of the text. The inscriptions give the king's royal names and devote the naos to God Amun-Re, the Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the foremost in Karnak. Notably, the name of Amun-Re was intentionally erased from the text on both sides.

The poses of the two statues holding their hands give the impression that they represent two personalities. LEGRAIN stated that the two statues represented the two brothers Neferhotep and Sobekhotep, who ruled in a co-regency¹. Conversely, VON BECKERATH argued that the two statues represented a single persona, King Neferhotep *Hr-shm-R*, since only his titles are attested on the naos². On the other hand, SEIDEL reported that the two statues might represent King Neferhotep and his Ka, or the king represents himself as a God and human at the same time to reinforce his power in a period of political instability³.

However, due to the fragmented condition of the naos, possibly other significant entries were lost, which would have enhanced the view that the two statues are attributed to the two brothers, Neferhotep and Sobekhotep. The two kings share many other attestations, which imply the case of the co-regency, although they are separated by another brother, Sihathor, in the Turin King list⁴.

9. Gebelein?

Bead: Cat.13.21.12

An unprovenanced bead probably from Gebelein due to its dedication to Sobek-Re of *Semenu*. The bead shows the king's throne name as the Good God *Hr-shm-R*, beloved of Sobek-Re, Lord of *Semenu*⁵.

10. Elephantine

Statue: Cat.13.21.13

A broken statue was found close to the sanctuary of Heqaib at Elephantine⁶. Its upper part and base front are missing. The statue represents a sat King Neferhotep while his hands rest on his knee and he wears a *Shendyt*-kilt. The inscriptions on both front sides of the seat are identical and give the king's throne and birth names and a dedication for God Khnum, the Lord of Elephantine⁷. Besides this statue, King Neferhotep is attested

¹ Legrain 1906: 14.

² Von Beckerath 1964: 56; Habachi 1978: 88-89.

³ Seidel 1996: 113.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁵ Petrie: 1917: Pl. XVIII [13.21.2]; Quirke 2006: 269, Pl. 1; Quirke 2016: 385 ; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [18]

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 346, File 13/27 [31]; Siesse 2019: 384, no. 16 [14].

⁷ Habachi 1985a: 115; Davies 1981: no. 21.

once more in Elephantine on a block containing various names of kings from the Old and Middle kingdoms¹.

11. Sehel

King Neferhotep *H^c-shm-r^c* is attested on rock-inscriptions on the northern and eastern sides of the cliffs known as Bibitagoug in Sehel island². The current study examines some of these inscriptions that give the king's familial attribution or incorporeal affiliation with predecessors like King Senwosret III as follows:

Scene Cat.13.21.14

The king is portrayed in a rectangle frame in front of Goddess Anuket³, who gives him the sign of *'nh*. The scene is copied from one of King Senwosret III⁴. The king wears the double crown, a pointed kilt, and holds a mace in one hand and a sceptre in the other. The king's cartouche contains both his throne and birth names, and the text is devoted to Goddess Anuket. Besides, the king depicted his titulary next to that of King Senwosret III twice in the same style⁵. For instance, King Senwosret III's throne name faces his Horus name and King Neferhotep's throne name, which contains his birth name; it also faces his Horus name (Fig. 13.21.4), while the king's acquaintance name, *nb-'nh*, comes after the titulary.

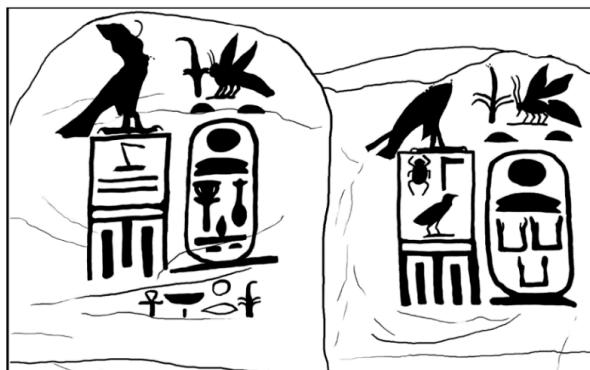


Fig. 13.21.4: © K. Cahail in Wegner and Cahail 2015: Fig. 29.

Family list: Cat.13.21.15

About 2 m east of the previous scene is a list of King Neferhotep's family members⁶. It is worth mentioning that the current list does not contain the King's name, but other

¹ Seidlmaier 2003: 444; Seidlmaier 1999: 42-43.

² De Morgan et al. 1894: 84 [11], 85 [15-16, 22], 87 [44]; Habachi 1981a; Gasse and Rondot 2007: 87-91.

³ Ryholt 1997: 346, File 13/27 [27]; Siesse 2019: 384, no. 16 [16].

⁴ PM V: 250; De Morgan et al. 1894: 87 [40]; Gasse and Rondot 2007: 88, 455; Habachi 1981a: 77-78.

⁵ PM V: 250; De Morgen et al. 1894: 85 [14, 17]; Habachi 1981a: 78, Fig. 1, 2; Gasse and Rondot 2007: 89-90, 459.

⁶ PM V: 250; De Morgen et al. 1894: 87 [44]; Habachi 1981a: 78-79; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [26].

family lists of Wadi Hammamat¹ and Philae obviously expose his name². However, the king's parent names, illustrated in the attestations mentioned above, are heading the current list, followed by the king's wife, three princes, and a princess, and ending with the king's acquaintance *nb-‘nh*, the overseer of the seals³, who may be responsible for the inscription execution⁴. However, the text shows that he is dead; the King's father *H3-‘nh=f* and the prince *s3-hwt-hr* are also dead at the time of the text illustrations.

12. Philae

Family list Cat.13.21.16

A rock-inscription found on the road to Philae contains another list of the king's family members⁵. This list is shorter than the former and begins with the king's throne and Horus names facing each other. Next to the titulary are listed, respectively, the God's father *H3-‘nh=f*, then the royal mother *Kmj*, princes *S3-hwt-hr* and *Sbk-htp*, and the king's acquaintance *nb-‘nh*. The list here shows that the royal mother *Kmj* is dead, while the prince *Sbk-htp* is followed by the epithet "the reverend".

13. Buhen

Plaque Cat.13.21.17

Discovered among other objects by RANDALL-MACLVER and Woolley in 1909 during their expedition to the Buhen fortress⁶. In and around the ruins of the fortress, they discovered Middle and New Kingdom tombs. One of these refers to Merer, who is titled "the gardener," although his tomb's artefacts reflect his dignitary status. The plaque was found on the shoulder of a body, possibly for ornamenting purposes. The plaque bears on one side the Golden Horus name *Mn-mr.wt* of King Neferhotep, repeated in three columns. On the other side of the plaque, again, three columns give the epithet "Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Action" in repetition⁷.

¹ See attestations of King Sobekhotep *h3-nfr-R3* (13: 23).

² Habachi 1981a: 79.

³ Gasse and Rondot 2007: 92, 462

⁴ Habachi 1981a: 79.

⁵ PM V: 246; De Morgan et al. 1894: 17[78]; Habachi 1981a: 79, Fig. 5; Ryholt 1997: 346, File 13/27 [30]

⁶ PM VII: 139; Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911: 192, 201, 234, Pl. 74; The fortress was situated on the west bank of the Nile, 2km south of Wadi Halfa, before its submergence in Lake Nasser. See Vogel 2010: 27-31.

⁷ Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015: 10-12, Fig. 1.21; Ryholt 1997: 345, File 13/27 [32]

14. Mirgissa

Seal-impression:

A seal-impression from the fortress of Mirgissa bearing only the throne name of the king *H^r-shm-R^r* and now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts¹. Unfortunately, half of the impression is lost. RYHOLT reported that the seal's reproduction in the publication is entirely mistaken (Fig 13.21.5) and proposed that the impression was made from a seal of the genealogical type². Possibly, RYHOLT is correct since the king's further seal-impressions belong to those types of genealogical scarabs.

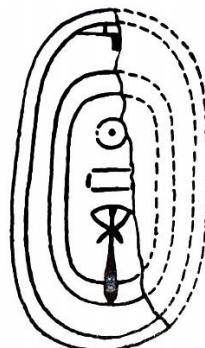


Fig 13.21.5: After, Dunham 1967: 163 [32. 1. 44], 172 [Fig. 11.6].

15. Unknown location scarabs

RYHOLT collected 51 unprovenanced scarab-seals attributed to King Neferhotep *H^r-shm-R^r*³. Most of these scarabs typologically belong to the paternal or maternal genealogical scarabs.

Scarab-seal

Cat.13.21.18

Among these 51 unprovenanced scarab-seals, a rare type bears the throne and birth names side by side⁴. In the present example, the throne name is headed by the title *ntr-nfr*.

13.21.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep held full royal titles (Table 13.21.1) that were wholly affirmed only at Abydos and possibly at Karnak. The king's Horus name indicates his political role as a founder of the Two Lands. Besides, the Two-Ladies name implies that the Goddess Maat supported his rule. Notably, the king's birth name does not incorporate the familiar gods' names of the 13th Dynasty Amun or Sobek, usually

¹ Dunham 1967: 163 [32. 1. 44], 172 [Fig. 11.6]; Ryholt 1997: 346, File 13/27 [33].

² Ryholt 1997: 346 [33], 348.

³ Ryholt 1997: 346-348 File 13/27 [37]; Siesse 2009: 385, no. 15, [37- 61, 62-93]

⁴ Tufnell 1984: 366-367, Pl. LIV [3110]

mentioned before the syllable *htp*. Noteworthily, one of the high-quality sculptures (Cat. 13.21.4) of the king is adorned by the motif of *sm3-t3.wj*, which is rare in the 13th Dynasty. This seems to confirm the king's political wish to rule as king of both Upper and Lower Egypt.

	Titles		Horus <i>Grg-t3.wj</i>	Two Ladies <i>Wp-m3t.t</i>	G. Horus <i>Mn-mr.wt</i>	Throne/ Good God <i>H3-shm-R3</i>	Birth <i>nfr-htp</i>
Location	TK.					x	x
KK.						x	
Byblos							x
Canaan						x	
Tell el-Dab'a							x
Tell el-Yahudiya							x
Lahun						x	
Fayoum?						x	x
Abydos	x	x	x			x	x
Karnak	x	x				x	x
Gebelein?						x	
Elephantine						x	x
Sehel	x					x	x
Philae	x					x	
Buhen				x			
Mirgissa						x	

Table 13.21.1: Royal names distribution

The available archaeological record of King *H3-shm-R3* Neferhotep (Table 13.21.2) indicates that state activity was concentrated mainly in Abydos and Thebes (Map. 13.21). Nevertheless, the king is modestly attested in Sehel Island and its surroundings only on some dispersed rock-inscriptions. Evidence from the Buhen fortress implies state presence there; unfortunately, only the Golden Horus name of the king was attested on a piece of ornamentation. However, it should be recognised that the state activity extended until this point since a seal-impression of the king's throne name was found south in Mirgissa. Nevertheless, one should also consider that the archaeological state of the seal-impression does not allow a solid conclusion about state activity there.

In the north, the king is attested on some scattered pieces of evidence that must be treated with caution. In the Memphite region, a scarab without a geographical clue was found in Lahun, which was likely removed from its original context. Besides, a delicate unprovenanced statuette devoted to Gods Sobek of *Shedet* and Horus may indicate the king's link to the Fayoum.

In the Eastern Delta, the king was attested on a scarab at Tell el-Yahudiya. It is not sufficient to determine the king's political control until this point only with such a scarab. Recently, a king's seal-impression was found at Tell el-Dab'a in the same archaeological context as the seal-impression of his predecessor King *Shm-r^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep. This implies continuous relationships between the 13th Dynasty and the Eastern Delta Asiatics. Possibly, such relationships expanded geographically with the Canaanite centres (Tell el-Ajjul, Fassuta) on the Mediterranean east coast.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Byblos	stela	dedication	Ra-Horakhty	limestone	——	yes	no	●
Canaan	scarabs	dedication	——	steatite?	——	?	?	●
Tell el-Dab'a	seal-impression	mailing	——	mud	——	yes	?	●
Tell el-Yahudiya	scarab	dedication	——	steatite?	——	yes	?	●
Lahun	scarab	dedication	——	steatite	good	yes	?	●
Fayoum?	Statuette	dedication	Sobek of <i>Shedet</i> , Horus	micro-gabbro/micro-diorite	v. good	yes	?	●
Abydos	great stela	dedication	Osiris, Ennад, Webwawet	sandstone	——	yes	no	●
	decree-stela	dedication	Webwawet	granite	bad	no	no	●
Karnak	block	dedication ?	Amun-Re?	sandstone	——	?	?	●
	naos	dedication	Amun-Re	limestone	good	yes	no	●
Gebelein ?	bead	dedication	Sobek-Re	steatite	poor	yes	?	●
Elephantine	statue	dedication	Khnum	granite	fair	yes	no	●
Sehel	scene	dedication	Anuket	rock-inscription	fair	yes	no	●
	family-list	immortalizing	——	rock-inscription	fair	yes	no	●
Philae	family-list	immortalizing	——	rock-inscription	fair	yes	no	●
Buhen	plaque	ornament	——	faience	good	yes	no	●
Mirgissa	seal-impression	mailing	——	mud	——	?	?	●

Table 13.21.2: Royal attestations validity assessment

The crucial evidence of King *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep's political activity is his broken cartouche on the stela of the governor of Byblos. The stela shows how *Inten*, the governor of Byblos, is very Egyptianized despite his non-Egyptian name. As mentioned above, the Egypt-Byblos ties are rooted in Egyptian history since the Old Kingdom. Byblos was not only the exclusive exporter of fine cedar wood to the Egyptian crown

but was also an important religious centre for the Goddess Hathor. Such an indication implies the localization of Egyptian culture there by troops of workmen, priesthood, and scribes¹. Consequently, it would be accepted that the bureaucratic apparatus of Byblos has been integrated into Egyptian culture.

Despite the notable territorial expansion at this point of the 13th Dynasty, there were no clues of invasion goals towards the East. Obviously, the Eastern Delta and Sinai were not under Egyptian control, which means there was a buffer zone between the Egyptian state and the Levant. Therefore, the commercial relations with Byblos likely went along maritime routes between the 12th Dynasty port near Tell el-Dab'a to the Mediterranean east coast². Most likely, this port was now outside Egyptian control, and maybe the Egyptian state negotiated with the Asiatic Eastern Delta polity for more commercial throughput with the Levant through the Eastern Delta.

The archaeological evidence of King *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep does not directly indicate where he practised power. Nevertheless, his Great Stela of Abydos implies that the capital was somewhere in the north of Abydos. So, it is possible to rule from the Memphite region, perhaps from Itjtawy. However, the validity of the Great stela is doubtful. The stela was a tool of political propaganda for promoting the king's legitimacy as king of Upper and Lower Egypt.

On the other hand, the significant affairs of the state concentrated on Abydos, which not only advanced its position as a religious centre but also as a sacred cemetery for the high officials. It is similarly possible that King *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep preferred Abydos for setting up his tomb. As mentioned earlier³, WEGNER and CAHAIL attributed the newly discovered tombs at South Abydos (S9 and S10) to the Kings brothers *Hr-shm-r* Neferhotep (S9) and *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep (S10)⁴. If correct, it should be a royal power base that was probably nearby in Abydos.

¹ Von Beckerath 1964: 107-108; Säve-Söderbergh 1951: 53-54.

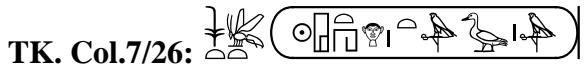
² Review chapter 1, III.3.d: Eastern Delta.

³ Chapter 3: Royal necropolis.

⁴ Owner of the tomb (S10) is identified basically as Sobekhotep N.



Map 13.21: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13.22: King *S3-Hw.t-hr{Rc}*: 22nd ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list¹.

The component *Rc* does not originally exist in the name *S3-Hw.t-hr* (noted here as Sahathor), as is mentioned in his contemporaneous evidence². Most likely, the component *Rc* was added to the king's name by the Royal-list compiler as a common practice in writing throne names during the New Kingdom given that the king himself is Re³.

Most likely, the king did not complete his first year. His entries in the royal list do not mention any numbers for the king's regnal years except for three days at the end of the line⁴. The King is not mentioned in the Karnak Offering-list like his brothers *Hrc-shm-r* Neferhotep and *Hrc-nfr-r* Sobekhotep⁵. Probably, King Sahathor had no attestations in the Amun-Re Temple like his brothers or his name was lost in antiquity.

The available attestations of Sahathor have him as *S3-nsw s3-Hw.t-hr*, the Prince *S3-hw.t-hr*. The Turin King-list is the only evidence that mentions *S3-hw.t-hr* as a king. If *S3-hw.t-hr* really ascended the throne, his birth name would be *S3-Hw.t-hr*, Son of Hathor.

DEWACHTER refers to Sahathor's throne name *Mn-w3d-Rc*⁶. The cartouche is inscribed alongside unaccustomed execution for the designation "begotten of the God's father *H3-nh=f*", on an unprovenanced steatite cylinder-seal (Fig 13.22.1) now in the Petrie Museum (UC 11571)⁷. The inscriptions on the cylinder were incised with irregular signs and looked like a copy of Neferhotep's parental genealogical scarab⁸. This seems to call into question the authenticity of the object⁹.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71; Siesse 2019: 26.

² Cat. 13.21.1,2.

³ Review the introduction of this chapter: Methodology; Buchberger 1993: 617; LÄ V: 162.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 71; Siesse 2019: 26.

⁵ Delange 2015: 102- 103; Siesse 2019: 33-34.

⁶ Dewachter 1976: 70; Dewachter 1984: 196; Ryholt 1997: 348.

⁷ Petrie 1925: Pl. XXIV [13.24]; Martin 1971: 78 [976], Pl. 46[16].

⁸ Quirke 2006: 268 [5]; Another object inscribed with the same method is a bead that bears the same inscription, now in the Brooklyn Museum (44.123.163) and attributed to King Nekau I; See Dewachter 1984: 196; <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/56813>

⁹ Davies disregards the throne name mn-wAD-Ra. He stated that the inscriptions, whether on the cylinder-seal or the bead, are "epigraphically very suspect"; See Davies 1998.



After Martin 1971: Pl. 46 [11]



© Petrie Museum

Fig. 13.22.1

However, the filiation on the cylinder is an inadequate clue for relating the throne name *mn-w3d-R*^c to Prince/King Sahathor. Besides, if Prince/King *S3-hw.t-hr* took this throne name, it would be listed in the King-list as King *Mn-w3d-R*^c *S3-hw.t-hr*.

13.22.1: Attestations:

All attestations of Prince/King *S3-Hw.t-hr* are situated at Elephantine and its surroundings. He is involved in the family-lists of his brothers *Hr-shm-r*^c Neferhotep¹ and *Hr-nfr-r*^c Sobekhotep². Prince Sahathor is attested at western Thebes on a statue dedicated to his Ka, made by his brother *Hr-nfr-R*^c Sobekhotep³. However, the present study examines attestations that refer directly to prince *S3-Hw.t-hr* as the son of God's father *H3-nh=f* and the royal mother *Kmj*.

1. Elephantine

Statue	Cat.13.22.1
A seated statue of Prince Sahathor was found in the debris near the two shrines of Heqaib sanctuary at Elephantine in 1932. The statue represents Prince Sahathor crossing his legs on a rectangular base and resting his hands on his thighs. The prince wears a wig that frees his ears and a long garment below his chest. Engraved between the arms, three columns of writings devote offerings for the Goddesses Satis and Anuket and to the Ka of the prince Sahathor, the begotten of God's father <i>H3-nh=f</i> and born of king's mother <i>Kmj</i> ⁴ .	

Statue	Cat.13.22.2
Another seated statue of Prince Sahathor was found in the Heqaib sanctuary. The statue is similar to the previous one (Cat.13.22.1), but the head and the chest are lost ⁵ . Its	

¹ Cat. 13.21.13,14.

² Cat. 13.23.11.

³ Cat. 13.23.15.

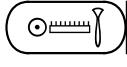
⁴ Habachi 1985: 115; Ryholt 1997: 348, File 13/28 [1]; Siesse 2019: 386, no. 17 [1]

⁵ Krekeler 1988: 173; Seidlmayer 1988: 181-182, Taf. 58 [a]; Ryholt 1997: 348, File 13/28 [2]; Siesse 2019: 386, no. 17 [2]

current location is unknown¹. The statue has five horizontal lines of writings between its extended hands, which unusually dedicates offerings for God Monthu of Medamud and the Ka of Prince Sahathor. God Monthu is not attested in the sanctuary of Heqaib², and the offering should be dedicated to the Goddesses of the region Satis and Anuket, like the previous statue. Perhaps the statue was made in Elephantine as a votive offering for God Monthu of Medamud but never sent there.

According to the illustration of SEIDLAYER, the text designates Prince Sahathor as born of the king's mother *Kmw*³; in many other testimonies, the royal mother is mentioned as *kmj*. However, it seems that the syllable *Km* precedes the group , which gives the plural ending to the name; but possibly the group  could be interpreted as  *m.t hrw*, the justified⁴. Another possibility is that the name of *Kmj* would have been written as  ⁵, and because of the crudeness of the statue's writings it was illustrated as .

13.22.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

As mentioned above, Sahathor is not attested as a king outside the Turin King-list. The present study excludes the cylinder-seal and bead, which attribute the cartouche  to Sahathor. The two objects are not accredited enough to ensure their validity for historiography.

	Titles	Horus	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne/ Good God	Birth <i>S3-Hw.t-hr</i>
Provenance	TK. Elephantine					x x

Table: 13.22.1: Royal names distribution

¹ Ryholt 1997: 348; Siesse 2019: 386.

² Seidlmaier 1988: 182.

³ Seidlmaier 1988: 182

⁴ Cat. 13.22.1, Cat.13.23.11.

⁵ Cat.13.21.16.

In fact, Prince/King Sahathor belongs to an actual royal family that kept power for maybe over 20 years. Consider that almost all of the Prince/King Sahathor attestations designate him as the justified or dedicated offering to his Ka. Besides, all of the attestations do not give him any royal titles (Table 13.22.1). This may indicate he died before holding the throne. However, possibly Sahathor held the throne, but for a very brief period during which he could not even bear royal titles. If correct, then the political activity of King Sahathor was limited to Upper Egypt (Table 13.22.2), (Map. 13.22).

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	validity
Elephantine	statue	dedication	Satis, Anuket	granite	fair	yes	no	●
	statue	dedication	Monthu	granite	fair	yes	?	●

Table 13.22.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.22: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13.23: King $H^c\text{-}nfr\text{-}R^c$ $Sbk\text{-}htp$: listed as the 23rd king of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Unfortunately, entries on his regnal years are lost in the King-list¹. But, according to his archaeological record, he ruled for 8 years at most². The king is mentioned in the Karnak Offering-list No. 33 as³



The king held the full royal names⁴ as Horus 'nh-jb-t3.wj , The (very) life of the heart of the Two Lands; Two Ladies $W3d-h^c.w$, Flourishing of appearance; Golden Horus $Wsr-b^c.w$, Rich in might; Throne , $H^c\text{-}nfr\text{-}R^c$ The (very) appearance of the perfection of Re/ The appearance of the perfection, Re⁵; Birth $Sbk\text{-}htp$, Sobek is satisfied.

13.23.1: Attestations:

1. Tell Hizzin⁶

Statuette Cat.13.23. 1

A Lower part of a standing statuette found at Tell Hizzin is attributed to King $H^c\text{-}nfr\text{-}R^c$ Sobekhotep⁷. The statuette was acquired by the archaeologist M. CHÉHAB through an antiquities dealer, who said that it came from Tell Hizzin⁸. Unfortunately, the current location of the statuette is unknown since it was lost in the magazines of the National Museum of Antiquities in Beirut during the Lebanese Civil War⁹.

The statuette's condition shows only the king's legs standing on a pedestal in a stepping position supported by a back-pillar. The exact size of the statuette is uncertain¹⁰,

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Cat 13.23.23; Leprohon 2013: 67-68 [29].

³ Siesse 2019: 36-37; Delange 2015: 103,107.

⁴ Cat. 13.23.17

⁵ According to Buchberger's reading for the throne names; See Buchberger 1993: 616- 619.

⁶ Tell Hizzin is an archaeological site in the Baqa'a Valley situated 10 km east of Baalbek, Lebanon; Chéhab 1983: 167; Ahrens 2015.

⁷ Chéhab 1983: 167, Tav. xv [2]; Ahrens 2015: 203-206; Ryholt 1997: 348, File 13/29 [4]; Siesse 2019: 387, no. 18 [3].

⁸ Chéhab 1983: 167; Ahrens 2015: 203.

⁹ Ahrens 2015: 201.

¹⁰ Quirke 2010: 64.

but it would not have exceeded 30-50 cm. Based on available photographs, AHRENS suggested that the material of the statuette would be diorite, anorthosite gneiss, or schist¹. The inscriptions on the base are enclosed on a rectangular frame, giving the king's throne and birth names and a dedication for the God Re-Horakhty. The inscriptions do not offer clues on the provenance, but since it is dedicated to the God Re-Horakhty, it likely came from Heliopolis².

The find spot of the Tell Hizzin statuette provokes the question of whether it was dispatched from there. Devoted to Re-Horakhty, the interpretations postulate that it was made at the temple of Re-Horakhty at Heliopolis and later transported to Tell Hizzin in the context of looting on account of the Hyksos³. This interpretation would be acceptable if the statuette was found in one of the Hyksos centres in the eastern Delta or the southern Levant. MONTEL suggested that the statuette was made originally for placing at Tell Hizzin for a possible ideological connection between the Egyptian Heliopolis /*Iwnw* and another Heliopolis in the Beqa'a Valley (Baalbek)⁴. That interpretation should be considered since the devotion of Re-Horakhty is attested in nearby Byblos by the governor *Jntn* in the reign of King *Hr-shm-R* Noferhotep⁵.

Possibly, the statuette was transported to the site as part of the Egyptian-Levantine trade. Notably, the size of the statuette is appropriate for portable mutual gifts. That would be sensible in the context of relations between the Egyptian state and the governors of Byblos in the reign of King *Hr-shm-R* Noferhotep, brother of King *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep⁶.

2. Tanis

Pair of colossal statues Cat.13.23.2 [a, b]

King *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep is attested on a pair of identical colossal statues; one was found at Tanis by PETRIE and is now housed in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 37486)⁷. The other one is unprovenanced and now in the Louvre (A16/ N16)⁸. However, due to the high degree of correspondence between the two statues, the latter is

¹ Ahrens 2015: 203.

² Ahrens 2015: 2014; Montet 1954: 76.

³ Ahrens 2015: 213-215.

⁴ Montet 1954: 76; Ahrens 2015: 205.

⁵ Cat. 13.21.1.

⁶ See Cat. 13.21.1

⁷ Petrie 1889: 8; Davies 1981: no. 22; Ryholt 1997: 348, File 13/29 [6]; Siesse 2019: 387, no.18 [4].

⁸ Davies 1981: no. 23; Delange 1987: 17-19.

most likely from Tanis as well¹. Probably, RIFAUD found it in 1825 during the excavation led by DROVETTI².

The catalogue of the present study lists the two colossal statues as Cat. 13.23.2 [a] of Cairo Museum (JE 37486) and Cat. 13.23.2 [b] of the Louvre (A16/ N16). The two statues are made of red granite and represent the king, who wears the royal headdress *nemes* adorned with uraeus, an attached beard, and a knee-length *shendyt*-kilt with an attached tail. The king is sitting resting his hands on his thighs.

The Cairo colossal statue misses its arms except for the hands. The face lacks the nose, lips, and part of the beard. Two symmetrical columns of writing are inscribed on both front sides of the throne. The writings give the king's throne and birth names, and a dedication to the God Ptah *rsy-Jnb=f*, Lord of *'nh-t3.wj* (right side) and Ptah *nfr-hr-hr-st-wr.t* (left side).

The restored Louvre statue is broken at the torso and it misses some shreds in the uraeus, beard, and fingers of the hands. The base is damaged, the toes cropped, and the writings give the same reading as the Cairo statue, albeit partially erased in the dedication entries³.

Based on their dedication to Ptah, the two colossal statues came from Memphis, where they took a prominent position in a Tempel of God Ptah. Then they were dispatched to the eastern Delta in a later period, maybe in the 21st Dynasty.

Statue	Cat.13.23.3
	A life-size statue found in Tanis attributed to king <i>Hr-nfr-R</i> Sobekhotep. The statue is made of black granite, and its upper part is missing. The king is in a seated position resting his hands on his knees. Both front sides of the seat are depicted with identical columns of writings, which read as "The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of action <i>Hr-nfr-R</i> , Son of Re, <i>Sbk-htp</i> , beloved of Ptah <i>rsy-Jnb=f</i> , Lord of <i>'nh-t3.wj</i> " ⁴ . Unfortunately, MONTEL did not give an illustration for the inscriptions. The statue's current location is unknown ⁵ . Like the king's two colossal statues, this statue is

¹ Petrie 1889: 8.

² Delange 1987: 19.

³ Delange 1987: 17.

⁴ Montet 1933: 117, Pl. LXVII; PM IV: 25, Davies 1981: no, 25; Ryholt 1997: 348, File 13/29 [7]; Siesse 2019: 387, no.18 [5].

⁵ Davies 1981: no. 25.

probably from Memphis and was transported to the eastern Delta later, probably in the 21st Dynasty.

Statue Cat.13.23.4

A high-quality statue referring to King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep, possibly brought from Tanis by the antiquities collector SALT, and now in the Louvre¹. The statue represents the seated king, resting his hands upon his thighs, wearing the royal headdress *nemes* adorned with uraeus and the *shendyt*-kilt. Two identical columns of writing appear on the front side of the seat that give the king's throne and birth names and a dedication to the Goddess Hemen of Hefat in the fortress of Snefru. According to the inscriptional evidence, the provenance cannot be Tanis. The statue was dedicated to Goddess Hemen of *Hefat*, the modern village of el-Mo'alla, about 30 km south of Thebes². The inscription specifies the fortress of Senfru, perhaps a nearby cult centre for Hemen, which should now be Asfoun el-Mat'ana, about 9 km to the south³. The statue was supposedly shipped from there to the eastern Delta in a later period.

In this context, QUIRKE proposed that it is not certain that the object's inscriptional evidence affirms its provenance. In the current case, perhaps, the statue was dedicated to an obscure local deity like Hemen of Hefat and installed in another place, possibly in a royal cult complex in Memphis or Abydos⁴. Notably, the current statue is dedicated to Goddess Hemen of Hefat but installed in the unspecified fortress of Snefru. If the statue was shipped to the eastern Delta in a later period, it need not be from el-Mo'alla. VON BECKERATH suggested that the statue was produced in Memphis and shipped to the eastern Delta in the Ramesside period with the other previously mentioned statues found in Tanis but from Memphis according to the inscriptional evidence⁵.

3. Tell el-Maskhuta

Scarab-seal Cat.13.23.5

Found at Tell el-Maskuta in 1978 and likely referring to King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep. The scarab was found among grave goods of Middle Bronze II age tombs. It shows the

¹ PM V: 169; Bissing 1914: Pl. 28; Davies 1981: no. 24; Delange 1987: 20-21; Ryholt 1997: 350, File 13/29 [28]; Siesse 2019: 388, no. 18 [27].

² Manassa 2011: 1-4; LÄ II: 1080-1081.

³ Von Beckerath 1964: 247; Delange 1987: 21; Manassa 2011: 1-4; Siesse 2019: 388 [27].

⁴ Quirke 2010: 61-62.

⁵ Von Beckerath 1964: 58.

birth name Sobekhotep, born of the royal mother *Kmj* or *Kmw*. The current location is unknown¹.

4. Fatimid Cairo

Block

DARESSY reported that among ancient Egyptian blocks reused in the construction of the fortified enclosure of Fatimid Cairo, there is a block attributed to King *Hr-nfr-R*^c Sobekhotep². The block was found by HERZ Pacha³ under house No. 7 in the Atfet el-Khayachi near Bab el-Foutouh. It measures 120 cm in length and 50 cm in width and seems to be a gate lintel. The inscriptions give the king's throne  and birth  names followed by . The block probably came from Heliopolis⁴, the closest accessible source of stones for the Islamic constructions⁵.

Some clues suggest activity in Heliopolis. As mentioned above, the king's statuette of Tell Hizzin shows the king's royal names with the God Ra-Horakhty who was venerated at Heliopolis⁶. Besides, recent excavations by D. RAUE at Matariya (Heliopolis) in June 2022 revealed among several finds a small stela of the King *Hr-nfr-Rˁ Sobekhotep*. The stela is made of calcite-alabaster, depicting a sun disc in the lunette. The texts mention the king's titles, including his parents⁷.

5. List

Scarabs Cat.13.23. 6 [a, b, c]
Cat.13.23.5[a]:

Two scarabs were found in the northern part of the pyramid cemetery of King Amememhat I at Lisht⁸. The scarabs belong to the paternal genealogical type, which bears the formula: the Good God $H^c\text{-}nfr\text{-}R^c$, begotten of God's father $H3\text{-}nh=f^9$. One of

¹ Holladay 1982: 45, 50, Fig. 75-76; Ryholt 1997: 348, File 13/29 [3].

² Daressy 1912: 285; PM IV: 69; Ryholt 1997: 348, File 13/29 [5]; Siesse 2019: 387, no.18 [9]

³ Herz Pasha was an Hungarian architect and the first director of the so-called Museum Islamic of Art, Cairo; See Ormos 2009.

⁴ Daressy 1912: 285.

⁵ Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020; Heiden 2001; Heiden 2002.

6 Cat. 13.23.1.

⁷ Via email by Prof. D. Raue on 13.06.2022. (Personal communication)

⁸ Gautier and Jéquier 1902: 105, 107, Fig. 134; Ryholt 1997: 349 [9].

⁹ Martin 1971: no. 952, Pl. 26 [31].

these scarabs is housed in the Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM 5387)¹, the other's location is unknown².

Another group of scarabs was found through the nearby Metropolitan Museum excavations³. It is not clear whether they were found in the burial pits around the pyramid or at a nearby site⁴. The scarabs are now in the Metropolitan Museum. The present study discusses two examples⁵:

Cat.13.23.5[b]:

The scarab belongs to the type of paternal genealogical type which bears the formula: the Good God *H^c-nfr-R^c*, begotten of God's father *H^b-nh=f*⁶. It is housed in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 22.1.316)⁷.

Cat.13.23.5[c]:

The scarab belongs to the type of maternal genealogical type which bears the formula: Son of Re *Sbk-htp*, born of the King's Mother *Kmj*⁸. It is housed in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 22.1.423)⁹.

6. Fayoum?

Cylinder-seal

Cat.13.23.7

A cylinder-seal attributed to King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep, collected by reverend C. MURCH during his mission in Egypt between 1883 and 1906¹⁰. The cylinder-seal is now in the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 10.130.1638)¹¹. There are no entries about the cylinder-seal's provenance, but it may be from Fayoum since it is dedicated to God Sobek of *Shedet* and Horus who resides in *Shedet*.

7. Atfih?

¹ Formerly in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 31373 [CG 36018].

² Ryholt 1997: 349 [9].

³ Mace 1922a; Hayes 1953b: 191, 343, Fig. 226.

⁴ Mace 1922a: 13.

⁵ For more examples see Ryholt 1997: 349 [9]; Sisse 2019: 387 [6-7].

⁶ Mace 1922b: 16 [1], Fig. 22; Hayes 1953b: 191, 343, Martin 1971: no. 961.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 349.

⁸ Mace 1922a: 13, Pl. III [2]; Hayes 1953b: 191, 343, Fig. 226.

⁹ Ryholt 1997: 349 [10]; Sisse 2019: 389 [40]; Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 22 [1].

¹⁰ Mace 1911; Also, according to the object data in the Metropolitan Museum See:

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544379>

¹¹ Hayes 1953b: 343, Fig. 226; Ryholt 1997: 349 [10]; Sisse 2019: 389 [40].

A small headless sphinx bearing the royal titles of King *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep. The sphinx was bought by the Egyptian Museum Cairo, its provenance is unknown. However, it may be from Atfih since it is dedicated to Goddess Hathor, the mistress of *tp-jh.w*¹.

The sphinx appears lying on a rectangular slab. The head is broken, leaving the rest of the lion's scalp, while the tail is involuted around the right thigh. The inscription on the chest and continuing down between the paws give the King's names as:



, The Good God *H^r-nfr-R^r*, The Son of Re *Sbk-htp*,



given life. The front of the paws shows the inscription

8. Abydos

Architectural parts of a chapel attributed to King *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep from the temple of Osiris at Abydos³. The parts found by PETRIE⁴ are now lost⁵, except for a badly-condition lintel housed in the Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels (E. 5262)⁶. These parts indicate the king's activity in Abydos in favour of his father God Osiris, the foremost of the Westerns:

Cat.13.23.8[a]

A relief that depicts the king wearing a wig, pointed kilt, and holding the sign of life in his right hand. Behind him is the Ka-figure with the caption "living Ka of the King". The inscriptions above the king give his throne and birth names, while his Horus name appears in the *serekh* behind the *Ka*-figure⁷.

Cat.13.23.8[b]

¹ PM IV: 76; Davies 1981: no. 29; Ryholt 1997: 349 [12]; Siesse 2019: 387 [8]

² Borchardt 1925: 29 [421], Pl. 68.

³ Wegner 1996: 100, 108; Ryholt 1997: 349 [13]; Siesse 2019: 387 [10-11]

⁴ Petrie 1902: 29, 42, Pl. LIX; Petrie 1903: 34, 43, Pl. XXVIII; Petrie identified King *h^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep as Sobekhotep III; PM V: 42.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 349 [13].

⁶ Speleers 1923: 16 [71]; PM V: 100; Leahy 1989: 59 [no. 82].

⁷ Petrie 1902: 29, 42, Pl. LIX.

Fragments of a decorated black granite door-jamb found by PETRIE to the south of the temple of Osiris¹. The relief depicts the standing king wearing the white crown, attached beard, *shendyt*-kilt with a hanging tail, and holding sceptres. The text above the king mentions that the king erected a stone chapel for God Osiris².

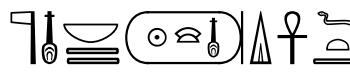
Cat.13.23.8[c]

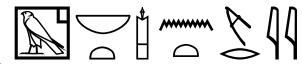
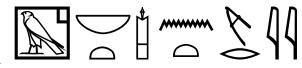
A fragmented lintel made of limestone bearing the king's throne name and a dedication to the God Osiris, the foremost of the Westerns.

9. Dendera

Vase Cat.13.23.10

A broken vase was found in Dendera. The vase is made of blue marble and has lost its neck and handles. The current location of the vase is unknown³. One side of the vase

bears the inscription:  , The Good God, Lord of Two Lands,

 , given life forever, while another bears the dedication  beloved of Hathor, the mistress of *Jwn.t* (Dendera)⁴.

Jar- stand Cat.13.23.11

A ring jar stand was purchased by the Yale University Art Gallery. The stand is made of faience and inscribed in black with one cartouche running around the stand, containing the king's throne and birth names, and a dedication to Goddess Hathor⁵. The provenance of the stand is uncertain; the inscription does not clearly show the town to which Hathor belongs. However, it was possibly brought from Dendera like the previous vase.



Fig. 13.23.1: After Newberry 1901: 220

Interestingly, NEWBERRY reported that in 1900 during his short stay in Cairo, he examined the antiquities collection of DATTARI⁶. Among the inscribed objects of

¹ Petrie 1903: 34, 43, Pl. XXVIII.

² Petrie 1903: Pl. XXVIII, Wegner 1996: 100, 108.

³ Weigall 1908: 107 [5]; PM V: 116; Ryholt 1997: 349 [16]; Siesse 2019: 387 [13]

⁴ Helck 1983: 37 [46].

⁵ Scott 1986: 188 [117]; Ryholt 1997: 349 [17]; Siesse 2019: 387 [14].

⁶ Newberry 1901: 220.

the collection, he copied an inscription (Fig. 13.23.1) that is identical to the inscription of the ring jar stand. He stated that the inscription runs around a blue glaze ring-stand of a vase. The correspondence between the two objects likely indicates that they are the same object, and perhaps this stand belongs to the previous blue marble vase of WEIGALL (Cat.13.23.9).

10. Wadi Hammamat

Stela Cat.13.23.12

An irregularly shaped stela was found in Wadi Hammamat at the top of one of the sides of the valley where a point for manufacturing rock tools for the quarrymen was located¹. The stela gives significant entries for King *Hr-nfr-R*^c Sobekhotep's family members and his highest regnal years. DEBONO reported that the stela is made of schist and contains two inscribed sides². In his brief report of his expedition at Wadi Hammamat, DEBONO published only one side of the stela (recto)³. Later, W. K. SIMPSON published the other side (verso)⁴. The current location of the stela is unknown⁵.

The recto published by DEBONO shows King Sobekhotep standing and performing prayers in front of God Min, Lord of Coptos. On this side, the king is designated only by his birth name, but most likely he is King *Hr-nfr-R*³ Sobekhotep since three of his royal names are inscribed on the other side of the stela as published by SIMPSON.

The verso is divided into four registers. The first register gives the date, which seems to be the 9th year, the 2nd month of *Akhet* of the king's reign. The second register shows the king's Horus name in the *serekh* followed by a cartouche topped by the title *ntr-nfr* and containing the king's birth and throne names. In front of the king's Horus name is a dedication to God Horus, the Lord of foreign lands. Finally, the king's cartouche is depicted juxtaposed with a cartouche containing the birth and throne names of his brother (13.21) *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep, the justified. The third register lists the members of the royal family who are the Father's God *H^r-nh=f*, the royal mother *Kmj*, the prince *S3-ht-hr*, prince *Sbk-htp*, prince *Sbk-htp*, and prince *H^r-nh=f*. Lastly, the

¹ Debono 1951; PM VII: 332; Ryholt 1997: 349 [18]; Siessé 2019: 387, no. 18 [15]

² Debono 1951: 81- 82.

³ Debono 1951: PL. XV.

⁴ Simpson 1969; Habachi 1981: 79.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 349 [18]

fourth register gives entries for the person responsible for the relief execution, *Si-Remeny*.

Notably, among the names listed in the stela, four names are followed by the epithet “*m3.t hrw*” which means that they were dead at the time of the stela commission. These persons are King *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep, the Father’s God *H3-nh=f*, the royal mother *Kmj*, and the prince *s3-ht-hr*.

The position of the cartouche of King *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep, beside King *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep’s cartouche, most likely indicates that King *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep ascended the throne directly after the death of his brother *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep; maybe they were practising a co-regency before the death of the *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep¹. Nevertheless, the two kings are separated by the name of their brother Sahathor in the Turin King-list (7/26).

Prince Sahathor is followed by two princes Sobekhotps who are most likely the sons of King *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep and may have held the throne after him. Worth mentioning that the next king in Col. 8/1 is King *Hr-htp-R* Sobekhotep. Besides, King *Hr-nh-R* Sobekhotep is not attested in the Turin King-list but stylistically could be one of the followers of King *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep².

11. Tukh

Scarab	Cat.13.23.13
--------	--------------

A scarab³ found by PETRIE in the village of Tukh, the town site of Ancient Egyptian Nubt near Naqada⁴. The scarab belongs to the type of paternal genealogical scarabs which bears the formula: the Good God *Hr-nfr-R*, begotten of God’s father *H3-nh=f*.

12. Asasif

Cup	Cat.13.23.14
-----	--------------

A drinking cup of blue glazed faience shows the throne name of the King. The cup was purchased by the antiquities collector M. MYERS¹ before 1887 from Asasif in the

¹ The two kings are attested juxtaposed in Karnak See Cat. 13.21. 8 and maybe 13.21.9.

² See Chapter Five, 13.c: King *h3-nh-R* Sobekhotep.

³ The catalogue of Ryholt and Sisse list this object as a seal-impression, See Ryholt 349 [19]; Sisse 2019: 387, no. 18 [16].

⁴ Petrie and Quibell 1896: Pl. LXXX [19]; Petrie 1917: Pl. XVIII [13.23.2]; Martin 1971: no. 949; Tufnell 1984: no. 3152.

western bank of Luxor and is now in the Myres Museum of Eton College². It seems that the cup was not functional but was used for votive purposes. Perhaps the cup was a gift to a royal acquaintance for his burial, possibly located in Asasif. Instead, it was dedicated by the king to a temple or a shrine³. However, the archaeological context of the object is insecure for the geographical entries. Nevertheless, the king's dominance is certain within the Theban region, and it is expected that his attestations should be spread within the western Thebes. The inscription on the cup runs in black and reads as: The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, *H-nfr-R*, son of Re, ...*h-R?* beloved of*ntr.w*, may be given life forever. The king's throne name heads by the title *ntr-nfr* and the birth name, which perhaps was inscribed mistakenly with the throne name again. Then follows a dedication to an unreadable name of God⁴.

13. Qurna

Sahathor's statue

Cat.13.23.15

A badly broken statue was found in the portico of the funerary temple of King Seti I in Qurna. The statue was found among a group of three statues, all made of red granite and of similar type and size. Only the current statue preserves its inscriptions which illustrate a dedication for the ka of Prince Sahathor by his brother King *H-nfr-R* Sobekhotep. The upper part of the statue is severely damaged. The life-size statue shows its owner Prince Sahahor sitting and fashioned in a long cloak. The statue's feet rest on a rectangular base and expose two writing lines on both sides⁵.

According to the only publication of V. DAVIES, the inscriptions read as (Right) "...[For] the ka of the King's son, Sa-Hathor, [justified]". (Left) "...Sa-Hathor, (being what) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khanerferre, given life, did for him"⁶. The inscriptions do not give further entries for the statue's provenance, and possibly it was dedicated to a temple or a shrine in western Thebes. Obviously, it is the only evidence of Prince Sahathor in Thebes, and according to the inscriptions, it was made by his brother King *H-nfr-R* Sobekhotep. The statue indicates that Prince

¹ M. MYERS was an Officer in the British army, served in Egypt and educated at Eton College, and lived between (1858-1899); See <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG54626>

² Bourriau 1988: 130 [123]; Ryholt 349, File 13/29 [12]; Siesse 2019: 388, no. 18 [26].

³ Bourriau 1988: 130 [123].

⁴ Newberry 1903: 134-135; Von Beckerath 1964: 249.

⁵ Davies 1988: 177; Siesse 2019: 388 [25].

⁶ Davies 1988: 178.

Sahathor was not a king by his death, and maybe he died during the reign of his brother King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep.

14. Karnak

Pair of doorjambs Cat.13.23.16

A pair of doorjambs attributed to King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep was found in front of the east wing of the eighth pylon of the Temple of Amun-Re of Karnak, as reported by LEGRAIN. The jambs were made of red granite and inscribed on both sides with the king's royal titles and dedication to God Amun. The current location of the jambs is unknown¹.

Stela Cat.13.23.17

A limestone stela was found in the Hypostyle Hall of the Temple of Aumn-Re at Karnak. The stela attests King *Hr-nfr-R*^c Sobekhotep with his full royal names. Most of its lower third is lost and rubbed most of the right side. Nevertheless, the remains of the text deal with the king's birthplace and the administrative tasks in the district of the *tp-rs.y*, head of the south (Thebes). The stela is dedicated to setting up architecture and establishing an offering system to God Amun, the Lord of Karnak².

The stela ties the king to many deities: Ptah-sokar, Atum, Horus, Elder Horus, Onuris, and Iten. Then the king declared in the presence of his courtiers that he was in the southern city and saw the God Amun in the city where he was born. Following up, he remembered Amun's feasts he had witnessed when he was young³. The King erected a new gate of fine Lebanese cedar wood for Amun; he also had the chapel gate of one of the Sobekhotep kings, maybe King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep, renewed⁴.

Afterwards, the king set up a supply system for the temple of Amun, which must have been shared among the major administrative units most likely located in the district of the Head of the South. He detailed that beer and bread should be given by “the treasury,” and emmer and wheat should come from the “great granary” that may belong to the Head of the South district in Thebes. Besides, he ordered four pieces of

¹ Legrain 1903: 26; PM II²: 180.

² Helck 1969; LÄ V:1042-1043; Ryholt 1997: 349 [23]; Siesse 2019: 388 [21]; PM II: 52.

³ HAYES added "... [it is many years since] my majesty [has come] to the southern city", to ensure that the king did not reside in Thebes; Hayes 1953a: 37.

⁴ Wallet-Lebrun 2009: 41-43

cattle to be shared among the administration of the district of the Head of the South, the vizier's bureau, the treasury, and the workforce bureau. The king also noted that the vizier's bureau would give the birds, and with an uncertain reading of the text, the birds-offering would be brought from *hnw*, the residence¹. All these offerings would be prepared in a workhouse of the offering of Amun, and the workforce bureau would appoint five workers to bring the offering to the temple under the bureau's supervision. The king also ordered an offering to the chapel of King [Shm-R^t]-hw-[t³.wj], probably the earlier mentioned Sobekhotep². The rest of the stela is lost; maybe the text ended with adorations for God Amun.

Statue Cat.13.23.18

A Lower part of a seated statue referring to King *Hr-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep was found north of the temple of Opet at Karnak. Both front sides of the seat were engraved with vertical inscriptions giving the king's throne and birth names in one cartouche. ENGELBACH thought that the statue refers to an earlier period, maybe the 12th Dynasty, and was usurped later by King *Hr-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep since the inscriptions were possibly scratched on the stone³. Unfortunately, the statue's current location is unknown, and there is no available photograph.

Restoration inscription **Cat.13.23.19**

The king's throne name is attested on a statue commissioned originally for King *Nb-hpt-R^c* Mentuhotep II. The statue was found broken into three pieces at the seventh pylon of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak⁴. The statue refers to King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep, clarifying that he restored the statue of King *Nb-hpt-R^c*, which was made by Kings *H^c-k3.w-R^c* Senwosret III and *H^c-hpr-R^c* Senwosret II⁵. The statue represents King *Nb-hpt-R^c* in the Osiride form, his arms across his chest, holding the sign of life in each hand, and wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt adorned with a uraeus. There is no further indication that Senwosret II and III made the statue for King *Nb-hpt-R^c*;

¹ Based on this, HELCK mentioned that another vizier's bureau was located in the residence where the birds-offering would be supplied; Helck 1969: 197 [no. i, j]

² Helck 1969; Miosi 1981: 4-11.

³ Engelbach 1921: 63- 64; PM II: 293; Davies 1981: no. 26; Ryholt 1997: 349 [24]; Siesse 2019: 387, no. 18 [17].

⁴ Legrain 1907: 33- 34 [XXX]; PM II: 180; Ryholt 1997: 349 [25]; Siesse 2019: 388, [20].

⁵ Helck 1983: 36 [44]; Castle 1993: 110, 118.

probably King *Hr-nfr-R*^c Sobekhotep desired to associate himself with his great predecessors *Nb-hpt-R*^c Mentuhotep II, Senwosret II, and Senwosret III¹.

Statue of Vizier Iymeru Cat.13.23.20

A headless statue of vizier Iymeru bearing the King's throne and birth name. The statue was found in the Cachette of Karnak in 1902 and is now housed in the Institute of Egyptology, Heidelberg². It is a finely carved statue representing the vizier Iymeru as a scribe, with crossed legs and a roll of papyrus stretching on his lap while he is writing with his right hand and holding the rest of the folded papyrus with his left hand. The writing equipment is hanging on his left shoulder while two pots of colours are on his lap. He wears a long skirt held by two tapes around the neck; the skirt begins under two wrinkles below his chest³.

The inscriptions on the scratching papyrus show how Iymeru was a significant personality in the state administration. He held a bundle of titles that clarified his positions and showed his closeness to the king, who commanded to make this statue and place it in the temple of Amun-Re. Besides, the inscriptions indicate that he belonged to a high-ranking family; his father Iymeru held the position of the controller of the hall⁴.

Statue of Vizier Neferkare
Iymeru Cat.13.23.21

Another statue most probably refers to the vizier Iymeru and attests to the birth name Sobekhotep⁵. The statue was found in the central court of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak⁶. The inscriptions designate the statue's owner as the vizier Neferkare Iymeru and give him five titles of the ten previous statues of vizier Iymeru son of Iymeru, (Cat.13.23.18). Indeed, other attestations to Vizier Neferkare Iymeru clarify his father's name as Iymeru, the controller of the hall, which is the same designation as the previous statue of Iymeru⁷.

¹ Delia 1980: 233-235; Naville 1907: 57-58.

² Ranke 1934: 361-365; PM II: 288; Ryholt 1997: 350 [26]; Siesse 2019: 388 [22].

³ Habachi 1981b: 29.

⁴ Franke 1984: 55 [Nr. 25]; Verbovsek 2004: 380-381; Helck 1983:37 [48]; Kubisch 2008: 96-101.

⁵ Franke 1984: 55 [Nr. 26]; Grajetzki 2009:38; Ryholt belongs *Nfr-K3-R*^c *Jy-mrw* to Sobekhotep *Shm-R*^c-*s:w3d-t3.wj*; Ryholt 1997: 343 [13]; Habachi 1981b: 33; Verbovsek 2004: 384-385.

⁶ Habachi 1981b: 31; PM II 109; Ryhot 1997: 343 [13]; Siesse 2019 388 [23].

⁷ Habachi 1981b: 33-38.

This high-quality statue shows Neferkare Iymeru in a standing position, with an advanced left foot, and stretching his arms close to his body. He wears a long-pleated wig and a long tunic begins at the chest supported by two tapes around the neck¹.

A horizontal inscription on the front gives the positions of Neferkare Iymeru as vizier and town chief. Another inscription on the statue's rear pillar clarifies that the statue was given to the vizier Neferkare Iymeru as a royal gift after a ceremony of opening the canal; which possibly delivered water to the temple of Millions of Years and was probably the last act before the inauguration of the temple². Perhaps the temple of Millions of Years was launched in the domain of Karnak despite its funerary function. Notably, the architectural activity of King *Hr-nfr-r* Sobekhotep is limited to the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak and did not extend to western Thebes, the traditional area for such temples of Millions of Years³.

Statue of the commander Amenemhat

Cat.13.23.22

A base of a broken statue found in the court of the Middle Kingdom at Karnak shows the throne name of King *Hr-nfr-r* Sobekhotep⁴. The inscriptions show that the statue was given by the king to the royal seal holder, courtier, and the great commander of the army, Amenemhat⁵.

15. Edfu

Two stelae of the high-official *Hr-3*

Cat.13.23.23 [a, b]

Two stelae of the high official *Hr-3* dating to year 8 of King *Hr-nfr-r* Sobekhotep⁶. The two stelae and the other three finds attributed to *Hr-3* were found by ALLIOT in the vicinity of the 5th Dynasty mastaba of Vizier *Jsj* at Tell Edfu⁷. SIESSE reported that they are now in the IFAO as C 5254 and C 5310⁸.

Stela: Cat.13.23.23 [a]/ IFAO (C 5254):

It is a small round-topped stela headed by two *Wedjat*-eyes. The stela is divided into four registers and equipped with a niche at its left side, perhaps dedicated to a statue of

¹ Delange 1987: 66-68.

² Habachi 1981b: 32; Ullmann 2002: 6-16.

³ Kubisch 2008: 100.

⁴ Mariette 1875: 45 [20], Taf. 8 [p]; PM II: 109.

⁵ Verbovsek 2004: 388; Helck 1983: 35 [39]; Ryholt 1997: 350 [27]; Siesse 2019: 388 [24].

⁶ PM V: 201; Von Beckerath 1964: 249 [19]; Ryholt 1997: 350 [29]; Siesse 2019 388 [28, 29].

⁷ Alliot 1935: 30 [6]; 32 [10], 33 [12,13], 37 [2]; Kubisch 2008: 184; Aksamit 2011.

⁸ Siesse 2019: 388 [28, 29]

God Horus of *Bhd.t*. The first register gives the 8th regnal year of King *Hr-nfr-r*^c

Sobekhotep as  then four

of his children adoring in front of the niche. The second register shows  *Hr-3* in front of an offering table. The third and fourth registers give the names and titles of the family of *Hr-3* who are involved in the cultic institution of Horus as *wb*-priests, guards, servants, and chiefs of court¹.

Stela: Cat.13.23.23 [b]/ IFAO (C 5310):

The second stela of *Hr-3* contains 12 lines of writing and loses its upper left corner until line 7. The king's royal titles are lost but his 8th year survived. The stela was

headed by  [God Anubis], Lord of the sacred land (the tomb). The last third of the stela shows *Hr-3* in front of an offering table followed by a female, perhaps his

wife. *Hr-3* describes himself as  *ink wr m nw.t=f hntj s.t*, “I am the great of his town, whose place in the front [in the palace?]”². He mentions that

he was born by  *nb.t pr rn-snb*, “The lady of the household *rn-snb*” and

 *shd sms.w Hr-htp*, “supervisor of the guards *Hr-htp*”. He also held the

position  *smsw h3y.t*, “the elder of the foyer”. According to the text, *Hr-3* seeks from the living people who will pass on his tomb that they should hymn an offering formula for his *Ka*³.

Obviously, the hometown of *Hr-3* should be Edfu since his tomb is located there. Perhaps, the *Hr-3*'s designation as “the great in his town” reflects his administrative position as a mayor or a ruler and likely indicates his privileged social position⁴. He was possibly the royal palace's chamberlain since he was responsible for the foyer⁵. Besides, his father perhaps was responsible for the palace retainers. This raises concerns about the royal palace's location, whether it was in Edfu or another

¹ Alliot 1935: 33 [13]; Alliot 1937: 108 [20]

² Kubisch 2008: 181, 183.

³ Alliot 1935: 32 [10]; Alliot 1937: 106 [17]; Kubisch 2008: 180-185.

⁴ Kubisch 2008: 22-23.

⁵ Kubisch 2008: 55-56.

place. Maybe there was a royal palace in Edfu, next to other palaces in centres like Memphis, Abydos, and Thebes.

Seal-impressions

Cat.13.23.24

The archaeological fieldwork (2010-2011) of Yale University by N. MOELLER and G. MAROUARD at Tell Edfu revealed a group of nine seal-impressions attributed to King *Hr-nfr-r* Sobekhotep¹. The impressions were generated from the type of maternal genealogical scarabs that show the king's birth name alongside the formula "born of the king's mother *Kmj*"². Interestingly, Sobekhotep's nine seal-impressions were found in closed archaeological contexts with another group of 41 seal-impressions of King Khayan³. The seal-impressions of kings Sobekhotep and Khayan were discovered in the final occupation and abandonment layers within two columned halls, which were part of an important administrative complex at Edfu. This complex took place during the first half of the 12th Dynasty and lasted during the entire Second Intermediate Period⁴.

King Khayan is a well-known 15 Dynasty Hyksos king and supposed direct predecessor to King Apophis⁵. Nevertheless, there is no confirmed link between him and Apophis. The Turin King-list mentions a sum of six Hyksos rulers, but only the last name of Khamudi survived⁶. The discovery of King Khayan's seal-impressions in the same archaeological context as those of King *Hr-nfr-r* Sobekhotep invokes chronological issues regarding the overlap between the 15th Dynasty and the 13th Dynasty⁷. Furthermore, the discovery raises questions about the territorial expansion of the Hyksos kings into Upper Egypt. Also, from over 1400 seal-impressions discovered in multiple archaeological contexts of the two columned halls, 123 impressions bear characteristics of the late Palestinian scarab series. Examples of these scarabs were found at Tell el-Dab'a and dated to the early 15th Dynasty⁸.

Comment:

¹ Moeller et al. 2011: 87-121; Moeller and Marouard 2018: 173-197; Siesse 2019: 388 [30].

² See Cat.13.23. 5

³ Moeller et al. 2011: 100, 101, Fig.7, Fig. 11 [1]; Moeller 2016: 317-321.

⁴ Moeller et al. 2011: 91-100.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 118- 123.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 95, Fig 11 [Col. 10/28].

⁷ Moeller et al. 2011: 109.

⁸ Mlinar 2004: 122- 129; Moeller et al. 2011: 103.

The two columned halls of the administrative complex of Edfu give a sensible interpretation of the organizational and social position of the high-ranking official *Hr-ε3* (Cat.13.23.23). It is possible that *Hr-ε3* practised his function in the foyer of this administrative complex. Simultaneously, he took charge as mayor of Edfu, considering he was the great one in his town. Besides, the two columned halls probably functioned also as royal premises during the king's visits to the temple of Horus at Edfu or as a royal rest stop during trips to Aswan.

16. Kom Ombo?

Cylinder-seal Cat.13.23.25

An unprovenanced cylinder-seal bearing the king's throne name preceded by the title *ntr-nfr*. The seal is dedicated to God Sobek, Lord of *Nbw.tj*, which should be Ombos/Kom Ombo. Since the find spot of the seal is unknown, it may be from Kom Ombo¹.

17. Elephantine

Cup Cat.13.23.26

A broken faience cup was found in Elephantine at house H47 of residence sector B III. The cup bears the king's throne and birth names in black colour in a top circular band. The cup's body is ornamented with a floral motif².

18. Wadi el-Hudi

Group of stelae Cat.13.23.26 [a, b, c]

King *Hr-nfr-r*^c Sobekhotep is attested at Wadi el-Hudi on five stelae, four of which are dated to his 6th year³. Wadi el-Hudi is one of the important mining locations in the eastern desert, situated about 35 km southeast of Aswan. The location was exploited for amethyst mining during the 11th, 12th, and 13th dynasties⁴. The stelae of King *Hr-nfr-r*^c Sobekhotep document the mining expedition sent in his 6th regnal year, led by high officials and dedicated to Goddess Hathor, mistress of amethyst, and Goddess Satis of Elephantine. The stelae were examined and published respectively by A. FAKHRY (1952), A. SADEK (1980, 1985), and K. SEYFRIED (1981); four of them are now in

¹ Pier 1906-1907: 76, Pl. II [1129]; Ryholt 1997: 350 [30]; Siesse 2019: 389 [38]

² Von Pilgrim 1996: 316, Abb. 134; Ryholt 1997: 350 [32]; Siesse 2019: 388 [31].

³ PM VII: 319; Sadek 1980: 46–52, Sadek 1985: 5–7; Seyfried 1981: 62–73, 299–307; Ryholt 1997: 350 [31], Siessé 2019: [32–36].

⁴ Fakhry 1952: 5-18; Sadek 1981: 1-2.

Aswan Museum (Nr. 1484-1487)¹, while the current location of the fifth is unknown². The current study presents three examples from this group: (Aswan 1484, 1486) which contain a dating, four royal names, and dedication as well as (Aswan 1485) entries for a family member, administration positions, and a clue on the district of the “Head of the South”:

Stela

Cat.13.23.26 [a]

A fragmented (in five pieces) sandstone stela gives the king’s 6th regnal year, the Horus and Two Ladies names, then the throne and birth names in one cartouche. The stela is dedicated to Goddess Hathor, mistress of amethyst, and Goddess Satis of Elephantine³. The stela may be a gift from the king for the *Ka* of an official involved in the expedition.

Stela

Cat.13.23.26 [b]

A granite stela gives the king’s 6th regnal year while his throne and birth names are in one cartouche. The inscriptions show that the stela was given by the king as a dedication to Goddess Hathor, the mistress of amethyst, for the *Ka* of a group of elites who are possibly engaged in the royal palace as courtiers and palace-chamberlain⁴.

Stela

Cat.13.23.26 [c]

A sandstone stela probably attributed to King *H^c-nfr-r^c* Sobekhotep⁵. The king’s cartouche is damaged except for traces of the sign *nfr* . The upper part of the stela shows the standing king holding the *w3s*-scepter and a mace in front of two officials *Jw-nfr* and *Dd.w-tn.j*, who are possibly the expedition leaders. The king follows by the name of the king’s son Sobekhotep who is not depicted on the stela.

The stela illustrates a royal order to four officials to command an expedition for mining precious stones from the “amethyst desert”. The expedition’s target was not only to bring the amethyst but also garnet, greenstone, black quartz, white quartz, and green felspar.

¹ Sadek 1980: no. 22-25.

² Sadek 1985: no. 155.

³ Fakhry 1952: no.22; Sadek 1980: no. 22; Seyfried 1981: 62-63, 299-301.

⁴ Fakhry 1952: no.24; Sadek 1980: no. 24; Seyfried 1981: 70-71, 306.

⁵ Fakhry 1952: no.23; Sadek 1980: 49; Seyfried 1981: 63-70, 302-305

The expedition's leaders are *Jw-nfr*, *Jdn.w n jm.j-r3 pr-wr*, the Deputy of the High Steward, and *Dd.w-tn.j*, *šms.w n ḫrr.jjt*, the guard of the palace foyer. Two other related officials are mentioned: the Chief of the *tm*, *Bb.j* and *Sbk-htp*, *t3.w n sš hr.j htm n wcr.t tp-rs.j*, the scribe in charge of the seal of the district 'Head-of-the-South' who is the son *s3-sbk*, the scribe of the *hnr.t*, the enclosure (work camp). The officials' titles indicate that they are related to the royal palace, and concurrently, one is obviously involved in the administration of the district of the 'Head-of-the-South'. Such indication recommends Thebes as a logistic centre of the mining expeditions towards the eastern desert.

19. Argo Island

Statue	Cat.13.23.27
--------	--------------

A headless statue attributed to King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep was found at the temple of Tabo on Argo Island (Upper Nubia) during the second season of BREASTED's expedition to Egypt¹. It is a life-size seated statue made of black granite. The king wears the royal headdress *nemes* (lappets of *nemes* survive) and the *shendyt*-kilt and rests his hands on his knees. The front of the throne is inscribed by two symmetrical writing columns, starting with the Two Ladies name on both sides and the throne and birth names once on each side². The writing is a dedication to God Osiris-Wennenefer³. Therefore, the statue is probably Abydos and was moved to Argo Island by a late Nubian king⁴.

20. Unknown locations

Box's fragment	Cat.13.23.28
----------------	--------------

An unprovenanced little fragment of an ebony-wooden box contains entries for the member of the royal family of King *H^c-nfr-r^c* Sobekhotep⁵. The well-executed inscriptions give traces of the king's son, whose name certainly ends with the syllable

htp   NEWBERRY read the traces of the king's son's name as  which could be restored as *Jmn-htp*⁶. However, the traces of the actual photographs could be read

¹ Breasted 1908: 41, 44, Fig. 26; PM VII: 180; Ryholt 1997: 349 [14]; Siesse 2019 388 [37].

² Davies 1981: no. 27.

³ Helck 1983: 36 [42].

⁴ Breasted 1908: 44; Von Beckerath 1964: 247.

⁵ Newberry 1903: 358 [49]; Ryholt 1997: 350 [32]; Siesse 2019: 389 [112].

⁶ Newberry 1903: 358 [49]

securely as . Besides, the inscription gives entries for the royal wife's name as 

Inscription

Cat.13.23.29

A part of unprovenanced inscriptions mentions the king's throne name and the land of Wawat¹. The text is unclear due to its bad condition, but it is possibly a biography that gives entries for a military campaign against the Land of Wawat during the king's reign².

Scarabs



According to RYHOLT, 68 unprovenanced scarabs are attributed to King *Hr-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep³. These scarabs contain the types of genealogical paternal/maternal scarabs, and three scarabs (Fig. 13.23.2) contain the king's throne name alongside the title *ntr-nfr*⁴.

Fig. 13.23.2,
After Ben-
Tor 2007: Pl.
22 [4]

13.23.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Hr-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep held the full royal names (Table 13.23.1) and perhaps did not reign for more than nine years. He managed to exploit most of the available state resources. The archaeological record of King *Hr-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep strongly reflects his dominance over Egyptian territories (Table 13.23.2), principally in Memphis, Abydos, and Thebes (Map. 13.23)

The bulk of royal granite sculptures found in Tanis indicate that they came mainly from Memphis according to their devotion to God Ptah. Only one royal statue with a dedication of Hemen, the mistress of Hefat, identified as el-Mo'alla, was found at Tanis, but possibly it was produced in Memphis and shipped to the Eastern Delta together with the others.

¹ Budge 1913: 8, Pl. 23; Ryholt 1997: 350 [33]; Siesse 2019: 389 [39]

² Von Beckerath 1964: 58.

³ Ryholt 1997: 350 [53].

⁴ Tufnell 1984: 366 [3131]; Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 22 [4].

	Titles	Horus <i>nh-jb-t3.wj</i>	Two Ladies <i>W3d-hc.w</i>	G. Horus <i>Wsr-bc.w</i>	Throne/ Good God <i>Hc-nfr-Rc</i>	Birth <i>Sbk-htp</i>
Location	T.K				x	x
	K.K				x	
	Tell Hizzin				x	x
	Tanis				x	x
	Tell el-Maskhuta					x
	Islamic Cairo				x	x
	Lisht				x	
	Fayoum?				x	x
	Atfih?				x	x
	Abydos	x			x	x
	Dendera				x	x
	Wadi Hammamat	x			x	x
	Tukh				x	
	Asasif				x	
	Qurna				x	
	Karnak	x	x	x	x	x
	Tell Edfu				x	x
	Kom Ombo?				x	
	Elephantine				x	x
	Wadi el-Hudi	x	x		x	x
	Argo Island				x	x

Table 13.23.1: Royal names distribution

The statue of Tell Hizzin implies continuity in Egyptian-Byblos relations and its neighbouring centres between the reigns of King *Hc-shm-r* Neferhotep and his brother King *Hc-nfr-r* Sobekhotep. A new gate at the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak was made of Lebanese cedar. Evidence from Tell Edfu assures mutual trade between Egypt and the eastern Delta settlers in the reign of King Khayan and the two brother kings *Hc-shm-r* Neferhotep and *Hc-nfr-r* Sobekhotep. The mining activity of King *Hc-nfr-r* Sobekhotep in Wadi Hammamat and Wadi el-Hudi possibly flourished and enriched the king's attestations.

The archaeological record does not give clues on the control of King *Hc-nfr-r* Sobekhotep in the Egyptian fortresses in Lower Nubia. However, the southernmost point that attests to the king is the Argo Island, but it is almost certain that the royal statue there came from Abydos. Besides, a fragmentary inscription suggests military activity directed against Wawat during the king's reign.

The main architectural activities of the king focused on Memphis, Abydos, and Thebes. However, Thebes had a particular position for the king as his birthplace. The entries on his stela from Karnak (Cat. 13. 23. 17) indicate that Thebes was not the royal residence. However, the stela mentions four administrative units which should be engaged in the Theban region, among them the vizier's bureau. Therefore, if the vizier's bureau is directly connected to the royal residence, it should also be the royal residence not far from Thebes. In this context and as mentioned earlier, the two brothers, kings *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep and *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep, perhaps selected Abydos for their interments; consequently, the royal residence may be closer to Abydos than any other power centre¹.



Map 13.23: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

¹ See 13.21.2

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Tell Hizzin	statue	dedication	Ra-Horakhty	diorite?	good	yes	Yes	●
Tanis	pair of colossal statues	dedication	Ptah	red granite	good	yes	yes	●
	statue	dedication	Ptah	black granite	——	yes	yes	●
	statue	dedication	Hemen	gabbro	v. good	yes	yes	●
Tell el-Maskhuta	scarab	——	——	steatite	——	yes	?	●
Heliopolis	sphinx	——	——	——	——	yes	no	●
Lisht	scarab	——	——	steatite?	——	yes	?	●
Fayoum	cylinder-seal	dedication	Sobek and Horus	steatite	good	yes	?	●
Atfih?	Sphinx	dedication	Hathor	micro-gabbro/microdiorite	good	yes	?	●
Abydos	chapel	dedication	Osiris-Wennenefer	black granite, limestone	——	yes	no	●
Dendera	vase	dedication	Hathor	marble	——	yes	no	●
	jar stand	dedication	Hathor	faience	fair	yes	?	●
Wadi Hammamat	stela	dedication, family-list	Min of Coptos	schist	fair	yes	no	●
Tukh	scarab	——	——	steatite	good	yes	?	●
Asasif	cup	dedication	?	faience	good	yes	?	●
Qurna	statue	dedication	<i>Ka</i> of Sahathor	red granite	bad	yes	?	●
Karnak	pair of door-jambs	dedication	Amun-Re	red granite	——	yes	no	●
	stela	decree	Ptah-Sokar, Atum, Horus, Onuris, Iten Amun-Re	limestone	good	yes	no	●
	statue	dedication	Amun-Re?	black granite	——	yes	no	●
	inscription	restoration	——	——	——	yes	no	●
Edfu	seal impression	mailing	——	mud	——	yes	no	●
Kom Ombo?	cylinder-seal	dedication	Sobek of <i>nbw.tj</i>	steatite	——	yes	?	●
Elephantine	cup	——	——	faience	——	yes	?	●
Wadi el-Hudi	group of stelae	dedication, mining decree	Hathor of Amethyst, and Satis, of Elephantine	sandstone, black granite	fair	yes	no	●
Argo Island	statue	dedication	Osiris-Wennenefer	black granite	fair	yes	yes	●

Table 13.23.2: Royal attestations validity assessment

TK. Col. 7/28 lost? RYHOLT proposed that the papyrus sheet lost a piece at the end of col. 7/28. He proposed to assign this place to King *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep based on the seriation of scarab seals¹. However, King *Mr-htp-R^c* is mentioned in Col. 8/4². On the other hand, SIESSE proposed to place King *H^c-n^cnh-R^c* Sobekhotep in this alleged lost place in col. 7/28³.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 22-23.

² The present study follows SIESSE to identify King *Mr-htp-R^c* of Col. 8/4 as *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep.

³ Siesse 2019: 390, no. 19



13.24: King *Hr-htp-Rˁ*: listed as the 24th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries on the king's regnal years give 4 years, 8 months, and 29 days¹. The king is

mentioned in the Karnak Offering-list No. 46 as² According to the archaeological record, the king's throne name corresponds with the birth name Sobekhotep.

The king held the royal names as: Throne *Hr-htp-Rˁ*, The (very) appearance of the peace of Re/ The appearance of the peace, Re³; Birth , , *Sbk-htp*, Sobekhotep⁴.

13.24.1: Attestations:

1. Abydos

Unidentified object

The king *Hr-htp-Rˁ* Sobekhotep is attested in Abydos but there is no data about the kind of object. The king's royal names were reported by ROSSELINI⁵ (Fig. 13.24.1)



Fig. 13.24.1: After Prisse d'Avesnes 1846: Fig. 10

Scarab

Cat. 13.24.1

A scarab found at Abydos bears the king's throne name inside a cartouche and the birth name without a cartouche⁶. It is now in the Grand Egyptian Museum.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Siessé 2019: 36-37; Delange 2015: 103,107.

³ According to Buchberger's reading for the throne names; Buchberger 1993: 616-619.

⁴ Leprohon 2013: 68 [31].

⁵ Rosselini 1832: 144-145, Pl. III; Prisse d'Avesnes 1846: 10, Fig. 10; Ryholt 1997: 353, File 13/31 [1]; Siessé 2019: 391, no. 20 [1].

⁶ Newberry 1907: no. 36020; Ryholt 1997: 353, File 13/31 [2]; Siessé 2019: 391, no. 20 [6-12].

2. Kerma

Statuette Cat. 13.24.2

A granite statuette found in Kerma in an area designated as Tumulus X, attributed to King *Hr-htp-Rˁ*¹. The statue was found in 1889 and acquired by the Egyptian Museum, Berlin, but without any designation for the king's name since the front part of its pedestal was broken off². In 1990, RYHOLT found two inscribed fragments that fit the front part of the pedestal in the storage of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston³. Now, the whole statue is displayed at the Neues Museum of Berlin⁴. The fragments are inscribed with the king's throne name and a dedication to Goddess Satet of Elephantine. Therefore, the statuette was most likely transferred from Elephantine to Kerma, maybe as booty in the wake of Nubian attacks against Elephantine⁵.

The statuette represents the king in a kneeling position holding an offering bowl in his right hand and resting his left upon his thigh. The king wears royal headdress *nemes* adorned with a uraeus and a *shendyt*-kilt.

3. Unknown location

Cylinder-seal Cat. 13.24.3

Unprovenanced cylinder-seal bearing the king's throne name inside a cartouche and birth name outside⁶. QUIRKE suggests that the cylinder is possibly from the New Kingdom or later, and inscriptions were added in modern times⁷. The inscription is identical to those on the scarab discussed above (Cat. 13.24.1)⁸.

Scarabs Cat. 13.24.4

The king's throne and birth name are attested on six unprovenanced scarabs⁹. The present study discusses one example at the Chicago Oriental Institute.

13.24.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

¹ Ryholt 1997: 353, File 13/31 [3]

² Hein (ed.) 1994: 115, no. 53.

³ Wildung (ed.) 1996: 116 [128].

⁴ Inventory Nr. ÄM 10645.

⁵ Ryholt 1998: 32-33.

⁶ Petrie 1925: Pl. XXVI [13.26.5]; Ryholt 1997: 353, File 13/31 [4]

⁷ Quirke 2006: 268 [7]

⁸ I follow Quirke's assumption.

⁹ Ryholt 1997: 353, File 13/31 [6]; Siesse 2019: 391, no. 20 [6-12].

Only a little evidence attests to King *H^c-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep in Upper Egypt (Map. 13.24). It is thus unknown if he bore more than the throne and birth royal names (Table 13.24.1). It is worth mentioning that his royal names resemble his predecessor in the Turin King-list, King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep. Perhaps the king had a notable activity in Abydos and Thebes like his predecessor, but the archaeological record does not support this assumption (Table 13.24.2). However, the king's appearance in the Karnak Offering-list indicates that he contributed to the Temple of Amun-Re. Possibly, his statuette produced at Elephantine reflects a high level of execution but does not indicate the state's competence in exploiting the resources by itself.

Titles		Horus	Two ladies	G. Horus	Throne <i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Sbk-htp</i>
Provenance	TK.				x	
	KK.				x	
	Abydos				x	x
	Kerma				x	

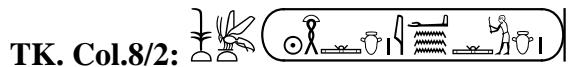
Table 13.24.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Abydos	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	●
Kerma	statuette	dedication	Satet	granite	good	yes	yes	●

Table 13.24.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.24: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13. 25: King *W3h-jb-Rˁ Jb-jc(w)*: the 25th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries on the king's regnal years give 10 years, 8 months, and 28 days¹. The king is only mentioned with the throne and birth name in the Turin King-list. The archaeological record additionally preserves the throne name *W3h-jb-Rˁ* and the birth name *Jb-jc(w)* (Ibia). The study thus cautiously attributes these attestations of the throne or birth name to the king *W3h-jb-Rˁ Jb-jc(w)*. The king held the royal names as: Throne *W3h-jb-Rˁ*, The enduring one is the (very) mind of Re/ the enduring mind of Re;

Birth *Jb-jc(w)*, Ibia, The quiet one².

13. 25. 1: Attestations:

1. Byblos

Scarab Cat. 13.24.1

A scarab bearing the king's throne name was found in Byblos during the excavation works by M.DUNAND³.

2. Lisht

Bead Cat. 13.25.2

The king is attested on a bead found in Lisht by excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The inscription on the bead gives the king's throne name, headed by the title *ntr-nfr* and a dedication to God Sobek of Semenu⁴. Possibly, the bead did not originate at Lisht but at Gebelein, based on the dedication to Sobek of *Semenu*⁵.

3. Abydos

Seal-impression Cat. 13.25.3

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Leprohon 2013: 68 [32].

³ Dunand 1950-1985: 24; Tufnell 1984: no. 3169.

⁴ Hayes 1953b: 344, Fig. 226; Siesse 2019: 391, no. 21 [1].

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/32 [5].

The king's birth name is attested on a seal impression found in the *Wah-sut* town in Abydos-South during excavations by J.WEGNER. The seal was found alongside other seals of the late 12th and 13th dynasties¹.

4. Thebes

Stela of an official

Cat. 13.25.4

The king's throne name is attested on a round-topped stela found at Thebes by native diggers². The stela is attributed to an official named Sahathor and his wife Senebseni. The lunette of the stela shows the *shen* sign between the two *Wedjat* eyes. The lunette is flanked with two columns of writing that give the king's name to the right side as



, the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands *Jb-jrw* (Ibia), given life. To the left it says



, the royal seal bearer and the overseer of the main enclosure (work camp) *Jb-jrw* (Ibia).

The main text of the stela below contains 14 lines of writing and a scene in the bottom left corner for Sahathor and his wife, Senebseni, in front of an offering table.

The text begins with an offering formula containing the gods Ptah-Soker, Osiris, lord of Abydos, and Amun Re, the lord of the thrones of the Two Lands for the *Ka* of



, the commander of the crew of the ruler *S3-hw.t-hr* and his wife



, the hand-maiden among the first of the king *Snbt-n-s=j*. Then a list of 33 names; only the first 8 names have a relationship with Sahathor. Many of the listed names connect with the cult of Amun-Re and others related to the palace. The family of Sahathor held military roles and high offices close to the king and connected to Upper Egypt and Nubia³.

Interestingly, the overseer of the enclosure Ibia bears the same name as the King, and both are inscribed on the same level on the stela. It is not attested that Sahathor has a familial relation to the overseer of the enclosure Ibia. Possibly Sahathor

¹ Wegner 2000: 91-93, Fig. 5 [4]; Siesse 2019: 391, no. 21 [5].

² Newberry 1903: 130-134; Budge 1913: Pl. 27.

³ Bourriau 1988: 57-59.

wanted to honour Ibia, putting him in a prominent position alongside King Ibia because he was his superior chief^l.

It is worth mentioning that it has been proposed that since the name of the overseer of the enclosure, Ibia, is illustrated in parallel to King *W3h-jb-R^c* Ibia, it indicates a close relationship between the two individuals. Possibly, the overseer Ibia is a future vizier². This assumption possibly concurs with attestations referring to “the controller of the hall”, Senebhena^cef, the son of the Vizier Ibia. It is possible that the overseer of the enclosure Ibia held this office before becoming a vizier under King *W3h-jb-R^c* Ibia³. However, it is not an entirely certain assumption since other persons with the same name and title have been dated to the same period⁴.

Interestingly, the “controller of the hall”, Senebhena^{ef}, became a vizier like his father, Ibia⁵. His name is attested as a vizier on the coffin of his daughter Queen, Mentuhotep, the wife of King Djehuty. Queen Mentuhotep’s burial is attested in Dra’ Abu el-Naga. Therefore, it is supposed that King Djehuty is a Theban king who is possibly attributed to the 16th Dynasty and possibly listed in the Turin King-list in Col. 11/1 as *Shm-R^r-[smn-t3.wj]*, according to RYHOLT⁶. Based on this evidence, proof of overlapping has been proposed between the 13th Dynasty King *W3h-jb-R^r* Ibia Col. 8/2 and the 16th Dynasty King *Shm-R^r-[smn-t3.wj]* Djehuty Col. 11/1⁷. Again, this assumption could be reliable only if the vizier Ibia is himself the same Ibia, the overseer of the enclosure.

5. Gebelein?

Cylinder-seals

Three unprovenanced cylinder-seals attesting King *w3h-jb-R^c* with a dedication for God Sobek, Lord of *Semenu*. Perhaps they came from Gebelein. The present study exposes one example from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 72666)⁸

¹ Habachi 1984: 120-121 [doc. 7].

² Habachi 1984: 125

³ Habachi 1984: 125.

⁴ Grajetzki 2009: 40.

⁵ Franke 1984: 388 [Nr. 661].

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 388.

⁷ Bennett 2002: 126-128.

⁸ Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/32 [6]; Newberry 1908: 115, Pl. VII [5]; Yoyotte 1957: 86 [2ii], 88 [2jj, 2kk]

6. Unknown location

Scarabs

Cat. 13.25.6

A group of unprovenanced scarabs separately attesting the king's throne and birth names¹. The study discusses two examples now in the British Museum (EA 66157-66158)².

13. 25.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *W3h-jb-R^c* Ibia is attested mainly in Upper Egypt (Map. 13.25). His attestations in Lower Egypt, even in Byblos, do not imply his control there. The royal names fail to indicate he ruled over Upper and Lower Egypt (Table 13.25.1). Notably, the king was not mentioned in any of his attestations with the title *nsw-bj.tj* but *ntr-nfr*, except in the Turin King-list. The only valuable attestation of King Ibia is the stela of one of the officials that he and his family are correlated within the royal palace and the temple of Amun-Re (Table 13.25.2). Such an indication implies that the king's control was limited to the Theban region. The king's little attestations do not reflect his 10 regnal years, and quite possibly the entries in the King-list are unreliable.

	Titles	Horus	Two ladies	G. Horus	Throne/ <i>ntr nfr</i> <i>W3h-jb-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Jb-j^cw</i>
Provenance	TK.				x	x
KK.						
Byblos					x	
Lisht					x	
Abydos						x
Thebes						x
Gebelein?					x	

Table 13.25.1: Royal names distribution

¹ Tufnell 1984: Pl. LV [3168, 3170-3171]; Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/32 [7]; Siesse 2019: 392, no. 21 [9-19].

² Tufnell 1984: Pl. LV [3168, 3170]

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Byblos	scarab	—	—	steatite	—	—	?	●
Lisht	bead	ornament	Sobek	steatite	good	yes	?	●
Abydos	seal-impression	mailing	—	mud	—	—	?	●
Thebes	stela	dedication	Ptah-Soker, Osiris, Amun-Re	limestone	good	yes	no	●
Gebelein?	cylinder-seals	dedication	Sobek	steatite	fair	—	?	●

Table 13.25.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.25: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



13. 26: King *Mr-nfr-Rˁ*: the 26th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries on the king's regnal years give 23 years, 8 months, and 18 days¹. According to the archaeological record, in particular a bulk of scarabs, the king's throne name concurs with the birth name *Jy*, Aya.

The king held the royal names as: Throne *Mr-nfr-Rˁ*, The one whom the perfection of Ra has loved/ Beloved one of the perfection of Re; Birth *Jy*, Aya².

13. 25. 1: Attestations:

1. Fâqûs

Pyramidion Cat. 13.26.1

A big fragment of an inscribed pyramidion was seized by the police in Fâqûs in 1911³. The pyramidion is attributed to King [Mr]-nfr-Rˁ Aya and was published in 1952⁴. HABACHI proposed that the pyramidion came from Khatâna⁵ since he found another non-inscribed pyramidion in Ezbet Rushdi el-Kebira, a village near Khatâna⁶.

The pyramidion is inscribed on three faces with small square-framed scenes on each side. Unfortunately, considerable parts of the inscriptions were intentionally erased. Certainly, the pyramidion had a fourth inscribed face but that has not survived. The scenes show the king making an offering in front of three deities accompanied by a caption. Two deities are Ptah and Re-Hor(akhty), and the third is a human-headed god whose name is gone. The king's birth name, "Jy," could read on the side of God Re-Hor(akhty) and barely on the side of the human-headed god. The side of God Ptah shows the destroyed king's cartouche of the throne name, where one can hardly distinguish the signs *Rˁ.....nfr*. Since the king is already attested on many scarabs with his throne and birth name side by side, the king's throne name could be read as *Mr-nfr-*

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Leprohon 2013:68-69 [33].

³ A town of the Scharkia (Sharqiyâ?) governorate in the eastern Delta.

⁴ Habachi 1952: 471-479; Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [4]; Siesse 2019: 392, no. 22 [1].

⁵ Khatâna is situated less than 7 km north of Fâqûs, about 1 km west of Tell el-Dab'a, and less than 2 km south of of Ezbet Rushdi el-Kebira.

⁶ Habachi 1952: 474-475.

R^c. The pyramidion probably originated from the Memphite region and was transferred later to the eastern Delta¹. HABACHI proposed that the king erected his pyramid in the eastern Delta since the pyramidion was found there²; yet this assumption is excluded since the attested deities on the pyramidion belong to the Memphite region. Besides, many of the 13th Dynasty attestations found in the eastern Delta refer originally to the Memphite region and were moved from there mostly by Hyksos³.

2. Bubastis

Scarab	Cat. 13.26.2
--------	--------------

A scarab seal found in Bubastis bearing the king's throne name headed by the title *ntr-nfr*⁴.

3.Tell el-Yahudiya

Scarabs	Cat. 13.26.3
---------	--------------

Two scarab seals found in Tell el-Yahudiya, bearing the king's throne name headed by the title *ntr-nfr*⁵.

4. Heliopolis?

Jar	Cat. 13.26.4
-----	--------------

A globular ointment jar bearing the king's throne name with the title *ntr-nfr* and a dedication to God Re-Horakhty. The jar's provenance is unknown, but it is perhaps from Heliopolis based on the dedication to God Re-Horakhty⁶.

5. Fayoum

Bead	Cat. 13.26.5
------	--------------

A limestone bead bearing the king's throne name in one cartouche with the title *ntr-nfr* and a dedication to God Sobek of *Shedet*. Its provenance is unknown and may have originated from the Fayoum due to the mention of God Sobek of *shedet*⁷.

6. Lisht

¹ Von Beckerath 1964: 59; Ryholt 1997: 82, n. 254.

² Habachi 1952: 478-479.

³ See 13. 17: King *s:mnh-k3-R^cjmy-r mš^c*, Cat. 13.17.1.

⁴ Newberry 1907: no. 36022; Tufnell 1984: no. 3173; Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [1].

⁵ Petrie 1906: 10, 15, Pl. IX [116]; Fraser 1900: no. 55; Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [2].

⁶ Cooney 1953: 5-6, Pl. IX [a]; Lilyquist 1995: 47, Fig. 127; Grajetzki 2015: 310, Fig. 118; Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [3]; Siesse 2019: 392, no. 22 [5].

⁷ Godron 1965: 198-200; Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [5]; Siesse 2019: 392, no. 22 [6].

Scarabs Cat. 13.26.6

Five scarabs bearing the King's throne name with the title *ntr-nfr* were found in Lisht¹. The present study discusses one example from the Metropolitan Museum (20.1.1)².

7. Abydos

Scarabs Cat. 13.26.7

Two scarabs found in Abydos bear the king's throne and birth name side by side³. The present study exposes one example from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo [CG 36021], now in the Grand Egyptian Museum 5390.

Seal-impression Cat. 13.26.8

A seal impression bearing the king's throne and birth names side by side was found in the mortuary temple of King Senwosret III in Abydos-South⁴.

8. Koptos

Scarab Cat. 13.26.9

A scarab bearing the king's throne name with the title *ntr-nfr* was found in Koptos⁵.

9. Thebes

Lintel Cat. 13.26.10

A part of a lintel bearing the king's throne name with the title *ntr-nfr* was discovered by LEGRAIN near Karnak's sacred lake⁶.

10. Unknown location

Cylinder-seal Cat. 13.26.11

Unprovenanced cylinder-seal bearing the King's throne name headed by the title *ntr-nfr*⁷.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [6]; Tunfell 1984: no. Egyptian Museum, Cairo [CG 36023-36024], Metropolitan Museum [20.1.1, 22.1.325]

² Hayes 1953b: 344; Tufnell 1984: no. 3191.

³ Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [7]; Newberry 1906: 123, Pl. X [19]; Newberry 1907: no. 36021.

⁴ Wegner 2007: 113-115, Fig. 144 [8]; Siesse 2019: 392, no. 22 [4].

⁵ Petrie 1896: Pl. XXIV [3]; Ryholt 1997: 354. File 13/33 [8].

⁶ Legrain 1908a: 273-277; PM II 1972: 259; Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [9]; Siesse 2019: 392, no. 22 [3].

⁷ Hayes 1953b: 343–344, fig. 226; Siesse 2019: 392, no. 22 [4].

Scarabs

The king is attested on a bulk of unprovenanced scarabs. RYHOLT counted a total of 51 scarabs. They bear the king's throne name or the throne and birth names¹.

13.26.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Mr-nfr-R^c* Aya reigned for about 24 years, the longest reign in the 13th Dynasty according to the Turin King-list. Nevertheless, his few attestations do not reflect this long period (Table 13.26.2) The king is attested in Lower Egypt mainly by a fairly executed pyramidion, and in Upper Egypt by a fragment of a well-executed lintel in Thebes² (Map. 13.26). The double-name scarabs ascertain that the throne name *Mr-nfr-R^c* corresponds with the birth name Aya (Table 13.26.1). It is noteworthy that the king's attestations do not contain the title *nsw-bj.tj* but rather *ntr-nfr*.

	Titles	Horus	Two ladies	G. Horus	Throne/ <i>ntr nfr</i> <i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Jy</i>
Location	TK.				x	
	Fâqûs				x	x
	Bubastis				x	
	Tell el-Yahudiya				x	
	Heliopolis?				x	
	Fayoum				x	
	Lisht				x	
	Abydos				x	x
	Koptos				x	
	Thebes				x	

Table 13.26.1: Royal names distribution

The preserved attestations are dedicated to northern deities (Ptah, Re-Horakhty, Sobek of *shedet*). Besides, his seal impression in Abydos indicates his patronage of the cult centre of Senwosret III in Abydos and for God Osiris. Furthermore, his contribution to Karnak shows his veneration of God Amun-Re. The evidence gives the impression that the king controlled these important centres.

The king's pyramidion indicates that the king's power base should be in the Memphite region. In comparison with King Khendjer's pyramidion, it is evident that King Aya's pyramidion was not executed with the same quality that Memphite

¹ Ryholt 1997: 354, File 13/33 [11]; Siesse 2019: 42, 392, no. 22 [7].

² Perhaps, the king was mentioned in the Karnak Offering-list as No. 40, but unfortunately his name was lost; See Siesse 2019: 37.

workshops should have supplied. The king's long reign, if accurate, should give the king an adequate opportunity to exploit the country's resources and should result in a satisfactory level in the execution and the scale of the monuments. It seems that King *Mr-nfr-R*^c Aya, despite his attestations in Lower and Upper Egypt did not rule with absolute authority over the two lands.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Fâqûs	Pyramidion	funeral	Re-Hor(-akhty), Ptah	granite	fair	?	yes	●
Bubastis	scarab	_____	_____	steatite	good	?	?	●
Tell el-Yahudiyâ	scarabs	_____	_____	steatite	good	?	?	●
Heliopolis?	Jar	ornament	Re-Hor-akhty	obsidian	good	yes	?	●
Fayoum	bead	ornament	Sobek	limestone	_____	?	?	●
Lisht	scarabs	_____	_____	steatite	good	?	?	●
Abydos	scarab	_____	_____	steatite	good	yes	?	●
	seal-impression	mailing	_____	mud	good	yes	no	●
Thebes	lintel	dedication?	Amun Re?	limestone	good	yes	no	●

Table 13.26.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.26: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



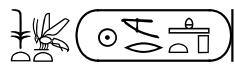
13. 27: King *Mr-htp-Rˁ*: listed as the 27th king of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries on his regnal years give 2 years, x+2 months, and 9 days¹. The king is

mentioned in Karnak Offering-list No. 50² as



The archaeological record preserves two kings that bear the throne name *Mr-htp-Rˁ*. The first is *Mr-htp-Rˁ* Ini, who is attested in two unprovenanced objects (a jar lid and a scarab)³. The second King is *Mr-htp-Rˁ* Sobekhotep, who is attested on three statues in the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak. The current study deals with King *Mr-htp-Rˁ* as *Mr-htp-Rˁ* Sobekhotep due to his secured attestations⁴. The King bears only the

throne and birth names as Throne



Mr-htp-Rˁ, The one whom the

peace of Ra has loved/ Beloved one of the peace of Re; Birth



Sbk-htp, Sobek is satisfied⁵.

13.27.1: Attestations:

1. Fayoum?

Cylinder-seal

The king's throne name, *Mr-htp-Rˁ*, is attested on an unprovenanced cylinder-seal with a dedication to God Sobek, Lord of *Shedet*⁶. Therefore, it may be that the seal originated in the Fayoum area, but it is uncertain since the king has no further attestations in the north. The cylinder-seal is in the Michailidis collection, and no illustrations exist.

2. Abydos

Stela

Cat.13.27.1

King *Mr-htp-Rˁ* is depicted on a small round-topped stela found in Abydos. The stela is topped by the winged sun-disk *Bhdt*. The text and main scene of the stela shows the

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71, Siesse 2019: 26, 28.

² Siesse 2019: 36-37; Delange 2015: 103,107.

³ Ryholt deals with the king as *mr-htp-Rˁ* Ini see Ryholt 1997: 356; while he puts King *mr-htp-Rˁ* Sobekhotep in a missing location in Col. 7/28 after King *ḥr-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep.

⁴ Von Beckerath and after him Siesse combine the two kings into one as *Mr-htp-Rˁ* Sobekhotep/Ini; see Von Beckerath 1964: 60; Siesse 2019: 64-65, 393.

⁵ Leprohon 2013: 68 [30].

⁶ Von Beckerath 1964: 253 [8]; Yoyotte 1957: P. 86 (Iq); Siesse 2019: 393 File 13/30 [7].

King performing prayer in front of God Wepwawet, the Lord of the sacred land and the head of Adydos¹.

3. Karnak

Statue Cat.13.27.2

A seated statue representing King *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep was found in the Karnak cachette². The King wears the knee-long *heb-sed* mantle and holds the sceptres *hk3* and *nhh* crossed over his chest. The king wears the white crown of Upper Egypt and tramples the nine bows. The front of the throne is inscribed with two columns of inscriptions on each side. The inscriptions give the throne and birth names of the king and a dedication to Gods Amun-Re and Re-Horakhty.

Statuette Cat.13.27.3

A standing statuette representing King *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep is also found in the Karnak cachette³. The statuette is missing its head and represents the king wearing the *shendyt*-kilt. Since there are no traces of the straps of the royal headdress *nemes*, it is possible that the king was wearing the white crown of Upper Egypt like the previous statue. The king's birth name is inscribed on the pedestal. The statuette is supported on a back-pillar inscribed with the king's birth and throne names.

stela Cat.13.27.4

King *Mr-htp-R^c* is mentioned on a stela found in the hypostyle hall of the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak⁴. The stela dates to the reign of King *S.w3d-n-R^c* Nebiryraw, who is listed in Turin King-list col. 11/5 and belongs to the 16th Dynasty, according to the current division of RYHOLT⁵. The stela is published by LACAU, who identified it as the “*Stèle juridique*” since it reports the transfer of the governorship of El-Kab between two relatives⁶.

The text records the sale of the governorship of El-Kab from its actual governor Kebsy to his relative Sobeknakht (I) for 60 golden *dbn* in the first year of King *S.w3d-n-R^c* Nebiryraw. Kesby inherited the office through his father, vizier Aymeru, who

¹ Lange and Schäfer 1902: 54, no. 20044

² Legrain 1906: no. 42027; Davies 1981: no. 31; Ryholt 1997: 353 File 13/30 [1]; Siesse 2019: File 13/30 [2].

³ Davies 1981: no. 32; Ryholt 1997: 353 File 13/30 [3]; Siesse 2019: File 13/30 [3].

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 356, File 13/34 [1]; Siesse 2019: File 13/30 [8].

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 151-162.

⁶ Lacau 1949.

inherited the office through his elder son from his mother Ay-the-young, who died without children; he inherited the office through his father, vizier Ay, and the husband of Reditenes, the king's daughter in the first year of King *Mr-htp-R^c*.

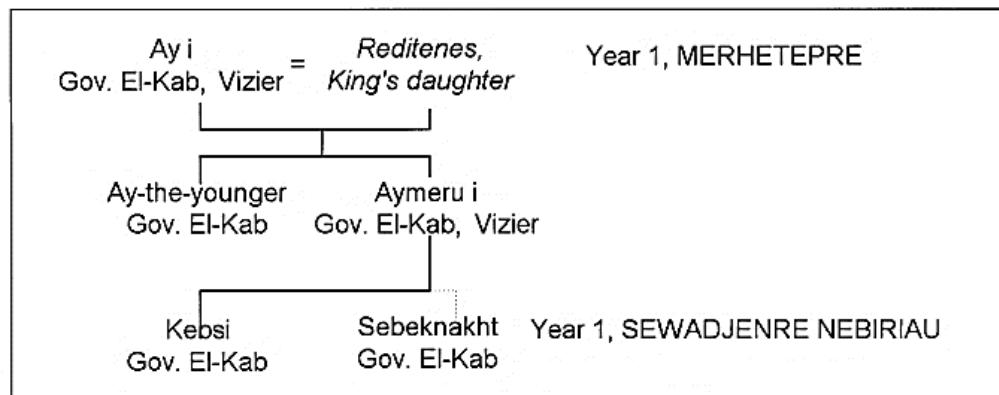


Fig. 13.27.1: After Bennett 2002: Fig. 1

The importance of this stela in the context of the current study comes in presenting reliable entries about the explicit linkage between the 13th (col. 8/4) and 16th (col. 11/5) dynasties in the Turin King-list. The genealogical data illustrate that Kebsy and his ancestors held the office for three generations, from the grandfather to the grandson (Fig. 13.27.1). The length of an Egyptian generation is estimated at 25 years¹. Therefore the timespan between the first year of King *Mr-htp-R^c* and the first year of King *S.w3d-n-R^c* Nebiryraw could have spanned between 40 and 50 years². From col. 8/4 (*Mr-htp-R^c*) to 11/5 (*S.w3d-n-R^c* Nebiryraw) in the list, 29 kings should have reigned. This suggests an inconsistency in the scenario that 29 consecutive kings ruled for about 40 to 50 years in the same institution³. This issue has caused scholars to argue for the rise of the 16th Dynasty before the end of the 13th Dynasty⁴.

Another significant aspect of the stela's genealogical data is an association between the governorship of the El-Kab and the vizierate. The vizier Ay of King *Mr-htp-R^c* was the governor of El-Kab; the office was later transferred to his son Aymeru, who also held the vizierate. It is possible that the governorship of El-Kab preceded the vizierate in the case of vizier Ay. At the same time, it is apparent that his son Aymeru combined the two offices.

¹ Bennett 2002: 124 [no.7].

² Bennett 2002: 124.

³ Ilin-Tomich 2014: 146-147.

⁴ Spalinger 2001: 298; Bennett 2002; Allen 2010: 4.

13.27.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep's royal names do not involve political or geographical allusions according to the available attestations (Table 13.27.1). He is attested mainly in Upper Egypt (Map. 13.27). It is difficult to rely on a cylinder-seal with a dedication to Sobek of *Shedet* to prove the king's control of Northern Egypt. It is clear that he was active in Thebes based on the attestations from Karnak Temple and his appearance in the Karnak Offering-list. Besides, he is modestly attested in Abydos. The king's few attestations hint at limited resources at the disposal of the state (Table 13.27.2)

Titles		Horus	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne/ <i>ntr nfr Mr-htp-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Sbk-htp</i>
Provenance	TK.				x	
	KK.				x	
	Fayoum?				x	
	Abydos				x	
	Karnak				x	x

Table 13.27.1: Royal names distribution

Stèle juridique gives a clue that the vizierate was associated with the office of the governor of El-Kab. This suggests that the administrative apparatus was limited to Upper Egypt and maybe did not exceed Abydos. Furthermore, the governor's family of El-Kab practised a powerful role in reinforcing the kingship through marital relationships based on the vizier Ay's wife being the king's daughter

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Fayoum?	seal	dedication	Sobek of <i>shedet</i>	satiate?	—	?	?	●
Abydos	stela	dedicateion	Wep-wawet	limestone	fair	yes	no	●
Karnak	statue	dedicateion	Amun-Re	grano-diorite	v. good	yes	no	●
	statuette	dedicateion	Amun-Re	schist	good	yes	no	●
	stela	juridical	Amun-Re	limestone	good	yes	no	●

13.27.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.27: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

TK. Col.8/5  (𗃓𗃔𗃔𗃔𗃔𗃔)

13.28: King *Sennedjem-Ra s:wtw*: the 28th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years give 3 years and 2 months¹. There are no attestations of the king's name.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.



13.29: King *Mr-shm-Rˁ Jnd*: the 29th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries on his regnal years give 3 years, 1 month, and 1 day¹. The archaeological record does not preserve any attestations combining the throne name *Mr-shm-Rˁ* and the birth name *Jnd*. Notably, the throne name *Mr-shm-Rˁ* is mentioned on two statuettes from the Karnak cachette with the birth name *Nfr-htp*. The Karnak Offering-list shows the throne name *Mr-shm-Rˁ* No. 41 as² close to King *Mr-k3.w-Rˁ Sobekhotep* No. 42, listed in Turin King-list Col. 8/8.

VON BECKERATH proposed that King *Mr-shm-Rˁ Jnd* and *Mr-shm-Rˁ Neferhotep* were one single king based on the style of the statuettes. Those of King *Mr-shm-Rˁ Neferhotep* closely resemble those of his predecessor *Mr-htp-Rˁ* in col. 8/4 and his successor *Mr-k3.w-Rˁ* col. 8/8. King *Mr-shm-Rˁ Neferhotep* is listed in the Turin King-list with the birth name *Jnd*, which was probably the king's birth name before the throne ascending³. Similarly, the name *Jnd* was perhaps an epithet or designation of King *Mr-shm-Rˁ Neferhotep*.

The king bears the royal names as *Mr-shm-Rˁ*, The beloved one of the power of Re; Birth *Nfr-htp*, The perfect one is satisfied, *Jnd*, The sad one⁴.

13.29.1: Attestations:

1. Karnak

Statuette	Cat. 13.29.1
-----------	--------------

A statuette found in the Karnak cachette represents the seated king. The king wears the *shendyt*-kilt, the royal headdress *nemes*, adorned with a uraeus and an attached ceremonial beard. The king rests his left hand on his thigh while his right hand grasps a folded cloth and his feet step on the nine bows. The front side of the throne is inscribed

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Siesse 2019: 36-37; Delange 2015: 103,107.

³ Von Beckerath 1964: 60

⁴ Leprohon 2013: 69 [36].

with two columns of writing that give the king's throne and birth names and a dedication to God Amun-Re¹.

Statuette Cat. 13.29.2

A statuette found in the Karnak cache represents the seated king. Supposedly the king wears a crown now lost and an attached beard. The king wears the *shendyt*-kilt and rests his hands on the thigh, and his feet step on the nine bows like the previous statuette. Two columns of writing on the front of the throne give the king's throne and birth names and a dedication to God Amun-Re².

13.29.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Mr-shm-R^t* Neferhotep is attested only in Thebes (Map. 13.29). The king's royal names do not suggest he had control over the two lands (Table 13.29.1). Notably, the king's throne name is introduced by the title *ntr-nfr* instead of *nsw-bj.tj*. According to the condition of the king's attestations, it is evident that the king had limited access to the resources, and his rule did not exceed the Theban region (Table 13.29.2).

	Titles	Horus	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne/ <i>nfr nfr</i> <i>Mr-shm-R</i> ^c	Birth <i>Nfr-htp</i>
Provenance	TK.				x	<i>Jnd</i>
	KK.				x	
	Karnak				x	X

Table 13.29.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Karnak	statuette	dedication	Amun-Re	granite	good	yes	no	●
	statuette	dedication	Amun-Re	granite	fair	yes	no	●

Table 13.29.2: Royal attestations validity assessment

¹ Legrain 1906: no. 42023; Davies 1981: no. 34; Ryholt 1997: 359, File 13/b [1]; Siesse 2019: 393, no. 24 [1].

² Legrain 1906: no. 42024; Davies 1981: no. 35; Ryholt 1997: 359, File 13/b [2]; Siesse 2019: 393, no. 24 [2].

13.29: Mersekhemre



Map 13.29: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

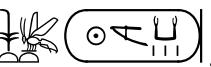
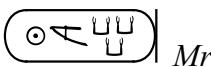
TK. Col.8/7 

13.30: King *S:w3d-k3-Rˁ Hr-j*: the 30th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries of his regnal years give 5 years and 8 days¹. There are no attestations with the king's name.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.



13.31: King *Mr-k3.w-Rˁ Sbk-htp*: the 31th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. Entries on his regnal years give 2 years and 4 days¹. The king is mentioned in the Karnak Offering-list No. 42 as² .

The king bears the royal names as: Throne ,  *Mr-*
k3.w-Rˁ, Beloved of the *Kas* of Re; Birth  *Sbk-htp*, Sobek is satisfied³.

13. 31. 1: Attestations:

1. Karnak

Pair of Statues	Cat. 13.31.1[a, b]
-----------------	--------------------

King *Mr-k3.w-Rˁ* Sobekhotep is attested to two identical statues found in Karnak. The statues are now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 43599)⁴ and the Louvre A. 121 [E 7824]⁵. The statue of Cairo (Cat. 13.31.1[a]) misses its head, while the Louvre statue (Cat. 13.31.1[b]) lost its upper half and lower part⁶.

The Cairo statue:

The statue represents the seated king wearing the royal headdress *nemes* and the *shendyt*-kilt. The king rests his hands on his thighs and his feet step on the nine bows. The inscriptions run on both sides from the top and front of the throne and give the king's throne and birth names and a dedication to God Amun-Re. Beside the king's legs are carved two small statues of the king's children. The inscription on the pedestal in front of each statue gives their names as Bebi (left) and Sobekhotep (right). Their names are preceded by the title *s3b r nhn*, translated by QUIRKE as “dignitary, mouth of the *nhn*”⁷.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Siesse 2019: 36-37; Delange 2015: 103,107.

³ Leprohon 2013: 70 [38].

⁴ Davies 1981: no. 36; Ryholt 1997: 357, File 13/38 [1]; Siesse 2019: 394, no. 25 [1,2].

⁵ Davies 1981: no. 37; Ryholt 1997: 357, File 13/38 [2]; Siesse 2019: 394, no. 25 [1,2].

⁶ Delange 1987: 22-23.

⁷ Quirke 2004: 89; Franke 1984a.

13.31.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Mr-k3.w-R^c* Sobekhotep is attested only in Thebes (Map. 13.31). The king's royal names suggest he had control over the two lands (Table 13.31.1). However, it is evident that the king's rule was limited to Thebes (Table 13.31.2) and maybe extended as far south as *nḥn* based on the title of his two sons.

Titles		Horus	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne\ <i>ntr-nfr</i> <i>Mr-k3.w-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Sbk-htp</i>
Provenance	TK.				x	X
KK.					x	
Karnak					x	X

Table 13.31.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Karnak	statuette	dedication	Amun-Re	granite	good	yes	no	•
	statuette	dedication	Amun-Re	granite	good	yes	no	•

Table 13.31.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.31: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

TK. Col.8/9-15 lost names



13.39: King [...]r-[...]R3[...]: the 39th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. There are no further entries.



13.40: King Mr-hpr- R^c: the 40th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. There are no further entries¹. The king's name is attested on an unprovenanced weight, now in the Petrie Museum (16375)².



13.41: King Mr-k3-[R^c?]: the 41st ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. There are no further entries³.

TK. Col.8/19 Lost name



13.43: King [.....] dd: the 43rd ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. There are no further entries⁴.



13.44: King [.....]-ms: the 44th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. There are no further entries⁵.



13.45: King [...]m3.t-R^c Jbj: the 45th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list. There are no further entries¹.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Petrie 1926: Pl. XI, XLI; Ryholt 1997: 357, File 13/47 [1].

³ Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 71.



13.46: King [...]wbn-R^c Hr: the 46th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list.
There are no further entries².



13.47: King [...]k3-R^c: the 47th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list.
There are no further entries³.



13.48: King [...] kn-R^c: the 48th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list.
There are no further entries⁴. RYHOLT reads this king as *S:hk-n-R^c* based on an unprovenanced stela of King *S:hk-n-R^c* Sankhptahi, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 20600). Since the stela is dedicated to God Ptah *rsy-jnb=f*, he believes that this king practised power in Memphis until this point of the 13th Dynasty⁵. However, it is possible that King *S:hk-n-R^c* Sankhptahi resided in Memphis but his position at this point of the 13th Dynasty based on the traces of the cartouche in col.8/25 is not secure.



13. 49: King [...]-[...]-R^c: the 49th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list.
There are no further entries⁶.



13.50: King [...]n[...]: the 50th ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list.
There are no further entries⁷.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 71.

² Ryholt 1997: 71.

³ Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁵ Ryholt 1997 69- 238-239, 358.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 71.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 71.

Chapter Five: Non-included 13th Dynasty Rulers in the Turin King-list

13.a: King S:nfr-jb-Rˁ, Senwosret IV:

King S:nfr-ib-Rˁ Senwosret¹ is mentioned in Karnak list no. 45 as² .

The King is attested in Karnak as S:nfr-ib-Rˁ Senwosret. Perhaps he is the king whose birth name is Senwosret, accompanied by the royal titles of King Hw-t3.wj-Rˁ Wegaf in “Plaque Rubensohn” of Elephantine (Cat. 13.1.4)

The king bears full royal titles as³ Horus  Whm-chnh, The one who has repeated life; Two ladies  S:chnh-t3.wj, The one who has sustained the Two Lands; Golden Horus:  Nfr-hˁ.w, Perfect of appearances; Throne  S:nfr-ib-Rˁ, The one whom Re's mind has made perfect; Birth:  S(j)-n wsr.t, the man belonging to (the goddess) Wosret.

13.a.1: Attestations:

1. Karnak

Colossal-statue Cat. 13. a.[1]

A fragmented red granite colossal statue was found in 1901 at the 7th Pylon of the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak⁴. LEGRAIN suggested that King Thutmose III used the fragmented statue in the construction of the 7th Pylon at Karnak. The statue was restored and is now in the Egyptian Museum. S. CONNOR notes that the head was reattached to a different body⁵. The sculpturing is rough and the granite surface is eroded. Nevertheless, the statue embodies a powerful king due to its colossal scale and royal insignia. The statue represents the king in a striding position and he wears the double crown with a uraeus, attached beard, and shendyt-kilt. The king holds royal signs in both hands; the right holds folded cloth, and the left holds a container. The statue has a back pillar that reaches the head and is engraved with the complete royal titles of the king stating that he is the beloved of Amun-Re⁶.

¹ Identified as Senwosret IV

² Delange 2015: 103, 107; Siesse 2019: 36-37.

³ Von Beckerath 1999: 102-103; Leprohon 2013: 86 [5].

⁴ Legrain 1906: no. 42026; PM II² 1972: 168.

⁵ Connor 2020: 75.

⁶ Legrain 1906: 15-16; Davies 1981: 28, no. 38.

Stela

A remnant of a limestone stela was found in the debris of Karnak¹. The location of the stela is unknown now and no photograph is given. LEGRAIN proposed that the stela had an original dimension of 25 cm as a thickness, a width of 90 cm, and a height of 120 cm. According to his documentation, the stela is topped by the winged sun-disk of

Bhd.t above remains of the royal titles that show the birth name on the right as

Then remnants of seven hieroglyphic lines² register the king's first regnal year

then his deeds for God Amun-Re that start with

2. Tod

Block

A block found by Bisson de La Roque at Tod³. The block gives the Horus name of the

King as

Perhaps, this Horus name refers to another king. Nevertheless, it would be possible to accept it as attributed to King Senwosret IV as his activity was within greater Thebes.

13.a.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *s:nfr-ib-R* Senwosret is attested mainly in Thebes (Map. 13. a). His attestations in the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak confirm his appearance in the list of Karnak (Table 13.a.2). According to his position there, he was one of the Kings attributed to either the 13th or 16th dynasties. He held full royal titles, and his *Nb.tj* name testifies to his ruler over the two lands (13.a.1). His colossal statue wearing the double crown reflects his reign as king of Lower and Upper Egypt. However, the scarcity of his attestations in and around Thebes, besides the inferior artistic and materiality quality of his statue, reflects a strained political and economic situation that does not support a role as King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

¹ Legrain 1908: 15-16; PM II² 1972: 293.

² Helck 1983: 41, no. 56.

³ Bisson de La Roque 1937: 125-126, Inv. [1310].

Titles		Horus <i>Whm-^cnh</i>	Two Ladies <i>S:^cnh-t^b-wy</i>	G. Horus <i>Nfr-h^c.w</i>	Throne <i>S:nfr-ib-R^c</i>	Birth <i>S(j)-n wsr.t</i>
Provenance	KK.				x	
	Karnak	x	x	x	x	x
	Tod	x				

13.a.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Karnak	statue	dedication	Amun-Re	granite	fair	yes	no	●
	stela	dedication	Amun-Re	limestone	—	yes	no	
Tod	block	—	—	limestone	—	?	?	●

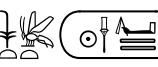
Table 13.a.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.a: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

13.b: King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw

King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw is not mentioned in the Turin King-list. He is one of three kings bearing the throne name *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj*. The king is associated with the 13th Dynasty inasmuch as his Horus name appears alongside that of King *3w-ib-R^c* Hor on a lintel found in Tanis¹. According to the king's attestations that combine his throne

and Horus names, the king bears the royal names as Horus  *H^c-b3w*, The glorious appearance of might; Two Ladies  *Whm dd nh rnp.wt*, The one who has repeated stability, alive of years²; Throne  *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj*, the powerful one, the protection of the Two Lands.

13.b.1: Attestations:

1. Tanis

Lintel: Cat. 13. b.1

A granite lintel was discovered in Tanis and functioned as a lid for the sarcophagus of the 22nd Dynasty King *Sheshonq III*³. The lintel bears a symmetrical inscription split by

the  that gives the Horus names  *H^c-b3.w* of the current king and  *Htp-jb-t3.wj* of King *3w-ib-R^c* Hor. Supposedly, the lintel gives the throne names of the two kings, but unfortunately, the lintel was cut on both sides to fit the sarcophagus. Obviously, the inscription indicates a close relationship between the two kings, who were seemingly alive at the same time due to the sign  that refers to both kings⁴. Unfortunately, the current location of the lintel is unknown. Possibly the lintel was transferred to Tanis and reused as part of the King *Sheshonq III sarcophagus*, while its original provenance was perhaps Bubastis where the king *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw is attested on a red granite Architrave (see below). It's important to note that during the 22nd Dynasty, the areas of Tanis and Bubastis were the main centres of power⁵. As a result, it's highly likely that the lintel was moved from Bubastis to Tanis while King Sheshonq III's tomb was being built.

¹ Montet 1960: 71-73, Pl. XXXVIII.

² Leprohon 2013: 64 [16].

³ Montet 1960: 71.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 216.

⁵ Taylor 2000: 341-343.

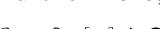
2. Bubastis

Architrave: Cat. 13.b.2

Two pieces of a broken red granite architrave were found by Naville in the temple ruins of Bubastis. The inscription on one fragment of the architrave gives the throne name *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*, while another one gives the remains of the Horus name [H] - *b3w*. NAVILLE thought that the architrave was used in the construction of the temple. Based on the height of the architrave of c. 79 cm with its large hieroglyphs, the architrave supposedly rested on large pillars¹. Bubastis was an important administrative centre during the second half of the 12th Dynasty. King Amenemhat III is well-attested in the large palace of Bubastis². Likewise, King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw had an interest in Bubastis, and he was possibly one of the builders of the temple. It is unlikely that the architrave was transferred to Bubastis as loot by Hyksos, who directly transferred many artefacts from Memphis to their residence at Tell el-Dab'a.

3. Gebelein?

Cylinder-seal: Cat. 13.b.3

Lower fragment of a cylinder-seal of unknown origin³. The surviving inscriptions contain entries on its three sides that could be attributed to King [Shm-Rˁ]-hw-t3.wj [ḥˁ]-b3.w⁴. The seal was probably dedicated to God Sobek-Re, lord of *Semenu*⁵. Furthermore, the seal gives the full reading to the Two Ladies name as  Whm dd ḏnh rnp.wt. Due to the length of the Two Ladies name, the syllable  ḏnh rnp.wt was likely for the Golden Horus name  that was omitted on the seal⁶. Conversely, QUIRKE suggests that the syllable ḏnh rnp.wt is part of a long Two Ladies name or an additional epithet since it is unusual to omit a royal title⁷. Notably, it is uncommon that the seal gives three royal names while the Birth name, often given alongside the throne name, is omitted.

¹ Naville 1891:15, Pl. XXXIII [G-I].

² See Chapter one.

³ Petrie 1917: PL. XVIII [13.15.1].

⁴ Quirke 2006: 265.

⁵ Yoyotte 1957: 87 (2v).

⁶ Von Beckerath 1964: 228; Ryholt 1997: 340.

⁷ Quirke 2006: 265.

4. Uronarti and Mirgissa.

Seals-Impression: Cat. 13.b.4

Four mud seal impressions bearing the Horus name *Hr-b3w* were found at the fortress of Uronarti¹ and are now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Khartoum Museum². Likewise, the Horus name *Hr-b3w* is attested on ten seal impressions found at the fortress of Mirgissa³. This amount of seal impressions indicates the enduring activity of the 12th Dynasty fortresses in Lower Nubia until possibly the early 13th Dynasty.

13.b.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Shm-Rr-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw shares the same throne name with two other kings (Table 13.b.1), King Sobekhotep Amenemhat (T.K Col. 7/19) and King Pantjeny, who is attested only in Abydos. Evidence to include King Khabaw with the 13th Dynasty are: (1) the king is securely attested in a united context at Tanis with King Hor (T.K Col. 7/17); (2) King Khabaw followed the 12th Dynasty political-geographical policies through his attestations (Table 13.b.2) in Bubastis in the eastern Delta and the south in Lower Nubia (Map. 13. b); (3) his throne name was common during the 13th Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period.

	Titles	Horus <i>Hr-b3w</i>	Two Ladies <i>Whm dd ‘nh rnp.wt</i>	G. Horus	Throne <i>Shm-Rr-hw- t3.wj</i>	Birth
Provenance	TK. KK. Tanis Bubastis Gebelein? Uronarti Mirgissa	x x x x x		—	x x	—

Table 13.b.1: Royal names distribution

The King's relationship with King Hor may indicate a coregency⁴. However, such a relationship fortifies the King's royal power in Lower Egypt since King Hor is well attested through his burial at Dahshur. Moreover, the King's granite attestations in the eastern Delta, particularly in Bubastis, prove his control over southern Egypt, where the granite quarries at Aswan. Furthermore, his seal impressions in the fortresses of

¹ Dunham 1967: 38, 57, 58, 64[3A].

² Ryholt 1997: 340, 438.

³ Gratien 1986: 89, fig. [R 9].

⁴ This is not a final assumption, for verifying the relationship between the two kings see the discussion in Chapter Seven, no. 1. The beginnings of the 13th Dynasty.

Lower Nubia indicate administrative and economic state activity there, most likely coordinated from Thebes. The throne name *Shm-R^c-hw-t^b.wj* is also attested in Lower Nubia through the Nile records, but it is uncertain to attribute them to King Khabaw since two other kings bear the same throne name. The King is not attested in Thebes so far, but the traces on his cylinder-seal indicate his veneration to God Sobek-Re of *Semenu*, modern-day el-Mahamid Qibli (Gebelein), about 28 km south of Thebes¹.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Tanis	lintel	resued	_____	granite	_____	yes	yes	●
Bubastis	architrave	dedication	_____	granite	good	yes	no	●
Gebelein ?	cylinder- seals	dedication	Sobek- Re	steatite	good	yes	?	●
Uronarti	seal- impressions	Admin.	_____	mud	_____	?	yes	●
Mirgissa	seal- impressions	Admin.	_____	mud	_____	?	yes	●

Table 13.b.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.b: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

¹ Fiore Marochetti 2013: 2-3

King *H^c-nh-R^c* Sobekhotep

Not listed clearly in the Turin King-list, King *H^c-nh-R^c* Sobekhotep's complete royal titulary and attestations in Abydos and Karnak strongly indicate that he is one of the Sobekhotep-Kings of the 13th Dynasty. Col. 7/15 in the Turin King-list contains the

entries  which made scholars like VON BECKERATH and RYHOLT reserve this location for King *H^c-nh-R^c* Sobekhotep¹. In contrast, SIESSE lists the king in the missing part at the end of col. 7/28 after King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep based on stylistic reasons². The king is listed in the Karnak Offering-list Nr. 47³ as .

The king held the full royal names as⁴ “Horus  *Sm3-t3.wj*, The one who has united the Two Lands; Two Ladies  *Dd-h^c.w*, Stable of appearances; Golden Horus  *K3.w-ntr.w*, The sustenance of the gods; King  *H^c-nh-R^c*, The living appearance of Ra; Birth  *Sbk-htp*, Sobek is satisfied”⁵.

13.c.1: Attestation:

1. Abydos

Blocks of a chapel Cat. 13.c.1

King *H^c-nh-R^c* Sobekhotep is attested on parts of a chapel found at South Abydos⁶, now in the Louvre. The main parts of the chapel (Louvre Museum C.9-10) bear the king's royal names and part of a hymn to the eye-of-Horus⁷. Using a hymn of the eye of Hours might grant the king legitimacy based on divine succession. The Eye of Hours is related to the conflict between Horus and his uncle Seth over the throne of Egypt. Horus lost his eye to Seth but later recovered, becoming the legitimate heir to the throne of

¹ Von Beckerath 1964: 42-43; Ryholt 1997: 73.

² Siesse 2019: 81-83; Siesse and Connor 2015.

³ Siesse 2019: 36-37; Delange 2015: 103,107.

⁴ Cat. 13. c. 2

⁵ Leprohon 2013: 64 [13].

⁶ Bresciani 1979: 1-20; Ryholt 1997: 339 File 13/13 [1]; Siesse 2019: 390 File 13/13 [1]; Eder 2002: 138.

⁷ Franke 2003: 120

Egypt¹. King *Hr-shm-r* Noferhotep possibly promoted himself as a legitimate ruler based on divine succession according to the Great Stela from Abydos².

The king's throne name is preceded by the birth title *s3-R* instead of the *nsw-bj.tj* as in , which may be an unintentional mistake.

Another main scene (Louvre B3) from the chapel shows the king performing prayers and receiving the signs of  and  from God Wepwawet, Lord of Abydos. The king's birth name was inscribed before his face as .

Altar Cat. 13.c.2

An unprovenanced altar was purchased by the Leiden Museum in 1829³. The altar probably came from Abydos or Koptos since it is dedicated to God Min-Hor-the victorious. The altar's four sides are adorned with eight carved figures of the king, two on each side. Its surface is inscribed with a band with two symmetrical inscriptions along the edge that give the full royal names of King *Hr-nh-R* Sobekhotep and a dedication to God Min-Hor-The victorious⁴. Min-Hor-The victorious is depicted on an unprovenanced stela of King *Shm-R-sw3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep's daughters. That stela is also unprovenanced but most likely came from Abydos since Min-Hor is designated as the son of Osiris, Lord of Abydos⁵. Therefore, the altar was most likely produced in Abydos as a part of King *Hr-nh-R* Sobekhotep's chapel.

2. Karnak

Statue's pedestal Cat. 13.c.3

A fragment of a statue pedestal was acquired at Thebes in 1898⁶. It is inscribed with three columns of inscriptions. The first and second columns give the throne and birth names of King *Hr-nh-R* Sobekhotep, while the third damaged column contains traces of a dedication to God Amun-Re. Therefore, it seems that the fragment belongs to a statue installed in the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak. The King's throne name is

¹ Barbotin 2005: 88-89; Siesse and Connor 2015: 230.

² Cat. 13. 21. 5.

³ Bresciani 1979: 1-20; Ryholt 1997: 339, File 13/13 [2]; Siesse 2019: 390, File 13/13 [2].

⁴ Schneider and Raven 1981: 73 [60]; Siesse and Connor 2015:231.

⁵ Cat. 13. 20. 2.

⁶ Newberry 1903: 136; Reeves 1986: 165-167; Ryholt 1997: 339, File 13/3 [3]; Siesse 2019: 390, File 13/3 [3].

attested in the Karnak Offering-list, a testimony to his activity in the Temple. A study by SIESSE and CONNOR proposed that the pedestal is attributed to a statue of an anonymous Middle Kingdom king (now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 42020) found in the Karnak cachette¹.

3. Elephantine

Inscription:

King $H^c\text{-}nh-R^c$ is potentially attested in Elephantine upon a block containing various royal names from the Old and Middle kingdoms². SEIDLAYER read the 13th Dynasty king's name as either Sobekhotep I? ($H^c\text{-}nh-R^c$) or Neferhotep I ($H^c\text{-}shm-R^c$)³. Indeed, the king should be attested in the Aswan area since his granite must have come from the Aswan granite quarries.

13.c.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

According to the current archaeological record, King $H^c\text{-}nh-R^c$ Sobekhotep is attested in Upper Egypt (Map. 13. c). Nonetheless, the king's Horus name indicates he controlled Upper and Lower Egypt (Table 13.c.1). The notable activity of King $H^c\text{-}nh-R^c$ Sobekhotep in Abydos may suggest a particular interest in seeking political support from the Abydene priesthood. The well-executed attestations indicate that he entertained expert royal workshops, perhaps in Abydos or Thebes (Table 13.c.2)

	Titles	Horus <i>Sm3-B.wj</i>	Two Ladies <i>Dd-h^c.w</i>	G. Horus <i>K3.w-ntr.w</i>	Throne/ Good God <i>H^c\text{-}nh-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Sbk-htp</i>
Location	TK.					
KK.					x	
Abydos	x	x	x	x	x	x
Karnak					x	x
Elephantine					x	x

Table 13.c.1: Royal names distribution

¹ Siesse and Connor 2015: 232.

² Seidlmaier 2003: 444; Seidlmaier 1999: 42-43.

³ See the text of cat. 13.21.11.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Abydos	chapel	dedication	Web-wawet	sandstone	v. good	yes	no	●
	altar	dedication	Min-Hor -The victories	granite	v. good	yes	no	●
Karnak	statue's pedestal	dedication	Amun-Re?	sandstone	good	?	?	●
Elephantine	inscription	_____	_____	_____	_____	yes	no	●

Table 13.c.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.c: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

13.d: King Jmny-km3w

King *jmny-km3w* is not mentioned in the Turin King-list. However, his burial in the Dahshur necropolis made him one of the earlier 13th Dynasty kings. The only textual evidence of the king came from his pyramid tomb and attests his only known name as  . The previous reading of the king's name was *jmny-3mw*, Ameny the Asiatic¹. However, its correct reading may be *jmny-km3w*, Ameny, the harvest worker². QUIRKE proposed that *km3w* is a common personal name during the late Middle Kingdom derived from the root *km3* "to create"³. However, it seems that the syllable *km3w* is a designation for the nickname *jmny* (Amenemhat) and does not imply filiation. On the other hand, it is possible a king of Asiatic origin could be listed in the 13th Dynasty⁴, as exemplified by King Khendjer (col. 7/20).

13.d.1: Attestation:

1. Dahshur

The pyramid of King *Jmny-km3w* (Fig. 13.d.1) is located in South Dahshur, 1.150 km southeast of the Bent Pyramid and about 1.5 km south of the pyramid of Amenemhat III⁵. It was discovered for the first time in 1957 by the American scientist and publisher C.A. MUSES, who was detained afterwards for crimes against antiquities and currency smuggling before he departed from Egypt⁶. MUSES' work has never been published, but the name of the pyramid owner is known from a calcite canopic jars found by him. The site was later re-examined by the Italian architects V. MARAGIOGLIO and C. RINALDI, who published their report in 1968⁷.

The pyramid was originally about 50 m square and built from limestone blocks that were cut out near the centre of the substructure. The remains of the substructure bricks indicate that the structure was never finished after the burial of the king⁸.

¹ Hayes 1962: 7; Maragiogglio and Rinaldi 1968; Kemp 1983:149.

² Von Beckerath 1964: 42.

³ Quirke 1991: 129; Dodson 1995: 27, no. 8; Schneider 2003: 9-11.

⁴ Mourad 2015: 27, no. 78.

⁵ Swelim and Dodson 1998: 319; Dodson 1995: 27.

⁶ Swelim and Dodson 1998: 320.

⁷ Maragiogglio and Rinaldi 1968; Swelim and Dodson 1998: 320.

⁸ McCormack 2008: 210.

However, the substructure is now damaged¹. MARAGIOGLIO and RINALDI thought it was originally planned as a short mastaba instead of a pyramid due to the poor condition of the structure, possibly due to stone looting². To the north of the pyramid, there may be the foundation of a small chapel³.

As mentioned earlier⁴, the pyramids of the 13th Dynasty are typed as post-Hawara. The east entrance of the pyramid of *Jmny-km3w* leads to a sloping corridor towards a short passage in the west; that ends in a vertical shaft that would be closed with a quartzite portcullis. A second passage leads to a second leads to a north-south chamber via a vertical shaft. A series of stairways leads to an antechamber in a northerly direction. The sarcophagus lid was stored there and slid into the burial chamber from north to south after the interment. The burial chamber, a quartzite monolith, housed the sarcophagus and the canopic chest to the south. From the west, a quartzite portcullis closed off the burial chamber from the antechamber⁵.

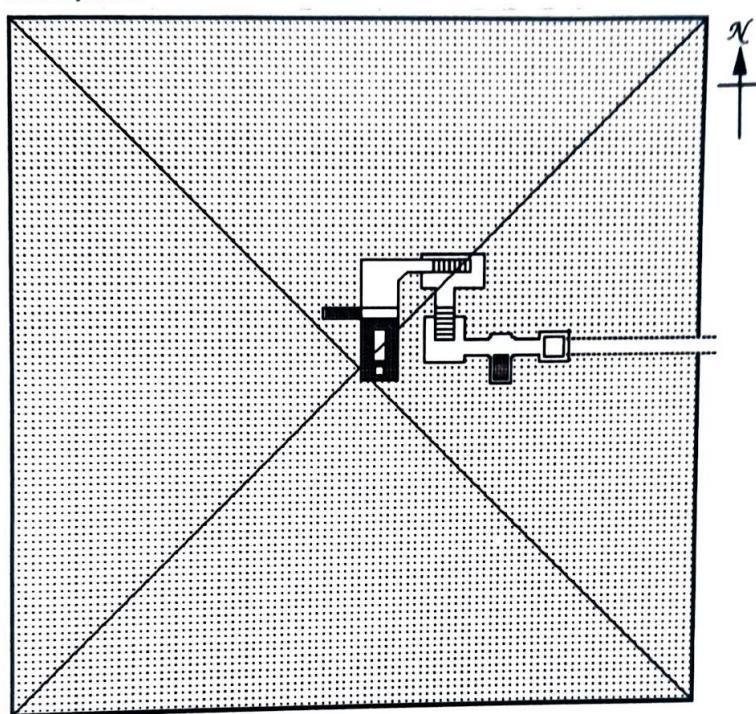


Fig. 13.d.1: Plan of Amny *km3w* after Dodson 1995: 27

¹ Dodson 1995: 27.

² McCormack 2008: 210-211.

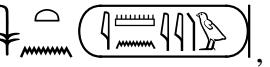
³ McCormack 2008: 211; Maragioglio and Rinaldi 1968: 338.

⁴ Chapter three: III. 1: Royal necropolis.

⁵ Dodson 1994: 30; Swelim and Dodson 1998: 323-324; McCormack 2008: 211-214.

As mentioned earlier, another pyramid was discovered in 2017 less than 1km to the south of his first pyramid and attributed to his royal daughter¹. The only written evidence from the pyramid attesting to the name of King *Jmny-km3w* are four canopic jars as follows:

Canopic Jars Cat. 13.d.1[a, b, c, d]

Fragments of four canopic jars found in the pyramid by MUSES. They are supposedly housed in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, but their current location is unknown. The jar lids in the shape of the four sons of Horus are missing. The incised inscriptions are filled with blue/green pigment and executed with truncated hieroglyphs, which appear clearly on the tomb equipment of King Hor. The only royal name,  , appears on three jars, while the fourth lost most of the writing.

13.d.2: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

The king is attested only by his tomb in Dahshur (Map. 13.d), (Table 13.d.1). Unfortunately, the tomb is severely plundered and only a fragmented set of canopic jars have survived. The material used in the constructions, mainly limestone, indicates that it was cut from local materials. The quartzite parts were probably from quarries at Gabel Ahmer near Heliopolis. There is no clue as to how many years the king reigned. Possibly he ruled between three and six years; during this period, he could well finish his own tomb and that of his daughter.

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Dahshur	canopic jars	funeral	four sons of Horus – four goddesses of protection	calcite	fair	yes	no	•

Table 13.d.1: Royal attestations validity assessment

¹ Chapter three: III. 1: Royal necropolis.



Map 13.d: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence



King *Htp-jb-R*

King *htp-jb-R* is not attested clearly in the Turin King-list. In King-list cols. 7/8 and

7/12, two 13 Dynasty kings with the throne name *S:htp-jb-R*. One of

them may be king *htp-jb-R*, whereas the was written mistakenly in the list. The king

bears the birth name *Km3w-s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f* or *3mw-s3-Hr-*

*nd-hr-jt=f*¹. The reading of group could be *Km3w*, “the harvest worker”² or “the created”³ instead of *3mw*, “the Asiatic”. However, it is possible that the king had an Asiatic origin⁴. VON BECKERATH translates the name as “The harvest worker the son

of *Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*⁵. Since the birth name contains the group *km3w*, RYHOLT suggests that King *Htp-jb-R* is the son of King Ameny-*km3w*⁶ in the context of *Filiative Nomina*. The name could thus be read as *Km3w*’s son “*S3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*”. However, the theory of *Filiative Nomina* does not securely attest to kinship given the absence of clear archaeological evidence.

According to the available attestations⁷, the king held only the throne and birth names as: Throne King *Htp-jb-R*, satisfied is the mind of Re; Birth *Km3w-s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*, Qemau the Son-of-the-Horus-is-the-protector-of-his-father⁸.

13. .1: Attestations:

1. Tell el-Dab'a

Statue Cat. 13.e.1

Fragments of six statues were found in 1941 in Tell el-Dab'a near Khata'na. Four fragments are the remnants of four statues of Queen Sobekneferu; two fragments fit

¹ Habachi 1952: 460.

² Von Beckerath 1964: 40.

³ Quirke 1991: 129.

⁴ Hayes 1962: 7; Scandone Matthiae 1997:417-420.

⁵ Von Beckerath 1964: 40.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 207-209, 214; Siesse 2019: 374, no. 4.

⁷ Cat. 13.e. 1,2.

⁸ Leprohon 2013: 62 [6].

together and bear the royal names of King *Htp-jb-R^c* Qemau *S3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*. The upper half and right side of the statue are lost. HABACHI dated the statue based on style to the period of the late 12th Dynasty end and the early 13th Dynasty¹.

The statue represents the king in a seated position wearing the kilt-*shendyt*. The left side of the throne shows the *sm3-t3.wj* motif. The left front gives the king's throne and birth names and a dedication to God Ptah *rsy-jnb=f*². The statue seems to be from Memphis and was possibly shipped to the eastern Delta due to looting on the part of the Hyksos.

2. el-Atawla

Wall relief: Cat. 13.e.2

The king is attested on a part of a wall relief from a chapel found in el-Atawla near Asyut, found by A. KAMAL together with other 12th Dynasty objects³. El-Atawla contains the ruins of the capital of the 12th nome of Upper Egypt, *Atfet*⁴.



The wall relief depicts King *Htp-jb-R^c* receiving the falcon-headed god Nemty (the main deity of the nome). The text gives the king's throne and birth names and an offering formula for the god Nemty.

13.e.1: Historical synthesis through a political-geographical assessment:

King *Htp-jb-R^c* Qemau *-s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f* is attested between Lower Egypt and Asyut in Upper Egypt (Map 13. e), (Table 13.e.2). The evidence suggests the king may have entertained relations with Ebla (Tell Mardik) in Syria: the remains of a sceptre bearing the king's throne name in a cartouche. However, the king's name is defectively written⁵. This attestation is thus not valid to make historical assertions⁶. Based on the resemblance of the king's birth name and King Ameny Qemau (Table 13.e.1), it is possible that both kings ruled in the same period and area. Perhaps, the king was also buried in Dahshur.

¹ Habachi 1952: 458-459.

² Habachi 1952: 460-461; Davies 1981: no. 4; Ryholt 1997: 338, File 13/6 [1]; Siesse 2019: 374, no. 4 [1].

³ Kamal 1902: 80-84.

⁴ Grajetzki 2006: 103; Eder 2002: 134.

⁵ Scandone Matthiae 1997:417-420.

⁶ Ryholt 1997: 338, File 13/6 [Remarks].

Titles		Horus	Two Ladies	G. Horus	Throne <i>Htp-jb-R^c</i>	Birth <i>Km3w-s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f</i>
Location	Object				x	x
Tell el-Dab'a el-Atawla					x	x

Table 13.e.1: Royal names distribution

Location	Object	Function	Patron	Material	Quality	Authenticity	Relocation	Validity
Tell el-Dab'a	statue	dedication	Ptah <i>rsy-jnb=f</i>	schist	—	yes	yes	●
el-Atawla	wall-relief	dedication	Nemty	limestone	good	yes	no	●

Table 13.e.2: Royal attestations validity assessment



Map 13.e: The geographical distribution of the royal evidence

13:f: King *Df3-K3-R^c* or *Nr-k3-R^c*.

Based on Nile-records as a historiographical tool for the political history of the 13th Dynasty¹, one of these records refers to the 1st regnal year of King *Df3-K3-R^c*². A stela found by LEPSIUS in Thebes and dated to the first year of King *Nr-k3-R^c*³, RYHOLT reads the name of the Nile-record as *Nr-k3-R^c*. However, the bird in both attestations is not clear and may imply other readings⁴. The Nile-record (Fig. 13.f.1) found in Semna was made by the royal sealer and the overseer of the fields Senwosret Seneb⁵.

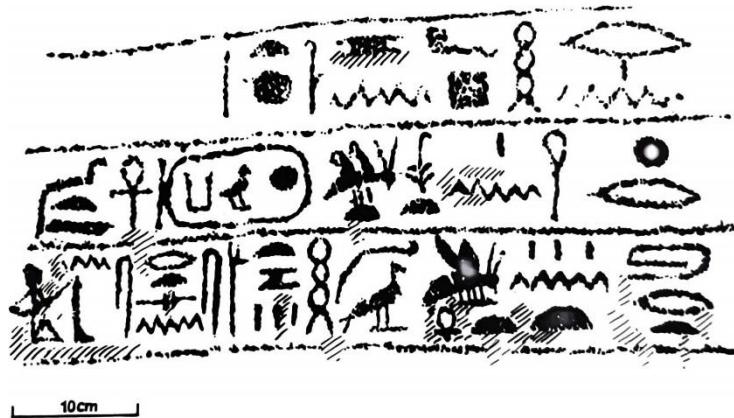


Fig. 13.f.1: After Hintze-Reineke 1989: no. 510, Taf. 212 [510].

¹ See chapter three: Nile-records.

² After Hintze-Reineke 1989: no. 510; Gabolde 1990:

³ Lepsius 1897: Text I, 15; Abteilung II, B. IV, Pl. 150 [f]

⁴ Gabolde 1990.

⁵ After Hintze-Reineke 1989: no. 510

Chapter Six: General Archaeological Analysis

Introduction

The general archaeological analysis aims to ascertain the sequence of rulers of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list based on the extent of concordance of their archaeological evidence. The analysis traces common characteristics, peculiarities, and relationships by analysing the pre-examined archaeological record in chapters Four and Five. Additionally, the analysis aims to determine the proximity level between the rulers listed in the Turin King List and those who are unlisted. The conclusions drawn from this analysis will be based on the following sections.

1. Royal names

The 13th Dynasty list (Table 6. 1) allows to distinguish different patterns in rulers' names. These patterns can be grouped as follows:

1.1: Double/triple birth names

Some rulers in the 13th Dynasty have double birth names, such as kings no. **13.2**, 12, 14, and 15, while one king, no. **13.6**, has a triple birth name. Additionally, two kings who are not included in the Turin King List no. **13.d** and **13. e**, have double birth names. It is possible that they could be placed sequentially, as they both partially share the birth name “*Km3w*,” and they could be listed in an advanced position between **13.2** and **13.14**.

1.2: Amenemhat and *S:htp-jb-R*

The birth name Amenemhat appears six times among the rulers of the 13th Dynasty in kings no. **13.2**, 3, 6, 12?, 14, and 15. Their advanced positions in the list are likely reliable as they were associated with the kings of the 12th Dynasty who also had the birth name Amenemhat. King **13.d**, *Jmny-Km3w*, has the nickname Amenemhat, which suggests an early position among the 13th Dynasty rulers. The birth name of King **13.15** combines the names Amenemhat and Sobekhotep, so it will be sorted with the group of Sobekhotep again. In addition, King Amenemhat I's throne name, “*S:htp-jb-R*,” is mentioned twice in the list, in kings no. **13.4** and **13.8**.

1.3: Sobekhotep

The birth name Sobekhotep is held by seven rulers in the 13th Dynasty list, in kings no. **13.11**, 15, 20, 23, 24, 27, and 31. King **13.11** is mentioned without any identification, and his identity is uncertain. Kings **13.15**, 20, 23, and 31 are mentioned with both their throne and birth names in the Turin King-list. As previously mentioned, the birth name of King **13.15** combines the names Sobekhotep and Amenemhat.

1.4: X-*jb-R*^c

The format X-*jb-R*^c appears in six locations in the list of the 13th Dynasty, in kings **13.4**, 6, 8, 10, 13, 19, and 25, as well as in the throne name of King **13.a, e**. It is possible that these rulers were influenced by the throne name *S:htp-jb-R*^c of Amenemhat I.

1.5: X-*k3-R*^c

The format of the throne name X-*k3-R*^c is repeated in nine locations in the list of the 13th Dynasty, in kings no. **13.2**, 7, 9, 14, 16, 17, 18, 30, and 47. The throne name of King **13. f** also bears this format and could potentially be placed close to King **13.2**, based on Nile-records that attest to both kings in Semna. The format X-*k3-R*^c is common in the throne names of the 12th Dynasty rulers Senowsret I, Amenemhat II, and Senowsret III¹.

1.6: *Shm-R*^c-X-*t3.wj*

It is possible that the two kings no. **13.15**, 20 with the throne name format of *Shm-R*^c-X-*t3.wj* and the birth name Sobekhotep are related to or influenced by each other. Note that both kings are mentioned in the Turin King-list with the same format. Additionally, King no. **13. b** also bears the format *Shm-R*^c-X -*t3.wj* in his throne name.

1.7: *H*^c-X-*R*^c

The format *H*^c-X-*R*^c is repeated as a throne name in three locations in the list of the 13th Dynasty, nos. **13.21**, 23, and 24. Indeed, this is due to a certain familial connection between King **13.21**, King 23, and possibly King **13.24**. Additionally, King **13. c** has the

¹ Von Beckerath 1999: 82-85.

same format of throne name and birth name, “Sobekhotep,” as Kings **13.21** and **24**, indicating that he likely belongs to the same line of rulers as Kings **13.21-24**¹.

1.8: *Mr-X-R^c*

The format of the throne name *Mr-X-R^c* is repeated in several locations in the 13th Dynasty list, including **13.26**, **27**, **29**, **31**, **40**, and **41**. This repetition could be seen as evidence of a potential sequence of these rulers in the latter half of the 13th Dynasty list.

¹ See Chapter Four, 13.23: King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep [Cat.13.23.12].

TK.		Attestations				
No.		Horus	Two ladies	G. Horus	Throne	Birth
13.1	<i>Hw-t3.wj-R^c</i>	<i>Shm-ntrw</i>	<i>H^c-b3.w</i>	<i>Mry-[t3.wj]</i>	<i>Hw-t3.wj-R^c</i>	<i>Wg3=f</i>
13.2	<i>Shm-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Mh-Jb-t3.wj</i>	<i>Jtj-shm=f</i>		<i>Shm-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Jmn-m-h3t</i>
13.3						<i>Jmn-m-h3t snb=f</i>
13.4	<i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>					
13.5	<i>Jw-f-n=j</i>					
13.6	<i>S:nh-jb-R^c</i>	<i>Shr-t3.wj</i>	<i>Shm-h^c.w</i>	<i>Hk3-m3^c.t</i>	<i>S:nh-jb-R^c</i>	<i>Jmny-Jnj-iti=f Jmn-m-h3.t</i>
13.7	<i>S:mn-k3-R^c</i>				<i>S:mn-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Nb-nwn</i>
13.8	<i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>	<i>S:wsh-t3.wj</i>			<i>S:w3d-n-R^c</i>	<i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>
13.9	<i>S:w3d-k3-R^c</i>					
13.10	<i>Ndm-jb-R^c</i>					
13.11	<i>Sbk-htp {R^c}</i>					
13.12	<i>Rn=j-[s]nb</i>					<i>Jmn-m-h3.t Rn-snb?</i>
13.13	<i>3wt-jb-R^c</i>	<i>Htp-Jb-t3.wj</i>	<i>Nfr-h^c.w</i>	<i>Nfr-ntr.w</i>	<i>3w-jb-R^c</i>	<i>Hr</i>
13.14	<i>S:df[3]-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Hr.y-tp-t3.wj</i>	<i>Ntr.j-b3.w</i>	<i>3-ph.tj</i>	<i>S:df3-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Jmn-m-h3.t k3y</i>
13.15	<i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp</i>	<i>mnh[....]?</i>	<i>nh-ntr.w</i>		<i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj</i>	<i>Jmn-m-h3.t Sbk-htp</i>
13.16	<i>Wsr-[k3]-R^c Hndr</i>		<i>w3h-ms.wt</i>		<i>Wsr-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Hndr</i>
13.17	<i>[S:mnh]-k3-R^c Jmy-r ms^c</i>				<i>S:mnh-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Jmy-r ms^c</i>
13.18	<i>[S:htp]-k3-[R^c] Jnj-jt(j)=f</i>				<i>S:htp-k3-R^c</i>	<i>Jnj-jt(j)=f</i>
13.19	<i>[...]-jb-[R^c?] Sth</i>					
13.20	<i>Shm-R^c [s:w3d-t3.wj] Sbk-htp</i>	<i>Hw-t3.wj</i>	<i>H^c-m-shm=f</i>	<i>Htp-hr-m3^c.t</i>	<i>Shm-R^c s:w3d-t3.wj</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>
13.21	<i>H^c-[shm]-R^c Nfr-htp</i>	<i>Grg-t3.wj</i>	<i>Wp-m3^c.t</i>	<i>Mn-mr.wt</i>	<i>H^c-shm-R^c</i>	<i>Nfr-htp</i>
13.22	<i>S3-hw.t-hr-{r^c}</i>					<i>S3-hw.t-hr?</i>
13.23	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c Sbk-htp</i>	<i>nh-jb-t3.wj</i>	<i>W3d-h^c.w</i>	<i>Wsr-b^c.w</i>	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>
13.24	<i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>				<i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>
13.25	<i>W3h-jb-R^c Jb-j^cw</i>				<i>W3h-jb-R^c</i>	<i>Jb-j^cw</i>
13.26	<i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i>				<i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i>	<i>Jy</i>
13.27	<i>Mr-htp-R^c</i>				<i>Mr-htp-R^c</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>
13.28	<i>S:nh s:w3d-tw</i>					
13.29	<i>Mr-shm-R^c Jnd</i>				<i>Mr-shm-R^c</i>	<i>Nfr-htp</i>
13.30	<i>S:w3d-k3-R^c Hr-j</i>					
13.31	<i>Mr-k3.w-R^c Sbk-htp</i>				<i>Mr-k3.w-R^c</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>

13.32-38	Lost					
13.39	[...]r-[...] <i>R^c</i> [...]					
13.40	<i>Mr-hpr-</i> <i>R^c</i>				<i>Mr-hpr-</i> <i>R^c</i>	
13.41	<i>Mr-k3-[R^c?]</i>					
13.42	Lost					
13.43	[.....] <i>dd</i>					
13.44	[...]- <i>ms</i> [...]					
13.45	[...]- <i>m3.t-R^c</i> <i>jbj</i>					
13.46	[...] <i>wbn-R^c</i> <i>Hr</i>					
13.47	[...]- <i>k3-R^c</i>					
13.48	[...] <i>kn-R^c</i>					
13.49	[...]-[...]- <i>R^c</i>					
13.50	[...]- <i>n</i> [...]					
Contemporary evidence		Horus	Two ladies	G. Horus	Throne	Birth
13. a	Senwosret IV	<i>Whm-^cnh</i>	<i>S:^cnh t3.wj</i>	<i>Nfr-^ch.w</i>	<i>S:nfr-jb-r^c</i>	<i>S-n-wsr.t</i>
13.b	Khabaw	<i>H^c-b3.w</i>	<i>Whm-dd-^cnh-rnp.wt</i>		<i>Shm-R^c-^chw-t3.wj</i>	
13.c	<i>h^c-^cnh-R^c</i> Sobekhotep	<i>Sm3-B.wj</i>	<i>Dd-^ch.w</i>	<i>K3.w-ntr.w</i>	<i>H^c-^cnh-R^c</i>	<i>Sbk-htp</i>
13.d	<i>Jmny-^ckm3w</i>					<i>Jmny-^ckm3w</i>
13. e	<i>km3w-s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f</i>				<i>Htp-jb-R^c</i>	<i>Km3w-s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f</i>
13.f	<i>Df3-K3-R^c / Nr-k3-R^c</i>				<i>Df3-K3-R^c /</i> <i>Nr-k3-R^c</i>	

Table 6. 1: Royal titles of the 13th Dynasty

Conclusion:

Through the previous survey of the royal names, three groups of rulers can be identified:

Group One: This group includes rulers from **13.2** to **13.19**, with the exceptions of **13.11** and **15**, and includes the rulers numbered **13.** a, d, e, and f. This group is characterised by a mixture of royal name patterns. It includes all rulers named Amenemhat and *S:htp-jb-R^c*, as well as a sequence of kings with names that combine the patterns *X-jb-R^c* and *X-k3-R^c*. Additionally, this group contains rulers with double and triple birth names.

Group Two: Rulers from **13.20** to **13.24**, including king no.**13.c**, comprise this group. The group is well-attested and these rulers bear the birth names of Sobekhotep and Neferhotep. According to the archaeological record, three of them (no. **13.21-23**) were brothers, but ruler no.**13.22** did not have any recorded royal names¹. The pattern of Horus name matches among the rulers no. **13.20**, **21**, **23**, and **13. c**. Similarly, the pattern of throne names matches among the rulers no. **13.21-24**, and **13. c**.

Group Three: includes rulers from **13.25** to **13.31**, **13.40-41**. The names from **13.32-39** and **13.42-50** are lost or unreadable. Most rulers in this group have names composed of the pattern *Mr-X-R^c*. Some of them, such as **13.27**, **29**, and **31**, bear the birth names Sobekhotep and Neferhotep, and may be influenced or associated with group two. Interestingly, in the archaeological record, Kings no. **13.25**, **26**, **27**, **29**, and **31** do not have the title “*nsw-bj.tj*” before their throne name but instead have the title “*ntr-nfr.*”². Remarkably, the names of rulers **13.28 S:nh-s:w3d=tw** and **13.30 S:w3d-k3-R^c Hr-j** do not correspond with the other names of pattern *Mr-X-R^c*.

Remarks: It can be difficult to determine the exact group of some rulers in the 13th Dynasty due to inconsistencies between the list and archaeological evidence. To accurately place them, it is important to consider not just the type of names but also the archaeological evidence in comparison to other rulers (i.e., the juxtaposed names upon the same evidence). The following examples are cases in point:

¹ See Chapter Four: King 13.22: *S3-hw.t-hr*

² Cat. 13.25, 26, 27, 29, 31.

13.1: King *Hw-t3.wj-R*, is placed as the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty, but this throne name corresponds with the birth name Wegaf, who is attested in the archaeological evidence of King no. 13.14 in Madamud. Thus, King no. 13.1 should be placed after King no. 13.14. However, this assumption is not certain, as the relationship between the two kings must be archaeologically examined (See below). It is worth noting that the name patterns of the two kings are different.

13.15: King *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp*'s name in the 13th Dynasty list resembles the names of rulers in group two. The composition of the throne name is similar to the throne name of king 13.20. His position in the list suggests that he is placed between a group of rulers whose names are composed of the patterns X-*k3-R* and X-*jb-R*. That suggests replacing the king after king no. 13.19. However, the king's name may have been switched to King no. 13.1 by the scribe of the Turin King-list, as Kings no. 13.1 and 13.14 are attested together, as mentioned earlier¹.

13.b: King Khabaw, this king also bears the same throne name as King no. 13.15. SIESSE believes that the two kings are the same and places him as the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty². This assumption may be accepted, but the archaeological record of the two kings should also be considered to determine the identity of the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty. This issue will be discussed further in a later chapter.

2. Juxtaposed names:

The examination of the archaeological evidence of the 13th Dynasty rulers invokes issues concerning the relationships between the rulers whose placing in the Turin King-list contradicts the archaeological evidence. One of these issues is the juxtaposition of names of more than one ruler on the same evidence. Analysing these cases can lead to a deeper understanding of the relationships between the rulers of the 13th Dynasty list. These cases are discussed as follows:

2.1: King *Hw-t3.wj-R* Wegaf and King *S:d3-k3-R* Amenemhat Kay

As indicated, King 13.1 *Hw-t3.wj-R* is listed as the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list, but his name is mentioned in Madamud juxtaposed with King *S:d3-k3-R* Amenemhat Kay, listed as a ruler no. 13.14³. Apparently, this evidence genuinely

¹ See Chapter Three: III. 2: Lahun archive.

² Siesse 2019: 99.

³ Cat. 13.1.1,13.14.1.

refers to King *S:df3-k3-R*^c Amenemhat Kay and the royal names of King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf were added later. According to this evidence, king *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf in the King-list was probably placed as a direct successor of King *S:df3-k3-R*^c Amenemhat Kay¹. Possibly, the scribe of the King-list interchanged between King 13.1 *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c and King 13.15 *Shm-R*^c-*hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp*, the actual direct successor of King 13.14 *S:df3-k3-R*^c Amenemhat Kay².

Indeed, if King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c truly matches King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf, then his position as the first ruler is not acceptable and must be repositioned after King *S:df3-k3-R*^c Amenemhat Kay. Examining the three adjacent rectangles of the two kings upon the bark-stand of Madamud indicates that they were inscribed simultaneously in one program of inscriptions³. Nevertheless, compared with the original inscription of King *S:df3-k3-R*^c Amenemhat Kay that devoted the bark-stand to God Monthu, it is evident that the inscriptions are stylistically different from the three rectangles. Interestingly, King Amenemhat Kay's throne name is written as  in the original text, while written as  in the middle rectangle⁴. This assures that the three rectangles were not inscribed in the reign of King Amenemhat Kay but in the reign of King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf.

King Wegaf was not necessarily the direct successor to Amenemhat Kay and possibly does not belong to this line of rulers within the 13th Dynasty. The attestations of King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf are concentrated in Upper Egypt and characterised by small size and a low degree of execution; maybe he inscribed his name on the bark-stand of Amenemhat Kay since he had no sufficient resources to erect his own bark-stand for God Monthu. Interestingly, King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf did not usurp the stand. Instead, he juxtaposed his name with King Amenemhat Kay, who perhaps was venerated by King Wegaf⁵.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 317-318.

² Kitchen 1967: 45.

³ Cat. 13.1.1

⁴ Cat. 13.14.1.

⁵ Vercoutter 1975: 227.

2.2: King *Hw-t3.wj-R* Wegaf and King *S:nfr-ib-R*, Senwosret

King **13.1** *Hw-t3.wj-R* Wegaf is mentioned in evidence that is not contemporary with a reference to the birth name of Senwosret¹. The Turin King-list of the 13th Dynasty does not include the name Senwosret, and this king may be one of the Senwosrets of the 12th Dynasty. However, the archaeological record mentions the name **13.a** *S:nfr-ib-R* Senwosret, who could be identified as Senwosret IV. The king is well-attested in Thebes and his name appears in the Karnak-Offering list alongside the kings of the 13th Dynasty. The connection between the two kings is unclear, but most likely King *S:nfr-ib-R* Senwosret belonged to the 13th Dynasty.

2.3: King *3w-jb-R* Hor and King *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw

King **13.13** *3w-jb-R* Hor is listed in the Turin King-list as the 13th ruler of the 13th Dynasty. The archaeological record keeps a piece of evidence found in Tanis that shows the Horus name *Htp-Jb-t3.wj* of King *3w-jb-R* Hor is juxtaposed with the Horus name *H-b3.w* (**13.b**) of King *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj*, who is not listed in the Turin King-list². The position of the two Horus names indicates that the two kings possibly ruled as coregents³.

Unfortunately, the evidence, a lintel reused as a sarcophagus lid by King *Sheshonq III*, is lost and documented only by the drawings of MONTET⁴. Likely, the drawings of MONTET did not transfer a reliable copy of the inscriptions on the lintel. Note that the Horus name *Htp-Jb-t3.wj* of King Hor resembles the Horus name *Mh-Jb-t3.wj* of King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R* Amenemhat, the second ruler of the 13th Dynasty in the

Turin King-list. Possibly the Horus name  *Mh-Jb-t3.wj* was miscopied as the Horus name  *Htp-Jb-t3.wj*. King **13.b** *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw is one of two kings bearing the same throne name, and a potential candidate for the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty (See the discussion in the next chapter)

¹ Cat. 13.1.4.

² Cat. 13.b.1.

³ Ryholt 1997: 216.

⁴ See Chapter Five: 13.b: King *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw [Tanis]

2.4: King 3w-ib-R^c Hor, Kings Nj-m^{3c}.t-R^c, and H^c-k3.w-R^c

According to the archaeological record of King 13.13 3w-ib-R^c Hor, two pieces of evidence attested the name of King Nj-m^{3c}.t-R^c, most probably Amenemhat III, with an association of King 3w-ib-R^c Hor. The first piece of evidence is a seal-impression with the cartouche of Nj-m^{3c}.t-R^c found on the canopic chest lid of King Hor at his tomb¹. The second piece of evidence is unprovenanced plaque bears on both sides of cartouches of 3w-ib-R^c and Nj-m^{3c}.t-R^c².

King Hor was buried in one of the burial shafts of King Amenemhat III's complex at Dahshur. The impression-seal of Nj-m^{3c}.t-R^c on the canopic chest of King Hor indicates that King Nj-m^{3c}.t-R^c commissioned the burial rituals as a clue that Nj-m^{3c}.t-R^c was the successor of Hor. Finally, a ceremonial faience plaque combines both kings and implies a close relationship³. On the other hand, the throne name of 3w-ib-R^c is inscribed on a scarab with the throne name h^c-k3.w-R^c of Senwosret III⁴.

In this context, DE MORGAN argued that King 3w-ib-R^c Hor belonged to the 12th Dynasty and placed him between Senwosret III and Amenemhat III⁵. AUFRÉRE, too, has differentiated between King 3wt-ib-R^c  of the Turin King-list and King 3w-ib-R^c , the tomb shaft owner at Dahshur⁶. He proposed that 3w-ib-R^c Hor held the throne temporarily after the death of Senwosret III as regent for the young Amenemhat III, who was probably not yet qualified to rule. Later, Hor transferred the power to Amenemhat III, who supervised the burial rituals of Hor⁷. However, King Hor's 12th Dynasty dating has been disregarded since there are no chronological gaps between the kings of the 12th Dynasty⁸.

The studies which ascribed a relationship to King Amenemhat III and King Hor omitted a potential connection between King Hor and King Khabaw, as mentioned earlier. VON BECKERATH proposed that King Hor may have had the additional

¹ Cat. 13.13.1.

² Cat. 13.13.6.

³ Tallet 2005: 275.

⁴ Cat. 13.13.7.

⁵ Von Beckerath 1964: 44-45; Aufrère 2001: 1-41; Landua-McCormack 2008: 251; Tallet 2005: 272-283.

⁶ Aufrère 2001: 1-41.

⁷ Aufrère 2001: 40-41.

⁸ Tallet 2005: 277-283.

throne name *Nj-m³t-R*¹ besides *3w-ib-R*¹. Possibly, King Hor also sought the protection and patronage of the dead King Amenemhat III.

2.5: King *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep and *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep

The two brother kings **13.21** *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep and **13.23** *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep are attested juxtaposed in two attestations in Karnak² and Wadi Hammamat³. Besides, it is possible that the naos of King *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep also refers to the two brothers⁴. However, the surviving textual evidence on the naos gives only the names of King Neferhotep. Examining previous attestations clarifies that the two brothers reigned as coregents or one after one. Nevertheless, the two kings are separated by the name of their brother king **13.22** Sahathor in the Turin King-list (col. 7/26). According to the archaeological record of Sahathor⁵, he was not attested as a king except in the Turin King-list. Possibly, the composer of the royal list mistakenly recorded the name of Sahathor as a king, believing he held power like his two brothers. The composer probably copied the names of the three brothers from one of their family lists. Interestingly, the name of Sahathor in all the royal family lists comes before the name of Sobekhotep⁶. That renders the accuracy of sources for the composition of the Turin-King list doubtful.

3. The spatial activity of rulers

Assessment of the validity of the archaeological evidence of the 13th Dynasty gave a conclusion of the actual geographical extent that was controlled by the dynasty's rulers (Table 6. 2). The analysis of the spatial activity of rulers is presented based on the sequence of rulers in the Turin King-list. This is done to verify the correspondence of the rulers' sequence in the Turin King-list with the actual distribution of their archaeological evidence, moving from north to south.

¹ Von Beckerath 1964: 45.

² Cat. 31.21.10.

³ Cat. 13.23.12.

⁴ Cat. 13.21.11.

⁵ Cat. 13.22.1, 2; Cat. 13.23.15.

⁶ Cat. 13.21.15, 16.

Kings	TK.	Locations																																							
		Eastern Delta				Memphis-Fayoum region								Theban region																											
Byblos	Tell Hizzin	Cannan	Tanis	T. ed-Dabaa	Fâqîs	T. Maskhuta	Bubastis	T. Yahudiya	Heliopolis	Memphis	Saqqara	Dahshur	Lisht	Lahun	Medinet Madi	el-Atawia	Gebel el-Zeit	Abydos	Dendara	Wadi el-Hol	W.Hammamat	Madamud	Thebes	Karnak	Deir el-Bahari	Dra Abu el-Naga	Qurna	Tod	el-Mo'alla	El-Kab	Edfu	Elephantine	Sehel	W. el-Hudi	Buhen	Mirgissa	Askuft	Uronarti	Semna	Kerma	Argo island
13.1	<i>Hw-t3.wj-R^c</i>																																								
13.2	<i>Shm-k3-R^c</i>								●																																
13.3	<i>Jmn-m-h3.t</i>																																								
13.4	<i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>																																								
13.5	<i>Jw=f-n=j</i>																																								
13.6	<i>S:nh-jb-R^c</i>								●																																
13.7	<i>S:mn-k3-R^c</i>																	●																							
13.8	<i>S:htp-jb-R^c</i>																	●																							
13.9	<i>S:w3d-k3-R^c</i>																																								
13.10	<i>Ndm-jb-R^c</i>																																								
13.11	<i>Sbk-htp {R^c}</i>																																								
13.12	<i>Rn=j-[s]nb</i>																																								
13.13	<i>3wt-jb-R^c</i>																	●																							
13.14	<i>S:df[3]-k3-R^c</i>																	●																							
13.15	<i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp</i>																		●																			?			
13.16	<i>Wsr-[k3]-R^c Hndr</i>																		●																						
13.17	<i>[S:mnh]-k3-R^c Jmy-r ms^c</i>									●																															
13.18	<i>[S:htp]-k3-[R^c] Jnj-jt(j)=f</i>																		●																						
13.19	<i>[...]-jb-[R^c?] Sth</i>																																								
13.20	<i>Shm-R^c [s:w3d-t3.wj] Sbk-htp</i>																		●																						
13.21	<i>H^c-[shm]-R^c Nfr-htp</i>	▲	▲	▲															●																						
13.22	<i>S3-hw.t-hr-{r^c}</i>																		●																						
13.23	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c Sbk-htp</i>	▲								●									●																		■				
13.24	<i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>																		●																						
13.25	<i>W3h-jb-R^c Jb-j^cw</i>	●																	●																						
13.26	<i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i>																		●																						
13.27	<i>Mr-htp-R^c</i>																		●																						
13.28	<i>S:nh s:w3d=tw</i>																																								
13.29	<i>Mr-shm-R^c Jnd</i>																		●																						
13.30	<i>S:w3d-k3-R^c Hr-j</i>																																								
13.31	<i>Mr-k3.w-R^c Sbk-htp</i>																		●																						

Table 6. 2: the spatial activity of the 13th Dynasty rulers

Certain
Attested in Karnak
offering-list

1

Relocation

1

Mutual relationships

1

Uncertain validity

1

No geographical attestations

1

To demonstrate the spatial extent of the 13th Dynasty, the archaeological study distinguishes between certain locations under the actual dominance of the rulers and uncertain locations that attested to the rulers but lacked evidence of their dominance. The attestations that do not reflect the dominance of the rulers are represented in the following cases:

A. Relocation:

Many of the attestations, the majority are statues (Table 6. 3), were relocated and reused outside the geographical range of the 13th Dynasty rulers. The textual evidence of these attestations indicates that they were possibly relocated mainly to the Tell el-Dab'a due to the looting of Memphis by the Hyksos.

No.	King	catalogue	Provenance	Discovery loc.
13.15	<i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp</i>	13.15.7	Elephantine?	Kerma
13.17	[<i>S:mnh</i>]-k3-R ^c Imyermesha	13.17.1	Memphis	Tanis
13.23	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c Sbk-htp</i>	13.23. 2 [a, b]	Memphis	Tanis
		13.23.3		
		13.23.4		
		13.23.27	Abydos	Argo Island
13.24	<i>H^c-htp-R^c</i>	13.24.2	Elephantine	Kerma
13.26	<i>Mr-nfr-R^c</i>	13.25.1	Memphis	Fâqûs
13. b	Khabaw	13. b.1	Bubastis?	Tanis
13.e	<i>Qemau s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f</i>	13.e.1	Memphis	Tall el-Dab'a

Table 6. 3: Relocation of the 13th Dynasty attestations

It seems that these attestations were then transferred to the Ramesside capital Pi-Ramesses (Qantir). Finally, the attestations transferred to Tanis, the capital of the 21st Dynasty. On the other hand, some statues were found in Upper Nubia in Argo Island and Kerma, possibly relocated as looting activity of Nubian attacks. Since the textual evidence of the attestation does not match the found spot and provides a different provenance, one can assume that the king had control over the object's place of origin.

B. Mutual relationships:

A few attestations from the 13th Dynasty are found in various centres in the Levant (Byblos, Tell Hizzin, some Canaanite locations) and the Eastern Delta (Tall ed-Dab'a, Tall Maskhuta, and Tall Yahudiya). The archaeological examination suggests that these attestations do not indicate the rulers' control over these centres, but rather reflect a mutually beneficial trade or diplomatic relationship. The activity of the 13th Dynasty rulers towards the Levant and the Eastern Delta activated mainly during the reigns of

Kings *Shm-R^c* *s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep¹, *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep², and *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep³. Notably, a bulk of seal impressions belonging to the Hyksos King Khayan were discovered at Tell Edfu in closed archaeological contexts with seal impressions belonging to King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep⁴. It is noteworthy that the external activity of these Egyptian rulers possibly reflects the growth and enrichment of their attestations across Egyptian territories.

C. Evidence of uncertain validity

Based on the archaeological evidence, not all the royal attestations of the 13th Dynasty are valid to outline the actual geographical dominance of the rulers. The absence of the archaeological context is a prime weakness in ascertaining a ruler's territorial dominance⁵. In addition, the heterogeneous textual evidence of the royal attestations raises doubts about the ruler's activity in the location. For instance, the execution of the birth name of King *Hndr* on the Louver stela C 11 from Abydos indicates that it was added to the stela later and possibly implies a different historical context⁶. Finally, the absence of any provenance undermines the validity of the attestations to determine the political-geographical context of rulers. This happens particularly in unprovenanced scarabs that generally lack an informative value. However, such attestations approximated the rulers historically based on their stylistic grounds. It is worth mentioning that scarabs were the most commonly forged objects in modern times to meet the demand of tourists during the late 19th and early 20th centuries who sought original Egyptian artefacts⁷. Possibly, this reason accounts for the massive number of unprovenanced scarabs of the 13th Dynasty rulers.

It is noteworthy that some unprovenanced small-scale artefacts, such as cylinder-seals and beads, reference local deities like Sobek of *Shedet*⁸ or Sobek of *Semenu*⁹. These attestations do not necessarily imply the involvement of rulers in the cult centres of these deities; instead, they could be categorised as votive objects

¹ Cat. 13.20.1

² Cat. 13.21.2, 3

³ Cat. 13.23.1, 5

⁴ Cat. 13.23.24

⁵ For instance: Cat. 13. 20.1, 2[a, b]

⁶ Cat. 13.16. 5 [C11]

⁷ Wakeling 1912: 1-10, 67-94; Hagen and Ryholt 2016: 147-148; Eid 2022: 160-161.

⁸ Cat. 13.14.1; 13.23.7.

⁹ Cat. 13.6.2; 13.14.3; 13.20.9; 13.21.12; 13.25.2, 5.

dedicated to these local deities. However, in most cases of these attestations, the dominance of rulers includes already the cult centres of these deities.

Thus, the ultimate geographical range where the rulers of the 13th Dynasty exerted actual dominance can be demarcated between Memphis in the north and Semna in the south. It is worth mentioning that King **13. b** Khabaw was the only one whose dominance extended to the eastern Delta, maybe until Bubastis¹. Actually, the surviving attestations do not ascertain the absolute power of all rulers over the same geographical range. There are a total of 21 geographically well-attested rulers listed in the Turin King-list; in addition, six rulers are not listed.

Indeed, the contrasting environmental conditions between Lower and Upper Egypt had a substantial influence on the varied preservation degrees of the archaeological evidence. The dry weather and desert landscape of Upper Egypt are main factors that helped preserve a major part of the ancient Egyptian heritage. In contrast, the archaeological locations of Lower Egypt suffered significantly, not only because of wet weather but also due to looting or reuse in antiquity for reasons such as invasions or quarrying until modern times. Therefore, the surviving attestations of the 13th Dynasty rulers possibly do not reflect the reality of their spatial activity, especially in Lower Egypt, due to the previous reasons. Nevertheless, many rulers are well-attested only in Lower Egypt and seemingly have no attestations in Upper Egypt. The Karnak Offering-list as a parameter for rulers who most certainly had an actual activity in Karnak and generally in Thebes lists 13 names attributed to the 13th Dynasty and were mostly attested in Karnak². Consequently, rulers with no attestations in Upper Egypt or those unmentioned in the Karnak Offering-list most certainly did not exert power in Upper Egypt. For instance, the rulers **13.16 Wsr-k3-R** Khendjer, **13.17 S:mnh-k3-R** Imyermesha, and **13.18 S:htp-k3-R** Intef are attested only in Lower Egypt, and their names do not appear in the Karnak Offering-list. This is although the preceding King **13.15 Shm-R-hw-t3.wj** Sobekhotep Amenemhat and the subsequent King **13.20 Shm-R-s:w3d-t3.wj** Sobekhotep are attested in Upper Egypt and also mentioned in the Karnak Offering-list. Therefore, the rulers' sequence in the Turin King-list not necessarily reflects the same degree of actual dominance over the same geographical range. In this context, it is worth noting that the absence or paucity of attestations across different

¹ Cat. 13.b.2.

² Chapter Three: Karnak Offering-list.

territories, or even their concentration in only one region, probably implies short reigns of rulers. However, short reigns may also allude to a fragile political situation due to power struggles that did not permit the exertion of absolute power over all regions.

On the basis of the density of the rulers' spatial activity that implies actual dominance over the territories stretching from north to south, the rulers can be divided into the following three groups:

Group one: contains the rulers from king no. **13.1** to **13.19**. Rulers who are certainly attested in the geographical range of the 13th Dynasty are 11 rulers while 8 rulers come without any provenanced attestations. Among this group, only King **13.2 Shm-k3-R^c** is well-attested in seven locations distributed between Lower and Upper Egypt.

King **13.1 Hw-t3.wj-R^c** Wegaf is attested in the Theban region and Lower Nubia. As indicated earlier, the king's position in the King-list is not accurate and should be replaced by one of the Kings who bears the throne name *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* no. **13.15** or **13. b¹**. However, King **13. b Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj** Khabaw is attested certainly in the eastern Delta and Lower Nubia, and he probably belongs to this group of rulers.

King **13.6 S:^cnh-jb-R^c** is well-attested in Karnak and probably in Heliopolis as well. The names listed before this king no. **13.3-13.5** have no attestations, so it is not possible to establish a spatial relationship between this king and his predecessors except through their places in the King-list.

Kings **13.7 S:mn-k3-R^c** and **13.8 S:htp-jb-R^c** are attested in Gebel el-Zeit. Therefore, their sequence in the King-list is almost reliable. King **13.8 S:htp-jb-R^c** was probably active in Karnak since his throne name is attested in the Karnak Offering-list. Therefore, these two kings are possibly related to King **13.6 S:^cnh-jb-R^c**, since his name is attested in the Karnak offering-list No. 38 close to the throne name of King **13.8 S:htp-jb-R^c** No. 37². According to the available historical record of the 13th Dynasty, no other king is attested in Gebel el-Zeit. The spatial relationship of those kings with the following names in the King-list is unknown since Kings no. **13.9-13.12** have no attestations.

¹ See Chapter One: Lahun archive, Nile records.

² See Chapter Four: 13.8: King *S:htp-jb-R^c*.

King **13.13** *3wt-jb-R^c* Hor is well-attested only in Dahshur, based on his tomb. The king has no attestations in Upper Egypt, despite the rich equipment found in his tomb, which may indicate that he had access to the gold mines in Nubia. However, access to resources was also possible via trade. Given the absence of evidence, the king's dominance over Lower Nubia is uncertain. The following king **13.14** *S:d3-k3-R^c* is well-attested in Madamud, while his attestations in Lower Egypt are inadequate to conclude a relationship with King Hor.

King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Sobekhotep Amenemhat was notably active in Thebes, more than any other king in this group. The king shows substantial activity in Madamud¹ and he possibly erected a chapel to the temple of Amun-Re in Karnak². According to the archaeological examination, it is evident that he was associated with the kings of Group Two. Others have replaced the king with king *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* as the head of the 13th Dynasty³.

Kings **13.16-18** are well-attested only in Lower Egypt in no more than one location. King no. **13.19** has no attestations. At this point of the King-list, it is evident that the rulers' spatial activity is restricted to a few locations (no more than two locations) except for King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R^c*, who is attested in several locations in Upper and Lower Egypt.

Besides, King **13. d Jmny-km3w** should be located within this group since he is well-attested only in Dahshur through his tomb like kings **13.13** Hor and **13.16** Khendjer. Likewise, King **13. e Qemau s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f** is possibly part of this group since he may have been associated with King **13.d** Ameny-Qemau and his few certain attestations do not exceed Middle Egypt. Lastly, as indicated earlier, King **13. f Df3-K3-R^c/Nr-k3-R^c** most certainly belongs to this group based on his Nile-record, the 12th Dynasty practice that lasted into the beginning of the 13th Dynasty.

Group two: contains the rulers no. **13.20** to **13.24**. This group seems to share the same spatial activity except for King **13.22** Sahathor, who apparently did not hold power, as indicated above. The spatial activity of this group concentrates mainly on Abydos, Thebes, and Elephantine.

¹ Cat. 13.15.1-4

² Cat. 13.23.17.

³ Ryholt 1997: 315-320

King no. 13.23 *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep is the most attested in Upper and Lower Egypt. The king was notably active in Memphis based on a bulk of statues that originated from there and were shipped later to the eastern Delta. He is similarly well-attested in Heliopolis. Besides, he is the only king attested in Wadi Hammamat and Wadi el-Hudi. By contrast, King no. 13.24 *H^r-htp-R^r* Sobekhotep has the least attestations in this group. Nevertheless, he most certainly belonged to this group on the grounds of the style of his throne name; he was possibly heir to King *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep¹. Besides, King 13. c *H^r-nh-R^r* Sobekhotep may belong to this group as well since his attestations concentrate on Abydos, Thebes, and possibly Elephantine. He also bears the same pattern of the throne name and he is likely heir to King *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep².

This group shares the same external activity in light of trade and diplomatic relationships with the Asiatic settlers at Tall ed-Dab'a and the Levantine centres like Byblos and Tell Hizzin. This assumption is supported by the Tell el-Dab'a seal-impressions of Kings 13.20 *Shm-R^r-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep³ and 13.21 *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep⁴. Simultaneously, a bulk of seal-impressions of King Kheyan were found in Tall Edfu in the same archaeological context as the seal-impressions of King 13.23 *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep⁵. Besides, the attestations of the brother kings *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep and *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep in Byblos⁶ and Tell Hizzin⁷ confirm the trade relationship which targeted the cedar wood exporting to Egypt. The activity of King *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep at Karnak shows his order to execute the restoration works by the cedar wood of Lebanon⁸.

Interestingly, kings no 13.20, 13.21, and 13.23 are listed close to each other in the Karnak Offering-list as nos. 35, 34, and 33. In addition, King 13.15 *Shm-R^r-hw-t3.wj*, part of Group One, is listed in the Karnak Offering-list close to these three kings as no. 36. Moreover, kings 13.24 and 13. c are also listed closely in the Kanak Offering-list as no. 46, 47.

¹ Cat. 13.23.12.

² Cat. 13.23.12.

³ Cat. 13.20.1.

⁴ Cat. 13.21.3.

⁵ Cat. 13.23.24.

⁶ Cat. 13.21.1.

⁷ Cat. 13.23.1.

⁸ Cat. 13.23.17.

On the other hand, despite the expanded spatial activity of this group, they seemingly erected their tomb in Abydos. As indicated earlier, it is most probable that the two 13th Dynasty tombs of Abydos are attributed to the brother kings **13.21** *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep and **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep¹. Besides, King **13. c** *H^c-n^cnh-R^c* Sobekhotep had considerable architectural activity in Abydos², and perhaps he was also buried in Abydos.

Group Three: contains the rulers **13.25** to **13.31**. It seems that the spatial activity of this group concentrated on Thebes and extended to Abydos. However, King **13.26** *Mr-nfr-R^c* Aya is attested in Lower Egypt by fragments of pyramidion found in the eastern Delta and possibly derived from the Memphis region. Possibly, the alleged long reign of King *Mr-nfr-R^c* Ay of about 24 years allowed him to extend his sovereignty to Lower Egypt.

Rulers no. **13.28** and **30** have no attestations, and their activity seemingly concentrated on Thebes. The rulers **13.32** to **13.50** also have no attestations except for King **13.40** *Mr-hpr-R^c*, who is attested on an unprovenanced object. However, because of the *Stèle juridique* it is evident that the sequence from King **13.27** until **13.50** practised the power within Thebes. The genealogical data of the stela connects King **13.27** *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep and King *s.w3d-n-R^c* Nebiryraw of the Theban 16th Dynasty through a cluster of high-ranking officials. Seemingly, they held the governorship of El-Kab within one institution of kingship³.

It is worth mentioning that three kings of this group are listed in the Karnak Offering-list: King **13.27** *Mr-htp-R^c* as no. 50, Kings **13.29** *Mr-shm-R^c* *Jnd* / Neferhotep and **13.31** *Mr-k3.w-R^c* Sobekhotep as nos. 41, 42. Where the necropolis of this group was is unclear. However, King **13.26** *Mr-nfr-R^c* Aya probably erected his pyramid-tomb in the Memphite region. However, the other rulers of this group were not privileged with adequate economic resources, or they ruled for a short time. Thus, they could not erect tombs-pyramids or reuse other tombs of their ancestors. The group was restricted geographically to Thebes after King *Mr-nfr-R^c* Ay, and perhaps they were buried in Abydos like the rulers of Group Two. Note that some rulers of this group may be spiritually associated with Group Two due to their birth names Neferhotep and

¹ See Chapter Three: Royal necropolis.

² Cat. 13.c.1, 2.

³ See Cat. 13.27.4

Sobekhotep. Additionally, considering the overlap between this part of the 13th Dynasty and the 16th Dynasty, it is likely that these rulers were buried in Western Thebes.

4. Art Production

Based on the last division of the rulers' spatial activity, which necessarily reflects the degree of resources under the control of each ruler, this section tackles rulers' art production to collect or distinguish the common characteristics/peculiarities of their various attestations. This step aims to establish or dismantle relationships between rulers within or between the three groups. Additionally, it tries to place the unattested rulers within the framework of the 13th Dynasty by comparing the closeness of their attestations to those in the Turin King-list.

The analysis of art production considers parameters such as the material and scale of attestations to verify the degree of resource control in each group¹. In addition, the quality of execution is examined to evaluate the level of art production workshops, which possibly reflects the degree of proficiency of the human resources. This can be based on their proximity to the main regional centres or their chronological proximity to the highly skilled workshops of the 12th Dynasty. Note that the art production of each ruler is already separately evaluated in the archaeological study. These parameters help verify the continuity of rulers' control over the same available resources as long as they are listed in a sequence of one institution of kingship. In this context, it is important that the current study does not aim to follow the micro-analysis used by art historians to adjust the chronological context of artefacts. The study is devoted to noting the general characteristics of royal attestations, which can be distinguished by non-specialists in art history. It is worth mentioning that CONNOR conducted an indispensable in-depth study on the statues of the Middle Kingdom and the SIP².

For justification, the analysis provides a general synthesis of the art production within each group. Due to the scarcity and dispersal of attestations, it does not provide an adequate opportunity to compare each item across each group as discussed below:

Group One: The artistic production level of this group of rulers is not consistent, just as their spatial activity are also diverse. However, King 13.13 *3w-jb-R* Hor's art production is an exception within this as well as the other two groups since his

¹ This approach is consistent with QUIRKE's approach to measuring the royal power of the 13th Dynasty by examining royal statues based on material and scale, See Quirke 2010: 59-66.

² Connor 2020.

burial was found relatively complete. Furthermore, the condition of the burial objects reflects good execution and a variety of materials, indicating a high degree of control over resources. However, the king is only attested in a burial shaft in King Amenemhat III's complex at Dahshur; he was possibly privileged by the complex workshops, which supervised his burial. Yet King Hor may not have been a 13th Dynasty but rather a 12th Dynasty ruler¹.

The level of art production attributed to King **13.1 Hw-t3.wj-R^c** Wegaf of the 13th Dynasty does not necessarily ascertain his leading position within the dynasty due to the crude and small-scale condition of his attestations. This suggests that he did not make use of well-skilled art production workshops, which may have been chronologically distant from the art production level of the 12th Dynasty. By comparison, the level of art production attributed to King **13.2 Shm-k3-R^c** Amenemhat Sonbef reflects good competence in the execution of sculptures and reliefs. For instance, the king's life-size statue from Elephantine is considered a masterpiece among the sculptures of the 13th Dynasty². It is noteworthy that the king's cylinder-seal³ resembles the remains of the cylinder-seal⁴ of King **13. b Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj** Khabaw in terms of the inscriptions programme and palaeographical features (Fig. 6. 1).

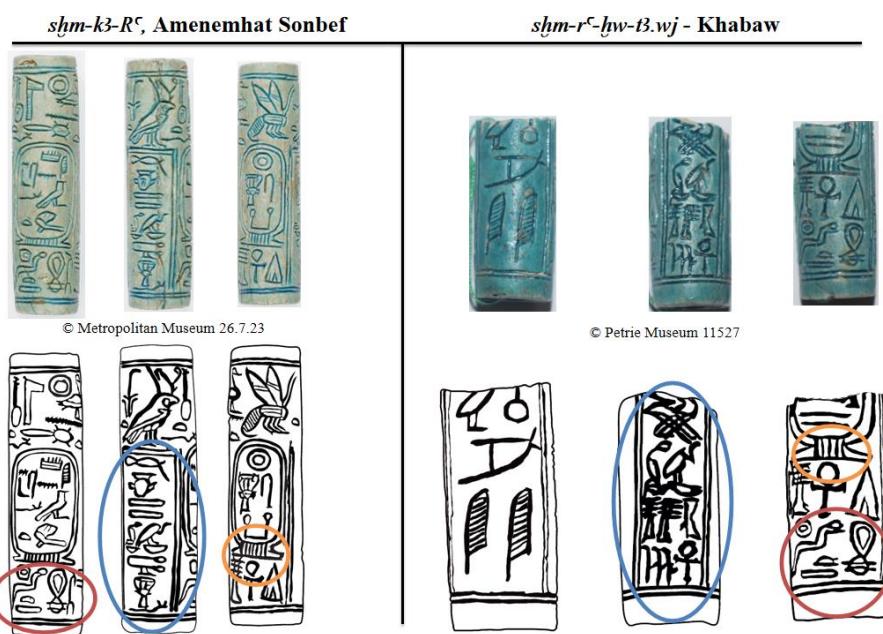


Fig. 6. 1

¹ Aufrère 2001.

² Cat. 13.2.4 [a, b].

³ Cat. 13.2.3.

⁴ Cat. 13.b.3.

The sizeable offering table of King **13.6** *S:nh-jb-R* Ameny Intef Amenemhat from Karnak indicates a high degree of execution, whether in the sculpture of the 40 symmetrical bowls on its surface or the execution of accompanying texts¹. However, the table is sculpted in quartzite, which is a softer stone that is better suited for executing more complex sculptural works. Even though this attestation is the only one securely attributed to the king, it clearly reflects his competence in controlling resources, given that the common quartzite quarries are located in Gebel el-Ahmar in Lower Egypt. The next two kings **13.7** *S:mn-k3-R* and **13.8** *S:htp-jb-R* are attested only in Gebel el-Zeit with two minor-scale of stelae. However, the execution of the writings and iconography on the stelae is satisfactory, suggesting that they were likely manufactured in a main centre of art production, possibly in Memphis, and then transported to Gebel el-Zeit as part of a mining expedition.

King **13.14** *S:df3-k3-R* Amenemhat Kay is securely attested on a granite block in Madamud². The use of granite and the significant size of the block implies reasonable competence in resource control. Nevertheless, the level of the inscription band attributed exclusively to King Amenemhat Kay does not reflect a good level of execution. Conversely, the three inscribed rectangles on the block of King **13.1** *Hwt3.wj-R* Wegaf were better executed, which confirms the previous assumption that the relationship between the two kings is uncertain, as the inscriptions were created at different times and by different artists³.

King **13.15** *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep's art production concentrates on Madamud. The king copied the same scenes of King Senwosret III's sanctuary at Madamud. Nevertheless, the execution of the inscription is of a lower quality than that of King Senwosret III⁴. Besides, the king is represented on a lintel wearing the double-feather crown of Amun, which was previously worn by King Mentuhotep II. Seemingly, King *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep showed his veneration for the great ancestors of the Middle Kingdom for a political agenda⁵. The king's statuette⁶, which most probably originated at Elephantine, implies a low degree of execution and low-quality material, which cannot be compared to the execution of the Elephantine statue

¹ Cat. 13.6. 1.

² Cat. 13.1.1, 13.14.2.

³ See Chapter Six: 2. 1.

⁴ Quirke 1991: 136.

⁵ See Cat. 13.15.1, 2.

⁶ Cat. 13.15.7.

(mentioned above) of King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R^c* Amenemhat Sonbef. This indicates that King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep did not have the privilege of skilled art production workshops, unlike King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R^c* Amenemhat Sonbef. Therefore, there is no possibility to place the two kings in a direct chronological position on the basis of stylistic grounds. The comparison of the art production between King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R^c* Amenemhat Sonbef and King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep intends to reveal the divergences between the two kings, as some views suggest that King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep was head of the 13th Dynasty before King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R^c* Amenemhat Sonbef¹.

One can assume that King **13.16** *Wsr-k3-R^c* Khendjer controlled considerable resources due to his pyramid tomb at Saqqara-South, which consumed vast materials and (skilled) human resources. Nevertheless, the surviving small-scale sculptures attributed to the king suggest the opposite². It is also difficult to establish the king's connection to other 13th Dynasty kings relying on the style of these sculptures. However, the remains of the king's inscribed pyramidion exhibit well-executed features of the Memphite art production workshops³.

On the other hand, the situation is entirely different with King **13.17** *S:mnh-k3-R^c* Imyermesha. While the king is attested solely with the two largest colossal statues in the 13th Dynasty, his burial site remains unprovenanced. However, the fact that such enormous-scale statues were carved from granite/granodiorite suggests the king's competence in resource control. Alike, it's not easy to put the statues in a chronological sequence with the other statues of the 13th Dynasty based on stylistic grounds. However, CONNOR stated that the statue's face (JE 37466) is possibly parallel to that of the sphinx of King Amenemhat III⁴.

The art production of King **13.18** *S:htp-k3-R^c* Intef is limited to a seated quartzite statue of fair quality. Seemingly, the statue was made of low-quality quartzite, and the inscriptions were crudely implemented. Obviously, the art production of King Intef reflects a decline in the quality and quantity of the attestations compared to the preceding rulers **13.13** to **13.17**.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 315-320; Siesse 2016-2017; Siesse 2019: 69-78.

² Cat. 13.16.3 [a, b, c]

³ Cat. 13.16. 2.

⁴ Connor 2020: 56.

King **13.d** Ameny Qemau is attributed to this group, as mentioned in the previous section. The king is attested by the remains of four Canopic jars made of calcite, which are of a lower quality compared to the Canopic jars of King **13.13** Hor¹. Additionally, the jars of Ameny Qemau do not bear the ordinary royal titles found on King Hor's jars; instead, they bear the title “*nsw*”. These indications suggest that King Ameny Qemau existed chronologically apart from King Hor and did not enjoy the same quality in his burial, although both burials were in Dahshur. King Ameny Qemau did not have access to the highly skilled art production workshops in the Memphite region committed to the artistic traditions of the 12th Dynasty. Nevertheless, previous studies place King Ameny Qemau among the earliest rulers of the 13th Dynasty².

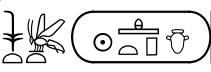
King **13.e** Qemau *s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f* is also attributed to this group due to the similarity of his name to King Ameny Qemau. Seemingly, the king's seated statue found at Tell el-Dab'a indicates good control over resources. The statue is made of schist and carved on its side with the *sm3-t3.wj* motif. These features are similar to the well-executed seated statue of King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R*^c Amenemhat. Unfortunately, the statue is lost, but HABACHI stated that the statue could be dated to the late 12th and early 13th dynasties³. Additionally, the statue's inscriptions are similar to those on the colossal statues of King **13.17** *S:mnh-k3-R*^c Imyermesha. The relationship of King Qemau *s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f* with King Ameny Qemau is uncertain, but it is likely that the king stylistically belongs to the early rulers of the 13th Dynasty. So, it is possible to allocate this king as King **13.4** *S:htp-jb-R*^c since the king's throne name is *Htp-jb-R*^c, assuming that his name was written inaccurately in the Turin King-list⁴.

In summary, the rulers of this group are inconsistent in their art production. The quality of execution and the materials used in the attestations do not indicate the same degree of control over resources. It is difficult to establish relationships among the rulers based on their sequence in the Turin King-list by tracing the common characteristics of their art production. Therefore, there is a clear distinction between this

¹ Cat. 13.d.1 [a, b, c, d]

² Ryholt lists the King Amey Qemau as the 5th ruler of the 13th Dynasty; See Ryholt 1997: 73, 214-215; Siesse lists the king as the 3rd ruler; Siesse 2019: 99.

³ Habachi 1952: 458-459.

⁴ See Chapter Five: 13.e.  King *Htp-jb-R*^c Qemau -*s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*

group and the next group, which share more ties in addition to their sequence in the Turin King-list.

Group Two:

The quantity of art production corresponds with these rulers' expanding spatial activity. The art production shares some common characteristics that maintain relationships among the rulers, regardless of familial ties between some of them. The influence of familial ties is evident in this group, in the case of the brothers Kings **13.21** *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep, **13.22** Sahator, and **13.23** *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep. Nevertheless, a relationship certainly existed between the brothers and their predecessor, King **13.20** *Shm-R^r-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep, according to the following peculiarities:

A. Genealogical scarabs:

As indicated in the archaeological study, genealogical scarabs contain the king's throne and/or birth names alongside the names of the king's father (paternal) or mother (maternal). These scarabs appear within the framework of the 13th Dynasty in the cases of (1) King **13.20** *Shm-R^r-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep and his parentage to the God's father *Mn(t)w-htp* and king's mother *jwh.t-jb.w¹*; (2) King **13.21** *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep² and his brother, King **13.23** *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep³, and their parentage to the God's father *H3-^rnh=f* and the King's mother *Kmj*.

In this context, the archaeological record preserves two maternal genealogical scarabs⁴ bearing the birth name Sobekhotep alongside the king's mother *Nbw-htp.ty* (App. 5)⁵. The pattern of the maternal genealogical scarab alongside the king's birth name appears with King **13.21** *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep and his brother King **13.23** *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep. So it is most probable that these two scarabs belong to a successor to kings **13.21** and **13.23**. According to the ruler sequence in the Turin King-list, the successor is King **13.24** *H^r-htp-R^r* Sobekhotep, so perhaps he owned these two scarabs. However, the archaeological record of King *H^r-htp-R^r* Sobekhotep already has a different pattern of scarabs that bear the king's throne name inside a cartouche

¹ Cat. 13.20. 1-2, 4, 14.

² Cat. 13.21. 2-5, 9.

³ Cat. 13.23. 5-6, 13, 24.

⁴ MMA 26.7.94; BM EA 67071; Ryholt 1997: 353, File 13/30 [5]; Siesse 2019: 390, no. 19 [8-9].

⁵ Newberry 1914: 170 [c], Pl. X [c]; Hayes 1953b: 344; Tufnell 1984: no. 3533.

alongside his birth name without a cartouche¹. Therefore, it is highly likely that these scarabs do not pertain to this king; instead, they are probably attributed to King **13.c** *Hr-nh-R* Sobekhotep, who, possibly due to his throne name pattern and notable activity in Abydos and Thebes, belongs to this line of rulers.

B. Family presenting

The presence of the king's family in the art production of this group is another common feature during the reigns of Kings **13.20** to **13.23** in the Turin King-list. The family of the King **13.20** *Shm-R*-s:w3d-t3.wj Sobekhotep is depicted many times on the king's attestations in Abydos², Wadi el-Hol³, and Sehel⁴. Besides, the brothers kings **13.21-13.23** are recorded in family lists in Sehel⁵, Philae Road⁶, and Wadi Hammamat⁷. These kings were not of royal birth, and they were descended from military families (as seen below). It is most probable that presenting their families on the royal attestations was due to their desire to establish a royal lineage and secure the transfer of rulership to their families through inheritance.

According to the surviving archaeological record, the art production of Group Two appears to have concentrated on Upper Egypt and gradually extended to Lower Egypt before becoming restricted to Upper Egypt again. However, this assumption may be doubtful, given the looting activity and poor preservation in Lower Egypt. The art production of this group demonstrates a strong proficiency in resource exploitation, as seen in the large stelae, statues, and chapels devoted to vital religious centres. Nonetheless, it seems that the degree of control over resources varied over time, with the level of control reaching its peak during the reign of King **13.23** *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep, following a gradual increase from the time of King **13.20** *Shm-R*-s:w3d-t3.wj Sobekhotep.

Despite the notable art production of King **13.20** *Shm-R*-s:w3d-t3.wj Sobekhotep, it is evident that it lacked resources. This is apparent in the reuse of well-executed architectural elements at Madamud, which may have been originally attributed to King

¹ Cat. 13.24.1, 4.

² Cat. 13.20.3

³ Cat. 13.20.5

⁴ Cat. 13.20.12[c].

⁵ Cat. 13.21.15.

⁶ Cat. 13.21.16.

⁷ Cat. 13.23.12.

Senwosret III¹. It is worth mentioning that the last preceding king attested in Madamud prior to King **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep was King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep. A remarkable attestation attributed to the king's reign is the stela of his daughters which was possibly erected in Abydos². The stela reflects a well-executed quality among the majority of his other attestations.

King **13.21** *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep produced art at a higher level of sculpture³. However, the materials used and the quality of some attestations indicate a modest degree of resource control. The king's lost stela in Abydos was the largest among the 13th Dynasty stelae, but it was executed in sandstone⁴. In contrast, another Abydos stela is attributed to the king, which was made of granite but reflects poor execution. This stela probably belonged to another king and was later reused during the king's reign by the priesthood of Abydos for organisational purposes⁵. It is worth mentioning that the king showed his veneration for King Senwosret III by imitating his scene in Sehel⁶. Similarly, King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep imitated King Senwosret III at Madamud, as indicated above.

The art production of the next King, **13.22** Sahathor, does not present him as a king but rather as a prince. The quantity and scale of his attestations do not correspond with those of his brother kings. Thus, the indications do not position Sahathor as a king. Therefore, it makes little to no sense to evaluate his attestations based on his control over resources. Most certainly, Sahathor's attestations were made by his brother, King **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep⁷.

King **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep is the most attested ruler of the 13th Dynasty. Thus, the king's attestations indicate notable competence in resource control. The king's Memphite sculptures do not show notable differences from the sculptures of Group One. Note the similarities between the king's colossal statues dedicated to God Ptah⁸ and the colossal statues of King **13.17** *S:mnh-k3-R^c* Imyermesha⁹. This indicates that the time differential between the utilisation of the Memphite art production workshops by

¹ Cat. 13.20.6.

² Cat. 13.20.3.

³ Cat. 13.21.6, 11

⁴ Cat. 13.21.7.

⁵ Cat. 13.21.8.

⁶ Cat. 13.21.14.

⁷ See Cat. 13.23.15.

⁸ Cat. 13.23.2 [a, b].

⁹ Cat. 13.17.1.

the two kings is not great. Additionally, the statue dedicated to the goddess Hefat is considered a distinctive point in the king's art production in terms of the hardness of the material used and the well execution¹. It is possible that the statue was made in the Memphite workshops, indicating the continuity of well-skilled workshops in Memphis until the reign of King **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep. The high officials' attestations were also privileged with a high-quality execution, as shown in the sculptures of Vizier Neferkare Iymeru in Karnak².

The next listed king in the Turin King-list is **13.24** *H^c-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep. Obviously, the few king's attestations do not reflect a good control of resources, although his statuette of Elephantine reflects good execution. Therefore, based on the art production, it is highly likely that this king is not the direct successor to King **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep. The archaeological record of King **13.c** *H^c-^cn^h-R^c* Sobekhotep reflects the king's competence in resource control, based on the use of materials, the considerable scale of attestations, and their good execution. This places this king in close proximity, or perhaps as a potential successor, to King **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep³.

Thus, this group presents a notable art production that indicates competent resource control, likely by relying on professional administrative apparatuses and powerful local allies. Despite that, not all group members were privileged with the same degree of resource control, particularly King **13.24** *H^c-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep. However, the formation of his throne name, his spatial activity and his statuette from Elephantine ensure the king's position in this group.

Group Three:

The production of art by this group indicates a conspicuous decrease in the quantity and scale of the artefacts. The spatial activity of the group is restricted in Upper Egypt, except for King **13.26** *Mr-nfr-R^c* Ay. However, the art production of this king does not reflect a good competence in resource exploitation. As indicated earlier, the king's pyramidion, which probably originated from Memphis⁴, does not indicate a well-executed production. This means that the king did not benefit from the Memphite

¹ Cat. 13.23.4.

² Cat. 13.23. 20, 21.

³ Cat. 13.c.1, 2.

⁴ Cat. 13.26.1.

workshops, which may have lost their proficiency in the period between King 13.23 *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep and King 13.26 *Mr-nfr-R^c* Ay.

The common characteristics of the art production of this group are: (1) Using a type of scarab that is inscribed with the title *ntr nfr* alongside the king's throne name (obviously, this type appears in the archaeological record of King 13.23 *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep¹ and continues to appear in those of King 13.25 *W3h-jb-R^c* Ibia² and 13.26 *Mr-nfr-R^c* Ay³; (2) all royal statues of this group of kings 13.27, 29, 31, which all came from Karnak, are depicted as stepping on nine bows⁴; conversely, the statues of groups One and Two are not depicted as stepping on nine bows, despite the immensity of some of them. Possibly, the depiction of the nine bows in these royal statues carries a political message intended for potential opponents. It is worth noting that the geographical dominance of this group may not have extended beyond Abydos, Thebes, and El-Kab, except for King 13.26 *Mr-nfr-R^c* Ay, who is attested in Lower Egypt.

Noteworthily, the standing statuette of King 13.27 *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep bears stylistic similarities with one of King Sobekemsaf (App. 6)⁵ found in Karnak and dedicated to the god Monthu, the *Dr.ty*⁶. Unfortunately, the king's throne name is not mentioned. The archaeological record includes two kings with the birth name Sobekemsaf: (1) King *Shm-R^c-šd-t3.wj* Sobekemsaf, whose tomb is attested in Dra Abu el-Naga⁷; (2) King *Shm-R^c-w3d-h^c.w* Sobekemsaf, who is listed on Karnak Offering list No. 54⁸. The latter king was active in Upper Egypt and Wadi Hammamat, and items from his burial equipment have been found in Dra Abu el-Naga as well⁹. RYHOLT places both kings in the 17th Dynasty¹⁰. Regardless of the chronological framework of the Sobekemsaf kings, they exerted power in Upper Egypt and were buried in Dra Abu el-Naga. Based on the stylistic similarities found in the statuettes of King 13.27 *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep and King Sobekemsaf, both kings likely held power over the same territory and possibly used the same necropolis. This assumption corresponds with the

¹ Fig. 13.23.2

² Cat. 13.25.1, 6

³ Cat. 13.26.2, 3, 6.

⁴ Cat. 13.27.2, 3; Cat. 13.29.1, 2; Cat. 13.31.1[a, b].

⁵ Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 42029)

⁶ Davies 1981: no. 50, Ryholt 1997: 401, File N/5 [4].

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 393, File 17/2.

⁸ Siesse 2019: 36-37; Delange 2015: 103, 107.

⁹ Ryholt 1997: 395, File 17/6.

¹⁰ Ryholt 1997: 167-183.

chronological overlap between **13.27** *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep and the 16th Dynasty King *S.w3d-n-R^c* Nebiryraw, as indicated by the *Stèle juridique*.

5. Backgrounds of rulers

The surviving archaeological record of the 13th Dynasty does not provide much support for the origins of most rulers, and it seems that there are inadequate clues as to the essence of the royal family. Based on the seals of the Queen and the king's mother, *Nbw htp.ty*, from Semna¹, a group of 13th Dynasty rulers presumably reigned as a royal family². However, this assumption is established due to the burial of Princess *Nbw htp.ty*, the child, in the vicinity of King **13.13** Hor at Dahshur. There was a possible link between them, perhaps as father and daughter³. However, this assumption is doubtful due to the lack of textual evidence.

No.	King	Backgrounds			
		Familial ties	Military	High-officials	Foreigners
13.1	<i>Hw-t3.wj-R^c</i> Wegaf		x	x	x
13.16	<i>Wsr-k3-R^c</i> Khendjer				x
13.17	<i>S:mnh-k3-R^c</i> Imyermesha		x		
13.20	<i>Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj</i> Sobekhotep		x		
13.21	<i>H^c-shm-R^c</i> Neferhotep	x	x	x	
13.22	Sahathor	x	x	x	
13.23	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c</i> Sobekhotep	x	x	x	
13.24	<i>H^c-htp-R^c</i> Sobekhotep	x?	x?	x?	
13.c	<i>H^c-nh-R^c</i> Sobekhotep	x?	x?	x?	
13.d	Ameny Qemau				x?
13.e	<i>Qemau s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f</i>				x?

Table 6.4: The backgrounds of the rulers

While there may have been some family connections among certain 13th Dynasty rulers, these ties were not the primary factor in determining the rulers' relationships. The archaeological investigation allows a differentiation of the backgrounds of some rulers. However, due to the paucity of evidence, these cover only a limited number of rulers. Note that one king could have had more than one background, as shown in (Table 6.4)

As shown in the table, four types of rulers' backgrounds could be identified. It seems that the military background played a significant role in advancing some of the 13th Dynasty rulers to the leadership role. King **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep

¹ See Chapter Four: 13.13: King *3w.t-jb-R^c*.

² Ryholt 1997: 218; Quirke 1991: 129.

³ Ryholt 1997: 217- 218

apparently came from a military family, since the king and his father held the title “commander of the crew of the ruler”¹. The family of the brother kings **13.21, 22, 23** *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep, Sahator, and *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep belong to a family of high-officials. Their father, God’s father *H3-nh=f* held the title “the Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt”. Meanwhile, their grandfather Nehy held the title “Officer of the Town”, and his wife was “Lady of the House”, Senebtisi². As indicated above, it seems that the kings **13.24** *Hr-htp-R* Sobekhotep and **13.c** *Hr-nh-R* Sobekhotep are heirs of King **13.23** *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep. Based on the stela of Wadi Hammamat³, two princes called Sobekhotep came after the prince Sahator. The first Sobekhotep is probably entitled as a *s3b*, which should be involved in the high administration of Upper Egypt⁴. Alike, the next Sobekhotep, is associated with the *djadat* council. Most certainly, the two princes held these positions before holding power after King *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep.

Besides, King **13.17** *S:mnh-k3-R* Imyermesha most certainly ascended the throne via his reference as the overseer of the army, as is evident by his birth name. QUIRKE has proposed that the birth name *Jmy-r mš* does not need to reflect the king’s association with the army, and instead, it seems to reflect a family tradition in person naming⁵. Even if the naming *Jmy-r mš* is a family tradition, the king may belong to a military family.

As indicated earlier⁶, King **13.1** *Hw-t3.wj-R* Wegaf possibly had a military background. The king’s birth name may be derived from the Semitic title *wkf*, “the commander”, which is comparable to the Egyptian title *Jmy-r mš*.

The Semitic origin of some kings within the framework of the 13th Dynasty could be understood in the absence of a clear mechanism of a succession of about 50 rulers fixed in the king-list. Obviously, the birth name of King **13.16** *Wsr-k3-R*, Khendjer, is a clear indication that a person with a Semitic birth name could be a king. Moreover, he erected his pyramid-tomb in the traditional necropolis at Dahshur as an Egyptian king. Consequently, Kings **13.d** Amney Qemau and **13.e** Qemau *s3-Hr-nd-hr-*

¹ Cat. 13.20.15.

² See Chapter Four: TK. Col. 7/25, 7/26, 7/27.

³ Cat.13.23.12.

⁴ Quirke 2004: 89; Franke 1984a.

⁵ Quirke 1991: 131.

⁶ See Chapter Four: 13.1.2.

jt=f, can read the group  in their names as *‘3mw*, the Asiatic. There is a consensus to read the group as *Km3w*, “the harvest worker” or “the created”¹. Nevertheless, the group is written in the plural, and it should be written only with the sign  to give the Phonogram *Km3*, “the harvest worker” or “the created”.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that the archaeological record preserves a bulk of scarabs attributed to King , “The Son of Re, The Good God *‘3mw*”, the Asiatic². The king’s name is written with a plural group to give the Phonogram *‘3mw*, like the case of Kings 13.e, d. Although the king’s name does not contain the sign , his name reads as the Asiatic³.

6. Prosopographical data

Considering the primary purpose of the analysis study is to identify the potential connections between the rulers of the 13th Dynasty, it is important to emphasise the significance of the prosopographic data involved in the royal attestations. In light of the examined attestations, the type of data that could be utilised to verify the sequence of the 13th Dynasty rulers are those of the viziers. Viziers of the 13th Dynasty perhaps assigned rulers, while the process of rulers’ succession remains unclear. Viziers within the framework of the 13th Dynasty can be tackled according to the sequence of their kings in the Turin King-list as in Table 6.5.

No.	King	Vizier	Attestation
13.2	<i>Shm-k3-R^c</i>	Khenmes	Cat. 13.2.7
13.15	<i>Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj</i> Sobekhotep	Amenemhat	Papyrus Boulaq 18 ⁴
13.20	<i>Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj</i> Sobekhotep	Ankhu	Brooklyn papyrus ⁵
13.23	<i>H^c-nfr-R^c</i> Sobekhotep	Neferkare Iymeru	Cat.13.23. 20, 21
13.25	<i>W3h-jb-R^c</i> Ibia	Ibia?	Cat. 13.25.4
13.27	<i>Mr-htp-R^c</i> Sobekhotep	Ay	Cat.13.27.4

Table 6. 5: Distribution of the viziers

Unfortunately, the archaeological record of the 13th Dynasty rulers has only provided a limited number of viziers recorded on royal attestations¹. The vizier

¹ See Chapter Five: 13.d, 13.e.

² Ryholt places this king as the 4th king in the list of the 14th Dynasty; See Ryholt 1997: 364-366, File 14/4.

³ Von Beckerath 1999: 118-119; Ryholt 364, File 14/4; Leprohon 2013:75 [4]

⁴ See Chapter Four: 13.15: King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp* [3. Dra'Abu el-Naga]

⁵ See Chapter Four: 13.20: King 13:20: King *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj Sbk-htp* [7. Thebes]

Khenmes (*Hnms*) of King *Shm-k3-R^c* Amenemhat is the first attested in the list of the 13th Dynasty. Khenmes was “the overseer of the pyramid town and the overseer of the six great mansions”². As indicated earlier, the title “the overseer of the pyramid town” implies that the vizier fulfilled his role in the Memphite region, the location of the main necropolis of the 13th Dynasty. Furthermore, the names of Khenmes and his mother *s3.t-hnty-hty*, possibly indicate their origin in the Memphis-Fayoum region, as proposed by ILIN-TOMICH³.

The second vizier who appears in the royal list of the 13th Dynasty is the well-known vizier Ankhu. Remarkably, Ankhu is involved in the administration of Thebes. He held the titles “the Overseer of the City and the Overseer of the Six Mansions”. According to royal attestations (See Table 6.5), tasks which were charged by vizier Ankhu occurred in Thebes. Besides, Papyrus of Boulaq 18 mentions his properties were within Thebes. So, the title “the overseer of the City” most likely refers to the southern city “Thebes”, the headquarters of the “*w^r.t tp-rsy*”. The family of vizier Ankhu attested on a stela of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 20690) referring to the “royal sealer” and the “overseer of the royal production place” Wepwethotep, the son-in-law of Ankhu⁴. The stela mentions the vizier Ankhu, son of Henutpu, his sons viziers Resseneb and Iymeru. Another statue in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 42034) mentions the Henutpu, the mother of Ankhu, who was the wife of an unknown vizier and a daughter of the “royal sealer” and the “priest of Amun”⁵. So, vizier Ankhu belongs to a high-ranking family based in Thebes. He inherited the office from his father, which then fell to his sons. Recently, the archaeological mission of the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities announced the discovery of the tomb of vizier Ankhu in Dra’ Abu el-Naga in western Thebes⁶.

Vizier Ankhu took charge under King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep, as stated in Papyrus Boulaq 18. Although the reading of the king’s name is disputed. However, since the content of Papyrus Boulaq 18 tells about a royal activity

¹ For additional viziers possibly belonging to the 13th Dynasty but not attested in royal attestations, See Quirke 1991: 132-133 [no. 4-5, 9-18]; Ilin-Tomich 2021: 163-165.

² Cat. 13.2.7

³ Ilin-Tomich 2021: 153; Ilin-Tomich 2017: 64, 53-54.

⁴ Von Beckerath: 1958; Von Beckerath 1964: 99; Habachi 1984: 122-123; Franke 1984:136 [Nr. 173] Grajetzki 2009: 38.

⁵ Von Beckerath 1964: 99; Habachi 1984: 122-123.

⁶ As a press release of the ministry of antiquities on 25.01.2023; See Newsletter of the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities [in Arabic], no. 36, Jan. 2023, 13.

within Madamud, it is most probable that the concerning king is *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep due to his notable activity in Madamud¹. However, recently ALLAM revealed that the name could read as *Jmnj[...] Sbk-htp*, which concurs with the birth name Amenemhat Sobekhotep and the throne name *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj*².

Ankhu as a “vizier and the Overseer of the City” is mentioned in the stela of the priest of Abydos Ameny-seneb (Louvre C 12)³. The events of the stela indicate that the office of the Vizier Ankhu is located south of Abydos, which is most certainly in Thebes, the primary premises of Vizier Ankhu. The dilemma of this stela is that it correlates with another stela (Louvre C 11) of priest Amey-seneb that mentions that crudely carves the birth name of King Khendjer beside a throne name of *Nj-m3^c-n-h^c-R^c* or *Nj-m3^c.t-R^c*. As indicated earlier, the throne name of King Khendjer is *Wsr-k3-R^c*, and it’s possible that the king referred to in the stela (Louvre C11) is another king with the same birth name. Coincidentally, King *Wsr-k3-R^c* Khendjer is listed in the Turin King-list directly after King 13.15 *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep, it is possible that vizier Ankhu served under King Khendjer⁴, but his throne name is different than from that on his pyramidion from Dahshur. The current study strongly regards the unit of inscriptions and the homogeneity of the motifs, so the study deals cautiously with the stela (Louvre C11) and undermines its validity to the political historiography of the 13th Dynasty. Again, the study suggests the execution of the cartouche of King Khendjer outside the historical framework of this part of the 13th Dynasty.

Referring to the potential linkage between the King 13.15 *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep and 13.16 King *Wsr-k3-R^c* Khendjer, they do not share any ties except for their sequence in the Turin King-list. The pattern of their throne name is clearly different. But it is obvious that the pattern throne name of King 13.15 *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep is different from the rulers’ names of this part of the dynasty (13.14,16-19)⁵. In addition, there is a contrast in the spatial activity of the two kings. King *Wsr-k3-R^c* Khendjer is well-attested in the north and has no attestations in Upper Egypt aside from his dubious birth name at Abydos (Louvre C11). King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep is attested securely within the Theban region. The

¹ Cat. 13.15.1-4.

² Allam 2019: 2, 70, Pl. 18 (SCH 52) 2.

³ Cat. 13.16.5 [C 11, C 12].

⁴ Siesse 2016-2017: 163.

⁵ See above (Royal Names: Group One)

priest Amey-seneb reported going to the king to inform him that the renovation works had been completed. The royal seat was presumably located south of Abydos, most likely in Thebes. Therefore, while the evidence suggests that the contemporary king of the vizier Ankhu was active in Thebes, there is no evidence to support the identification of King *Wsr-k3-R^c* Khendjer as this king.

Vizier Ankhu is mentioned in insertions *B* and *C* of the Brooklyn papyrus recto, which states that the events occurred in Thebes and were dated to the reign of King **13.20** King *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep (See Table 6. 5). Since Vizier Ankhu is attested in Papyrus Boulaq 18, dated to King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep, and in Brooklyn papyrus, dated to King **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep, So one can understand that the vizier Ankhu held the office under Kings **13.15** to **13.20**.

As mentioned above, the Kings from **13.16** to **13.19** have no ties with king **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep, except for their sequence in the Turin King-list. Similarly, King **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep has no ties with this group of kings, who are attested mainly in Lower Egypt through a few attestations. Conversely, King **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep is well-attested in Upper Egypt, who extended to Lower Nubia and perhaps established mutual relationships with the settlers of the Eastern Delta. If Vizier Ankhu held the office under Kings **13.16** to **13.19**, this would be reflected in the density of their activity in Upper Egypt, particularly in Thebes, yet this is not the case. So, it is hard to assume that vizier Ankhu was a contemporary of these rulers. It is possible that King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep is listed mistakenly in the Turin King-list (Col. 7/19). Based on his royal name pattern and his activity in Madamud and Thebes, he most likely belongs closer to King **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep. Note that the name of King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep is written in the Turin King-list in the same way as the kings of the kings **13.20**, **21**, and **23**.

As indicated, vizier Ankhu's sons Resseneb and Iymeru held the vizierate office, but there is no data about which kings they served. Possibly, Resseneb served after his father during the reign of King *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep¹. Perhaps Vizier Resseneb held the office for a short time after his father, as he may have died

¹ Habachi 1984: 123.

prematurely. Probably Resseneb's brother, Iymeru, received the office after him during the reign of the next king, **13.21** *H^r-shm-R^r* Neferhotep. It is possible that Vizier Iymeru did not serve in the office for all of the 11 regnal years of the king and was probably succeeded by Vizier Neferkare Iymeru, who is the designated son of Iymeru, "the controller of the hall." Interestingly, the name Iymeru is repeated among the viziers and high officials of the 13th Dynasty.

Vizier Neferkare Iymeru indeed served during the reign of King **13.23** *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep. Among several titles of the vizier Neferkare Iymeru, he held the titles "The overseer of the City and the overseer of the Six Great Mansions" like the vizier Ankhu. The vizier's bureau is attested with other administrative apparatus that should have existed in Thebes¹. Besides, among the valuable attestations (Table 6. 5) of the vizier Neferkare Iymeru which came from the temple of Amun-Ra at Karnak, a grey granite statue published by HABACHI², provides his mother's name as Sat-Amun³, which implies a Theban origin⁴. Remarkably, the statue shows the significant affairs of the vizier as: "*The chieftain of the entire land, the one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands are reported*"⁵. According to this, the vizier exerted his responsibilities' office over the whole country. This is understood since King *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep is the most widely attested 13th Dynasty king in Lower and Upper Egypt, and his attestations reflect the competence of state resource management.

Furthermore, Vizier Neferkare Iymeru is attested in other locations only in Upper Egypt. He devoted a statue for Goddess Satet in the sanctuary of Haqaib at Elephantine, and his name was found in a seal-impression at Abydos. He is also attested in an inscription at Wadi Hammamat, where King *H^r-nfr-R^r* Sobekhotep was highly active⁶.

The next potential vizier in the 13th Dynasty list is the vizier Ibia, who probably corresponds with King **13.25** *W3h-jb-R^r* Ibia. The only attestation that links the king with vizier Ibia is evidence from Thebes designated Ibia as the "overseer of the enclosure/ work camp". He probably got promoted to vizier later. The position of the

¹ Cat. 13.23.17

² The catalogue of the current study does not include the statue because it does not show royal names.

³ Habachi 1981a: 35.

⁴ Habachi 1984: 124.

⁵ Habachi 1981a: 35; Cat. 13.23.12.

⁶ Habachi 1981a; Habachi 1984: 124.

“overseer of the enclosure” is usually related to Thebes, so possibly Ibia was rooted there. As mentioned earlier¹, Ibia is mentioned only in attestations of his son, the “controller of the Hall” Senebhena^{ef}, who also became vizier like his father. Vizier Senebhena^{ef}’s name appears in western Thebes on his daughter’s coffin Queen Mentuhotep, the wife of King Djehuty, who is possibly of the Theban 16th Dynasty.

According to the surviving attestations, vizier Ay from the reign of King **13.27** *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep is the last attested vizier in the list of the 13th Dynasty. His only reference comes from the “*Stèle juridique*” of the 16th Dynasty². Vizier Ay held the office in the first regnal year of King *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep, in addition to his office as the governor of El-Kab. Vizier Ay’s wife is likely the daughter of King *Mr-htp-R^c* or his predecessor, King **13.26** *Mr-nfr-R^c* Ay. It is noteworthy that the name of vizier Ay is the birth name of King *Mr-nfr-R^c* Ay. This may be a coincidence, similar to the case of King **13.25** *W3h-jb-R^c* Ibia and the controller of the enclosure/vizier Ibia

Afterwards, Vizier Iymeru, son of Ay, combined the vizierate and the governorship of El-Kab. It is unknown under which king vizier Iymeru served exactly. The governorship of El-Kab was transferred to the vizier Iymeru’s son, Kebsy, who did not hold the vizierate and lost his position in favour of the royal sealer and the priest Sobeknakht in the first regnal year of King *Nb-jry-r-3w* of the 16th Dynasty. Interestingly, the transfer of the governorship of El-Kab happened in the presence of the “overseer of the city, the vizier, the great of the six great Mansions” Sobeknakht. This indicates the transfer of power from the vizier Ay’s family, which held the vizierate and the governorship of El-Kab, to the local family of Sobeknakht.

Conclusion

Verification of the concordance between the archaeological evidence and the sequence of rulers of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list has led to the distinction of three groups of rulers. Based on the noticeable consistency among the group of rulers from King **13.20** to **13.24**, It is evident that this group can be considered a turning point between the preceding and the subsequent groups. According to this arrangement, the three groups may be summarised as:

¹ Cat. 13.25.4.

² Cat.13.27.4.

Group One: includes the rulers before King **13.20**, in addition to Kings **13.a, b, d, e, f**. The group contains a mixture of inconsistent rulers based on their names, backgrounds, spatial activity, and art production. The majority of the rulers bear different patterns of names, possibly implying their attribution to kings of the 12th Dynasty. Some rulers also bear double and triple birth names, while some other names do not give any clues to their identity. In addition, two rulers bear the birth name Sobekhotep.

The group contains some rulers of possibly foreign origins despite their presentation as truly Egyptian kings. King **13.17** Khendjer is an explicit case of these rulers. In addition, Kings **13.e** and **d**, whose names can possibly be read as Amney Amau and Amau *S3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*, respectively, may also have foreign origin; and, lastly, King *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* Wegaf, whose birth name possibly refers to a Semitic origin.

The spatial activity of Group One suggests that their control did not necessarily extend over the same geographical range. The rulers' attestations are scattered in Lower or Upper Egypt except for the case of King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R^c* and King **13.b** Khabaw. On the other hand, the art production of this group does not imply the same level of resource control. Since the tombs of the three rulers of this group, **13.13**, **13.16**, and **13.d**, are attested in Saqqara and Dahshur, the rulers of the group were probably buried in the same location. However, this assumption perhaps does not include King **13.15** since indications suggest that he belongs to Group Two.

It appears that this group was a direct continuation of the 12th Dynasty, based on the pattern of royal names and the use of the same necropolis in Saqqara-South and Dahshur. Nevertheless, the evidence suggests they were ephemeral, possibly due to the unstable political situation. Perhaps the reason for political instability was due to the lack of a clear mechanism for the power transition. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that military leaders or high officials with foreign backgrounds may have become kings.

Group Two: includes the rulers from King **13.20** until **13.24**, in addition to King **13.c**. As indicated above, the sequence of rulers of this group in the King-list is consistent with their archaeological evidence. This consistency is not solely based on the familial ties between some of them, but also on the pattern of the royal titles, the spatial activity and possibly the art production, at least up to King **13.23**. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence does not support the placement of King **13.22** Sahathor in the

King-list as a king (Col. 7/26). Instead, he was a prince, and his name was copied in the King-list as a brother of the well-attested Kings **13.21** and **13.23**.

The dominance of this group expanded over Upper and Lower Egypt, except for the Eastern Delta. However, it appears that the affairs of the state were primarily concentrated in Upper Egypt. This assumption is based on the activity of the viziers and their association with the Theban region. In addition, a 13th Dynasty necropolis found at Abydos possibly belongs to rulers of this group. Note that the origins of Kings **13.21** to **13.23** certainly refer to Thebes.

Group Three: includes the rulers after King **13.24**. unfortunately, the archaeological record has not preserved records for this group beyond King **13.31**. It seems that this group is a continuation of Group Two in the sphere of the Theban region. On the basis of the pattern of the royal names, the modest art production, and the spatial activity, the group seems to be consistent, except for King **13.26** *Mr-nfr-R^c* Aya, whose spatial activity is expanded to Lower Egypt.

The listed rulers after King **13.31** until **13.50** were possibly exerting power in Upper Egypt. Taking into consideration that there is no evidence that they held power in a single sequence or a single power base. The reliability of the sequence in the Turin King-list is questionable without the support of archaeological evidence establishing connections between the kings. Note that some rulers are believed to belong to different dynasties while the archaeological evidence gets them more closely. According to what was presented, the archaeological evidence indicates some overlapping with rulers of this group and Theban rulers listed under the label of the 16th and possibly 17th Dynasties. Given this evidence, it is crucial to give stronger consideration to the archaeological findings, irrespective of the arrangement in the non-contemporaneous Turin King-list. In this context, to better understand the relationships among these rulers, it is necessary to reconsider the spatial factor instead of relying solely on the Turin King-list.

Part Three: Discussion and Conclusion

Chapter Seven: Discussion

The chapter synthesizes the answer to the central question of the study: identifying the nature of the 13th Dynasty. To achieve this, it is necessary to confront certain issues that are often difficult to resolve due to the lack of evidence. These issues are the focal points that should shape our comprehension of the historical existence of a group of listed rulers in the Turin King-list, which is traditionally recognized as the 13th Dynasty:

1. The beginnings of the 13th Dynasty

As indicated earlier, the transition from the 12th to the 13th Dynasty did not involve dramatic actions such as capital transfer, political struggle against rivals, or claiming legitimacy through political propaganda. Instead, evidence suggests that it was a peaceful transition to a new line of rulers - the 13th Dynasty - as a continuation of the 12th Dynasty¹. Therefore, it would be better to dispense with the term “the founder of the 13th Dynasty” to describe the first ruler listed in the Turin King-list after the end of the 12th Dynasty, due to the absence of evidence of political intent to found the dynasty. However, the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty is possibly one of the highly-ranked courtiers who managed state affairs after the death of Queen Sobekneferu. Note that the late 12th Dynasty policies aimed at terminating any political role of local governors. Therefore, it seems that the only qualifiers to hold power were persons inside the royal court.

In this context, the first issue that complicates the understanding of the 13th Dynasty is the identity of its first ruler. Whereas the first 13th Dynasty name according to the Turin King-list is King *Hw-t3.wj-R*, his name matches the birth name Wegaf. That name appears in a planned inscription programme from Madamud alongside the 14th ruler of the 13th Dynasty *S:df3-k3-R* Amenemhat Kay. This suggests placing King *Hw-t3.wj-R*, identified with the birth name Wegaf, after King 13.14 *S:df3-k3-R* Amenemhat Kay. Simultaneously, the next king after King *S:df3-k3-R* Amenemhat Kay is King 13.15 *Shm-R-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep, whose throne name appears (1) in the Lahun Archive, the same document that shows the throne name of the second king of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list King *Shm-K3-R*. (2) the throne name is attested in three Nile-records, the 12th Dynasty procedure that lasted until the beginning

¹ See Chapter Two: VI: The Turning Point.

of the 13th Dynasty (App. 1)¹. That evidence suggests that the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty should be named *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj*. He was possibly King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep, whose name was interchanged with King *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* Wegaf; that name should follow King **13.14** *S:df3-k3-R^c* Amenemhat Kay, according to the evidence in Madamud.

This assumption would be acceptable if the following evidence were valid: (1) King **13.1** *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* actually matches the birth name Wegaf. (2) If the King **13.1** *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* matches with the birth name Wegaf then the relationship with King **13.14** *S:df3-k3-R^c* Amenemhat Kay would imply a co-regency. (3) One king bears the throne name *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj*.

As indicated above, it is evident that the first ruler listed in the Turin King-list should be named as *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj*. Therefore, the first possibility to reconcile the contradiction between the Turin King-list and the archaeological evidence (Lahun archive and Nile-records) is to assume that the king's throne name is lacking the sign  and his name should have been written as  instead of .² This assumption is based on the unofficial character of the Turin King-list. Obviously, the King-list suffers from miscopied, repeated, and anonymous names in many locations. Consequently, it is possible that the first ruler's name was miscopied in the King-list. So in this case, it would not be appropriate to assume a matching between King **13.1** *Hw-t3.wj-R^c*, whose name would be read as (*Shm*)-*R^c-hw-t3.wj* and the birth name of King Wegaf.

If King **13.1** *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* actually matches with the birth name Wegaf, then it is likely that the king's name was incorrectly listed in the Turin King-list in this leading position. Consequently, his position should be after King **13.14** *S:df3-k3-R^c* Amenemhat Kay. However, the relationship between King *Hw-t3.wj-R^c* Wegaf and King *S:df3-k3-R^c* Amenemhat Kay remains uncertain based on the archaeological examination conducted in the present study. The study suggests that the royal names of the two kings on the bark-stand of Madamud were written in a different style than the original text, which is attributed to King Amenemhat Kay. So, it seems that the juxtaposed names of the two

¹ Review Chapter Three, 3. Subsidiary sources: Lahun archive and Nile-records.

² Griffith 1898: 26.

kings were added during the reign of King Wegaf. Additionally, the inscription program of the three separated rectangles does not necessarily imply a direct association between the two kings. In known cases of a co-regency during the 12th Dynasty, inscriptions were visually presented in a single program instead of being in separate, juxtaposed shapes¹.

Thus, it is possible that King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf had no direct ties with King Amenemhat Kay, and he may have inscribed his royal names alongside King Amenemhat Kay as an act of reverence². As a result, it remains uncertain whether King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf should be placed as a direct successor to King **13.14 S:df3-k3-R**^c Amenemhat Kay, or if that position should be occupied by King **13.15 Shm-R**^c-*hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep. Nevertheless, many studies suggest placing King **13.15 Shm-R**^c-*hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep as the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty, as his name may have been interchanged with that of King **13.1 Hw-t3.wj-R**^c,³ despite a conspicuous difference between the method of writing of names of both kings in the King-list. The

name of King **13.1** is written as  , while King **13.15** is written as .

However, The hypothesis of the interchanging names can be accepted if there was a certain relationship between King **13.14 S:df3-k3-R**^c Amenemhat Kay and King *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wegaf, and if there was one king who bears the throne name *Shm-R*^c-*hw-t3.wj*. Nevertheless, the position of King **13.15 Shm-R**^c-*hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep as a potential head for the 13th Dynasty is discussed in the following paragraphs.

As mentioned in Chapter Three⁴, the throne name *Shm-R*^c-*hw-t3.wj* was commonly used during the historical frame of the SIP. In addition to King **13.15 Shm-R**^c-*hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep, two other kings bore the same throne name: King **13.b Shm-R**^c-*hw-t3.wj* Khabaw and King *Shm-R*^c-*hw-t3.wj* Pantjeny. The latter is now considered a local king within the Abydos area⁵. Therefore, the debate about the identity of the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty will be between King **13.15 Shm-R**^c-*hw-t3.wj*

¹ Murnane 1977: 1-23.

² See chapter Six: 2. Juxtaposed names.

³ Stock 1942: 49; Franke 1988: 249-250; Ryholt 1997: 315-317; Siesse 2016-2017.

⁴ Chapter Three: 3.2. Lahun archive.

⁵ Ryholt 1997: 163-166; Wegner and Cahail 2021:353-345.

Amenemhat Sobekhotep and **13.b** *Shm-R^c-hw-t^b.wj* Khabaw. The criterion that will determine which of both kings is the head of the dynasty is the proximity to the second 13th Dynasty king in the Turin King-list, King **13.2** *Shm-k^b-R^c*.

King 13.15 Shm-R^c-hw-t^b.wj Amenemhat Sobekhotep: is well-attested by his throne and birth names only in Madamud¹. The king's name in the Turin King-list (col. 7/19) is written in the same pattern as the names of Kings **13.20**, 21, and 23 (col. 7/24, 25, 27). Since the king most probably contributed to Karnak, his throne name is listed in the Karnak Offering-list close to the same kings². All of these indications suggest that King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t^b.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep should be listed closer in the Turin King-list to Group Two, which contains Kings **13.20**, 21, and 23, as proposed in Chapter Six. Consequently, his potential position as the 13th Dynasty head is doubtful.

Furthermore, the king is certainly attested in Papyrus Boulaq 18, together with his vizier Ankhu. Additionally, Vizier Ankhu is attested in the Brooklyn Papyrus during the reign of King **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w^bd-t^b.wj* Sobekhotep. Therefore, if King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t^b.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep was the head of the 13th Dynasty, this would mean that Vizier Ankhu served from the beginning of the dynasty until the reign of King **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w^bd-t^b.wj* Sobekhotep. However, this is unlikely not only because there are no clues that Vizier Ankhu held the power through the first 20 sequenced rulers of the dynasty, but also because Vizier Khenmes is already attested during the reign of King **13.2** *Shm-k^b-R^c*³. Hence, based on the available evidence, it is highly doubtful that King **13.15** *Shm-R^c-hw-t^b.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep was the head of the dynasty.

King 13.b Shm-R^c-hw-t^b.wj Khabaw: is attested by his throne and Horus names in Bubastis and by his Horus name in Lower Nubia⁴. As explained in the archaeological study, the king is attested on a reused lintel, now lost, in Tanis⁵, which perhaps originated in Bubastis and was transported to Tanis in the 22nd Dynasty. The lintel's

inscription was transcribed by MONTEL and shows the king's Horus name  in one inscription program with the Horus name of King Hor  . The position of both names suggests that they were directly associated, possibly through a co-regency. The co-

¹ Table 13.15.1.

² See Table: 3. 5.

³ Cat. 13.2.7.

⁴ Table 13.b.1.

⁵ Cat. 13. b.1.

regency was a mechanism that was used in the 12th Dynasty to ensure a smooth transition of power, and it may have been employed by the beginning of the 13th Dynasty as well. Assuming the place of King 13.b *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw as the 13th Dynasty's head, this means that his association with King 13.13 Hor does not necessarily indicate a co-regency because King Hor is listed relatively late in the Turin King-list. Whereas, assuming a potential co-regency between King 13.b *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw and the King 13.2 *Shm-k3-R^c*, it is possible to prove this relationship.

There is a conspicuous similarity between the Horus name of King Hor as  *Htp-Jb-t3.wj* and the Horus name of King *Shm-k3-R^c* as  *Mh-Jb-t3.wj*. This similarity suggests that MONTEL may have inadvertently miscopied the sign  as sign 

Furthermore, as indicated earlier, the comparison between the cylinder-seal of King 13.b *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw and 13.2 *Shm-k3-R^c* shows that both seals are similar on stylistic grounds¹.

Based on the previous presentation, it is most probable that the head of the 13th Dynasty was King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw. It is most certain that the king's name is listed as the first name after the end of the 12th Dynasty, but it is evident that the king-list scribe miscopied his name as  instead of . Consequently, the king who is mentioned in the Lahun archive (UC 32166) and the three Nile-records is King *Shm-R^c-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw.

2. The Residence

Turin King-list identifies the seat of power of the 12th Dynasty as  “residence of *Itjawy*”. Although the

¹ See Chapter Six: 4. Art production.

geographical location of Itjtawy is apparently unknown, it has been identified as the modern site of Lisht, which contains the cemetery of the first rulers of the dynasty. Conversely, the entries of rulers after the 12th Dynasty in the King-list do not identify their residence. However, since some tombs of 13th Dynasty rulers are situated in the Memphite region, the 13th Dynasty's residence may have been located at Itjtawy as a continuation of the 12th Dynasty¹.

RYHOLT proposed that the Memphite region kept the 13th Dynasty's residence until its last ruler in Col. 8/27 of the King-list. He built his assumption on an unprovenanced stela devoted to the god Ptah of Memphis, which is attributed to King Sankhptahi, whose birth name *s.hk-n-r*^c possibly matches traces of the king's name [...]*k-n-r*^c in col. 8/25. However, even if King Sankhptahi is really the king listed in col. 8/25, it is insufficient evidence to prove his actual dominance over Memphis, whereas the dominance of the provenanced later rulers of the 13th Dynasty concentrated in the Theban region.

Actually, RYHOLT followed HAYES in relying on another piece of evidence that possibly assigns Itjtawy as a residence until the late 13th Dynasty². That is a stela from Hierakonpolis (Kom el Ahmar) and attributed to Horemkhauf, the chief priest of the god Horus of Nekhen³. The stela was found in front of the tomb-chapel of Horemkhauf, which perhaps originally dated back to the late Old Kingdom and was later claimed by Horemkhauf. The tomb's decoration is similar in style to that of Sobeknakht II's tomb located across the Nile at El-Kab, and both were created by the same artist, whose name is inscribed in both tombs⁴. As mentioned earlier, Sobeknakht II held the governorship of El-Kab after his father Sobeknakht I⁵, who held the office in the reign of King Nebiryau I of the 16th Dynasty, according to the *Stèle Juridique*⁶.

The stela gives an autobiographical record of Horemkhauf. The main theme of the text tells that Horemkhauf was commissioned by the god Horus, the avenger of his father, on a mission to *hnw*, the residence, to bring statues of Horus of Nekhen together

¹ Von Beckerath 1964: 72-73.

² Hayes 1953a: 33- 34; Ryholt 1997: 79-80.

³ Hayes 1947; The stela is housed in the Metropolitan Museum (35.7.55).

⁴ Bennett 2002: 131; Davies 2010: 225.

⁵ The tomb of Sobeknakht II contains the cartouche of King *Shm-R*^c-*s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep, but it does not belong to his reign; See 13:20: King *Shm-R*^c [*s:w3d-t3.wj*] *Sbk-http*: no. 11: El-Kab [An official's tomb].

⁶ Cat.13.27.4.

with his mother Isis. Following, he sailed downstream and received Horus of Nekhen in his arms with his mother from the Good Bureau of Itjtawy in the presence of the king himself¹.

According to the stela, it is evident that the king's residence was at Itjtawy, possibly until the time of the Theban 16th Dynasty. However, the stela does not mention the name of the king who resided in Itjtawy. Hence, the stela opens the door for debate regarding the continuity of Itjtawy as a residence until this time. Itjtawy was supposedly the residence of the 13th Dynasty, as mentioned above, although textual evidence assigning Itjtawy as the 13th Dynasty residence is missing. The last attested 13th Dynasty king in the Memphite region is King *Mr-nfr-R^c* Aya, and perhaps he practised power from Itjtawy, whereas kings listed after him are only attested in Thebes.

Given that Horemkhauf and Sobeknakht II were contemporaries in the 16th Dynasty, during which the power was centred in Thebes, there is no evidence to suggest that Itjtawy was a residence during that period. However, if the account given by Horemkhauf accurately reflects historical events, it could indicate that Egypt was already experiencing political fragmentation at the time. It is possible that there was a local ruler in Itjtawy and another in Thebes. It is also conceivable that Itjtawy continued to be a significant centre for art production. So, Horemkhauf's journey may have been motivated by economic considerations between Itjtawy and Thebes. In this context, ILIN-TOMICH suggests that the journey of Horemkhauf to Itjtawy should be interpreted as a nostalgic remembrance of the time when the kings of the 13th Dynasty ruled Egypt from Itjtawy². Therefore, it is not advisable to use Horemkhauf's stela as definitive evidence to support the claim that Itjtawy was still used as a residence until the end of the 13th Dynasty.

The reference to the word *hnw*, "residence", within the frame of the 13th Dynasty has been confirmed in the reigns of Kings: **13.20** *Shm-R^c-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep³, **13.21** *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep⁴, and **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep⁵. However, there is no clear indication of the exact location of the residence. Based on the identification of *hnw* as Itjtawy in the Turin King-list and the stela of Horemkhauf, it is

¹ Hayes 1947: 4, Quirke 2009: 118.

² Ilin-Tomich 2014: 147-148.

³ See **13:20**: King *Shm-R^c [s:w3d-t3.wj]* *Sbk-htp*: no. 8 Thebes [Brooklyn papyrus].

⁴ Cat.13.21.7.

⁵ Cat.13.23.17.

possible that Itjtawy was the location of the 13th Dynasty residence. This assumption would have been accepted if the spatial activity of the dynasty rulers reflected the same degree of dominance over the same territorial sphere. As noted in the archaeological general analysis of the current study, the 13th Dynasty list does not maintain the same level of consistency in terms of the geographical political landscape. Consequently, it is not necessarily true that all rulers exerted power from the same residence. However, it would be better to expose the criteria used to determine what is the residence and its validity as a seat of power.

The word “residence” is commonly used as a translation of the term “*hnw*,” which means the place where the king resides¹. However, QUIRKE argues that this translation is inaccurate because the king might have many residences, whereas “*hnw*” implies uni-locality², akin to the modern concept of “the capital.” Nonetheless, it is possible to designate a capital for the country, while the king exercises power from a different location where significant state affairs are concentrated. For instance, during the Ramesside period, Pi-Ramesses served as an actual seat of power, while Thebes remained the monumental capital of the country³. However, the residence/*hnw* that serves as the main seat of the king is the spatial domain that should include the supreme administrative apparatus, in particular the vizierate. Besides, the cultic institutions of the deity of kingship, and, in most cases, the royal necropolis and the cemetery of high officials⁴.

Following the three-group scheme of the 13th Dynasty list concluded from the general archaeological analysis of the current study, it is evident that residence during Group One was in the Memphis-Fayoum region. This is mainly based on the 13th Dynasty royal necropolis at Dahshur and Saqqara South. Correspondingly, it seems that the vizierate was located in the same sphere. Unfortunately, the archaeological record does not preserve entries of viziers of this group except for vizier Khenmes of King **13.2 Shm-k3-R**^c. However, Khenmes’s titles and his origins seemingly refer to Lower Egypt.

¹ Helck, LÄ V: 246.

² Quirke 2009: 112.

³ Raven 2009: 153-155.

⁴ Raven 2009: 153; Redford 1997a: 213; O’Connor 1974: 18-20; Helck, LÄ V: 246.

Regarding Group Two, it seems that the major activity of its rulers was notably concentrated in the Abydos and Theban region. Simultaneously, they undeniably dominated Lower Egypt. So, one can assume that the residence has not been changed from the Memphis-Fayoum region. Although the textual evidence refers to the Theban origin of the brothers Kings 13.21, 22, and 23, it also implies that Thebes was not their residence. Obviously, the textual evidence differentiates between the Southern City, Thebes, and the *hnw*, residence, but it was never their designated residence.

The archaeological evidence seemingly relays that the actual seat of power was not situated in the Memphis-Fayoum region, but rather somewhere in Upper Egypt. This assumption is based on two pieces of evidence: (1) the concentration of the vizierate affairs in Thebes, specifically the case of vizier Ankhu; and (2) the discovery of two tombs in Abydos-South from the 13th Dynasty, one of which is attributed to one of the Sobekhotep kings. The tombs may belong to the brother kings 13.21 *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep and 13.23 *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep¹.

The prominence of the Vizier Ankhu in Thebes provokes questions about the dual vizierate, which assumes the existence of a vizier in Lower Egypt at Itjtawy and another one in Upper Egypt at Thebes². QUIRKE contradicts this assumption, as no evidence attests to two viziers at the same time, and possibly, the vizier's bureau at Thebes indicates a national-level subdivision of the main bureau at Itjtawy in Thebes³. However, all evidence so far implies that the main seat of Vizier Ankhu was in Thebes. As previously indicated, the Vizier Ankhu's family hailed from Thebes. Besides, his properties were concentrated in the Theban region, and finally, his interment was recently discovered in western Thebes⁴. The most important documents that attest to Vizier Ankhu are the Papyrus Boulaq 18 and the insertions *B* and *C* from the recto of the Brooklyn Papyrus, which included substantial events and actions involving Vizier Ankhu himself in Thebes. Additionally, the stela (Louvre C12) of the Abydene priest Ameny-seneb possibly indicates that the vizier Ankhu carried out his duties from

¹ Wegner and Cahail 2015.

² Helck 1958: 19; Grajetzki 2000: 38-40; Grajetzki 2009: 22-23; Ilin-Tomich 2021.

³ Quirke 1990: 3-4; Quirke 2004: 85.

⁴ See chapter Six: 6. Prosopographical data.

Thebes or at least from a location south of Abydos while the king was present, though the king's name is unfortunately unknown¹.

As Vizier Ankhu's main seat was in Thebes and there was no northern vizier, likely, the king's seat would also be in Thebes. It is important to note that Vizier Ankhu was most likely a contemporary of King **13.15** *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep and King **13.20** *Shm-Rˁ-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep, who were primarily active in Upper Egypt. According to Papyrus Boulaq 18, King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep and the royal family resided in a royal palace in Thebes. However, even though Thebes was a potential seat of power, it could not be designated as the residence (*hnw*). Obviously, the mention of vizier Ankhu in the Brooklyn Papyrus possibly dates to King *Shm-Rˁ-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep, which refers to the fact that the residence (*hnw*) was located somewhere other than Thebes. Finally, King **13.23** *Hˁ-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep documented his visit to Thebes, the city where he was born, indicating that Thebes was not the residence. Nevertheless, Thebes, as the centre of the *wr̄t* Head of the South, contained the main administrative apparatus containing the vizier's bureau, the treasury, and the administration of labour (*hnrt wr*)². Furthermore, it seems that Thebes was a departure point for the mining expeditions into the eastern desert³. It is interesting to note that the vizier Neferkare Iymeru, who served under King **13.23** *Hˁ-nfr-Rˁ* Sobekhotep, is only attested in records from Thebes when the king was launching cultic funeral projects⁴.

In this context, it is necessary to emphasize that the state's policies during the late 12th Dynasty led Thebes to become equivalent to the residence at Itjtawy⁵, while Abydos acquired an important religious prominence. This situation most probably lasted through the 13th Dynasty. Notably, the position of Thebes and Abydos within the frame of the 13th Dynasty remarkably emerged starting from the reigns of Group Two. Thebes was important to the rulers of Group Two as it was their birthplace, whereas Abydos, as a vital religious centre, played a substantial role in providing political support to those rulers who sought legitimacy⁶. Therefore, it is not surprising that Abydos possibly became a royal necropolis for Group Two, including the most prominent Kings **13.21**

¹ Cat. 13. 16. 5 [C12]

² Cat. 13.23.17.

³ Cat. 13.23.26 [c].

⁴ Cat.13.23. 20, 21.

⁵ See Chapter One: 3. 4. c: A new regional administration structure.

⁶ Cat.13.21. 7; Cat. 13.c.1.

H^c-shm-R^c Neferhotep and **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep. It is worth mentioning here that many pieces of evidence name the Thinite nome “*t3-wr*” to which Abydos belongs together with the toponym “The Head of the South” or “The Head of Upper Egypt”¹. This means that the district “Head of the South” is extending between the First Cataract to the north of Abydos, as proposed by QUIRKE². The association between the Thinite nome and the district “The Head of the South” possibly suggests a political subdivision entity in the Thinis area³, in addition to the main centre of the district at Thebes. It is possible that the political entity in the Thinis area developed into a power base for a local dynasty, the Abydos Dynasty according to RYHOLT⁴, as a result of the decline of the 13th Dynasty’s kingship in the Thinite nome.

Thus, based on the concomitance that should exist between the vizier and the king, the kings of Group Two may have resided in Thebes, as long as the viziers seemingly practised their tasks mainly in Thebes. Additionally, since the royal necropolis is often adjacent to the residence, it can be assumed that a residence existed near Abydos, perhaps in Thinis, the capital of the 8th nome. Or possibly it suggests a residence somewhere in the vicinity of Thebes and Abydos. It is possible that Thebes and Abydos formed a starting power base of Group Two, with their dominance then expanding to Lower Egypt. In this case, the term “*hnw*,” mentioned in the textual evidence associated with Group Two rulers, might simply refer to a residence that denotes the word “palace” rather than its political meaning as a “capital city.” However, rulers of Group Two may have exerted their power from a southern power base, while Itjtawy remained a monumental residence (capital city), as was the case with Pi-Ramesses as an actual power base and Thebes as a monumental capital during the Ramesside period.

The situation of the rulers of Group Three indicates that their power base was in Thebes, as suggested by the concentration of their activity in the area. In addition, it seems that the viziers Ibia and Ay, who served Kings **13.25** *W3h-jb-R^c* Ibia and **13.27** *Mr-htp-R^c* Sobekhotep, respectively, came from Upper Egypt. As indicated earlier, Vizier Ibia was seemingly Ibia, the overseer of the enclosure/work camp, while Vizier Ay was the governor of El-Kab, a position passed down in his family. Again, the

¹ Mahieu 2021: 183-184.

² Quirke 2004: 116.

³ Mahieu 2021: 183; Cahail 2022: 9-10.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 165.

evidence suggests that this group overlapped with another Theban group labelled under the 16th/17th Dynasty. Therefore, these rulers were possibly buried in Thebes or even at Abydos, like the rulers of Group Two. Nevertheless, the case of King **13.26** *Mr-nfr-R*^c Aya implies that he may have exerted power in the Memphite region since his pyramidion possibly derived from the Memphite necropolis.

To sum up, the difference in spatial activity among the three groups, besides the multiplicity of the royal necropolis and the centring of the vizierate in Upper Egypt, at least in Groups Two and Three, suffices to conclude that the 13th Dynasty rulers did not exert power from the same residence. The power base of the 13th Dynasty was likely determined by the rulers' origins and their geographic reach. Additionally, one can assume that the political instability due to internal conflicts or external threats is an extra reason for the non-continuation of a single power base.

3. Legitimacy and Succession

The formulation of a narrative that explains the succession of approximately 50 rulers listed in the Turin King-list remains a central issue in understanding the 13th Dynasty. As detailed above, the archaeological record lacks evidence that legitimizes the right of a specific individual to be a dynastic founder and then secure a continual power transfer system like in the 12th Dynasty. However, assigning a firm mechanism for the transfer of power over the course of 50 successive rulers may be difficult.

However, it seems that the coregency mechanism, which secured the 12th Dynasty succession was in place at least until the beginning of the 13th Dynasty. As proposed above, one can assume that King **13.b** *Shm-R*^c-*hw-t3.wj* Khabaw is the most likely candidate as the first name listed in the 13th Dynasty and certainly, in a coregency with King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R*^c as attested on the architrave of Tanis. This assumption takes into consideration TALLET's misreading of the Horus name of King **13.2** *Shm-k3-R*^c as that of King **13.13** Hor¹. Additionally, the mechanism of the coregency may have been employed later to support the power transfer between the brother kings **13.21** *H*^c-*shm-R*^c Neferhotep and **13.23** *H*^c-*nfr-R*^c Sobekhotep². Conversely, when considering the relationship between kings **13.1** *Hw-t3.wj-R*^c Wегaf and **13.14** *S:d3-k3-R*^c Amenemhat Kay, there is no clear connection between them.

¹ Review the first section of this chapter, The beginnings of the 13th Dynasty.

² Review Chapter Six: 2.5: King *H*^c-*shm-R*^c Neferhotep and *H*^c-*nfr-R*^c Sobekhotep.

Even though their names are attested juxtaposed in the records from Madamud, it seems that they were not directly related¹.

Otherwise, the archaeological record does not keep reliable evidence for any other power transfer mechanism over the sequenced 13th Dynasty rulers in the Turin King-list. However, it could be that power was occasionally transferred from father to son based on evidence referring to the Queen and the king's mother, *Nbw htp.ty*, from Semna. Unfortunately, the evidence does not include further entries for either the royal father or son². Furthermore, RYHOLT suggests that evidence possibly refers to the 13th Dynasty Queen and king's mother Ahhotepi, who may have preceded the reign of King *Shm-Rc-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep. In addition, the Queen and king's mother Senet possibly dates to the late 12th Dynasty or early 13th Dynasty³. However, the available evidence does not suffice to provide conclusive dates or confirm their positions in the dynasty.

RYHOLT significantly relied on the “father to son” mechanism to justify the succession of the 13th Dynasty rulers. His argument is based on the suggestion of the *Filiative Nomina*, which relates a king to his predecessor as if they were father and son, as long as the son bears the father's birth name and sometimes the grandfather's birth name alongside his birth name. However, RYHOLT's theory has been abandoned since the bipartite and tripartite birth names of some kings reflect a common tradition in the Middle Kingdom used for designation purposes, rather than indicating the filiation of individuals⁴.

It is worth mentioning that the archaeological record provides evidence that alludes to the claim of legitimacy by some rulers of the 13th Dynasty.

The case of King 13.15 *Shm-Rc-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep: the surviving monuments of the king in Madamud strongly indicate his political plans to support his rule's legitimacy. This clearly appears by depicting himself celebrating the *Sed*-festival as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt⁵. Actually, King Amenemhat Sobekhotep imitates King Senwosret III, as he copied the same *Sed*-festival scenes of King

¹ Review Chapter Six: 2.1: King *Hw-t3.wj-Rc* Wegaf and King *S:d3-k3-Rc* Amenemhat Kay.

² Review Chapter Six, no. 5: Backgrounds of rulers.

³ Ryholt 1997: 242-243.

⁴ Review Chapter Three: 3.4: Contemporary Archaeological evidence.

⁵ Cat. 13.15.1.

Senwosret III at Madamud. In another scene, the king is symmetrically depicted with the crown of Upper Egypt and the crown of the god Amun in front of the god Monthu. As previously indicated, the king's depiction with the crown of Amun is possibly an imitation of King Mentuhotep II¹. It seems that the king presents himself as a legitimate heir to his great ancestors. However, the depiction of the crown of the god Amun may also indicate the king's association with the cult of Amun at Thebes and perhaps alludes to his Theban origin. Finally, the king's double birth name, which refers to the gods Amun and Sobek, may have been used as a political tactic to gain support from followers of both gods. It is worth noting that Amenemhat and Sobekhotep are common birth names among the rulers of the 13th Dynasty.

The case of King 13.21 *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep: As shown in the archaeological study, it is evident that the Abydos Great Stela was employed for political aims. Even though the main purpose of the stela was to target renewing works in favour of the Temple of Osiris at Abydos, it obviously implies political propaganda to legitimize royal rule through divine succession². Consequently, taking into consideration that the king belongs to an elite, but non-royal family and that he and his brother kings 13.21, 22, and 23 are listed successively in the Turin King-list, King *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep may have been the founder of a new line of rulers within the historical framework of the 13th Dynasty.

It is worth mentioning that the king is associated with King Senwosret III, as he imitated the rock inscriptions of King Senwosret III at Sehel Island and depicted his royal titles alongside those of King Senwosret III. Moreover, Kings 13.21 *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep and his brother 13.23 *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep possibly built their tombs in Abydos-South, in the vicinity of King Senwosret III's cultic institution, as proposed by WEGNER and CAHAIL³. That may suggest that King *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep and his brother sought legitimacy for their rule by associating themselves with King Senwosret III.

In this context, the notable activity of King 13.c *H^c-nh-R^c* Sobekhotep in Abydos South possibly alludes that he shared the same interest as Kings 13.21 *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep and 13.23 *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep in associating themselves with King

¹ Cat. 13.15. 2.

² Review Cat.13.21.7.

³ Wegner and Cahail 2015: 158-159.

Senwosret III. Similarly, the King perhaps sought to present himself as a legitimate heir through divine succession, like King 13.21 *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep, since he generated the hymn of the Eye of Horus on his chapel found at Abydos-South¹.

On the other hand, the evidence from the 13th Dynasty suggests that the legitimacy of rule could be claimed by the class of military leaders. Many rulers had an association with the army, as indicated in their names or familial backgrounds². Those rulers perhaps seized rulership either due to a political vacuum of power or through military coups. However, it is important to note that these actions would have been more understandable if the rulers were indigenous Egyptians. Still, it seems that the rulers' military backgrounds merged sometimes with foreign identities, such as King Wegaf, whose name suggests a Semitic origin. Actually, the most prominent instance of foreign identities among the 13th Dynasty rulers based on the interpretation of the birth names is King Khendjer, whose name clearly points to a Semitic origin. Besides, as proposed earlier, the names of Kings Ameny Qemau and Qemau *s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f* may be read as "Aamu" instead of "Qemau", which would explicitly indicate an Asiatic origin³. This raises the possibility of rulers with Asiatic backgrounds being part of the 13th Dynasty, which is a subject of debate.

Scholars have rejected the idea of an Asiatic presence within the historical framework of the 13th Dynasty based on linguistic attempts to interpret the rulers' names as being Egyptian rather than Semitic⁴. Nevertheless, it is expected that rulers with unconventional identities may have seized power within the context of the rapid succession of rulers, particularly those of Group One of the 13th Dynasty. However, it is important to note that the presence of Asiatic rulers in the 13th Dynasty structure should not be used to support the idea of an external invasion or hostile actions against Egyptian territories, which may have been associated with the later Hyksos 15th Dynasty⁵.

Thus, the presence of rulers with an Asiatic background could be interpreted in the context of a long process of integration, or rather "Egyptianization," for groups of Asiatic migrants who infiltrated or were forcibly recruited into Egypt during the 12th

¹ Review Cat. 13.c.1.

² See Chapter Six: no. 5: Backgrounds of rulers.

³ See Chapter Six: no. 5: Backgrounds of rulers.

⁴ Quirke 1991: 129, 131; Ryholt 1997: 219-221.

⁵ Van Seters 1966: 122.

Dynasty and lasted into the 13th Dynasty. As previously indicated in Chapter One, the state policies during the 12th Dynasty targeted the increase of the Asiatic labour force required for the massive economic and architectural projects. The evidence shows that the Asiatic labour was centred on the eastern Delta, Lahun and Thebes¹. Interestingly It appears that groups of Asiatics assimilated into Egyptian society and were able to integrate culturally and socially. Evidence suggests that they integrated through marriage² and even adopted Egyptian funeral traditions at least beyond the eastern Delta³. Moreover, their names mingled with famous Egyptian names while still retaining their distinction as “Aamu”⁴. This allowed some of them to rise to high-ranking positions in Egyptian society, such as high-officials and military leaders. This suggests that by the 13th Dynasty, their integration had reached its highest point, possibly resulting in some of them becoming rulers of Egypt.

Regardless of the methods by which the rulers of the 13th Dynasty gained power or legitimized their rule, the issue of their succession remains a matter of debate. Throughout the sequence of the 13th Dynasty rulers in the Turin King-list, the mechanism of the succession between rulers is uncertain, except for King **13.21 *Hr-shm-R*** Neferhotep and his brother **13.23 *Hr-nfr-R*** Sobekhotep. Nevertheless, the two kings are separated by the name of their brother Sahathor, even though he never was a king. The scholars of the 13th Dynasty endeavoured to present rational scenarios to justify the succession of rulers in the Turin King-list, despite the lack of evidence that places them in a definitive sequence⁵.

The earliest scenarios suggested the model of “elective kingship” as a potential mechanism of succession throughout the 13th Dynasty. The model, which was first proposed by JUNKER, involved a popular election of a new king among qualified individuals by influential institutions composed of military leaders, high-ranking officials, and priests⁶. Afterwards, the “elective kingship” was further developed by HAYES, who weakened the idea of elections due to it being an advanced political aspect of ancient Egypt society. He suggests that high-ranking officials, particularly the vizier, had a decisive role in selecting a person for a limited period to be nothing more

¹ Review Chapter One.

² Van De Mieroop 2011: 130; Mourad 2015:135, 305- 306.

³ Sarette 2016:192; Engelbach 1923: 25, Pl. LXXV,1.

⁴ Mourad 2015: 71.

⁵ McCormack 2008: 128-148.

⁶ Junker and Delaporte 1933: 103-105; McCormack 2008: 128-129.

than a powerless king¹. VON BECKERATH described the powerful groups that were in charge of selecting a new king as “kingmakers”². HAYES built his assumption on the indication that during the 13th Dynasty, the vizier’s powerful family inherited the office while kings rapidly succeeded one another.

The prominent instance of the vizier’s family highlighted by HAYES is the family of vizier Ankhu. The surviving archaeological record of vizier Ankhu’s family indicates that four members of the family held the vizierate position over three generations³. Moreover, the archaeological record shows that he was a contemporary of King 13.15 *Shm-Rc-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep according to the papyrus Boulaq 18 and King 13.20 *Shm-Rc-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep according to insertions B and C of the Brooklyn Papyrus recto. Besides, he also is attested on the stela of (Louvre C11) contemporary of King *Nj-m3c-n-hc-Rc* Khendjer⁴. However, the current study undermines the validity of this stela for 13th Dynasty historiography. Therefore, it appears that Ankhu served as a vizier under six kings.

Notwithstanding, HAYES suggested that vizier Ankhu served under five kings including King *Nima-enkkha-re* Khendjer II of Stela (Louvre C11), and King Sekhemrekhau Sobekemsaf, who are both from outside the sequence of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list⁵. Accordingly, since the evidence indicates that these successive rulers were unrelated while the vizier Ankhu retained the office through their reigns, HAYES proposed that the vizier’s office was more powerful than the kingship⁶, and the vizier Ankhu’s family had an influential role in assigning kings.

The current study suggests that since the vizier Ankhu is contemporaneously attested only with Kings 13.15 *Shm-Rc-hw-t3.wj* Amenemhat Sobekhotep and 13.20 *Shm-Rc-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep, it is possible to establish a direct connection between both kings. That is, regardless of the number of rulers listed between them in the Turin King-list, who were possibly added to this part of the list out of a chronological basis⁷.

¹ Hayes 1955: 148.

² Von Beckerath 1964: 88-89; LA VI: 1443.

³ Review Chapter Six, no. 6: prosopographical data.

⁴ Cat. 13. 16. 5 [C11].

⁵ Hayes 1955: 146-147; McCormack 2008: 131.

⁶ Hayes 1955: 144-149.

⁷ Review Chapter Six, no. 6: prosopographical data.

On the other hand, QUIRKE weakened the role of the viziers of the 13th Dynasty as “kingmakers.” He demonstrated that the archaeological evidence reveals that the viziers of the dynasty were entirely subject to the king’s power, including vizier Ankhu, who received the king’s orders directly as a representative of the second level of hierarchy after the king. This appears evidently in insertions of the Brooklyn Papyrus¹. In addition, the attestations of vizier Neferkare Iymeru, who served under King 13.23 *H-nfr-R* Sobekhotep, demonstrate that he benefited from royal donations. The king gifted him two fine statues, epitheted as “Given as a favour from the king,” to stand in Karnak². As an indication that vizier Neferkare Iymeru was also subject to King *H-nfr-R* Sobekhotep³.

Thus, if it is necessary to identify the role of viziers in the succession of rulers during the 13th Dynasty, it is important to avoid overemphasizing their role as kingmakers and instead consider the possibility that influential individuals, like military leaders, may have relied on the support of powerful allies, including the families of viziers, to secure their legitimacy. Moreover, the marriage alliances between the king and the vizier’s family may have further strengthened this support, as in the case of Vizier Ay and King 13.27 *Mr-htp-R* Sobekhotep⁴.

QUIRKE proposed the “circulating succession” model as an alternative to the mechanism of kings being selected by viziers. This model operates in the oligarchic structures, where a group of powerful families around the court takes turns holding power by irregular rotation. This could explain why a single ruling family disappeared. Furthermore, it interprets the short reigns of the 13th Dynasty rulers, as the qualified individuals for ascending the throne were the eldest members of these families. However, QUIRKE acknowledges that the circulating succession model may be just one of several mechanisms of power transfer during the 13th Dynasty, and it may not have been applied throughout the entire dynasty⁵. However, QUIRKE noted that the circulating succession model ensures the stability of the country, implying longer reigns and more attestations. Therefore, he proposed that the model or a similar one may have been applied in the middle of the 13th Dynasty, as it is the most stable part of the

¹ Quirke 1991: 134; See Chapter Four, 13:20: King *Shm-R* [s:w3d-t3.wj] *Sbk-htp*: no. 8 Thebes [Brooklyn papyrus].

² Cat. 13.23. 20, 21.

³ Quirke 1991: 134.

⁴ Cat. 13.27.4.

⁵ Quirke 1991: 138.

dynasty¹. Nevertheless, the middle part of the dynasty contains a line of a ruling family with the brother Kings **13.21** *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep and **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep, included in Group Two of the present study². The model of circulating kingship would be a rational mechanism for justifying the power transfer among unrelated rulers, but it does not appear to have been used among the rulers of Group Two³. Once again, the stability during the middle part of the 13th Dynasty could reflect alliances between military leaders, who had the potential to become rulers, with local powerful families that occupied the main positions of influence.

The previously suggested models assumed that all the listed rulers of the 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list exerted power in a single succession from one power base. Actually, this hypothesis is conditioned by the absolute validity of the Turin King-list as a historiographical source for the 13th Dynasty. As indicated earlier, the Turin King-list is a manuscript that dates back to the Ramesside period and is not considered an official document. Besides, it was copied from five different sources and is fragmented into 300 pieces. Nevertheless, the King-list remains an indispensable source for the SIP, as it stocks the rulers of SIP based significantly on their geographical centring and, to some extent, on chronological order⁴. This is because archaeological evidence provides no further clues on the sequence of rulers, except for those in Group Two of the 13th Dynasty, however, the sequence of whose rulers is still in question.

Actually, the hypothesis that about 50 rulers held the power in one single succession and from one power base to some extent is unimaginable whereas the archaeological evidence identifies three distinct groups of rulers. Only Group Two shows consistency among its rulers, making it an exception between Groups One and Three. Nevertheless, the archaeological evidence of Group Two does not support that King **13.22** Sahathor was a king and possibly he was added to the King-list since he appears in family lists beside his brother Kings **13.21** *H^c-shm-R^c* Neferhotep and **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep. This suggests that other names may have been listed in the King-list who were not

¹ Quirke 1991: 139.

² QUIRKE subdivided the body of the 13th Dynasty into three groups. The first group contains poorly attested kings with brief reigns, the middle group has more attestations and longer reigns, and the third group has fewer attestations. Similarly, the current study also concluded that the 13th Dynasty can be divided into three groups. For more information, refer to the conclusion of Chapter Six.

³ McCormack 2008:140-149.

⁴ Review Chapter Three, 2.2: Turin King-list.

actually kings, particularly those kings who were listed only with their birth names and have no attestations.

Moreover, since not all of the 13th Dynasty rulers exerted power over the same area, many individuals likely claimed kingship contemporaneously as “kinglets” over narrow territorial ranges or single towns. These kinglets were once grouped in the Turin King-list without any apparent order¹. In this case, it will be anticipated that attestations of these kinglets will be found in a limited landscape and will be characterized by small-scale and low-degree of execution reflecting their provincial condition. This is a result of the local kinglets’ inability to control resources compared to the well-known kings who held power over a larger area. Based on this assumption, it is expected that these kinglets were incorporated into the 13th Dynasty structure in groups One and Three, while Group Two remains somewhat more consistent based on textual and archaeological evidence². Consequently, it is possible to insert more kinglets into the body of the 13th Dynasty, who were not added or lost from the King-list or stylistically belong to the dynasty or were attested in the 13th Dynasty’s prominent centres, such as the Memphis-Fayoum region, Abydos, and Thebes³. Interestingly, assuming the concurrent kinglets in different geographical spheres instead of one succession of rulers from one power base could explain the political situation of the 14th Dynasty. The sequence of the dynasty in the King-list, approximately 50 listed names, is assumed that they came in one succession, whereas the evidence does not support denominators between them other than their centring seemingly in the eastern Delta⁴. Therefore, the absolute validity of the rulers’ succession in the Turin King-list is questioned unless their sequence in the list corresponds with archaeological evidence or is confirmed in another historiographical source.

¹ WEILL and STOCK supported the hypothesis of the local kinglets within the structure of the 13th Dynasty, review Weill 1918; Stock 1942. VON BECKERATH disregards WEILL and STOCK and assumed that the 13th Dynasty ruled in continually; von Beckerath 1964: 71-78.

² According to SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, Egypt went through a period of political fragmentation under the rule of contemporaneous local kinglets following the end of the 12th Dynasty. However, political unity was restored during the reigns of the brother kings Neferhotep and Sobekhotep (Group Two). Subsequently, the central government's power gradually declined again in favour of the local kinglets, Säve-Söderbergh 1951: 53-55.

³ The main studies of the 13th Dynasty greatly endeavoured to restore the chronological list of the dynasty by adding many rulers, who possibly exerted power as local kinglets, See von Beckerath 1964: 30-70; Ryholt 1997: 69-93, 191-197, 207-250, 282-286; Siesse 2019.

⁴ Cahail 2022: 8; Bourriau 2000: 192; von Beckerath 1964: 81.

Indeed, one succession of the dynasty from one power base implies a homogeneity in the political landscape, which should be reflected in the geographical density of attestations without notable breaks. Conversely, the political landscape of the 13th Dynasty indicates a political fragmentation in Group One, where possibly several ephemeral kinglets ruled the country contemporaneously. This situation could be traced after the reign of King **13.2 Shm-k3-R** Amenemhat, who appears to have ruled from Itjtawy in a co-regency with his potential predecessor, King **13.b Shm-R**-*hw-t3.wj* Khabaw, as proposed above¹. The subsequent names in the King-list until king **13.19 [...] jb-...]** Seth, appear to be a conglomeration of rulers with diverse names, identities, and varying quality and distribution of attestations, indicating the country's disarray.

Then, the situation during the rulers of Group Two indicates a sudden shift towards a more integrated political landscape, particularly during the reigns of kings **13.20, 21, and 23**. The rulers seemingly shared the same background as military leaders, besides familial ties and a Theban origin. Furthermore, they engaged in comparable territorial activity and maintained analogous relationships with the eastern Delta and Levantine centres. This shift in Group Two implies the emergence of a new line of rulers that can be considered a real dynasty², where their leaders succeeded each other in an understandable sequence. Moreover, it appears that the group commenced its rulership in Thebes, and then extended its power to Lower Egypt³. As a result, they were not a continuation of the rulers of Group One. It's worth noting that Thebes was regarded as the southern equivalent of Itjtawy and potentially evolved into an independent polity, serving as a starting power base for the rulers of Group Two.

However, this improvement was temporary, as the political landscape gradually deteriorated again in Group Three. The rulers of this group were mostly confined to the Theban region and possibly contained many contemporaneous kinglets perhaps at least after the reign of King **13.31 Mr-k3.w-R** Sobekhotep⁴. It is possible that the distribution of these kinglets was not limited to the Theban region, but were rather distributed over various centres in Upper and Lower Egypt. Thus, this interpretation can help explain the journey of chief priest Horemkhauf from Nekhen to Itjtawy, where a king was present.

¹ Review section no. 1. The beginnings of the 13th Dynasty of this chapter.

² STOCK preferred to call the group of Sobekhoteps starting with King **13.20 Shm-R**-*s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep as "Die Eigentliche 13. Dynastie", Stock 1942: 56.

³ Stock 1942: 59-60.

⁴ Schneider 2006: 195-196.

As mentioned above, priest Horemkhauf's stela stylistically refers to the late 13th Dynasty, while the scenes of his tomb indicate that he was a contemporary to Sobeknakht II, the governor of El-Kab during or after the reign of King Nebiryau I of the 16th Dynasty¹. However, in either case, the seat of power appears to be confined to Upper Egypt. Therefore, the presence of a king in Itjtawy at that time could indicate the presence of multiple rulers, particularly in the main administrative and religious centres.

The hypothesis of the local kinglets could explain the overlap, which is attested archaeologically between the rulers of Group Three and the other Theban rulers, who are traditionally identified as the 16th or 17th Dynasties. The archaeological evidence, mainly the *stèle Juridique*, testifies to the close time (two generations) between the two lines of rulers in Col. 8/4 and Col. 11/5, apart from the many names listed between them in the Turin King-list. Since the *stèle Juridique* is closer to the 13th Dynasty, it could be a more reliable source for the historiography of the SIP instead of the Ramesside Turin King-list. Therefore, one can conclude that the line of rulers in Col. 11/1-14, labelled as the 16th Dynasty, continues Group Three of the 13th Dynasty.

In this context, it can be understood from the presence of a royal cemetery of cluster tombs in Abydos-South, succeeding the tombs of the 13th Dynasty numbered S9 and S10, an emergence of a group of local kings who ruled over the Thinite nome. These rulers have been identified as the Abydos Dynasty². Interestingly, the iconography of one of these tombs, Seneb-Kay's tomb (CS9), stylistically corresponds with the aforementioned tomb of Sobeknakht II of the 16th Dynasty³. This suggests contemporaneity between the Abydene King Seneb-Kay and the Theban 16th Dynasty, which is considered a continuation of Group Three of the 13th Dynasty as proposed above.

4. Periodization of the 13th Dynasty

The Turin King-list does not provide a specific duration for the 13th Dynasty. Moreover, the rulers of the 13th and 14th Dynasties seem to be listed sequentially without a clear distinction. The differentiation between the two dynasties is only established with the first ruler of the 14th Dynasty, King Nehsy (Col. 9/1), who is known to have ruled exclusively in the eastern Delta, while the 13th Dynasty did not

¹ See the discussion above, no. 2 The Residence.

² Ryholt 1997: 163-166; Wegner and Cahail 2021: 351-360.

³ Wegner and Cahail 2021:344-345.

have control over that region¹. However, the period between the end of the 12th Dynasty and the foundation of the 18th Dynasty could be estimated at about 250 years (c. 1880-1550 BC.) This number could be reasonable according to the following scheme²: It is assumed that the Manetonian history probably gives 153 years for the 13th Dynasty period, whereas it seems that the 14th Dynasty was contemporaneous with the 13th Dynasty, ruling over the eastern Delta³. Therefore, it is understood that those 153 years cover the timeframe of the two dynasties. Besides, the Turin King-list seemingly preserves 100 or 108 years as a summation of the regnal years of six Hyksos rulers who formed the 15th Dynasty (Col. 10/29)⁴. By the end of the 13th Dynasty, the Hyksos 15th Dynasty had replaced the 14th Dynasty in the eastern Delta and expanded its dominance over Egyptian territories until Middle Egypt⁵, while the 16th Dynasty (considered an Upper Egyptian 13th Dynasty) and 17th Dynasty were contemporaneous with the Hyksos in Upper Egypt.

However, this scheme could be accepted in terms of chronological orientation, but it did not have to reflect the actual historical understanding of the period. As previously proposed, it was inconceivable to put the rulers of the 13th Dynasty in a successive system, as they were listed in a sequence in the Turin King-list. The archaeological evidence suggests that many of these rulers possibly were not actual kings but rather contemporaneous kinglets⁶. However, it is possible to suggest non-bindingly that all individuals who claimed the kingship after the end of the 12th Dynasty until the emergence of the Hyksos beyond the eastern Delta could be placed within a 153-years timeframe, regardless of their relationship to one another.

The contemporaneity of the 13th and 14th Dynasties is primarily inferred from the absence of the late 12th Dynasty and 13th Dynasty attestations in the eastern Delta⁷. It is noteworthy that King 13.b *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* Khabaw, is the only 13th Dynasty king who may have been able to maintain partial control over the eastern Delta, specifically over Bubastis. King Khabaw is likely to be the first ruler of the 13th Dynasty, as argued in this study. However, the key parameter in verifying the 13th Dynasty's control over

¹ Review Chapter Three: 2.2.3: The 13th Dynasty in the Turin King-list.

² Ryholt 1997: 5-6; Franke 2008: 268-269.

³ Ryholt 1997: 190-191.

⁴ See Fig. 3.1. (Col. 10/29); Farina 1938: 56, Pl.10; Helck 1992: 187- 188; Ryholt 1997:118- 119.

⁵ Kamose stela I refers that the Hyksos control over the Egyptian territories was until Kusae, See; Helck 1983: 82, no. 119; Redford 1997: 13.

⁶ Schneider 2006: 195-196.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 94, 293-294.

the eastern Delta is the continuity of mining activities in Sinai that had been established during the 12th Dynasty. According to archaeological evidence, it appears that mining expeditions to Sinai ceased during the reign of the short-reigned Queen Sobekneferu and were not resumed during the 13th Dynasty. So, it is suggested that the eastern Delta seceded from the central government towards the end of the 12th Dynasty by a secessionist polity that could be labelled as the 14th Dynasty¹. However, the power base of the 14th Dynasty has not been archaeologically identified. RYHOLT suggests that Tell el-Dab'a was the residence of the 14th Dynasty, based on excavations in the area that uncovered traces of a large palace that may date back to the early 13th Dynasty. Since there is no evidence of the 13th Dynasty in the area, he proposes that the palace belonged to the 14th Dynasty instead². Additionally, an inscribed block found in Tell el-Dab'a bears the name of King Nehsy, who is listed as the first ruler of the 14th Dynasty in the Turin King-list, which indicates that Tell el-Dab'a was the likely power base of the 14th Dynasty³. According to Manetho's history, the 14th Dynasty was based in Xois. Conversely, archaeological findings suggest that the seat of the dynasty was situated in the eastern Delta region instead of Xois⁴. However, it is difficult to specify one power base for the 14th Dynasty since its rulers do not form a single line, but rather represent varied groups of kinglets distributed over many local centres of the eastern Delta⁵.

As presented above, the emergence of the Hyksos 15th Dynasty marked the end of the 14th in the eastern Delta and the end of the 13th Dynasty at least in Lower Egypt. However, the discovery of a bulk of seal-impression of the Hyksos King Khayan in a closed archaeological context with the seal-impressions of King **13.23** *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep at Tell Edfu complicates the limits of periodization between the 13th and 15th dynasties. It is worth noting that the presence of the seal-impressions in Tell Edfu reflects nothing but mutual relationships between the eastern Delta settlers and the 13th Dynasty rulers. This is because the seal-impressions of both kings **13.20** *Shm-R-s:w3d-t3.wj* Sobekhotep and **13.21** *Hr-shm-R* Neferhotep were uncovered in Tell el-Dab'a⁶.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 295-296.

² Ryholt 1997: 104.

³ Bietak: 1979: Pl. XVIII, Ryholt 1997: 377 [10].

⁴ See Ryholt 1997: 104, no. 347.

⁵ Cahail 2022: 8; Mahieu 2021: 182; Bourriau 2000: 192; Franke 2008: 274-275.

⁶ Cat. 13.20.1; Cat.13.21.3.

King Khayan is one of the rulers who bore the title *hk3-h3s.wt*, the Egyptian origin for the Greek term “Hyksos”, meaning the “ruler of the foreign lands”¹. The Turin King-list counts six Hyksos rulers, but unfortunately, it only preserves the name of their last ruler as “Khamudi” (Col. 10/26-29)². The Manethonian history also lists six rulers for the Hyksos, designated as the 15th Dynasty, but none of their names perhaps corresponds with King Khayan³. According to VON BECKERATH, King Khayan was the fourth ruler of the Hyksos 15th Dynasty⁴. Khayan might be identified with “Iannas,” who is listed as the fifth ruler of the Hyksos in Josephus’ version of Manetho’s history⁵. However, since King Khayan bore the title *hk3-h3s.wt*, he was possibly one of the six members of the Hyksos 15th Dynasty. It is worth mentioning that kings Khayan and Apophis were the only Hyksos rulers to use the Egyptian royal titles *s3 R^c* and *nsw-bj.tj⁶*. King Apophis was one of the latest Hyksos rulers involved in the conflict against the Theban realm of the 17th Dynasty during the reign of King Seqenenre-Tao⁷. RYHOLT places King Khayan as a predecessor to King Apophis, whom he identifies as the penultimate ruler of the 15th Dynasty⁸. This is due to their attestations being parallel distributed and their seals having similar stylistic characteristics⁹.

Thus, if it is indeed correct that the 15th Dynasty King Khayan and King **13.23 H^c-nfr-R^c** Sobekhotep were contemporaries, it would necessitate reconsidering the placement of the 15th Dynasty in relation to the 13th and 14th dynasties. Therefore, the 14th Dynasty may have ended before Group Two of the 13th Dynasty and was followed by the Hyksos 15th Dynasty, whose King Khayan was one of its first rulers. Alternatively, the Hyksos rulers of the 15th Dynasty, centred at Avaris/Tell el-Dab'a, were possibly contemporaneous with the rulers of the 14th Dynasty, who were a group of kinglets distributed over many centres in the eastern Delta¹⁰. In both cases, the proposed relationship between Kings Khayan and Apophis becomes unfeasible since King Apophis was already contemporary to the Theban 17th Dynasty. Furthermore, the 15th Dynasty remained confined to the eastern Delta and did not yet expand toward

¹ Griffith 1897: 297; Gardiner 1961:156.

² Allen 2010: 3, 9; See Fig. 3.1.

³ Waddell 1940: 78-83, 90-91.

⁴ Von Beckerath 1999: 114-115.

⁵ Waddell 1940: 83, no. 2; von Beckerath 1999: 114-115.

⁶ Allen 2010: p.3; Ryholt 1997: 124.

⁷ Gardiner 1932: 85- 89; Goedicke1986; Redford 1997: 17- 18.

⁸ Ryholt 1997: 124-125.

⁹ Ryholt 1997: 120.

¹⁰ Cahail 2022:7-8.

Memphis, which was still under the dominance of the 13th Dynasty, possibly until the reign of King **13.26 Mr-nfr-R^c** Aya.

The territorial division between the eastern Delta 14th and 15th dynasties and the 13th Dynasty seemingly did not lead to hostile actions but instead resulted in mutual relationships targeted at economic interests. The emergence of political entities in the eastern Delta by the end of the 12th Dynasty could not be exclusively attributed to the intensive migration waves of the Asiatics, as argued by RYHOLT¹, despite their notable existence in the eastern Delta. Simply put, the 14th Dynasty in the Turin King-list does not contain any Asiatic names but rather Egyptians. Moreover, the name of its first ruler, King Nehsy, is interpreted as “the Nubian.”². Nevertheless, RYHOLT proposed five Asiatic rulers preceding King Nehsy in the Turin King-list based on the artistic seriation of their scarab-seals³. Additionally, he argued that those Asiatic rulers ruled a small state in the Delta contemporaneously with the group of King Nehsy at Tell el-Dab'a⁴. Regardless, it seems that RYHOLT incorporated those Asiatic rulers within the 14th Dynasty since they do not bear the title *hk3-h3s.wt*, which specifically refers to the 15th Dynasty rulers.

However, the presence of Asiatics (*'3mw*) in the eastern Delta did not occur suddenly by the end of the 12th Dynasty. As noted previously⁵, the state policies during the 12th Dynasty, starting from the reign of King Amenemhat II onwards, involved forcibly or voluntarily recruiting Asiatics as a labour force for substantial state activities. Simultaneously, the eastern Delta became an essential economic centre and trade hub with the Levant, and it served as a departure point to the mines of Sinai. These factors, along with the accessibility between the Levant and the eastern Delta based on the testified harbour of nearby Tell el-Dab'a at Ezbet Rushdi, in addition to the pathway that led to Palestine through the north-eastern Way of Horus⁶, accelerated the Asiatic influx into the eastern Delta throughout the period of the 12th Dynasty. It seems that the area of Tell el-Dab'a was prepared to settle the labour workmen since a 12th Dynasty

¹ Ryholt 1997: 293-294.

² See Fig 3.1 (Cols. 9/1-10/21)

³ Ryholt 1997: 96.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 299-300

⁵ Review Chapter One.

⁶ Van Seters 1966: 93; Bietak 1996: 3.

settlement was revealed in the area including labour camps and possibly military garrisons and administrative headquarters¹.

So, one can assume that the unstable political circumstances at the end of the 12th Dynasty, involving concerns over legitimization and succession², may have provided an opportunity for the prosperous eastern Delta region to secede from the main residence at Itjtawy. It seems that the secession of the eastern Delta was not initially in the hands of the Asiatics, but rather in those of the Egyptians who perhaps held top positions in the region's administrative apparatus. Subsequently, the rapid growth of Asiatic in the eastern Delta led to the formation of a polity designated as *hk3.w-h3s.wt* / Hyksos.

The above historiographical examination is necessary to verify the placement of the 13th Dynasty in relation to other contemporary dynasties of that period. Consequently, to justify the appropriate way to periodize the 13th Dynasty within the conventional structure of ancient Egyptian history³. This is because the periodization of the 13th Dynasty often sparks debate about whether it should be considered part of the Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate Period⁴. However, this debate has sometimes led to periodize the 13th Dynasty under the term “Late Middle Kingdom.” Such a period encompasses the reigns from King Senowsret III to King **13.26 Mr-nfr-R'** Aya, while the following kings of the 13th Dynasty are labelled under the term “Second Intermediate Period”⁵.

Factors of the cultural and administrative continuity of the 12th Dynasty, in addition to the maintenance of the residence at Itjtawy, have been employed to incorporate the 13th Dynasty as a part of the Middle Kingdom⁶. However, the cultural continuity of the Middle Kingdom could be traced until the beginning of the 18th Dynasty⁷. Additionally, the humble art production of the 13th Dynasty does not compare to the level of quality and quantity seen during the 12th Dynasty. Despite the continuity of the same administrative features of the 12th Dynasty into the 13th

¹ Review Chapter One: 3.3.4. Eastern Delta.

² Review Chapter Two: 5. The end of the 12th Dynasty.

³ Schneider 2008: 185.

⁴ Marée 2010: XI; Grajetzki 2013: 2.

⁵ Franke 2008: 269-272; Grajetzki 2013: 2.

⁶ Franke 1988: 246-247; Callender 2000: 171-172; Bourriau 1988: 2; Bourriau 2010: 13; Grajetzki 2006: 63-75; Franke 2008: 269.

⁷ Marée 2010: XI, XII.

Dynasty, it appears that the administrative system of the 13th Dynasty does not reflect the level of competence seen during the 12th Dynasty, which secured the state's centralization. However, the features of the 12th Dynasty administrative system appeared mainly in Upper Egypt during the reigns of the well-attested Sobekhoteps Kings (Group Two of the 13th Dynasty). Lastly, the factor of keeping the use of Itjtawy as a 13th Dynasty residence could not be applied to all rulers following the end of the 12th Dynasty due to a lack of archaeological evidence. Additionally, it can be suggested that many individuals claimed the power legitimacy as kinglets over narrow territorial ranges beyond Itjtawy, potentially at locations like Thebes or Abydos.

However, it becomes evident that territorial integrity is the decisive criterion that influences the views on the periodization of the 13th Dynasty¹. Therefore, the Dynasty can sometimes be labelled as part of the "Middle Kingdom" as long as its rulers exerted absolute power over all Egyptian territories from Itjtawy, the traditional residence of the 12th Dynasty. Advocates of this view believe that Egyptian territories did not experience disunity until the emergence of other political entities in the eastern Delta after the first half of the 13th Dynasty². On the other hand, the main studies (VON BECKERATH 1964, RYHOLT 1997) on the period between the 12th and 18th dynasties periodize the 13th Dynasty as part of the "Second Intermediate Period"³. RYHOLT proposed that the preludes of the SIP arose at the end of the 12th Dynasty. Much evidence suggests that the centralized government of the 12th Dynasty lost its dominance over the eastern Delta in favour of an independent polity that could be designated as the 14th Dynasty⁴.

The methodology in the present study aims principally to verify the relationship between power and space, or rather to evaluate the actual dominance of rulers over territories, implying their ability to control resources. Consequently, assigning the status of an "intermediate period" or a "Kingdom" to the 13th Dynasty depends on the ability of its successive rulers to maintain the unity of Egyptian territories under one ruler. Therefore, the study aligns with RYHOLT's view of periodizing the 13th Dynasty into the Second Intermediate Period, as the state lost its dominance over the eastern Delta starting from Queen Sobekneferu's reign onwards. As noted above, the potential

¹ Schneider 2008: 185; Sabbahy 2020: 4

² Franke 1988; Grajetzki 2006: 63; Franke 2008: 269, 272; Quirke 2004: 7.

³ Von Beckerath 1964: 30-108; Ryholt 1997: 69-93.

⁴ Ryholt 1997: 293-294.

contemporaneity between the Hyksos King Khayan and King **13.23** *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep indicates a state of territorial disunity, despite the political landscape of the 13th Dynasty reaching its peak during the reign of King *H^c-nfr-R^c* Sobekhotep.

The conventional periodization framework of ancient Egyptian history is a modern tool dividing the dynastic system of Manetho into larger historical unities as “Kingdoms” and “Intermediate periods” for the purposes of chronological orientation. Therefore, the negative connotation associated with the term “Intermediate period” and, conversely, the positive connotation associated with the term “Kingdom” may not accurately reflect the actual understanding of history¹. Nevertheless, the commemorative Ramesside king-lists of Saqqara and Abydos excluded the rulers between the end of the 12th Dynasty and the beginning of the 18th Dynasty. It is worth mentioning that the list of Abydos does not include Queen Sobekneferu². This omission reflects the ancient historical consciousness that this period cannot be equated with other politically stable periods when Egypt was a unified country under the lordship of a single ruler³.

5. The end of the 13th Dynasty

The heading “The end of the 13th Dynasty” does not imply the monitoring of the decline or the circumstances surrounding the 13th Dynasty’s fall, as is expected in the other classic dynasties that can be confidently historically outlined, such as the 12th Dynasty. As shown throughout the present study, the 13th Dynasty is composed of broken lines of rulers whose succession or decline remains unattested. Therefore, the last names of the dynastic rulers in the Turin King-list (in the last of col. 8) do not represent a reliable end to the entire Dynasty. These names possibly comprise another broken sequence that was possibly placed in an uncertain order by the king-list compiler.

Thus, the end of the 13th Dynasty cannot be definitively established within a seamless historical narrative. Alternatively, it might be attributed to dramatic events that resulted in significant changes in the Egyptian political landscape, favouring the territorial expansion of the Hyksos 15th Dynasty beyond the eastern Delta into Memphis. The Hyksos seizure of Memphis is considered the prime marker of the end of

¹ Schneider 2008.

² Von Beckerath 1997: 27.

³ Ryholt 1997: 311.

the 13th Dynasty's dominance, at least over Lower Egypt. However, the evidence lacks a scenario depicting the seizure of Memphis by the Hyksos. The sole source providing a detailed scenario of the fall of Memphis by the Hyksos is the alleged version of the Menthonian account by the Jewish historian Josephus from the 1st century A.D. as follows:

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

Josephus presents the emergence of the Hyksos in Egypt as unexpected hostile invaders. It is worth mentioning that Josephus presents the account of the Hyksos invasion of Egypt in his book “*Contra Apionem*.” The book primarily aims to defend the Jews and establish their historical presence in antiquity². Josephus attributed himself as a Jew to the Hyksos, describing them as “*our ancestors*”³. However, the archaeological evidence indicates that the Asiatics (Aamu) centred in the eastern Delta as immigrants during the 12th Dynasty. Therefore, the historical depiction of the Hyksos emergence as a sudden invasion of Egyptian territories may imply propagandistic goals. Additionally, the recently discovered evidence at Tell Edfu suggests bilateral relations between the Hyksos King Khayan and the 13th Dynasty King *Hr-nfr-R* Sobekhotep⁴. Therefore, it is possible to propose the scenario of the gradual infiltration and peaceful takeover of Memphis, rather than the biased scenario of the direct invasion as claimed by Josephus. He utilized the history of Manetho to serve ideological and nationalist purposes⁵.

¹ Waddell 1940: 78-81.

² Waddell 1940: xvi, 77- 89, 101- 119- 147; Van Seters 1966: 192; Redford 1992: 99; Van De Mieroop 2011: 147-148.

³ Waddell 1940: 106- 107, Fr. 50 [103].

⁴ Review the previous section: 4. Periodization of the 13th Dynasty.

⁵ Waddell 1940: xvi.

Thus, it seems that the Hyksos seizure over Memphis was a result of a political vacuum or the fall of Lower Egypt into political fragmentation under contemporaneous local kinglets¹, who are conventionally placed under the label of the 13th Dynasty. Consequently, if the ending of the 13th Dynasty in Memphis seemingly did not involve offensive confrontations between the Egyptians and Hyksos, but rather a territorial expansion of the Hyksos into Memphis due to the political vacuum, it would be conceivable to exclude the scenario of the withdrawal of the institution of the 13th Dynasty towards the South². Simultaneously, other contemporaneous 13th Dynasty lines of kinglets possibly emerged or already existed in Abydos and Thebes during the Hyksos' seizure of Memphis. Later, these lines would conventionally be identified as the 16th and 17th Dynasties, and it is possible that additional local dynasties existed, such as the Abydos Dynasty proposed by RYHOLT.

In this context, it is significant to note that the Hyksos seemingly engaged in hostile actions against the Egyptians in their later phase, particularly during the reign of Hyksos King Apophis. It is possible that the plundering of Memphis, which involved the transfer of sculptures from Memphis to Tell el-Dab'a, took place during the reign of King Apophis. It is worth noting that the name of King Apophis is inscribed on the two colossal statues of King 13.17 *Jm.y-r ms*^c³, possibly indicating that the plundering of Memphis occurred during his reign.

The surviving archaeological evidence does not provide data on the Egyptian king who was contemporary with the Hyksos during their seizure of Memphis. Josephus' account cited that the Hyksos invaded the Egyptian territories in the reign of King "Tutimaios"⁴, who was probably King Dedumose "Dd-msw"⁵. Conversely, VON BECKERATH ignored the phonetic transition of the ancient Egyptian name *Dd-msw* to the Greek Tutimaios⁶. However, two kings attested through the archaeological record bore the birth name *Dd-msw*, namely *Dd-htp-R*^c and *Dd-nfr-R*^c. It is worth mentioning that the entries of the Turin King-list Col. 8/21⁷ contain the name of King 13.44

¹ O'Connor 1997: 52.

² QUIRKE proposed the withdrawal of the 13th Dynasty to the south due to the Hyksos oppression, assuming the continuity of the 13th Dynasty in Memphis as a single line of rulers; See Quirke 1991: 129.

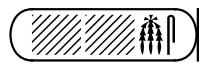
³ Cat. 13.17.1

⁴ Waddell 1940: 78-79, Fr. 42 [74-77].

⁵ Redford 1997: 2.

⁶ Von Beckerath 1964: 64.

⁷ Ryholt 1997: 71.



[...]-ms, which may be traces of one of the Dedumoses. However, RYHOLT read the entries as [...] -ms-[R^c]¹ and placed the two kings Dedumose to the late SIP and the 16th Dynasty, mainly based on the geographical distribution of their monuments that was limited to the south of Egypt². Furthermore, it is assumed that the Hyksos seized Memphis after the reign of King 13.26 *Mr-nfr-R^c* Aya, as he was the last 13th Dynasty king attested in Memphis³. However, it could be proposed that other Egyptian kinglets exerted power in Lower and Middle Egypt, including Memphis, but rather as vassals to the Hyksos Kingdom, whose main power base was established in Avaris/Tell el-Dab'a.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 73.

² Ryholt 1997: 156- 157.

³ Bourriau 2000: 185; O'Connor 1997: 48.

Conclusion

In a general sense, the 13th Dynasty as mentioned in the Turin King-list belongs to the group known as the “Kings who are after the children of King *S:htp-jb-R*”. When considering the chronological framework of ancient Egyptian history, the 13th Dynasty comprises a collection of rulers who primarily held power beyond the eastern Delta. These rulers are listed in the Turin King-list as well as those identified solely through archaeological evidence, between the end of the 12th Dynasty and the rise of Hyksos control over Memphis.

Certainly, the definition provided earlier outlines the 13th Dynasty in terms of determining its rulers within a chronological framework. However, it does not reflect that these rulers formed a dynasty in the conceptual meaning of a united political regime. The term “Dynasty” as a ruling system in the framework of ancient Egyptian history is coined in the introduction of this work as

“a chronological unit used to measure the absolute power of a group of successive rulers. These rulers exercise their power from a single power base, exerting their authority over a specific territorial range for an extended period of time”.

Testing the validity of the term “Dynasty” for approximately 50 rulers conventionally identified as the 13 Dynasty raises concerns over the 13th Dynasty as an extended and united political regime. Through the investigation of the royal evidence and the assessment of its validity to measure the territorial sovereignty of the rulers, one can challenge the perception of a united dynasty in the literal sense.

Indeed, the contemporary royal evidence does not confirm the sequence of rulers in the Turin King-list, although it appears to be coherent in a few instances. Furthermore, the royal evidence does not suggest that all listed names in the Turin King-list exerted actual power. It is possible to interpret that these rulers did not reign in a wholly continuous series but rather in separated broken lines. Thus, the notable shifts in the political landscape throughout the listed rulers in the King-list could be seen as a reflection of the emergence of separate lines of rulers in different geographic regions. However, it is important to note that despite the rulers’ claim to legitimacy through a powerful royal protocol that implied their dominance over Upper and Lower Egypt, the archaeological record reflects a dire economic status and a contraction of their territorial sovereignty.

It is possible these rulers governed in a way similar to city-states. This means that they may have exercised authority and control over specific regions or cities, with varying degrees of influence and power. In certain cases, the influence of these rulers could have expanded beyond their immediate territories to encompass broader regions. This could be seen as a reflection of the political landscape at the time, characterized by regional autonomy and the emergence of separate centres of power.

In this context, it is possible to include many rulers in the period following the end of the 12th Dynasty until the emergence of the Hyksos at Memphis within the chronological framework of the 13th Dynasty. However, it is challenging to establish a guaranteed sequence of these rulers under a unified kingship. Instead, the available evidence suggests the existence of fragmented or interrupted lines of rulers. Conversely, scholarship has inserted many royal names in the list of the 13th Dynasty found in the Turin King-list. These attempts are primarily based on stylistic grounds, with the belief that the sequence of rulers' names in the Turin King-list represented a unified kingship.

Thus, the geography of power following the end of the 12th Dynasty reveals that the Memphis region initially remained the primary power centre, while Thebes retained its significance as a southern equivalent. In the eastern Delta, Tall el-Dab'a emerged as a rival power base for an independent polity known as the 14th Dynasty, which was later succeeded by the Hyksos of the 15th Dynasty. Meanwhile, Abydos maintained its importance as a significant religious centre.

However, the political landscape underwent a significant shift with the emergence of Thebes as an independent power base for a group of rulers of Theban origin. These rulers gradually expanded their dominance northward. Eventually, with the fall of Memphis to the Hyksos, Thebes became the stronghold of rulers from the south. Whereas Abydos transformed into an independent polity.

Interestingly, the political landscape during the period of the 13th Dynasty witnessed a concentration of power in four main bases: the Memphis region, Thebes, Abydos, and the eastern Delta (Tall el-Dab'a). These power bases were the primary centres of the 12th Dynasty, reflecting 12th Dynasty centralization. It appears that the three main centres of the 12th Dynasty, in addition to Memphis, were the most capable of becoming independent polities following the collapse of the central government in Memphis at the end of the dynasty.

In the end, the nature of the 13th Dynasty remains an open question due to the lack of evidence and its heterogeneity. Therefore, the present study presents the available archaeological evidence in an independent framework. This approach provides an opportunity for future researchers of the 13th Dynasty to offer their insights into its nature. However, forthcoming investigations must delve into the specific interests of the 13th Dynasty, particularly by conducting a comprehensive exploration of the palaeographical and phraseological aspects of the textual evidence. It is important to note that future studies anticipate additional discoveries, specifically in Dahshur, Abydos-South, and Dra Abu el-Naga, that will contribute to bridging the gaps in our understanding of the 13th Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period generally.

Part Four: Catalogue

Clarification

The present catalogue is based on the development of the bibliographical catalogues from previous studies, namely BECKERATH (1964), RYHOLT (1997), and SIESSE (2019). Every object listed in the catalogue is already associated with an explanation in the main text of the archaeological study found in Chapters Four and Five. The catalogue aims to provide basic data, photographs, and in many cases facsimiles and translations for each listed object. Transliterations of the texts are provided for the first published or fully republished objects. In a few cases, texts are not included since they have already been mentioned in the main text or are unnecessary to mention due to the objects being attributed to non-royal members. However, in some cases, the catalogue provides transliterations and translations for non-royal objects, as these objects hold significant importance within the context of the present study.

13.1: King *Hw-t3.wj-Rc*

Bark-stand/

Cat. 13.1.1 / 13.14.1

Block:

Discovery location

Madamud

Provenance:

Madamud

Current location:

Egyptian Museum JE 15900.

Dimensions:

H. 82 cm., L. 1.53 m., W. 91 cm.

Material:

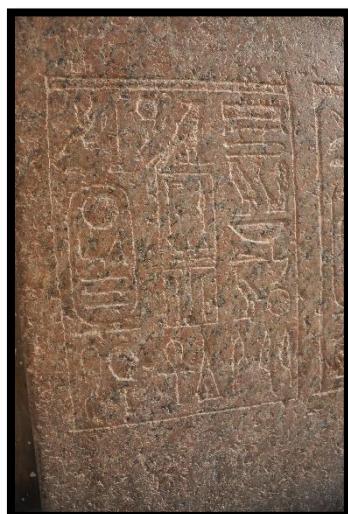
Red granite.

Condition

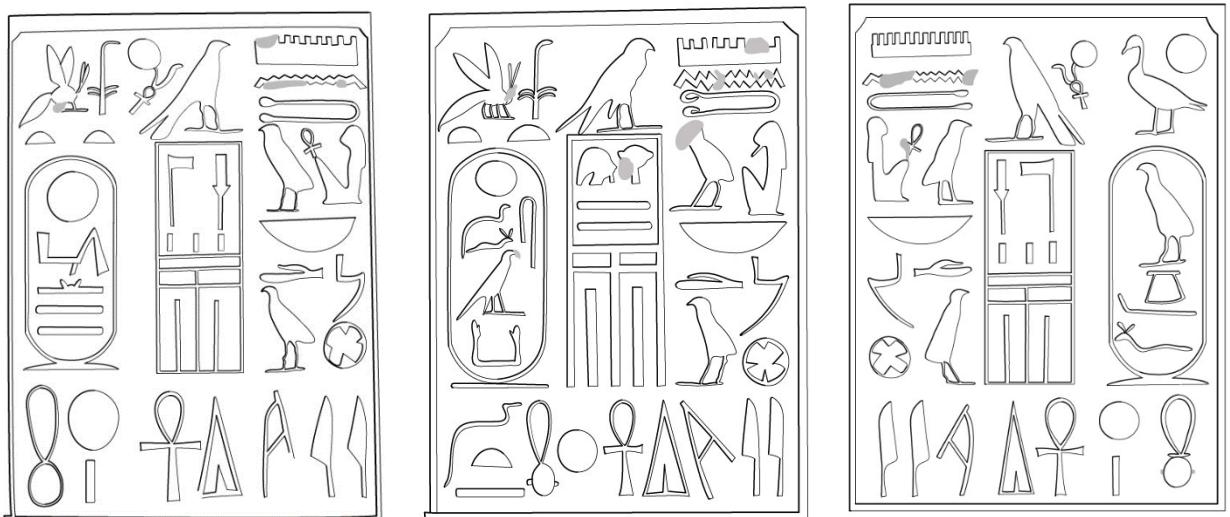
Good

Bibliography

F. Bisson de la Rouque and J.J Clère, , Fouilles de Mèdamoud , p. 83-84, 115-116, 129-131, figs. 61-62, Pl. III



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny

Text:

Middle:

*Hr Hr.y-tp t3.wy nsw-bj.tj S:dʒ-k3-Rc mry
Mntw nb Mdw di 'nh d.t mi Rc*

Horus *Hry-tp t3.wy*, King *S:dʒ-k3-Rc*,
beloved of Monthu, Lord of Madamud
given life like Re forever.

Right:

*Hr Shm-ntrw s3 Rc Wg3=f, mry Mntw nb
Mdw di 'nh mi Rc*

Horus *Shm-ntrw*, Son of Re *Wg3=f*,
beloved of Monthu, Lord of Madamud,
given life like Re.

Left:

*Hr shm-ntr.w nsw-bj.tj Hw-t3.wy-Rc mry
Mntw nb Mdw di 'nh mi Rc*

Horus *Shm-ntr.w*, King *Hw-t3.wy-Rc*,
beloved of Monthu, Lord of Madamud,
given life like Re.

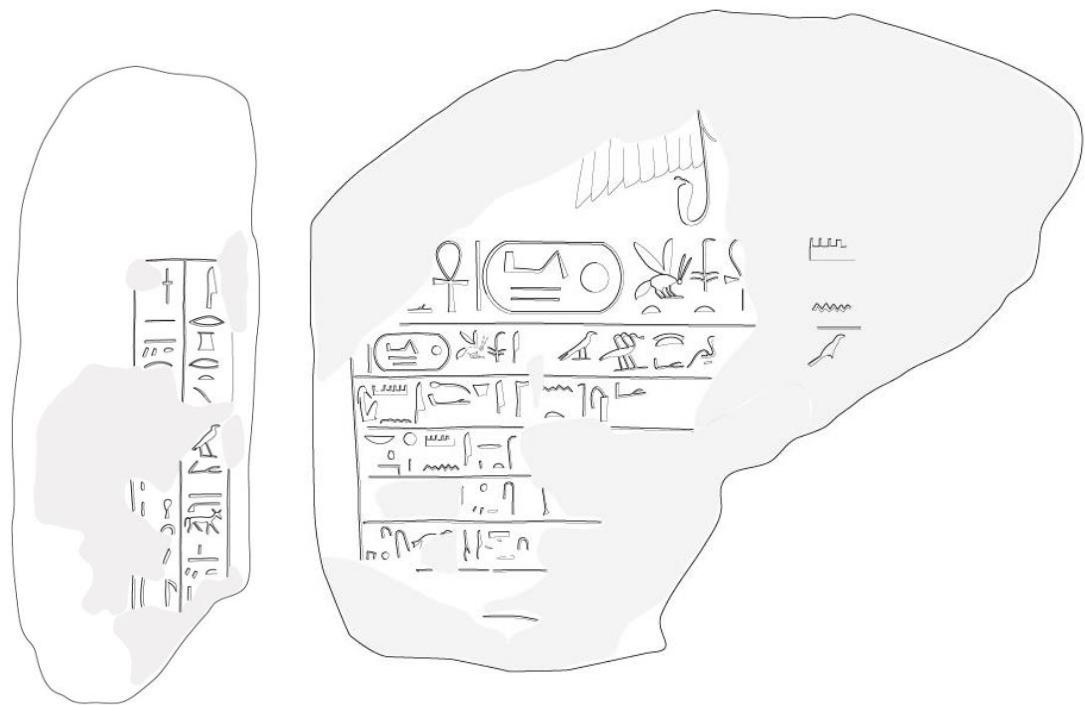
Stela:

Cat. 13.1.2

Discovery location	Karnak
Provenance:	Karnak.
Current location:	Grand Egyptian Museum GEM 5031, former: Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 37510.
Dimensions:	H. 40cm. W. 45cm.
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	L. Legrain "Notes d'inspection, XVIII-XXVI", ASAE 6, 1905, pp. 130-140.



© Grand Egyptian Museum



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny

Text:

Below of the winged-sun disk:



‘nh nsw-bj.tj Hw-t3.wj-R (di) ‘nh[d.t]

Life, the king *Hw-t3.wj-R* (given) life
[forever]

Jmn[.....]

Amun [....]



[.....] *Hr* [*Shm-ntr.w*] *nb.tj H̄-b3w* *Hr nb.w mr.y* [*t3.wj*] *nsw-bj.tj Hw-t3wy-R*

[.....] Horus [*Shm-ntr.w*], Two Ladies
H̄-b3w, Golden Horus *Mry* [*t3.wj*], King
Hw-t3wy-R.



[.....] *nsw ‘n sš n ht.f* [*hr*] *ntr in mw w̄b Jmn*

[.....] the king, the scribe of the rites
[in front of] god with pure water of Amun.



[.....] *w̄t ntr Jmn-R nb p.t*

[.....] the one god Amun-Re,
the lord of sky.

Lines from 4 to 6 are unreadable, according to the current illustration. According to Helck's transcription, the text could be read as :



[.....] *di 3h.t 30 di*

[.....] give 30 flames, give
30 *sh.ty* [.....] *3h.t* [.....] *di* [...]

[.....] 30 [.....] Flame[.....] give[...]



[.....] *20[.....]10[...] h̄y di*

[.....] 20[.....]10 give
wr.t *3h.t 40* [.....] *m* [.....]

[.....] raised great 30 flames[.....] *m* [.....]

To the left side of the stela, two vertical columns can be read as:



jr gr.t p3 ‘n k3 n.ty hr [.....]

As to moreover, this (one) bull who on

[.....]



Jmy s.t Ⳛ n.ty r[.....]pr-hd

Who is in the place who of [.....]
treasury.

Fragment of a statue: Cat. 13.1.3

Discovery location	Karnak.
Provenance:	Karnak.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 33740.
Dimensions:	L. 20.5 cm.
Material:	Grey granite.
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	L. Legrain, « Notes d'inspection, XVIII-XXVI », ASAE 6, 1905, p.130



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny

Text:

s3 [R'] mr=f Wg3=f [.....

Son of [Re], his beloved, *Wg3=f* [.....]

Ostracon:

Cat. 13.1.4

Discovery location	Elephantine
Provenance:	Elephantine.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 38333.
Dimensions:	L. 16.5 cm. W.10.07 cm.
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	L. Legrain, « Notes d'inspection, XLIX », ASAE 8, 1907, p 250-251.

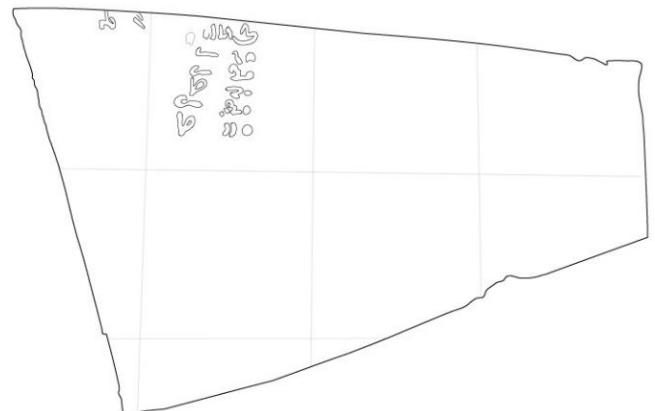
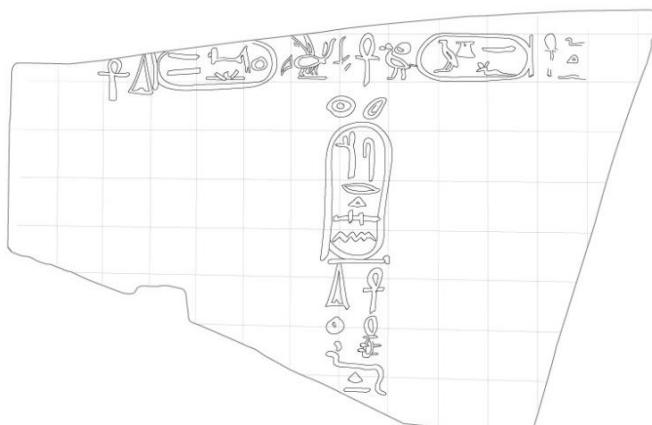


Recto



Verso

© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny

Text:

Horizontal:

(→) ⲉⲥⲩ ⲥⲢ ⲫⲮ ⲧⲯ ⲉⲦⲩ Ⲏⲩ

The living, son of Re *Wg=f* (given) life forever.

(←) *nsw-bj.tj Hw-t3.wj-R* di ⲉⲦⲩ

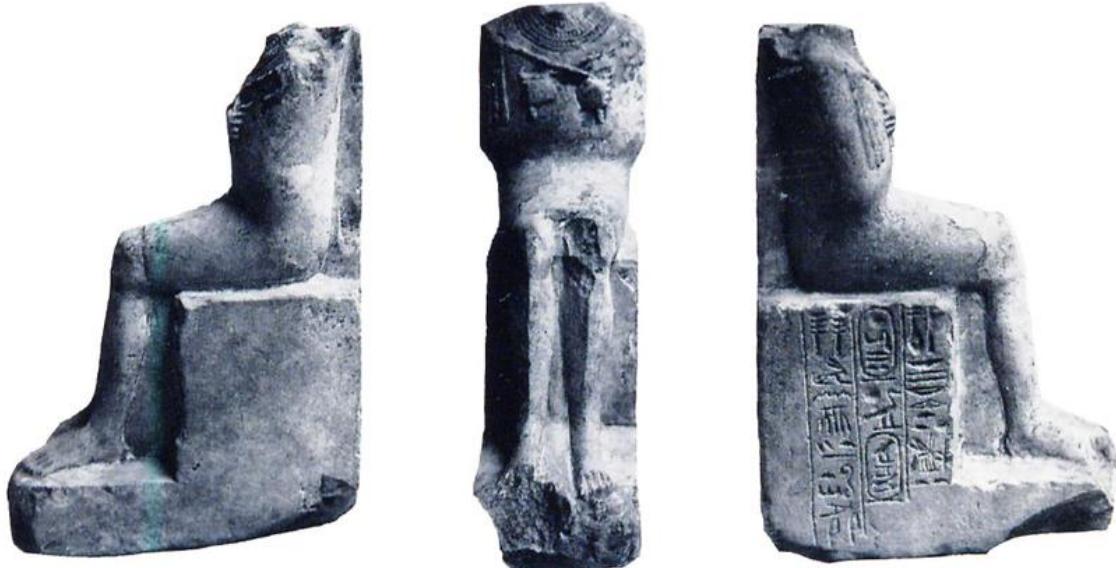
The King *Hw-t3.wj-R*, given life

(↓) vertical

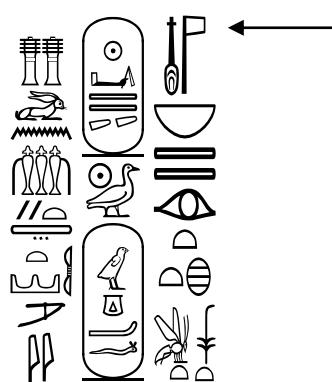
s3 R Sn-wsr.t di ⲉⲦⲩ mi R d.t

Son of Re Senwosret, given life like Re forever.

Discovery location	Semna.
Provenance:	Semna.
Current location:	Khartum Museum 65.
Dimensions:	H. 20.3cm.
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	Headless.
Bibliography	E.A. Wallis Budge, <i>The Egyptian Sūdān – Its History and Monuments</i> , Vol.1, London, (1907), p.481-5. J. Vercoutter, J., "Le Roi Ougaf et la XIII ^e Dynastie sur la II ^{me} Cataracte", <i>RdÉ</i> 27, 1975, pp. 222-234.



After: Vercoutter 1975

Text:

*ntr nfr nb t3.wj ir.t h.t nsw-bj.tj Hw-t3.wj-
R^c s3 R^c Wg3=f mry dd-wn hn.ty t3-s.ti*

The good God, lord of Two Lands, master
of the rite, the king *Hw-t3.wj-R^c*, Son of Re
Wg3=f, Beloved of Dedun who presides
Ta-seti

Discovery location	Mirgissa
Provenance:	Mirgissa.
Current location:	Khartum Museum IM 375.
Dimensions:	H. 35cm. W. 21cm. Thick. 9.4 cm.
Material:	Sandstone.
Condition	Good
Bibliography	Vercoutter, J., "Le Roi Ougaf et la XIII ^e Dynastie sur la II ^{me} Cataracte", <i>RdÉ</i> 27, 1975, pp. 222-234.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



After: Vercoutter 1975

Text:

*nfr ntr nsw-bj.tj Hw-t3.wj-R^c
s3 R^c Wg3=f*

Good God, King *Hw-t3.wj-R^c*
Son of Re *Wg3=f*

Discovery location	Unknown.
Provenance:	Unknown.
Current location:	British Museum EA37686.
Dimensions:	H. 1.1 cm. L. 2.41 cm. W. 1.75cm.
Material:	steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	Martin, G.T., Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, Oxford (1971), no.439.



After: Martin 1971: no.439



© British Museum

Text:

Royal sealer of Lower Egypt, the great commander of the army, Wegaf.

13. 2: King *Shm-k3-R*

Sphinx

Cat. 13.2.1

Discovery location	Fatimid Cairo
Provenance:	Heliopolis?
Current location:	Matariya open air Museum
Dimensions:	H. 86 cm., L. 156 cm., W. 50 cm.
Material:	Quartzite.
Condition	Headless
Bibliography	S. Connor, K. Abou Al-Ella, "From Bab el-Nasr to Matariya: a tale of two wandering sphinxes", ZÄS 147 (2), 2020, pp. 141-152.



After: Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020: Figs. 18, 20-21

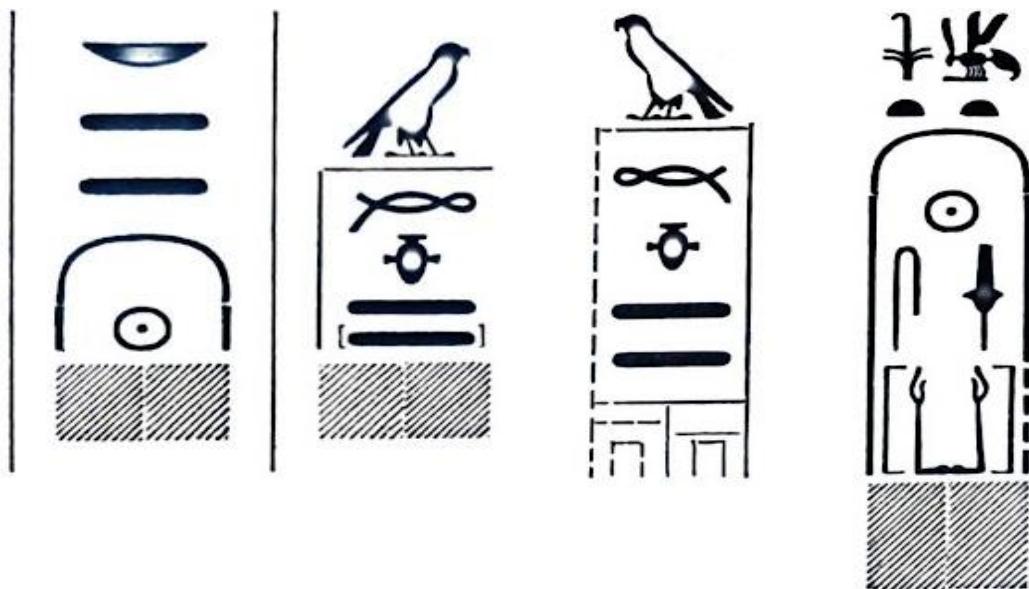
Text:

King *Shm-K*^c*-R*^c, beloved of Re-Horakhty, given life.

Discovery location	el-Tod
Provenance:	el-Tod
Current location:	_____
Dimensions:	(Inv. No. 1497) H. 50 cm. (Inv. No. 1491) H. 50 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Fragments
Bibliography	MM. F. Bisson de La Roque, <i>Tôd: (1934 - 1936)</i> , FIFAO XVII, Le Caire, 1937, P. 125, Fig. 76.



After: Bisson de La Roque 1937: Fig. 76.



After: Bisson de La Roque 1937: 125.

Discovery location	el-Mo'alla
Provenance:	el-Mo'alla?
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum 26.7.23
Dimensions:	L. 4.8 cm., Dia. 1.2 cm
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	P. E. Newberry, <i>Scarabs: An introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings</i> , London, 1908, P. 114, Pl. VII [3].



(3)



(2)



(1)

© Metropolitan Museum



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Text:

- (1) Horus *Mh-Jb-t3.wj*, Two Ladies *Jtj-shm=f*
- (2) King *Shm-k3-R*
- (3) Son of Re from his body *Jmn-m-h3t snb=f*, given life, stability, and power like Re forever.

Statue

Cat. 13.2.4 [a, b]

[a]

Discovery location Elephantine

Provenance: Elephantine

Current location: Aswan 1318

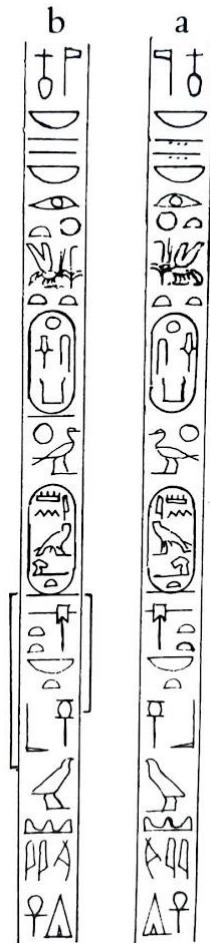
Dimensions: H. 104 cm.

Material: Schist

Condition

Fragmented

Bibliography L. Habachi, Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib, 2 vols, AV 33, 1985, pp. 113-114, Pls. 198c-200.



After: Habachi 1985: Fig. 7.



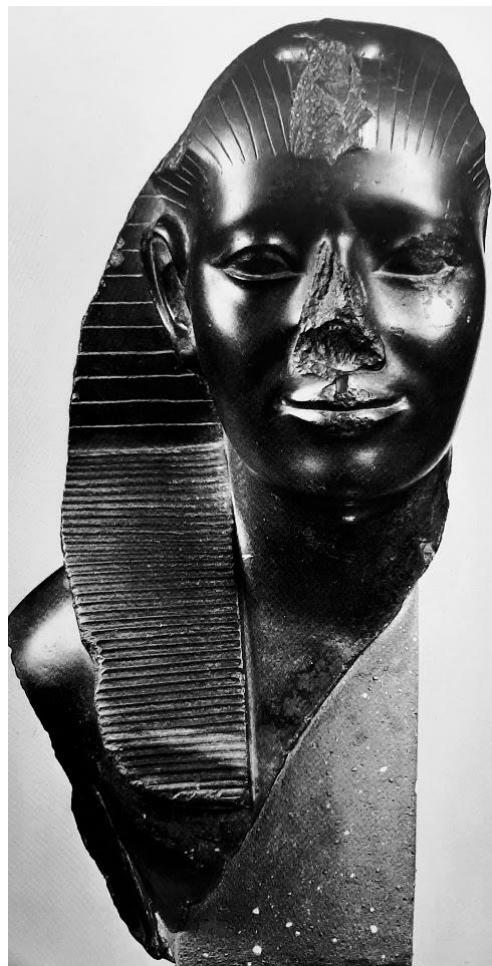
After: Habachi 1985: Pl. 199.

Text:

(1), (2): The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of action, King *Shm-K^c-R^c*, Son of Re *Jmn-m-h3.t*, beloved of Satet, mistress of Elephantine.

[b]

Discovery location	Elephantine
Provenance:	Elephantine
Current location:	Vienna 37
Dimensions:	H. 35 cm.
Material:	Schist
Condition	Lost the left wing of the <i>nemes</i>
Bibliography	B. Fay, "Amenemhat V - Vienna/Assuan", <i>MDAIK</i> 44, 1988, pp. 67-77.



After: Fay 1988: Pl. 21.



(A virtual reunion between the statue and its head)
After: Fay 1988: Pl. 23 [a].

Discovery location	Askut
Provenance:	Askut
Current location:	In situ
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Rock inscription
Condition	_____
Bibliography	J. Vercoutter "Semna South fort and the records of Nile levels at Kumma", <i>Kush</i> 14, 1966, pp. 139-140.

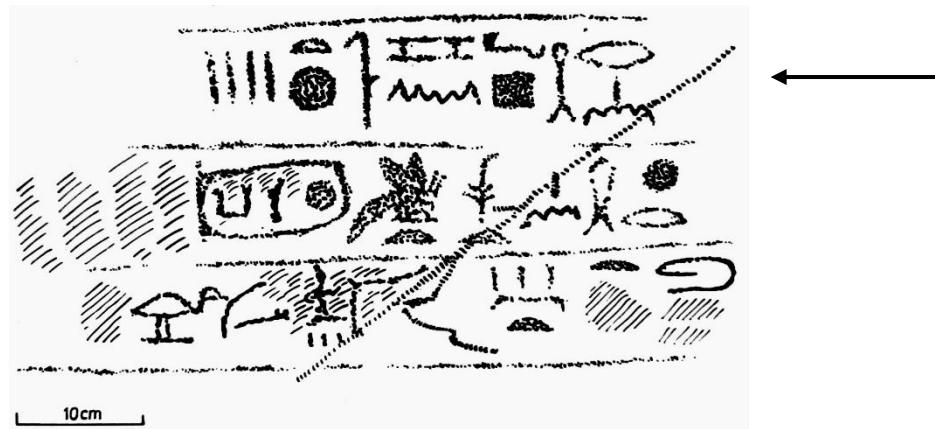
Text¹:

After: Vercoutter 1966: 139

"Water-edge of the inundation of the year 3, under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Shm-k3-R*, may he live forever until eternity, when *Jwnkšj* was Commander in Chief of the fort which was built by *Sn-wsrt*, the justified".

Discovery location	Semna
Provenance:	Semna
Current location:	In situ
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Rock inscription
Condition	_____
Bibliography	F. Hintze, W. F. Reineke, <i>Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien</i> , Berlin, 1989, P. 151, no. 506, Pl. 209.

¹ After Vercoutter 1966: 139; Smith presented a different translation for the name of the commander as *Sbk-s3-jb* based on a hand copy of inscription by A. BADAWY; See Smith 1995: 27.



After: Hintze and Reineke 1989: Pl. 209 [506]

Text¹:

“Nile level of the 4th year

Under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Shm-k3-R^c* [given life forever]

Inspection of the general Df ”

Statuette of Vizier *Hnms*

Cat. 13.2.7

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Gebelein?
Current location:	British Museum EA 75196
Dimensions:	H. 18.5 cm, L. 25 cm., W. 22cm
Material:	Granodiorite
Condition	Incomplete
Bibliography	P. E. Newberry, "Extracts from my notebooks (IV)", <i>PSBA</i> 23, 1901, pp. 222-223. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA75196

Text²:

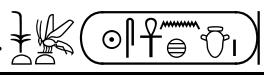


Offering given by the king, Sobek-Re, Lord of *Semenu*, the overseer of the pyramid town, the vizier, the overseer of the 6 Great Mansions *Hnms*, justified, born of *S3.t-hnty-hty*, lord of reverence

Given by the favour of King *Shm-k3-R5*.

¹ After Hintze and Reineke 1989: 151.

² After Newberry 1901: 222-223.

13. 6: King S.^cnh-jb-R^c 

Offering-table

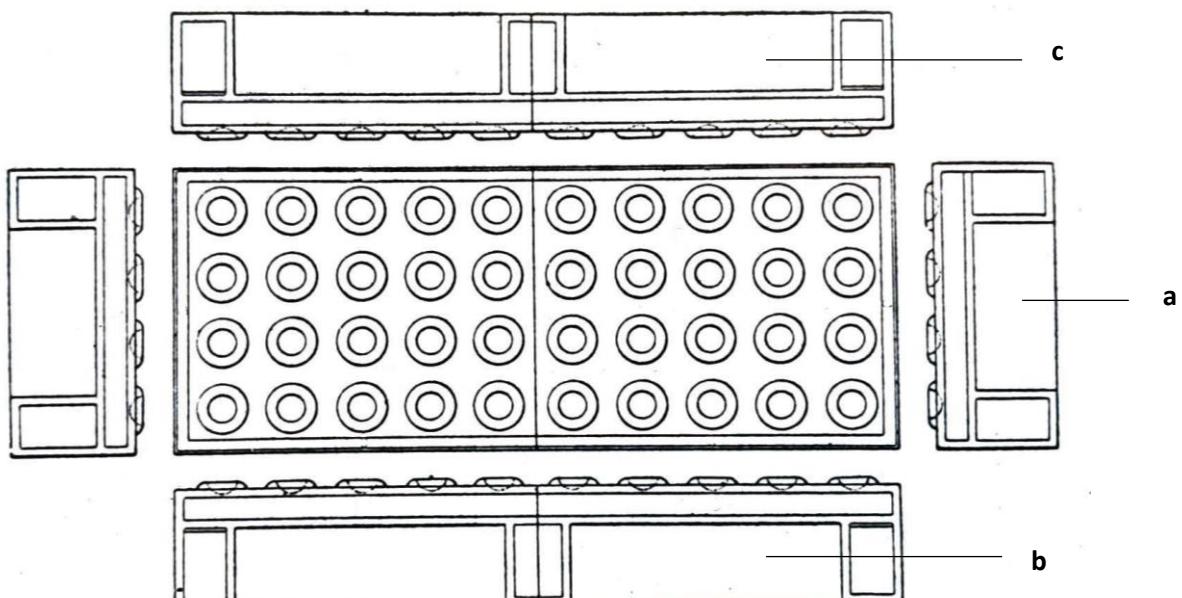
Cat. 13.6. 1

Discovery location	Karnak
Provenance:	Karnak
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 23040
Dimensions:	L. 131 cm., W. 105 cm., H. 45 cm. [For every block]
Material:	Quartzite.
Condition	Scraped in different parts
Bibliography	A. Mariette, <i>Karnak: étude topographique et archéologique</i> , pp. 45-46, Pls. 9-10. A. Kamal, <i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire: Nos 23001-23256: tables d'offrandes</i> , no. 23040.



© Egyptian Museum

Text:

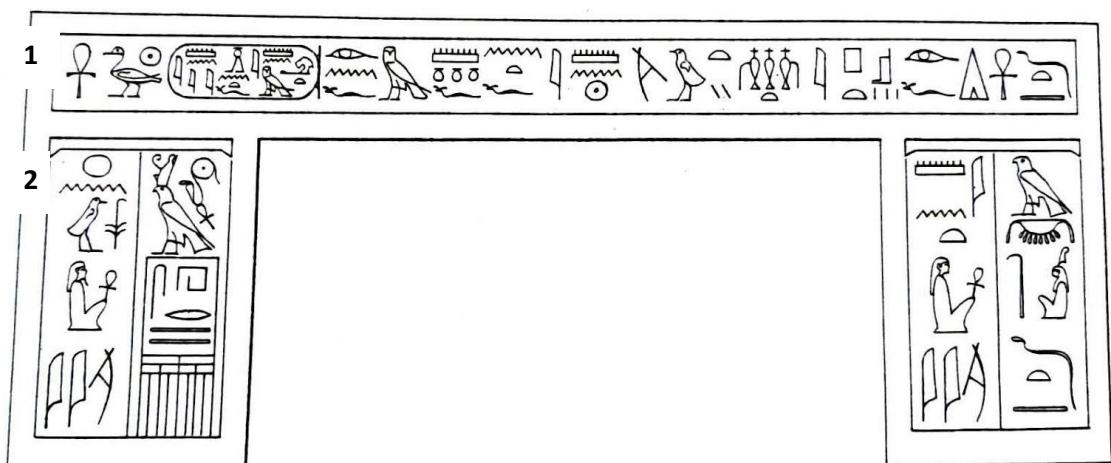


After: Kamal 1909: Pl. 9

(a)



© Egyptian Museum



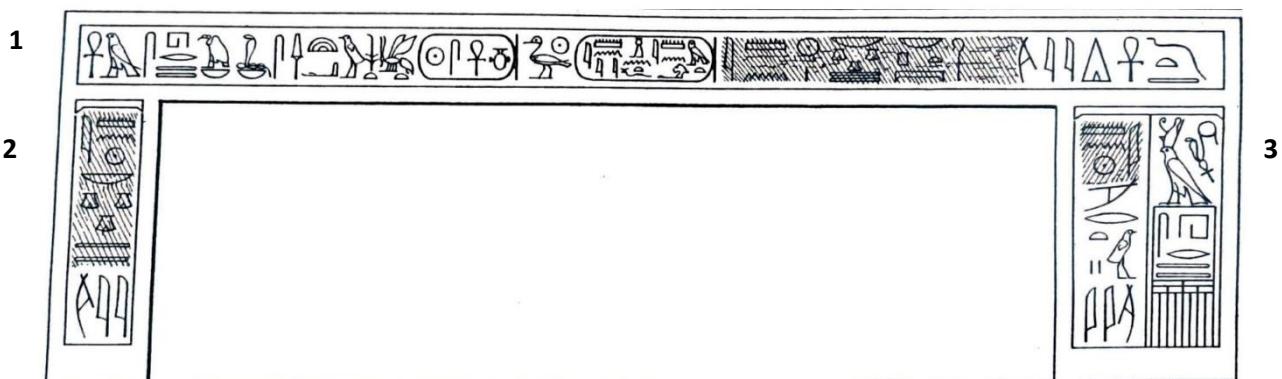
After: Mariette 1875: Pl. 9

- (1) Son of Re *Jmny jnj-jtj=f Jmn-m-h3.t* made for him his monuments for his father Amun-Re, the beloved, the foremost in Karnak, given life forever.
 (2) Horus *Shr-t3.wj*, beloved of Khnosu.
 (3) Golden Horus *Hk3-m3C.t*, forever. Beloved of Amount.

(b)



© Egyptian Museum



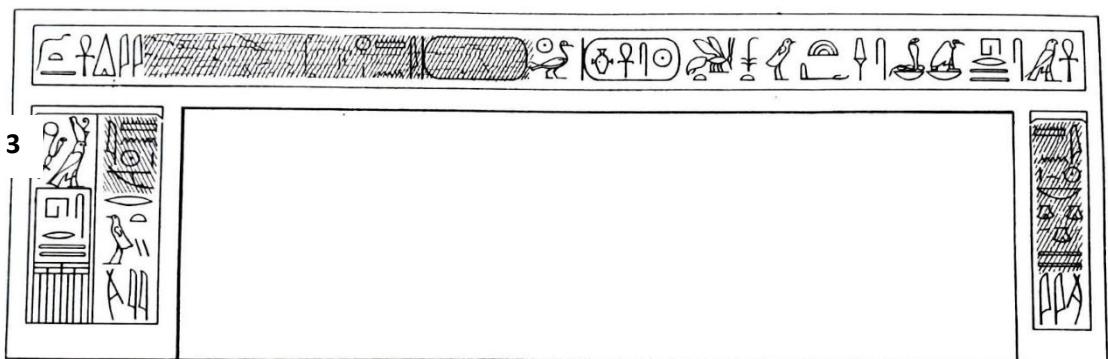
After: Mariette 1875: Pl. 10

- (1) Horus *Shr-t3.wj*, Two Ladies *Shm-h3.w*, King *S:nh-jb-R*, Son of Re *Jmny jnj-jtj=f Jmn-m-h3.t* beloved of Amun-Re, [Lord of the throne of the Two Lands, Lord of Karnak], given life forever.
 (2) Beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.
 (3) Horus *Shr-t3.wj*, beloved of Amun-Re, the beloved

(c)



© Egyptian Museum



After: Mariette 1875: Pl. 10

- (1) Horus *Shr-t3.wj*, Two Ladies *Shm-h3.w*, King *S:nh-jb-R*, Son of Re[*Jmny jnj-jtj=f* *Jmn-m-h3.t* beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the throne of the Two Lands, Lord of Karnak], given life forever.
- (2) Beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands.
- (3) Horus *Shr-t3.wj*, beloved of Amun-Re, the beloved

Cylinder-seals (beads) Cat. 13.6. 2

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Gebelein?
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum 11.150.33
Dimensions:	L. 1.5 x Dia. 0.6 cm
Material:	steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	W. C. Hayes, <i>The Scepter of Egypt I</i> , New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953, p 342, Fig. 226. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544372



© Metropolitan Museum

13. 7: King S:*mn-k3-R*

Stela

Cat. 13.7. 1

Discovery location:

Gebel el-Zeit

Provenance

Gebel el-Zeit

Current location:

Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 98137

Dimensions:

W. 19.5 cm.

Material:

Faience

Condition

Fragmented

Bibliography

G. Castel and G. Soukiassian, "Dépôt de stèles dans le sanctuaire du Nouvel Empire au Gebel Zeit", *BIFAO* 85, 1985, p. 290, Pl. 62.

M. Marée, "The 12th - 17th Dynasties at Gebel el-Zeit: a closer look at the inscribed royal material", *BiOr* 66 (3-4), 2009, pp. 149-151.



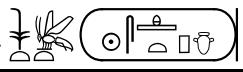
After: Marée 2009: Fig. 2

Text:

Son of Re *Nb-nwn*, given life.
Beloved of Horus, Lord of the desert.

Text:

The Good God *S:mn-k3-R*, given life.
Beloved of Ptah, *rsy-jnb=f*, Lord of Maat

13. 8: King S:*htp-jb-R* 

Stela

Cat. 13.8. 1

a:

Discovery location: Gebel el-Zeit

Provenance Gebel el-Zeit

Current location: Unknown

Dimensions: H. 9.5 cm., W. 9.6 cm

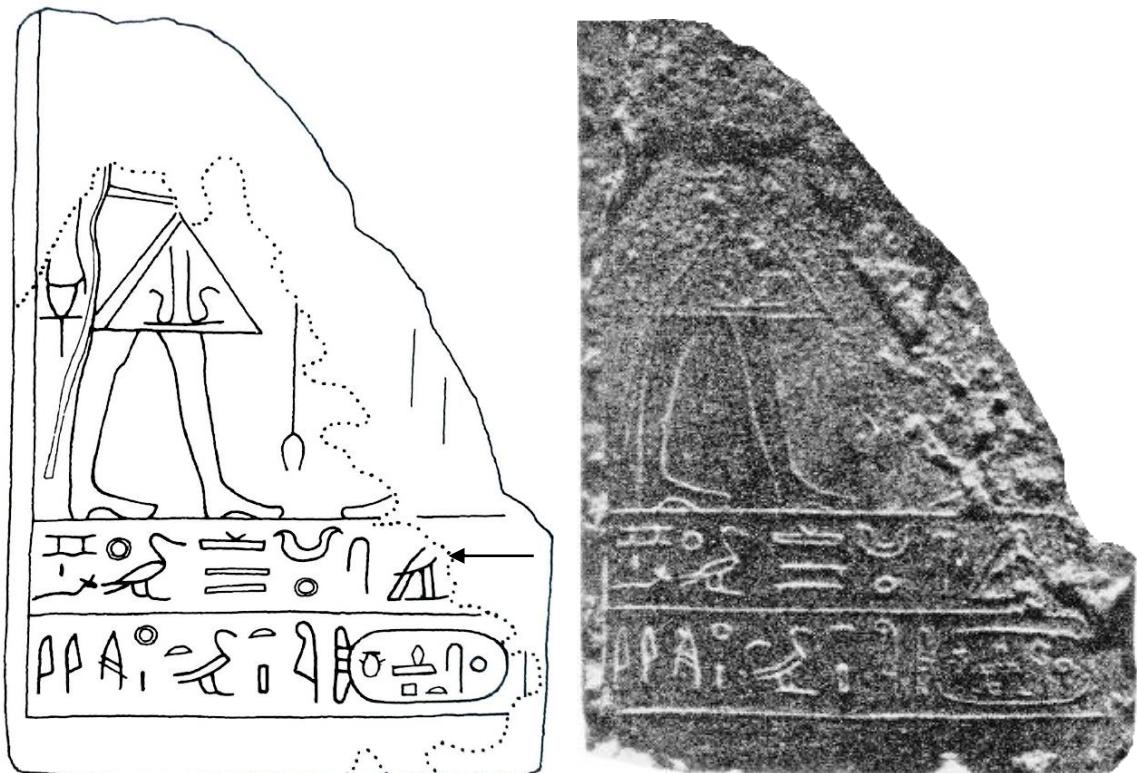
Material: Basalt

Condition

Bibliography

P. Mey, "Installation rupestres du Moyen et du Nouvel Empire au Gebel Zeit (près de Râs Dib) sur la Mer Rouge", *MDAIK* 36, 1980, pp. 299-318.

I. Régen and G. Soukiassian, *Gebel el-Zeit, II: le matériel inscrit. Moyen Empire - Nouvel Empire*, Contributions de Dominique Beyer et Bernard Mathieu, *FIAO* 57, Le Caire, 2008, p. 17-18, 57.



After: Régen and Soukiassian 2008: 57 [stela 4]

Text:

Horus *S:wsh-t3.wj*, Son of Re his beloved *S:*htp-jb-R**, beloved of Maat, the daughter of Re.

b:

Discovery location:

Unknown

Provenance

Gebel el-Zeit?

Current location:

Egyptian Museum of Bonn L 1628

Dimensions:

Material:

Basalt

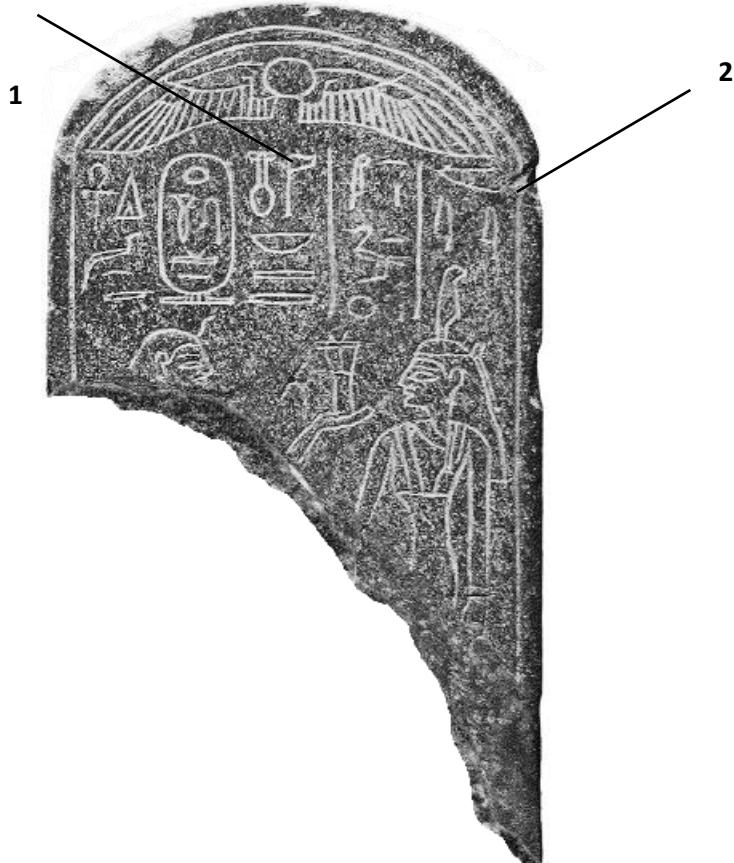
Condition

Upper part of a stela

Bibliography

G. Pieke (ed.), *Tod und Macht: Jenseitsvorstellungen in Altägypten*, Bonn, 2007, p. 61.

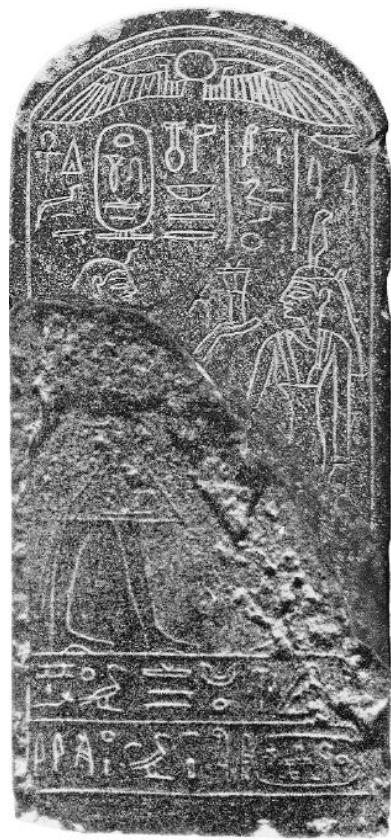
M. Marée, "The 12th - 17th Dynasties at Gebel el-Zeit: a closer look at the inscribed royal material", *BiOr* 66 (3-4), 2009, pp.147-162.



After: Marée 2009: Fig. 3

Text:

(1) the Good God, Lord of the Two Lands *S:w3d-n-R'*, given life forever (2) beloved of Maat, the daughter of Re



(a virtual reunion of the stela by Marée)

After: Marée 2009: Fig. 3

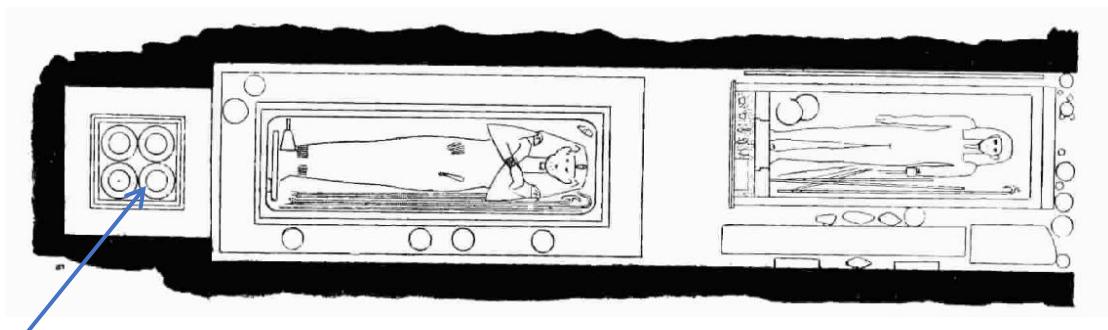
13. 13: King ȝwt-jb-R^c

Canopic chest: Cat. 13.13.1

[a, b]

a:

Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	In situ
Dimensions	Body: L. 90 cm W. 90 cm H. 95 cm Lid: L. 90 cm W. 90 cm H. 20 cm
Material:	Quartzite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 86,88-106 A.Dodson, The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt, London and New York, (1994), PP. 30-36; 115.



After: De Morgan 1895: 91.

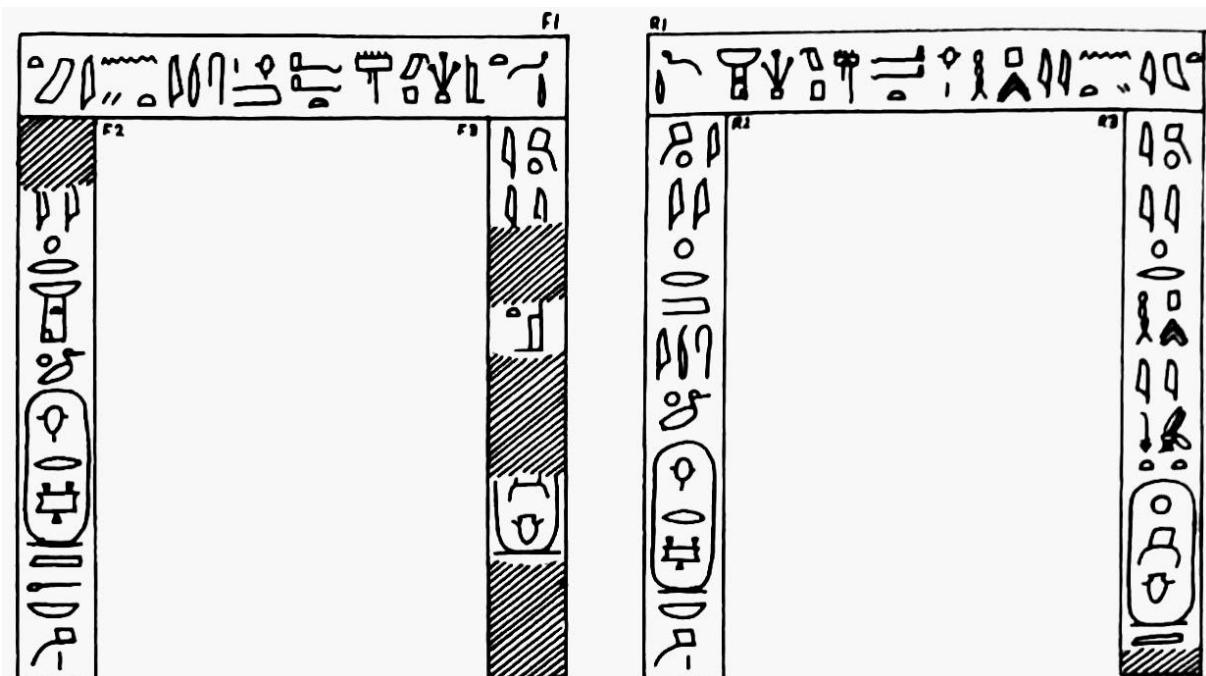
b:

Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 51266
Dimensions	Body: L. 58 cm W. 58 cm H. 58 cm Lid: L. 58 cm W. 58 cm H. 4 cm
Material:	Wood - Gold
Condition	fragmented
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 86,88-106 A.Dodson, The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt, London and New York, (1994), PP. 30-36; 115.



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo

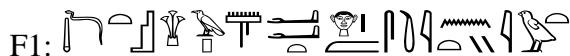
Text¹:



After: Dodson 1994 b: 144

¹ Dodson 1994 b: 144-145.

Front:



dd mdw 3s.t h3p^ct hr jms.tj nt.y iwt

Words spoken: Isis, enfold your arms about Amset who is with you.



[im3h].y hr Nb.t-hw.t s3-R^c Hr m3^c hrw nb [Honored] before Nephthys, son of Re *Hr*, true of voice lord of honour.



im3h.y [hr]3s.t [nsw-bj.tj] 3w ib[R^c][m3^c hrw nb im3h]

Honoured [before] Isis,[King] 3w-ib-[R^c], [true of voice lord of honour].

Right:



dd mdw Nb.t-hw.t h3p^ct hr h3p.j nt.j iwt

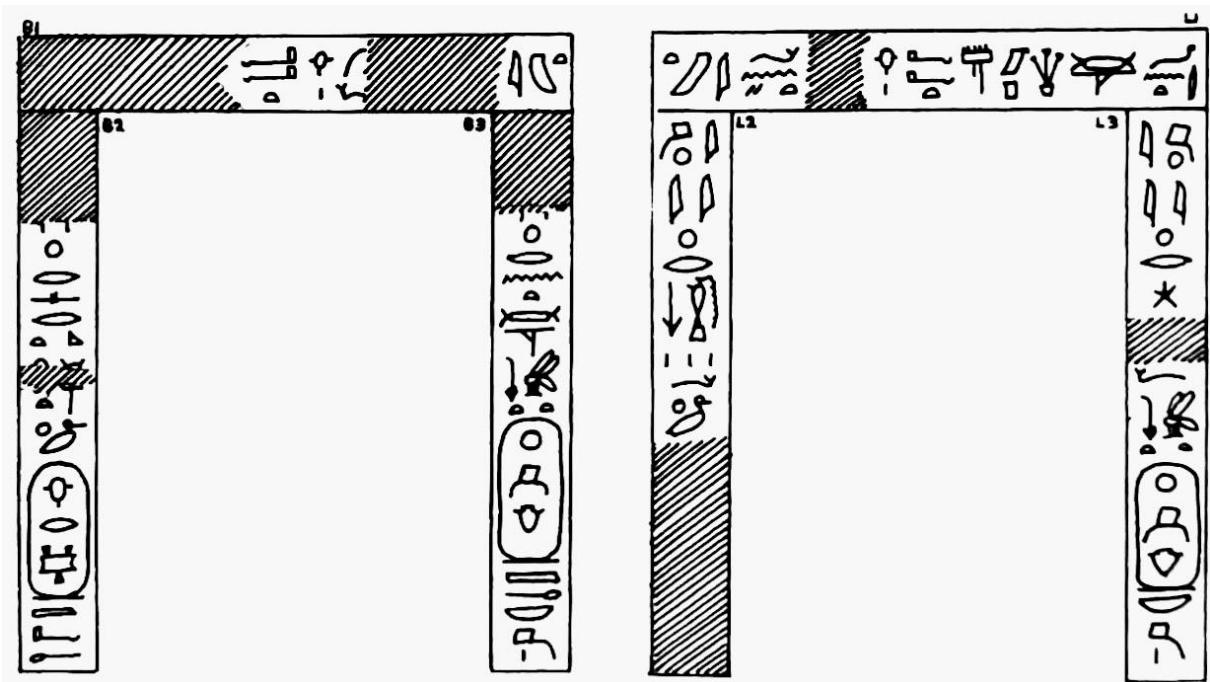
Words spoken: Nephthys, enfold your arms about Hapy who is with you.



jm3h.y hr jms.tj s3-R^c Hr m3^c hrw nb im3h Honoured before Amset, son of Re *Hr*, true of voice lord of honour.



jm3h.y hr h3p.j nsw-bj.tj 3w-ib-R^c m3^c [hrw] Honoured before Hapy, King 3w-ib-R^c, true [of voice].



After Dodson 1994 b: 144

Back:



[*dd mdw srk.t h3p*] “*t hr kbh [snw]=f*
[*nt.j*] *iwt*

[Words spoken: Serket, enfold] your arms
about Qebeh[senu]ef [who is] with you.



[*im3h.y*] *hr srk.t htjj.t s3 R^c hr m3^c hrw*

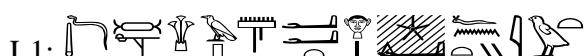
[Honored] before Serket-hetet, son of Re
Hr, true of voice.



im3h.y hr Nt nsw-bj.tj 3w-jb-R^c m3^c hrw,
nb im3h

[Honored] before Neith, King *3w-ib-R^c*,
true of voice, lord of honour.

Left:



dd mdw Nj.t h3p“t hr [Dw3-mut]=f nt.j iwt

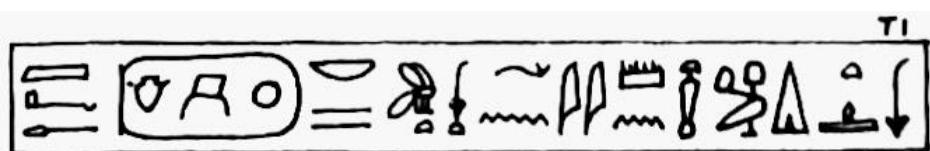
Words spoken: Neith, enfold your arms
about [Duamut]ef who is with you.



im3h.y hr kbh snw=f s3 R^c[Hr m3^c hrw, nb Honoured before Qebehsenuef , son of
im3h]



im3h.y hr Dw3[mut]=f nsw-bj.tj 3w-ib-R^c, Honoured before Dua[mut]ef , King 3w-
nb im3h ib-R^c, lord of honour.



After Dodson 1994 b: 144



htp di nsw Jnpw tp mn.j=f nsw-bj.tj nb Royal offering to Anubis-tepmenyef, for
t3.wj 3w-ib-R^c m3^c hrw the king 3w-ib-R^c, true voice.

Four Canopic Jars:

Cat. 13.13.2 [a, b, c, d]



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo

a:

Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 30945 / CG 4019
Dimensions	Jar: Dia. 19.3 H. 25.5 Lid: Dia. 14.5 H. 13.3
Material:	Alabaster
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 86,88-106 A.Dodson, The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt, London and New York, (1994), PP. 30-36; 115.



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo

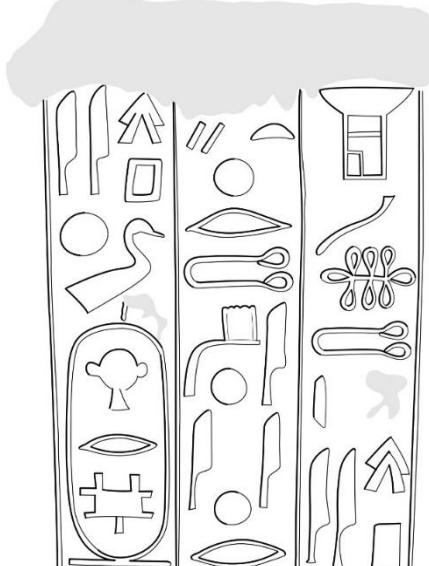
Text:

*3s.t stp s3 hr Jms.tj
Nt.j hr t(w) im3h.y hr
Jms.tj nsw-bj.tj 3w-ib-R^c*

Isis, delimit your protection about Amseti
who is in you, the honoured before
Amseti, the King 3w-ib-R^c

b:

Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 30945 / CG 4020
Dimensions	Jar: Dia. 19.4 H. 25.7 Lid: Dia. 14.2 H. 12.6
Material:	Alabaster
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 86,88-106 A.Dodson, The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt, London and New York, (1994), PP. 30-36; 115.



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo

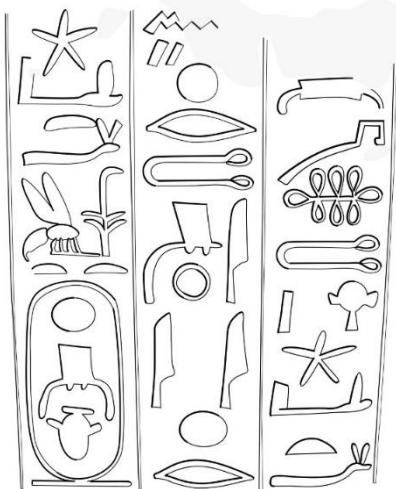
Text:

*Nb.t-hw.t stp s3 hr H3p.j
Nt.j hr t(w) im3h.y hr
H3py s3 r^c Hr*

Nephthys, delimit your protection about Hapy
who is in you, the honoured before
Hapy, Son of Re *Hr*

c:

Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 30945 / CG 4021.
Dimensions	Jar: Dia. 20.0 H. 25.7 Lid: Dia. 14.6 H. 14.6
Material:	Alabaster
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 86,88-106 A.Dodson, The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt, London and New York, (1994), PP. 30-36; 115.



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo

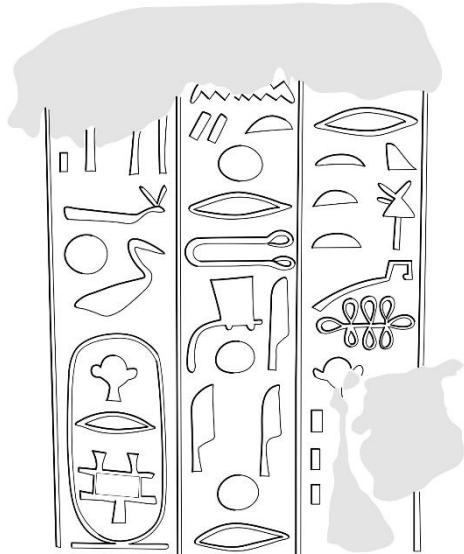
Text:

*Nj.t stp s3 hr Dw3 mut=f
Nt.y hr t(w) im3h.y hr
Dw3 mut=f nsw-bj.tj 3w-ib-R'*

Neith, delimit your protection about Duamutef
who is in you, the honoured before
Duamutef, the King 3w-ib-R'

d:

Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 30945 / CG 4022.
Dimensions	Jar: Dia. 19.7 H. 25.5 Lid: Dia. 14.2 H. 13.3
Material:	Alabaster
Condition	Rubbed
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 86,88-106 A.Dodson, The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt, London and New York, (1994), PP. 30-36; 115.



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:

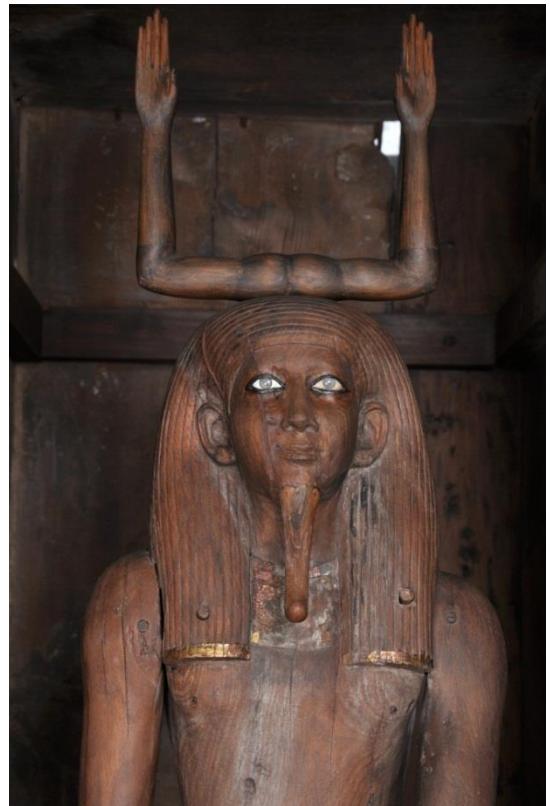
Srk.t s3 hr Kbḥ snw=f

Serket, delimit your protection about
Qebehsenuef

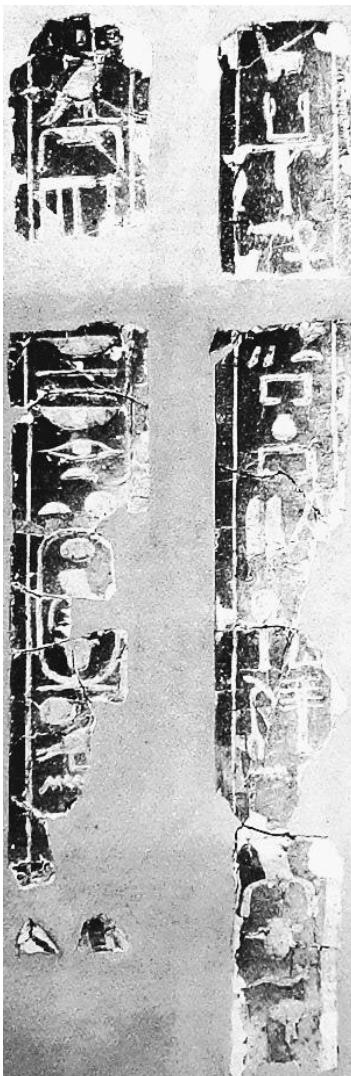
*Nt.j hr t(w) im3ḥ.y hr
Kbḥ snw=f s3-r^c Hr*

who is in you, the honoured before
Qebehsenuef, Son of Re *Hr*

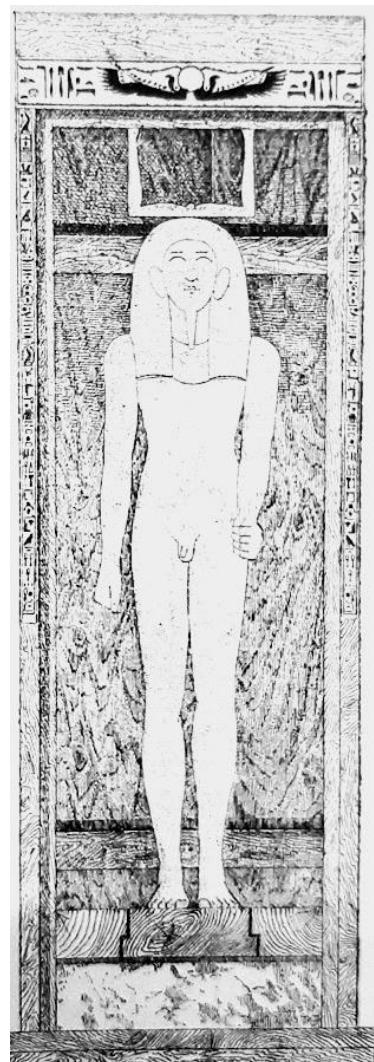
Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 30948 / CG 259
Dimensions	statue: H. 170 cm; W. 27 cm; L. 77 cm Naos: H. 207 cm; W. 70 cm; L. 105 cm
Material:	Wood - Gold
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 92-93. M. Saleh, H. Sourouzian, The Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue, Cairo, (1987), No. 117.



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo

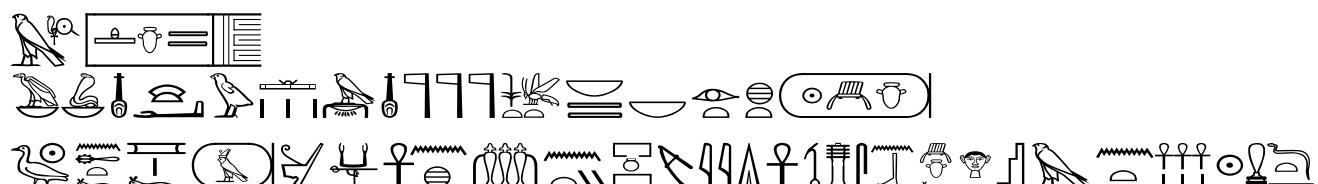


After: Koefoed-Petersen 1951:Pl. xix



After: De Morgan 1895: 93

Text:



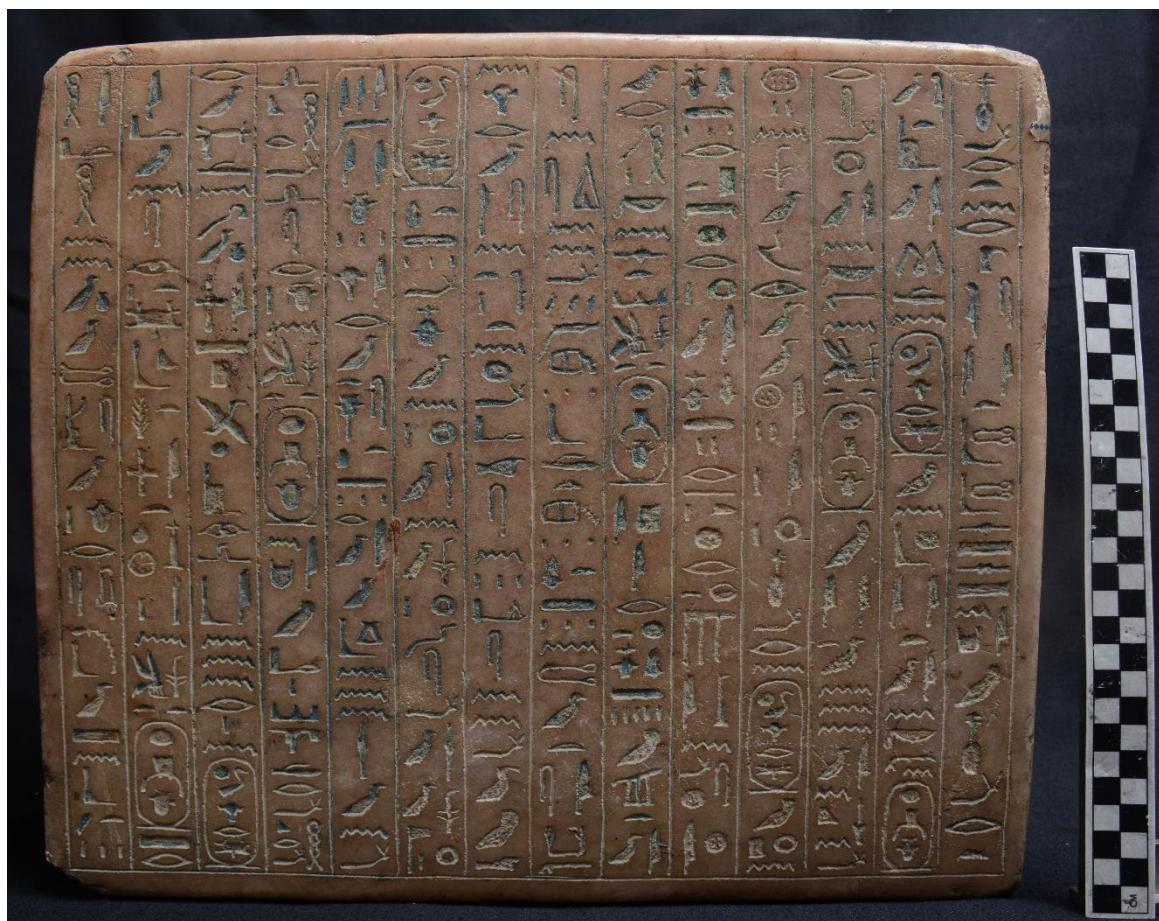
*Hr Htp-jb-t3.wj nb.tj Nfr-h^c.w
Hr nb.w Nfr-ntr.w nsw-bi.tj nb t3.wj nb jrt
ht 3w-jb-r^c
S3-R^c n ht=f mr=f Hr mr.j n k3 'nh hnt.j
pr-nw*

dj 'nh dd w3s snb

3w jb=f hr st hr nt 'nh.w mj R^c dt

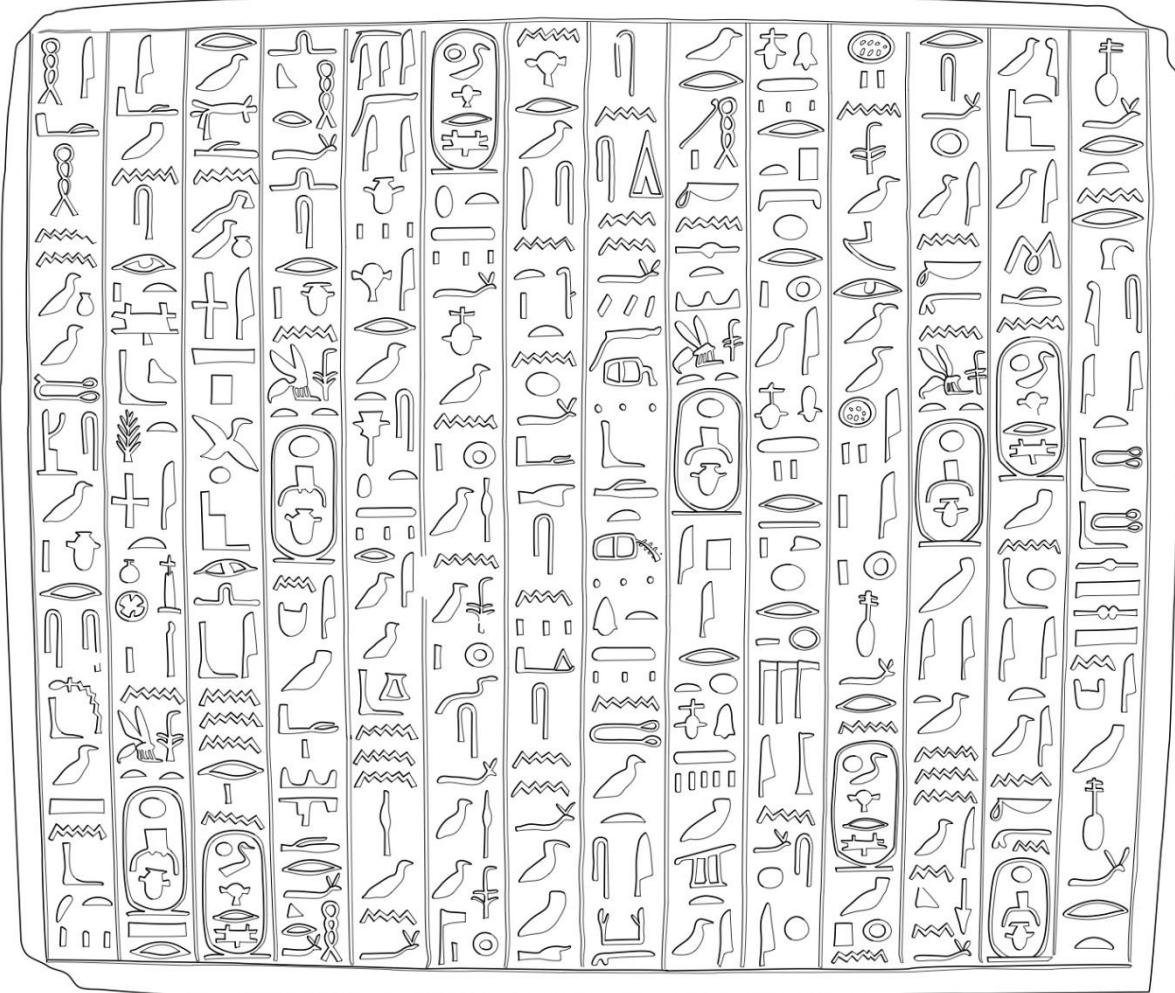
Horus *Htp-jb-t3.wj*, Two Ladies *Nfr-h^c.w*
Golden Horus *nfr-ntr.w*, The King, Lord
of Two Lands, Lord of Action *3w-jb-r^c*
Son of Re from his body, his love, *Hr*
beloved of the living Ka who in front of
the Pernw (the shrine of Lower Egypt)
May he given stability, power, health,
and
the happiness of his heart upon the throne
of Horus the living, like Re forever.

Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 30951
Dimensions	W. 39 cm., H. 32.5 cm
Material:	Alabaster
Condition	Good
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 92-93. S. H. Aufrère, "Le roi Aouibrê Hor: essai d'interprétation du matériel découvert par Jacques de Morgan à Dahchour (1894)", <i>BIFAO</i> 101, 2001, pp. 27-28.



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny

Text¹:

- 1-2 *jh^c hnnw w_tsw jb sw bw šnbt j^c
mn n=sn jrt Hr b3kt jmjt Jwnw* Rejoice, O you who wield the hoe; lift up the hearts of those who purify the torsos for they have swallowed the shining Eye of Horus which is in Heliopolis.
- 2-3 *db^c n nsw-bj.tj 3w-ib-R^c šrrw šd
nw jmj šp p3 wsjr* O finger of the king *3w-jb-R^c*, the little one, remove what is in the pupil of Osiris.
- 3-5 *n jb r3 n s3-R^c Hr n hkr=f n sr
jb n nsw-bj.tj 3w-jb-R^c jnhm H^c
dr=f hkr=f jmjhj mhj jbw* The mouth of the son of Ra *Hr* will not be thirsty, it will not be hungry; the heart of the king *3w-jb-R^c* will not be deprived, for surely *Ha*, he will drive away the hunger that he feels, for he is the Filler who fills the stomachs.
- 5-6 *jhrw stiw jrww 3gb wd n=f s3-
R^c Hr tw=f* O you who watch over the cooked dishes, O you who guard the drink, the Son of Ra, *Hr*, has ordered for him his bread.

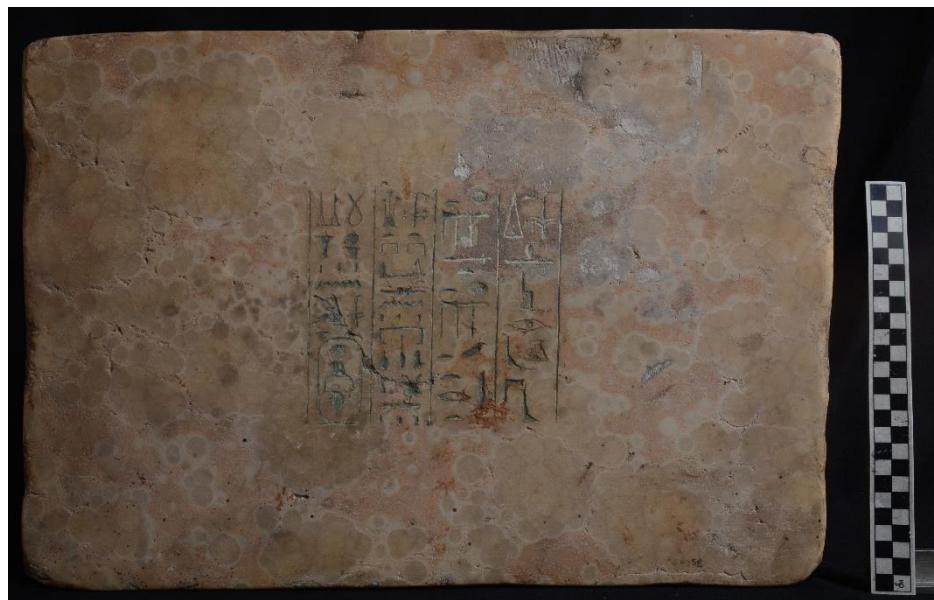
¹ Aufrère 2001: 27.

6-7	<i>Wdpw n R^c wd n sw R^c <u>ds=f</u>, wd sw R^c <u>nhr-3s</u> n rnp.t tn</i>	The cupbearer of Re, Re ordered him himself because Rr ordered for him the calf <i>nhr-3s</i> of this year.
7-8	<i>hf^c=sn dj=sn n=f 3m=sn dj=sn n=f jt mh, bdt, t3w ntwt</i>	What they take, they give to him; what they take, they give to him (namely) wheat of the north, barley and bread of various kinds.
8-9	<i>js k3 wr hw knst nsw-bj.tj 3w-jb-R^c pj</i>	For it is certainly the great bull that slaughters Kenset, namely this king <i>3w-jb-R^c</i>
9-11	<i>Jr ht 5 m hrt jw hmt rpt hr R^c jw sn-nw r t3 hr psdt.tj n sw fhh sp 2 n sw m3 3sp 2</i>	As for the five daily meals (composed of bread, beer and cakes), well, three meals are destined for sky with Ra and two meals are destined for the earth with the two Enneads for the one who hears, for the one who hears, for the one who sees.
11-12	<i>j R^c nfr n s3-R^c Hr m hrw pn r sf</i>	O Ra, this is perfect for the son of Ra, <i>Hr</i> , today more than yesterday
11-14	<i>jw nk n nsw-bj.tj 3w-jb-R^c Mjw.t jw sn n=f Šws.t jw dmd n s3-R^c Hr m Nhbj.t jw nk n 3w-jb-R^c Nfr.t nr=s šwjt tbtb ss̄ss̄</i>	The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, <i>3w-jb-R^c</i> , copulated with Myout; he fraternized with Chouset; the son of Ra <i>Hr</i> united with Nekhbet; <i>3w-jb-R^c</i> copulated with Nofret whose fear is the lack of food and drink.
14	<i>j.nhm Nfr.t</i>	It is certainly Nofret

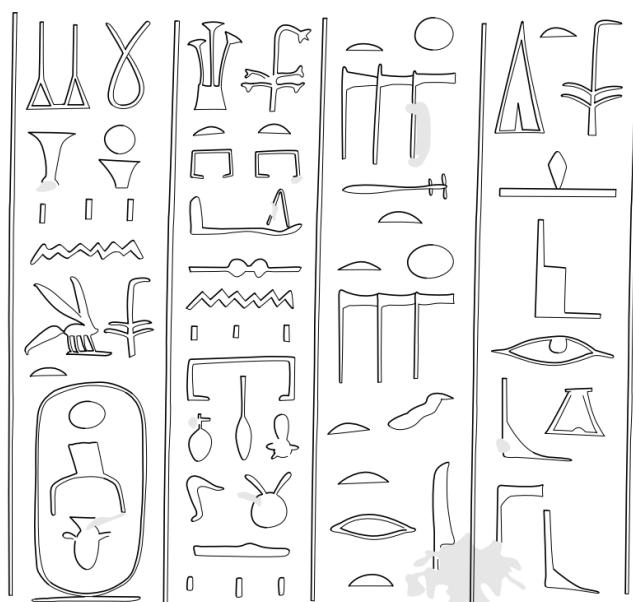
Offering formula stela:

Cat. 13.13.5

Discovery location	Dahshur
Provenance:	Dahshur.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 30952
Dimensions	W. 51 cm., H. 34.5 cm
Material:	Alabaster
Condition	Good
Bibliography	J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahshur, mars-juin 1894, Vienna, (1895), pp. 94-95, Fig. 219. S. H. Aufrère, “Le roi Aouibrê Hor: essai d’interprétation du matériel découvert par Jacques de Morgan à Dahchour (1894)”, <i>BIFAO</i> 101, 2001, pp. 27-28.



©Egyptian Museum, Cairo



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny

Text:

*htp dj nsw Wsir, Gb, Psdt ⲉt, Psdt ndst jtrt
mht jtrt šm̄.t, dj=sn pr.t hrw k3.w 3pd.w
t3.w šs mnh.t sntr md.t n nsw-bj.tj 3w-jb-R̄*

Offering given by the king, Osiris, Geb, the great Ennead and the little Ennead. The South and North Chapels, they give offerings consisting of bread, beer, oxen, birds, bread, alabaster vessels and clothes, incense and ointments to the King *3w-jb-R̄*.

Plaque:

Cat. 13.13.6

Discovery location

Unknown

Provenance:

Unknown

Current location:

Berlin 7670

Dimensions

Material:

Faience

Condition

Bibliography

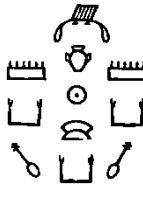
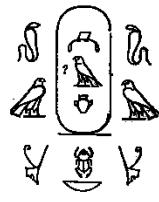
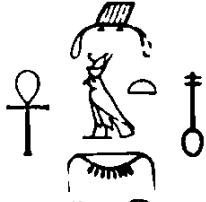
A. Erman, Der König Horus, ZÄS 33, (1895), PP. 142-143.



After: Erman, 1895: P.143.

A group of scarabs:

Cat. 13.13.[7 a, b, c]

Cat.	Current location	Figure	
13. 13. [7 a]	British Museum 37652	 Legrain 1906: 137	 Hall 1913: 13 no. 137
13. 13. [7 b]	British Museum 28813		 Hall 1913: 13 no. 138
13. 13. [7 c]	British Museum 39436		 Hall 1913: 13 no. 138

13. 14: King *S:dβ-k3-R* 

Cylinder-seal:

Cat. 13.14.1

Discovery location

Unknown

Provenance:

Fayoum?

Current location:

Private coll. Zürich [Ex Michaelides 2031].

Dimensions:

Dia. 0.6 cm.

Material:

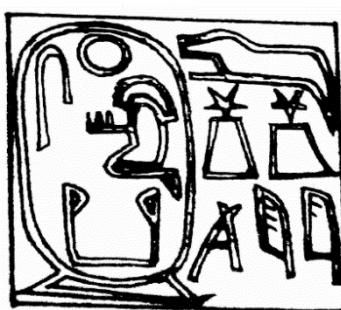
Steatite

Condition

Complete

Bibliography

P. Kaplony, Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches, II, Bruxelles, (1981), P.541, PL.149 [64].



After: Kaplony 1981: PL.149 [64].

Bark-stand/

Cat. 13.1.1 and 13.14.2

Block:

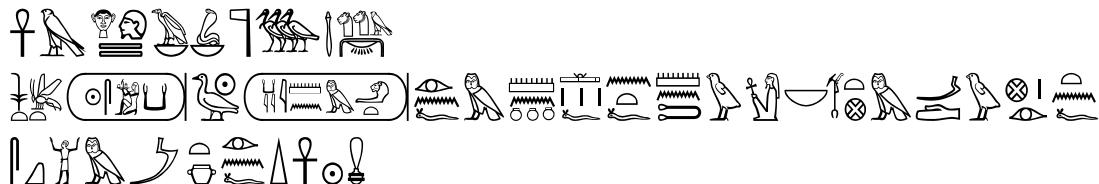


© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:

- The upper writings band:

1- From the middle of the front side towards the right side until the middle of the backside:



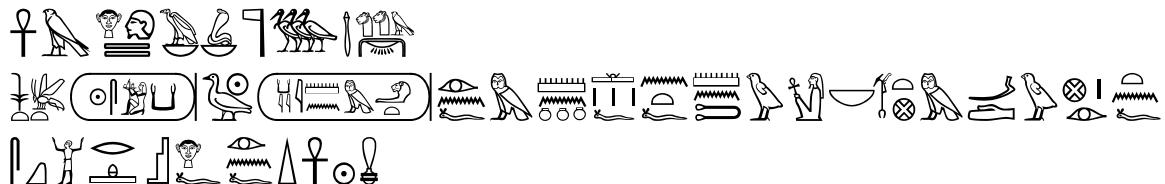
*'nh Hr hr.j-tp-t3.wj Nb.tj ntr-b3.w Hr nb 3
ph.tj Nsw-bj.tj s^df3-k3-R^c, s3 R^c Jmn-m-h3.t
k3y*

*ir.n=f m mn.w=f n jt(j).f Mntw nb W3s.t m
Mdw ir.t.n=f s.k3 m m3.t (t?) ir.n=f dj 'nh
mi R^c*

The living Horus *Hr.j-tp-t3.wj*, Two Ladies *ntr-b3.w*, Golden Horus *3 ph.tj*. King *Sdf3-k3-R^c*, the son of Re *Jmn-m-h3.t k3y*

That he made as his monuments of his father Monthu the Lord of Thebes in Madamud, he made it for him supported in granite, given life forever like Re.

2- From the middle of the front side towards the left side until the middle of the backside:



*Hr hr.j-tp t3.wj nb.tj ntr-b3.w Hr nb 3 ph.tj
nsw-bj.tj s:^df3-k3-R^c, s3 R^c Jmn-m-h3.t k3y*

*ir.n=f m mn.w=f n it=f Mntw nb W3s.t m
Mdw irt.n=f s.k3 st r htp hr=f ir.n=f di 'nh
mi R^c*

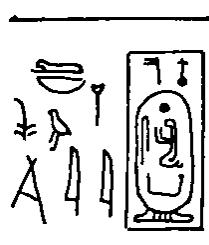
Horus *Hr.j-tp t3.wj*, Two Ladies *ntr-b3.w*, Golden Horus *3 ph.tj*. King *Sdf3-k3-R^c*, the son of Re *Jmn-m-h3.t k3y*

That he made as his monuments of his father Monthu the lord of Thebes in Medamud, he made it for him. (He) support to take a seat upon him, given life forever like Re

Cylinder-seals: 13.14.3 [a, b, c]

a

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Gebelein?
Current location:	Brooklyn Museum 44.123.77 [Ex. Amherst].
Dimensions:	L. 4 cm. Dia. 1 cm.
Material:	Steatite.
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	T.G.H. James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum. 1, From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII, The Brooklyn Museum, (1974), p.61, PL. XL [143].



After: James 1974: 61, Pl. XL [143]



© Brooklyn Museum

b

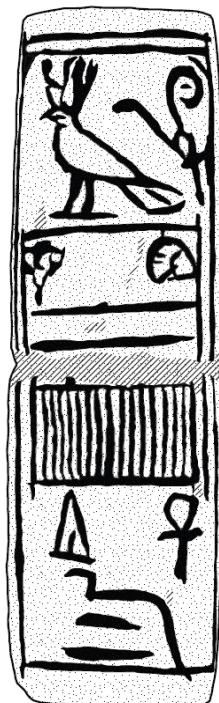
Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Lahun
Current location:	Petrie Museum UCL 11534.
Dimensions:	L.1.8 cm. Dia. 0.5 cm.
Material:	glazed Steatite.
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	Petrie, W.M.F., Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, London, (1917), PL. XVIII [13.DF.2]. W.M.F. Petrie. Illahun, Kahun and Gurob, London (1889-90). p. 14, pl.VIII. no.36



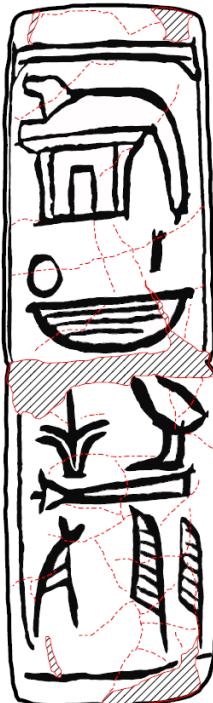
© Petrie Museum

c

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Gebelein?
Current location:	The Metropolitan Museum of Art 10.130.1640.
Dimensions:	L.1.9, Dia.1.1 cm.
Material:	glazed Steatite.
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	W. C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt I: 1953, p.342, fig. 226.



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany



© Metropolitan Museum

Text:

Hr Hr.y-tp-t3.wj di ‘nh d.t mry sbk-R‘ nb swmnw

Horus *Hry-tp-t3.wj*, to whom life is given forever, beloved of Sobek-Re Lord of Semenu

Scarabs: 13.14.4

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Unknown
Current location:	The Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.85
Dimensions:	L. 2.2 cm., W.1.4cm, H.1 cm.
Material:	Glazed steatite.
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	P.E. Newberry, Scarabs: An introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings, London, (1908) p. 15, PL. IV [50]



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany



© Metropolitan Museum

Text:

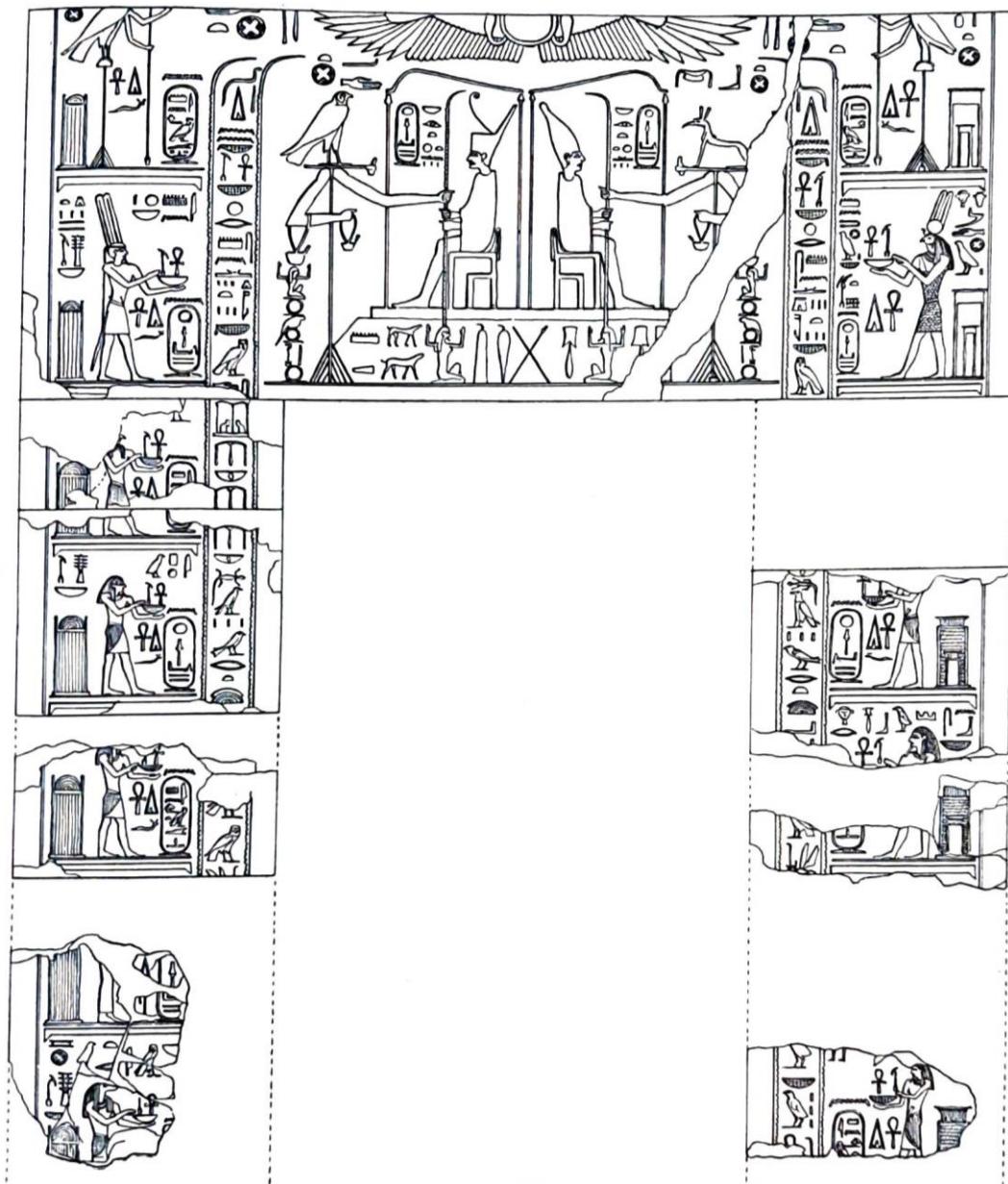
nsw-bj.tj S:df3-k3-R^c di 'nh

King *S:df3-k3-R^c*, given life

13. 15: King *Shm-Rc-hw-t3.wj Sbk-htp* 

Gate of the sanctuary: Cat. 13.15.1

Discovery location	Madamud
Provenance:	Madamud.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 56496.
Dimensions of the upper lintel:	H.137 cm., L. 270 cm.
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	dismantled
Bibliography	MM. F. Bisson de la Rouque et J. J. Clère, Les Fouilles de Mèdamoud 1928, <i>FIFAO VI</i> , Cairo, 1929.



After: Cottetvieille-Giraudet 1933: Pl.V

Text on the frame of the gate:



Text:

Speech (by god), (I) hereby give you all life and power, and I perpetuate your annals with many *Sed* festivals, then you appear upon the throne of Horus as a king of Upper and Lower Egypt, may you guide all of the lives, all of life, stability and dominion, all of the health, all happiness of heart [all like Re] forever.

Lintel:

Cat. 13.15. 2

Discovery location	Madamud
Provenance:	Madamud.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 56496.
Dimensions:	H. 50 cm., L. 365 cm.
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	Lost some parts
Bibliography	MM. F. Bisson de la Rouque, Les Fouilles de Mèdamoud 1929, <i>FIAFO VI</i> , Cairo, 1930, p.90-93, Pl.V.



After: Eder 2002: 240, Taf. 46

Text:

The two sides are divided by a pair of similar identical columns of hieroglyphic writing, which can read as:



Speech by Monthu, lord of Wast in the middle of Madamud, given all of life and dominion forever.

The same upper text on both sides can read as:



The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Action, The King *Shm-Rˁ hw-t3.wj*, Son of Re *Sbk-htp Jmn-m-hˁt*, given life forever like Re.



Monthu, lord of Wast the beloved bull in the middle of Madamud, given life forever like Re

The right and left sides of the lintel's frame were inscribed with the following writings:



Being god good, the King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj* the advanced of all the living souls like Re

Behind the king appears: [↓] which can read as: *nb s3 'nh h3=f mi Rˁ*, All of protection and life around him like Re

A column of hieroglyphic writing appears between the king and God Montu, giving the offering on both sides can read as:

To the left side:



Speech, (make to him) offering of milk
[.....]

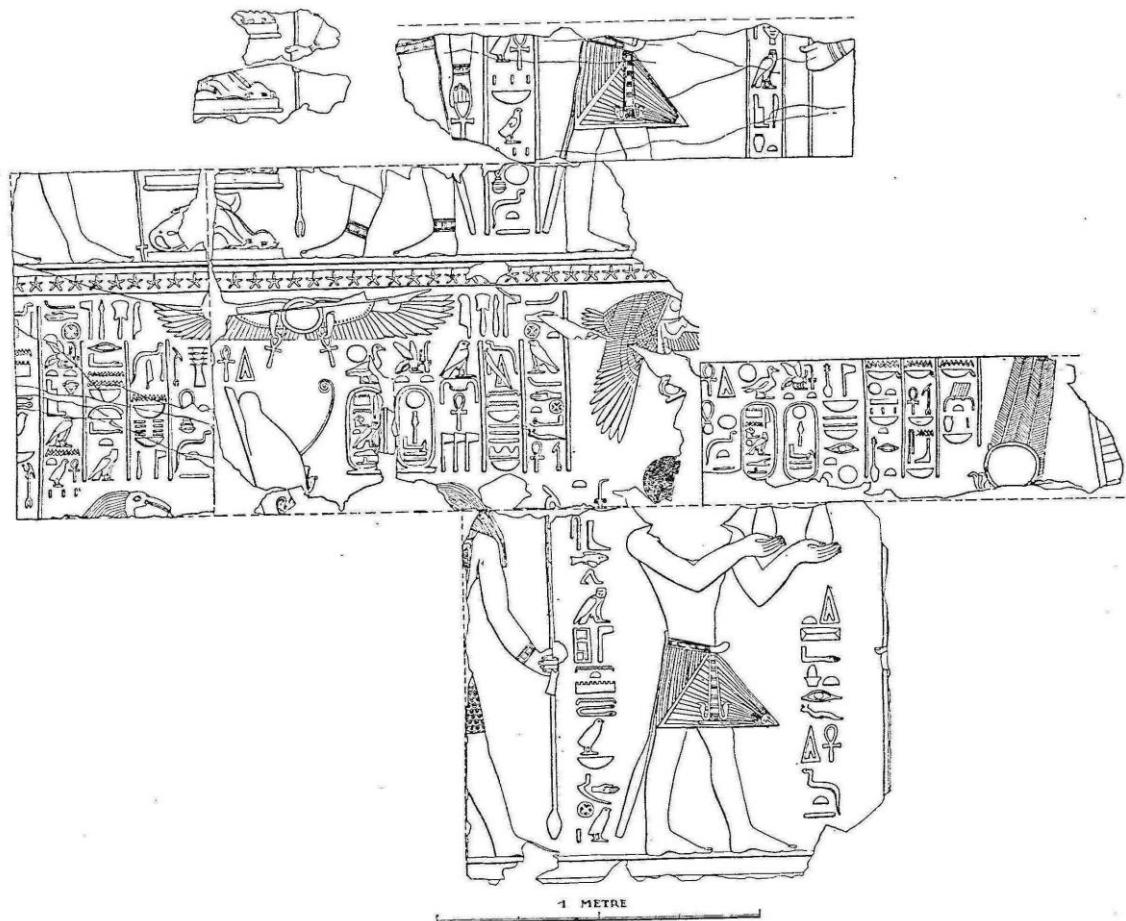
To the right side:



Speech, make to him an offering of wine,
given life like Re

Slabs of the left interior wall: Cat. 13.15. 3

Discovery location	Madamud
Provenance:	Madamud.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum.
Dimensions	
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	dismantled
Bibliography	R. Cottevieu-Giraudet, Les Fouilles de Mèdamoud 1931, <i>FIFAO IX</i> , Cairo, (1933), p.7, Pl. VI.



After: Cottveille-Giraudet 1933: Pl. V.

Text:

- To the left side of the main scene:



Speech by the lord of all of eight (Touth) the Good God, (I) hereby give you the appearance as a king (?)The king upon the throne of Horus for many lives.



Speech by Monthu lord of Wast

- In the middle:



- To the left side:



Speech, gave to you all the foreign lands, Horus Behdite, given life and dominance

In front of the god Montu:



For you all of offerings, for you all life, dominance and all health, for you all the beautiful things



- In front of the king while he offers to God Monthu:

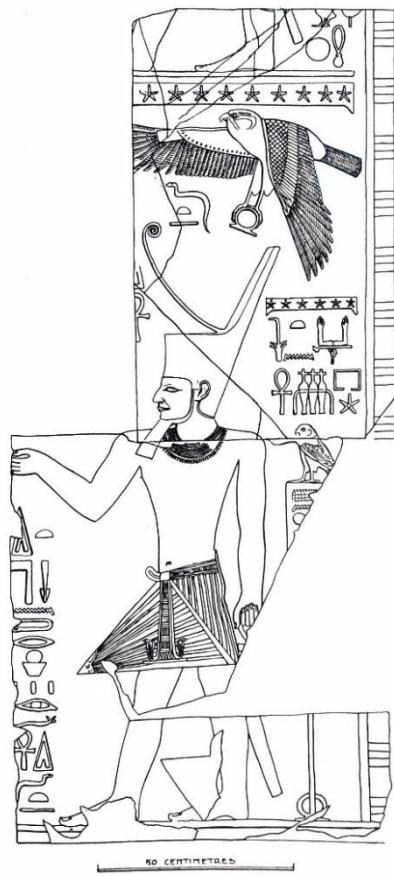


- In behind of the king:



Slabs of the right interior wall: Cat. 13.15. 4

Discovery location	Madamud
Provenance:	Madamud.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum.
Dimensions:	
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	Good
Bibliography	F.Bisson de la Rouque and J.J. Clère, Les Fouilles de Mèdamoud 1927, <i>FIFAO</i> V.1, Cairo, (1928), Pl. XII

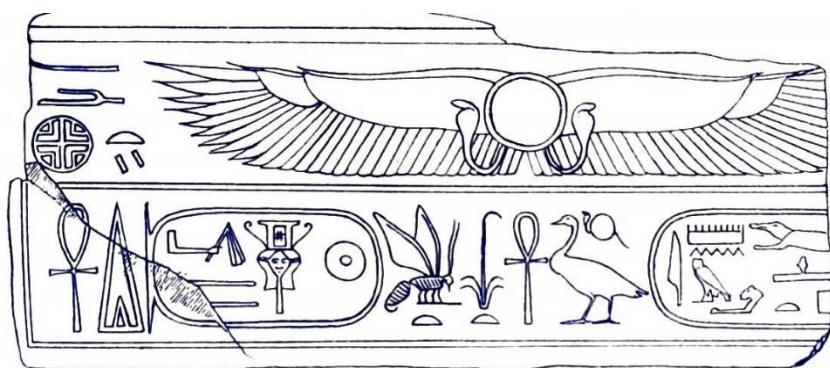


After: Cottevieille-Giraudet 1933: Pl. VII

Lintel:

Cat. 13.15. 5

Discovery location	Deir el-Bahari.
Provenance:	Deir el-Bahari.
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	_____
Bibliography	E. Naville, <i>The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari II</i> , London, (1910), P. 11-12, 21, Pl. X [B].



After: Naville 1910: Pl. X[B]

Cylinder-seal:

Cat. 13.15. 6

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Gebelein/ modern Rizeiqât.
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum 30.8.319
Dimensions:	L.2:0 cm., W. 0.5 cm.
Material:	steatite.
Condition	Good
Bibliography	P. E. Newberry, Scarabs: An introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings, London, (1908), P.195, Pl. XLIII [3].



© Metropolitan Museum



0 10 cm

© Illustrations by Adel Kelany; After Eid 2022: Fig. 4.

Statuette:

Cat. 13.15. 7

Discovery location	Kerma
Provenance:	Elephantine?
Current location:	Museum of Fine Art Boston 14.726.
Dimensions:	H. 34 cm., W. 30.5 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Cracked and lost its upper part.
Bibliography	K. Ryholt, A statuette of Sobekhotep I from Kerma Tumulus X, <i>CRIPEL 19</i> , (1998), P. 31-33, Pl. 6-8.



After: Ryholt 1998: Fig 1

© Museum of Fine Art Boston

13.16: King *Wsr-[k3]-R^c Hndr* 

Cylinder-seals:

Cat. 13.16. 1

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Atribis?
Current location:	Brooklyn Museum 37.109E [Ex Edwin Smith]
Dimensions	L. 3.9 cm
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	C. R. Williams, "The cylinder seal of a king Userkerē", ZÄS 61, 1926, pp. 81-83.



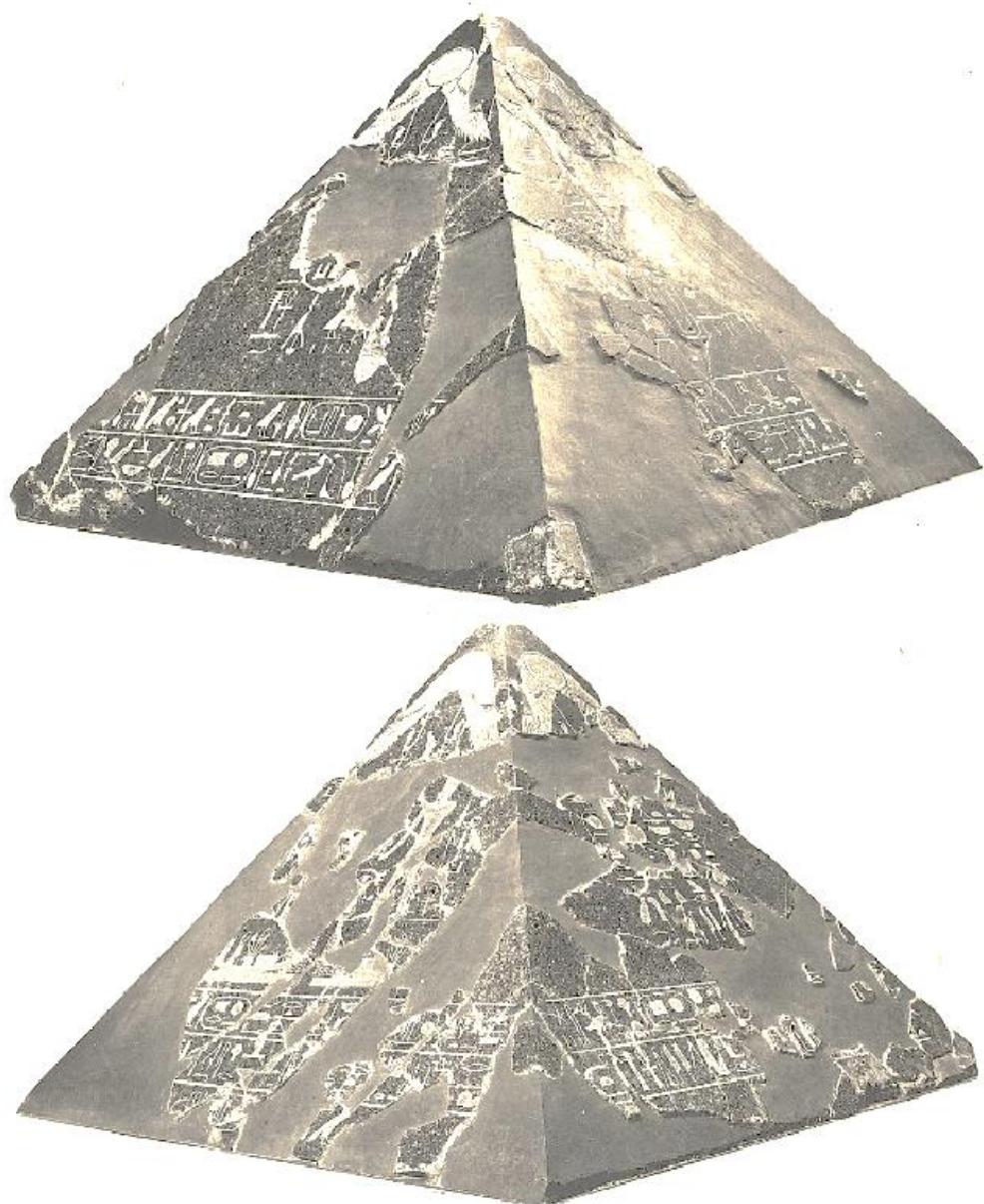
© Brooklyn Museum

Text:

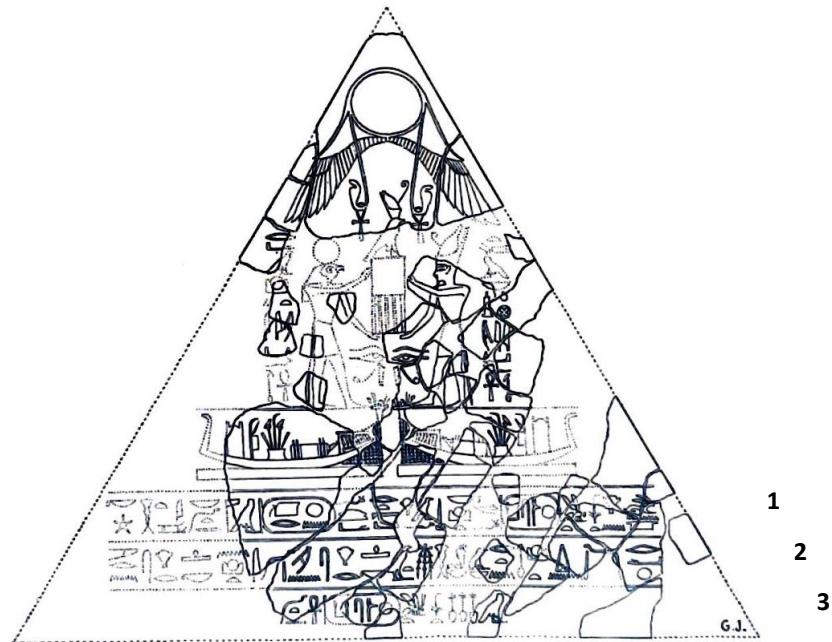


King *Wsr-k3-R^c*, beloved of Khenty-Khety.

Discovery location	Saqqara-south
Provenance:	Saqqara-south
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 53045
Dimensions	L. 140 cm, H. 130 cm.
Material:	Granite
Condition	Restored
Bibliography	G. Jéquier, <i>Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire</i> , Fouilles à Saqqarah, Le Caire, 1933, pp. 19-26, Pl. VI.



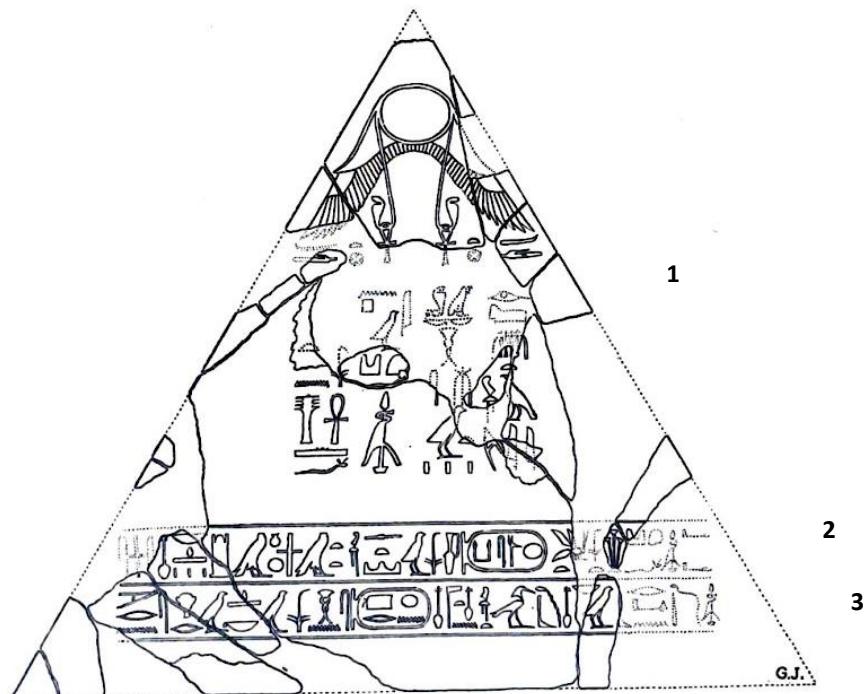
After: Jéquier 1933: Pl. VI



East side, After: Jéquier 1933: Fig. 17

Text:

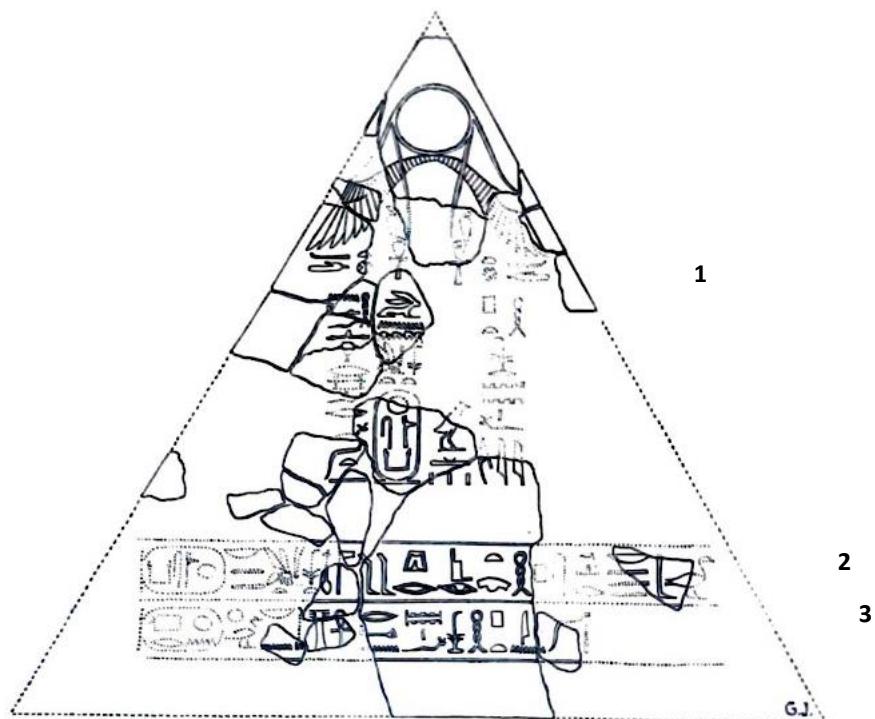
(1) Opening the face of the King *Wsr-k3-R'* [so that he sees] the master of the horizon, that he crosses the sky, may he cause that *Hndr* appears as a god, [lord of eternity, eternal]. (2) words to be Spoken by Re, gave the beautiful horizon to the [Two Lad]ies *w3h-mswt*, so that you be satisfied with that, as I wished. words to be Spoken by [the Horizon, you will be satisfied with this, as I have desired]. (3) for the [perfection of the] King *Wsr-k3-R'*, given life forever.



West side, After: Jéquier 1933: Fig. 18

Text:

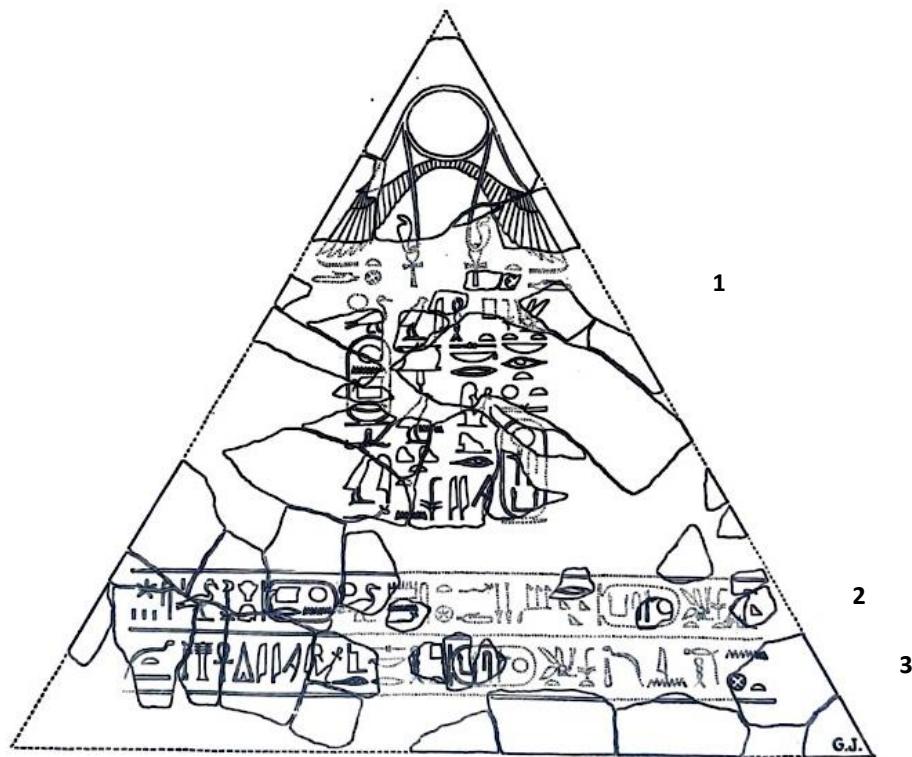
- (1) Beloved of [Osiris], the foremost of the westerns, [Two Ladies *W3h*]-*mswt*, [Anubis], who is upon his mountain, king(?) his life, his stability.
- (2) [Two arms of Anubis, who is upon his mountain] (causes) King *Wsr-k3-R*^c, who unites with the western necropolis inside the chapel of the master of offerings, [where he is good]
- (3) [words to be spoken by the west] Anubis gave every thing beautiful, bure and beneficial of the beautiful west to the Good God *Hndr* (I) have ordered to him, (and) you will satisfied with that.



South Side, After: Jéquier 1933: Fig. 19

Text:

- (1) Beloved of [Ptah *rsy-jnb=f*], King *wsr-k3-R*^c will be with him, he will be never [far from him].
- (2) Geb [great of] torso, Osiris, Lord of the *t3-wr* under the feet of the Good God [King, Lord of the Two Lands *Wsr-k3-R*^c. (3) words be spoken by Ptah *rsy-jnb=f*, gave [all] life, stability, and power to the [Son of Re *Hndr*].



North Side, After: Jéquier 1933: Fig. 20

Text:

- (1) King, Lord of action *Wsr-k3-R*, beloved of Ptah-Soker-Osiris, the wind (of the north) is at the king's nostrils, Son or Re *hndr*, he will not be deprived of it.
- (2) let the *Ba* of the [King] *Wsr-[k3]-R* rise up to [the heights of Orion to associate with *Duat*]. He establishes the son of Re *hndr*, above the stars *Mehenet* (3) [words be spoken by ...?] [King] *Wsr-k3-[R]* beloved of Ptah-[Soker-]Osiris, given life, stability, and power forever.

Statuettes fragments:

Cat. 13. 16. 3 [a, b, c]

a

Discovery location	Saqqara-south
Provenance:	Saqqara-south
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 53668
Dimensions	H. 11.2 cm.
Material:	Basalt
Condition	Bottom half missing
Bibliography	G. Jéquier, <i>Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire</i> , Fouilles à Saqqarah, Le Caire, 1933, pp. 19-26, Pl. V [b, c]



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

b

Discovery location	Saqqara-south
Provenance:	Saqqara-south
Current location:	Egyptian Museum RT 9.12.30.1
Dimensions	H. 18.3 cm.
Material:	Basalt
Condition	Bottom half missing
Bibliography	G. Jéquier, <i>Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire</i> , Fouilles à Saqqarah, Le Caire, 1933, p. 19.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

b

Discovery location	Saqqara-south
Provenance:	Saqqara-south
Current location:	Egyptian Museum RT 9.12.30.2
Dimensions	H. 11. cm.
Material:	Basalt
Condition	Fragment
Bibliography	G. Jéquier, <i>Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire</i> , Fouilles à Saqqarah, Le Caire, 1933, p. 19.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Title: Cat. 13. 16. 4

Discovery location	Lisht-north
Provenance:	Lisht-north
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum 22.1.1161.
Dimensions	H. 5.6 cm., W. 4.9
Material:	Faience
Condition	Fragment
Bibliography	W. C. Hayes, <i>The Scepter of Egypt I</i> , 1953, p. 342. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/556933



© Metropolitan Museum

Stela: Cat. 13. 16. 5 [C11 , C12]

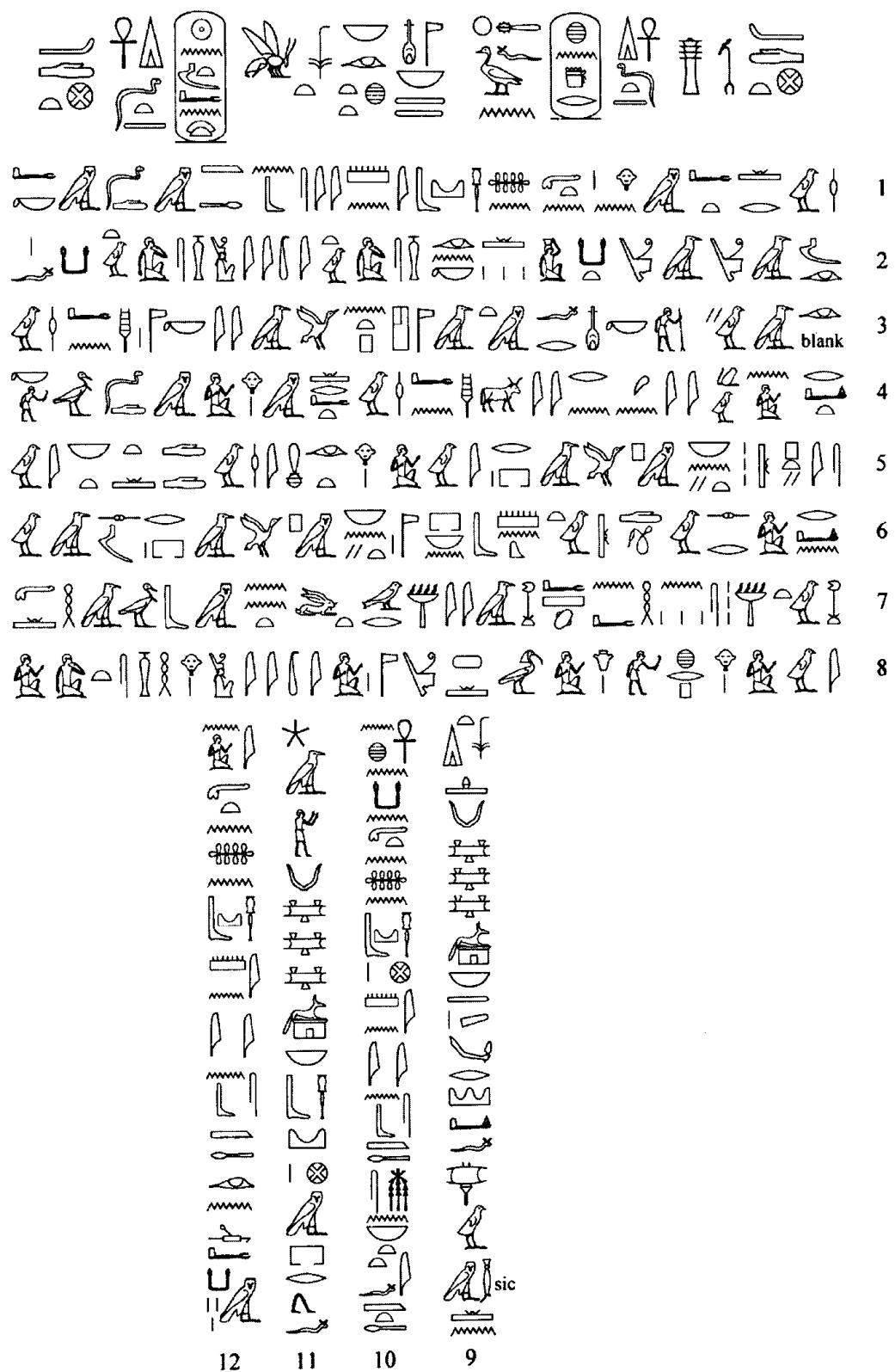
C11

Discovery location	Abydos
Provenance:	Abydos
Current location:	Louvre Museum C 11.
Dimensions	H.106 cm; W. 58 cm
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	S. Kubisch, <i>Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie</i> , Berlin; New York, 2008, PP. 143-145. M. Lichtheim, <i>Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom. A Study and an Anthology</i> , Fribourg-Göttingen, 1988, p. 82.



© Louvre Museum

Text:



After: Kubisch 2008: 143

Lunette:

"The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of action, King *Nj-m3c-n-hc-Rc / Nj-m3c.(t)-nt(?)-Rc*, given eternal life; the Son of Re, of his body, *Khendjer*, given eternal life, stability, and dominion.

Main text:

(1) Command placed before the Controller of the phyle of Abydos, Amenysoneb, justified, saying: (2) 'The works you have done have you viewed. As the sovereign favours you, as his *ka* favours you, (3) spend your old age well in this temple of your god!' It was command (4) to give me the hind quarter of a calf; and it was command to instruct me, saying: 'carry out (5) all inspections of this temple.'

I acted according to all that was commanded. (6) I carried out the renovation of every chapel of every god in this temple. Their alters (7) were made new together with the great alter of juniper wood that is before (8) I performed effectively for my god, and the sovereign rewarded me.

Vertically:

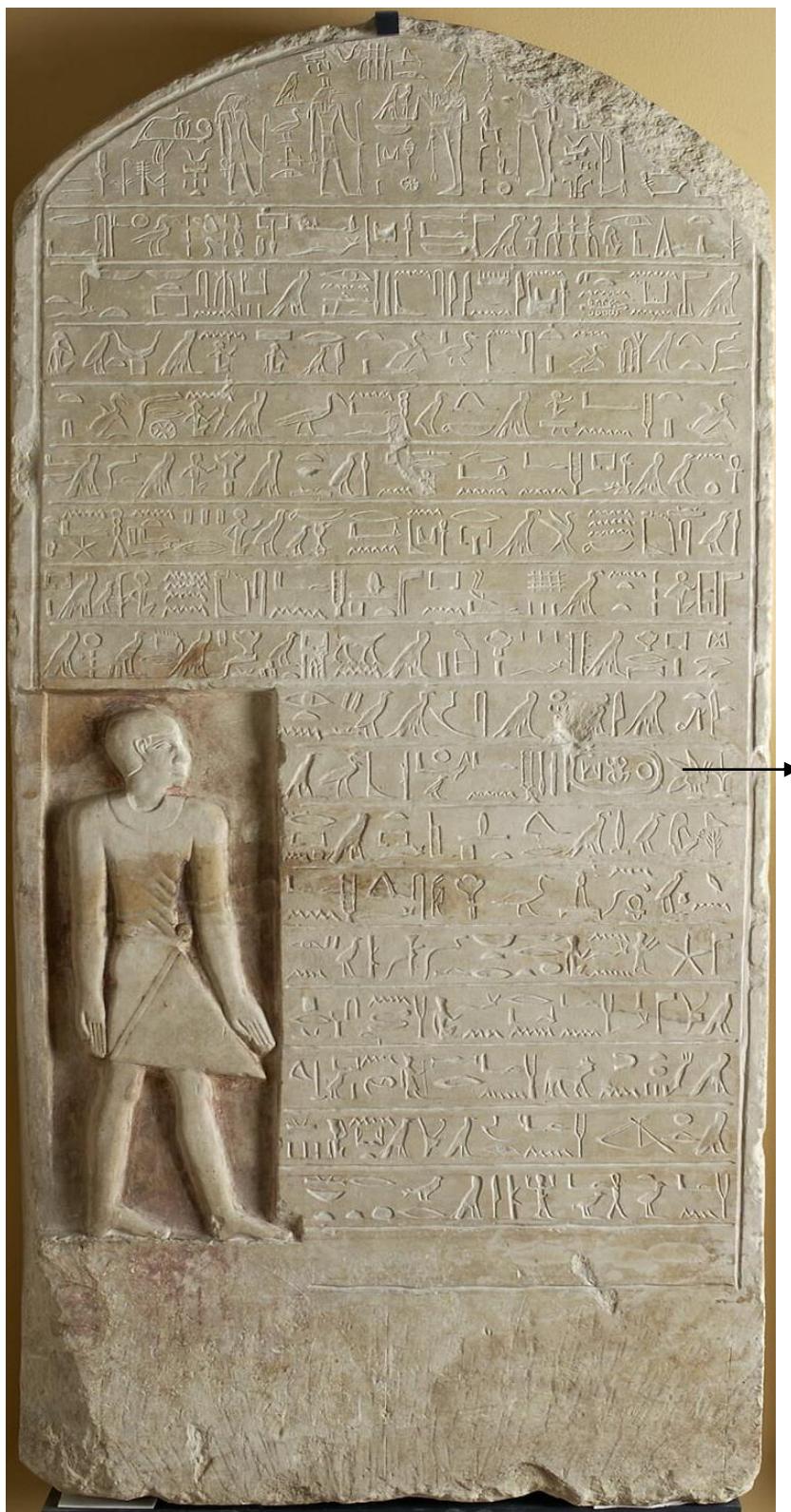
(9) An offering-that-the-king-gives (to) Wepwawet, lord of the sacred land, that he may give a sweet breath of (10) life to the *ka* of the controller of a phyle of Abydos, Amenyseneb, justified, born of Nebet-it, justified.

(11) Praising Wepwawet, lord of Abydos, at his procession (12) by the controller of a phyle of Abydos, Amenyseneb, justified, begotten by Waemkau."¹

C 12

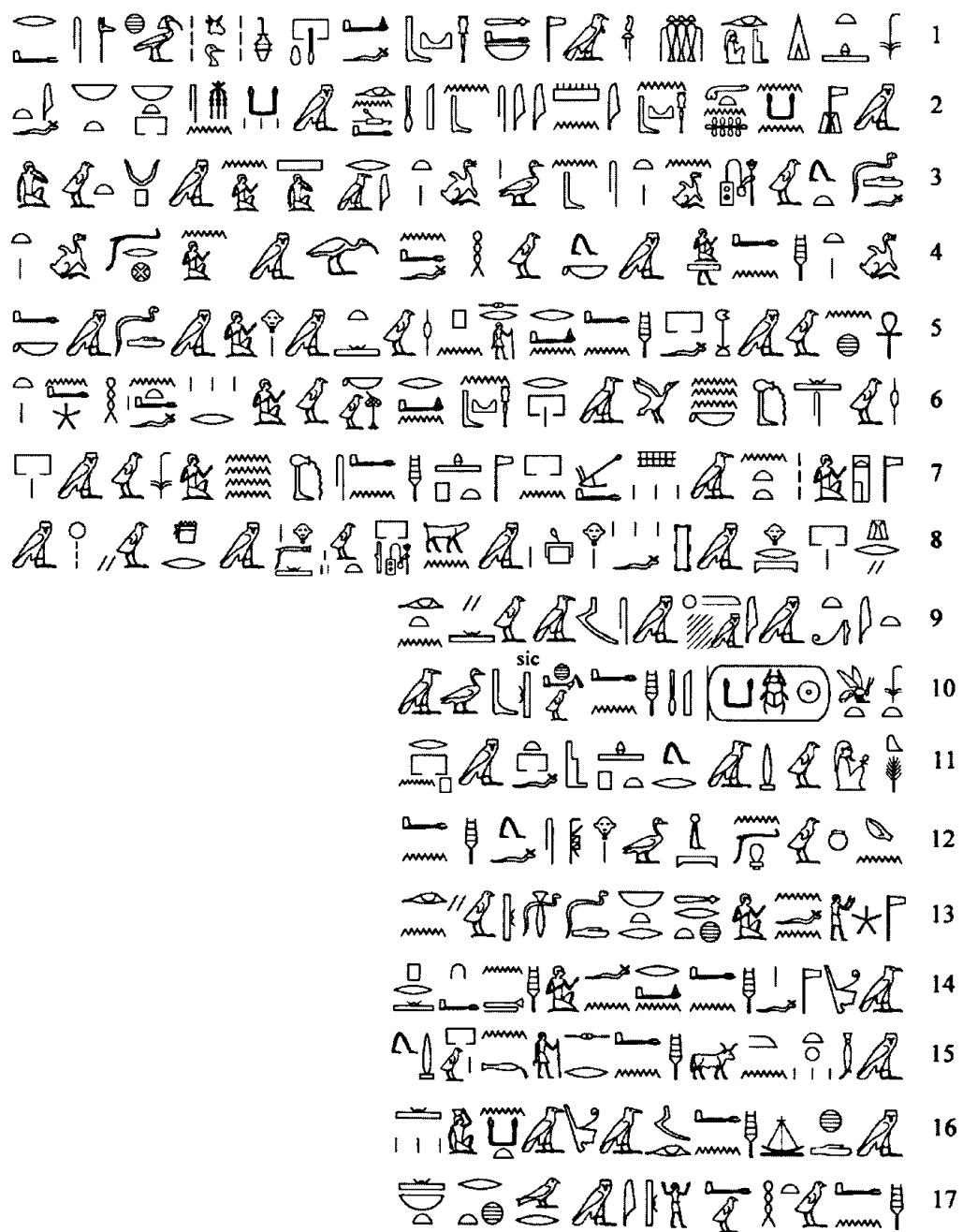
Discovery location	Abydos
Provenance:	Abydos
Current location:	Louvre Museum C 12.
Dimensions	H.106 cm; W. 58 cm
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	S. Kubisch, <i>Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie</i> , Berlin; New York, 2008, PP. 143-145. M. Lichtheim, <i>Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom. A Study and an Anthology</i> , Fribourg-Göttingen, 1988, p. 82.

¹ Translation of text After Lichtheim 1988: 82.



© Louvre Museum

Text:



After: Kubisch 2008: 140

“(1) An offering-that-the-king gives (to) Osiris Khentiamentiu, great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give a voice-offering of bread, milk, beef, fowl, spirithood and power (*3h wsr*) (2) in the necropolis of *ka* of the Controller of a phyle (*mty n s3*) of Abydos, Amenyseneb, juistified, begotten by Waemkau, born of lady Nebet-it; (3) he says:

There came the scribe of the vizier, Sonb, the vizier’s son, to summon me at the behest of (4) the vizier, I went with him and found the mayor of the city and vizier (5) Ankhu in his office. Then the dignitary (*sr*) put a command before me, saying: (6) ‘It is herewith commanded that you cleanse this temple of Abydos. Craftsmen shall be given to you for the purpose, together with temple personnel (7) of these nomes and the warehouse of the god’s estate.’

Then I cleansed it house (8) by house, on top of its walls, outside and inside. The painters filled in with colored (9) shapes of plaster, renewing what had been made by (10) King *Kheperkare*, justified.

Then the protector of Egypt (11) came to occupy his seat in this temple, (12) the deputy of the overseer of the treasury (*idnw n mr sd3wt*) Sa-Onuris (*s3-inhrt*) following him. Then (13) he thanked me profusely, saying: ‘How fortunate is he who did this (14) for his god!’ Then he gave me the sum of 10 deben, topped off (15) by dates and a side of veal. Then came the dignitary of ... (16) travelling north. These works were viewed (17) and one rejoiced over them exceedingly.”¹

¹ Translation of text After Lichtheim 1988: 81.

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Unknown
Current location:	Basel Catalogue [103]
Dimensions	L. 2.6 cm., H.1.1 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	H. Schlögl (ed.), <i>A. Geschenk des Nils : ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz</i> , Basel, 1978, 75 [236] G. Fraser, <i>A Catalogue of the Scarabs Belonging to George Fraser</i> , London, 1900, no, 65



After: Fraser 1900: no. 65



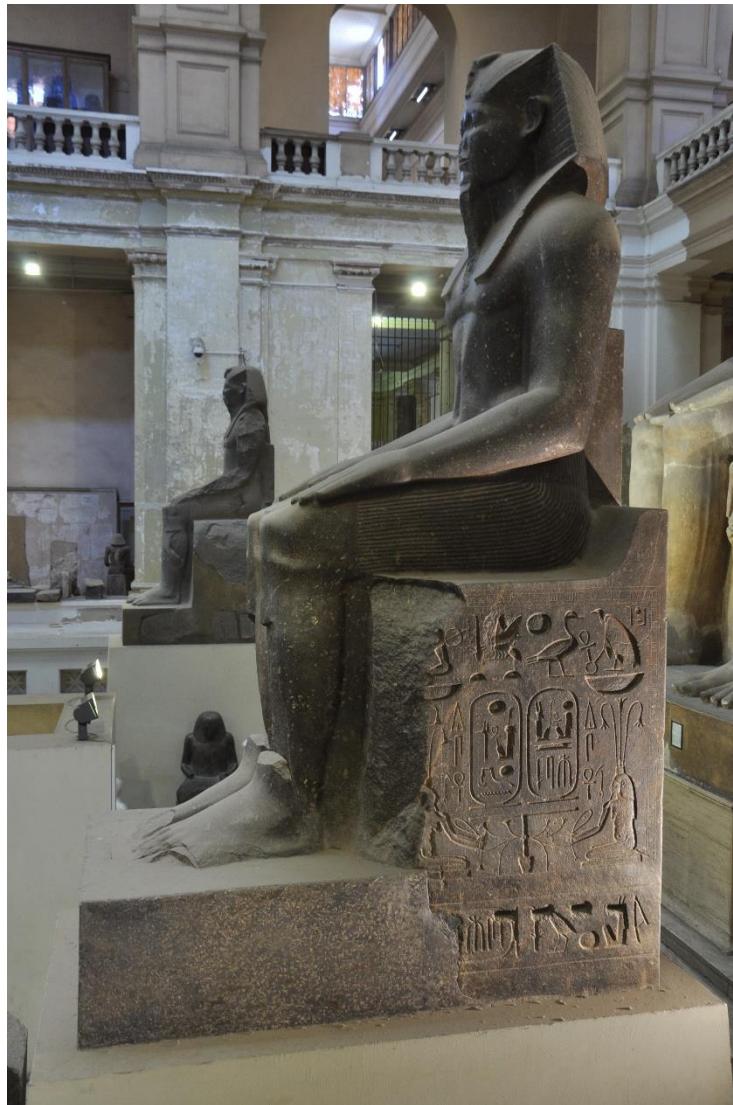
After: Schlögl (ed.) 1978: Fig. 263

13. 17: King [S:mnh]-k3-R^c Jmy-r mš^c 

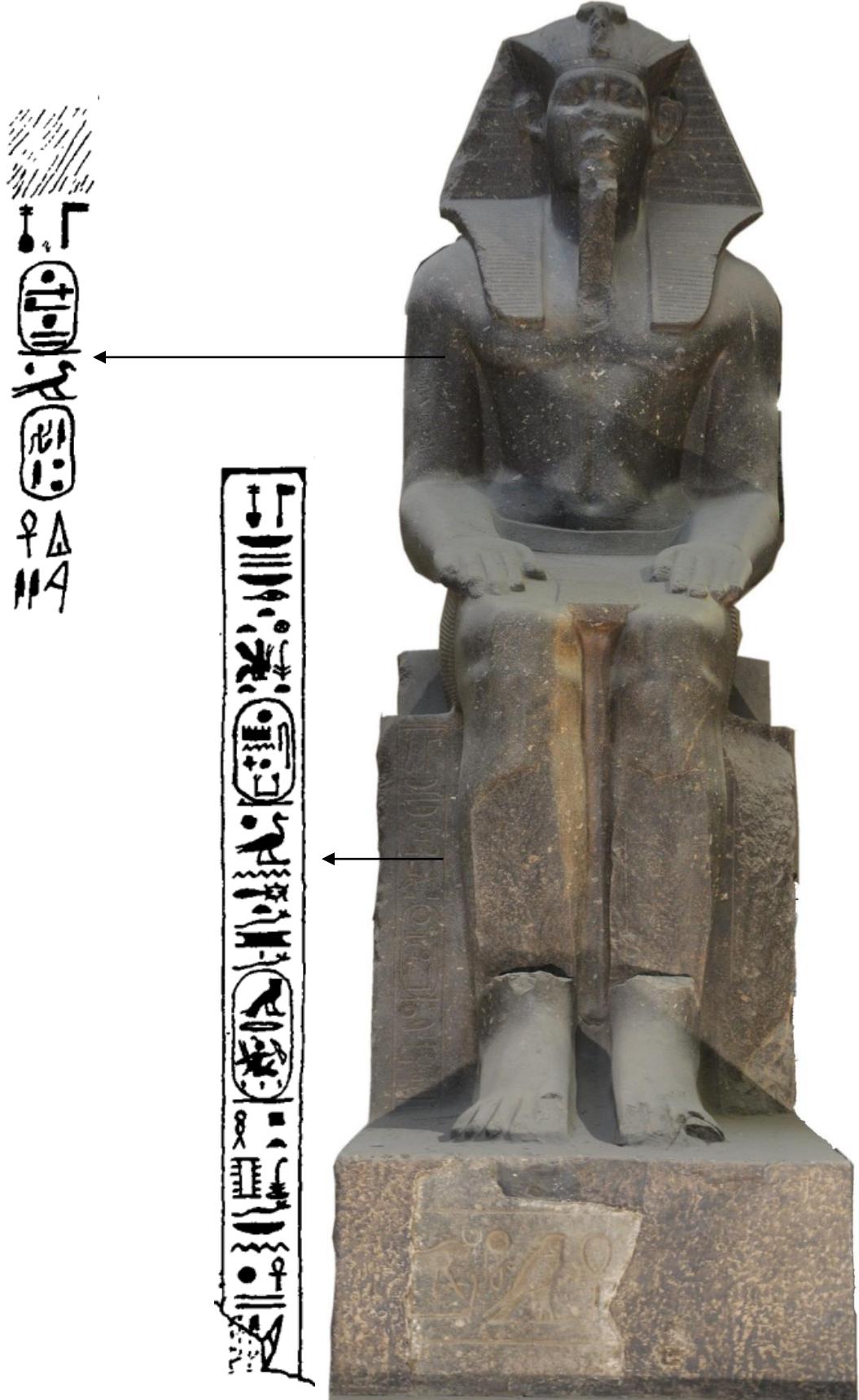
Pair of colossal statues:

Cat. 13.17.1

Discovery location	Tanis
Provenance:	Memphis?
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 37466-37467
Dimensions	1st: H. 3. 62 m. 2nd: H.3. 67 m.
Material:	Black granite/ granodiorite?
Condition	Restored- lost parts from the pedestal.
Bibliography	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Tanis</i> , Vol. I, EEF Memoir, 2, London, 1889, p. 8-9, Pl. III [17 a-c] W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, <i>British Museum Occasional Paper</i> 28, London: British Museum, 1981, no. 14-15



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



After: Petrie 1889: Pl. III [17 b,c]

© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:

Throne:

Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of action, King *s:mnh-k3-R*, Son of Re from his body, his beloved *Jmy-r mš*, beloved of Ptah *rsy-jnb=f*, Lord of life of the Two Lands.

Arm:

[...] Good God *č-wsr-R*, son of Re *Jppj*, given life, beloved.

Bead:

Cat. 13.17.2

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Fayoum?
Current location:	British Museum EA 74185
Dimensions	H. 2.8 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	E. Vassilika, "Museum acquisitions, 1993: Egyptian antiquities accessioned in 1993 by museums in the United Kingdom", <i>JEA</i> 81, 1995, pp. 201. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA74185

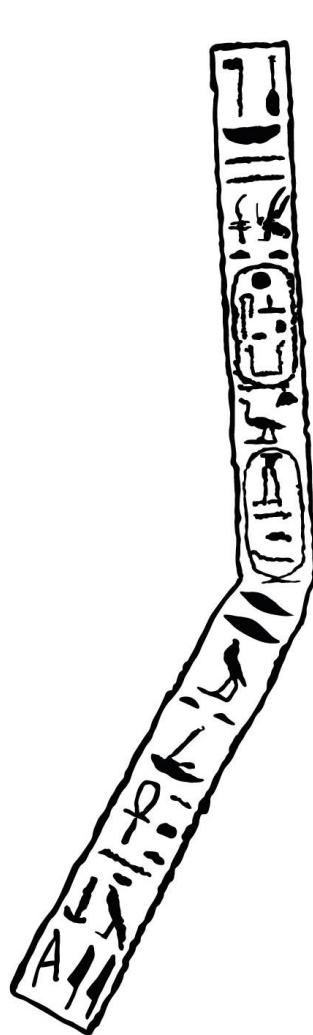
No photographs available

13. 18: King S:*htp-k3-R* Intef

Statue:

Cat. 13. 18. 1

Discovery location	Medinet Madi
Provenance:	Medinet Madi
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 67834
Dimensions	H. 82 cm, W. 39 cm.
Material:	Quartzite
Condition	Missed its upper half
Bibliography	A. Vogliano, <i>Un'impresa archeologica milanese ai margini orientali del Deserto Libico</i> , Milano, 1942, Pl. IX-X



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:

*ntr nfr nb t3.wj nsw-bj.tj S:*htp-k3-R*, s3 R^c
Jnj-jt(j)=f, mry Rnn.wtt 'nh.t-n.t-d3*

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands,
King *S:*htp-k3-R**, Son of Re *Jnj-jt(j)=f*,
beloved of Renenutet, the Living of
Medinet Madi.

13:20: King *Shm-R^c-s:w³d-t³.wj* Sobekhotep

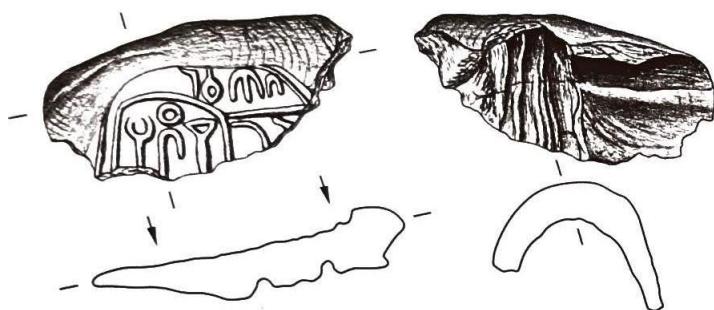


Seal-impression:

Cat. 13.20.1

a:

Discovery location	Tell el-Dab'a
Provenance:	Tell el-Dab'a
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Mud
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	N. Sartori, "Die Siegel aus Areal F/II in Tell el-Dab'a: erster Vorbericht", <i>Ä&L</i> 19, 2010, p. 284, Abb. 4.



After: Sartori 2010: 284, Abb. 4.

Two scarabs:

Cat. 13.20.2[a, b]

a:

Discovery location	Lisht
Provenance:	Lisht.
Current location:	MMA 22.1.413.
Dimensions:	H. 1.1 cm., L. 2.3 cm., W. 1.7 cm.
Material:	Steatite.
Condition	Good
Bibliography	https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544377 G.T. Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, Oxford, 1971, no. 570



After: Martin 1970: Pl. 25 [20]



© The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Text:

*ntr nfr Shm-r'-sw3d-t3.wj Sbk-htp nh d.t
jrj n jt-ntr Mn(t)w-htp*

The Good God *Shm-r'-sw3d-t3.wj Sbk-htp*,
living forever, made by the God's Father
Mn(t)w-htp.

b:

Discovery location

Lisht.

Provenance:

Lisht.

Current location:

MMA 20.1.2.

Dimensions:

H. 1. cm., L. 2.4 cm., W. 1.7 cm.

Material:

Steatite.

Condition

Good

Bibliography

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544441>

W. C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt I: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part I: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953, p. 342, Fig. 226.



After: Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 21 [14]



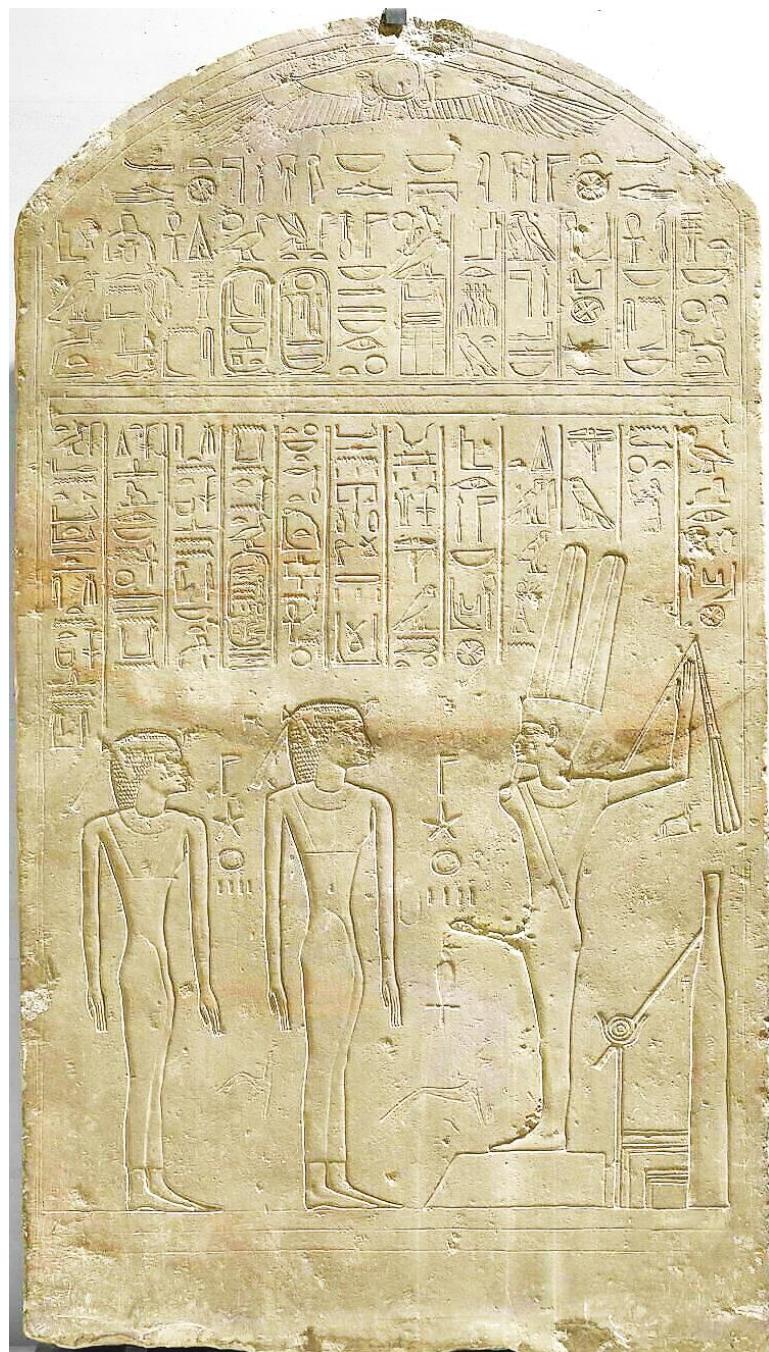
© The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Text:

*ntr-nfr Shm-R'-sw3d-t3.wj Sbk-htp nh d.t
(ms) n mw.t nsw.t Jwh.t-jb.w*

The Good God *shm-R'-sw3d-t3.wj Sbk-htp*,
living forever, [born] of the King's Mother
Jwh.t-jb.w.

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Abydos?
Current location:	Louvre C 8
Dimensions:	H. 190 cm., W. 106 cm.
Material:	Limestone.
Condition	Good
Bibliography	N. Staring, "Graffiti on a Thirteenth Dynasty stela from Abydos (Louvre C8)", in C. Di Biase-Dyson, and L. Donovan (eds), <i>The cultural manifestation of religious experience: studies in honour of Boyo G. Ockinga</i> , 2017, pp. 251-262.





After: Prisse d'Avennes 1847: pl. VIII.

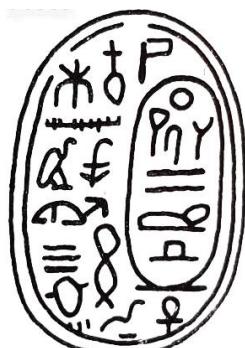
Text¹:

- 1 “He of Behdet, Great God, Variegated of Feathers, Lord of the sky
- ←2 He of Behdet, Great God, Variegated of Feathers, Lord of Mesen (Edfu).
- 3 Osiris Khentiamentiu, Great God, Lord of Abydos, may he give all life and (all) dominion, all health, and all stability like Re forever.
- ↓← 4 Horus *Hw-t3.wy*, Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Rituals; King *Shm-Rc- Sw3d-t3.wj*; Son of Re, *Sbk-htp*, given life, stability, dominion, health and happiness with his ka on the throne of Horus forever
- ↓ 5 Min-Horus-the-victorious Son of Osiris who dwells in Abydos.
- ↓← 6 Giving adoration to Osiris the Great God, Lord of Abydos, Wepwawet of Upper and Lower Egypt, (and) Min-Horus-the-victorious, that they may grant an invocation offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, linen, all good and pure things and a sweet breeze of life to the ka of the king’s daughter *Jwh.t-jb.w* named Nose/Nosy, true of voice, born of the king’s wife Neni, lady of reverence (and) an offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, Lord of *nh-t3.wy*, to the ka of the king’s daughter *Dd.t-nk.t*, true of voice, born of the king’s wife Neni.
- ↓← 7, 8 Adoring the god 4 times.”

Scarab:

Cat. 13.20.4

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Koptos?
Current location:	Petrie Museum LDUCE-UC11536
Dimensions:	H. 1. cm., L. 2.4 cm., W. 1.7 cm.
Material:	Steatite.
Condition	Good
Bibliography	<p>W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Scarabs and Cylinders with Names</i>, London, 1917, Pl. XVIII [13.20.2]</p> <p>O. Tufnell, <i>Studies on scarab seals: Scarab seals and their contribution to history in the early Second Millennium B.C</i>, vol. II, Warminster, 1984, no. 3100</p>



After: Tufnell 1984: no. 3100



© Petrie Museum

¹ After Staring 2017: 253; Helck 1983: 17, no. 25.

Discovery location	Wadi el-Hol
Provenance:	Wadi el-Hol.
Current location:	In situ
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Rock inscription
Condition	Badly damaged
Bibliography	M. F. L. Macadam, "A royal family of the Thirteenth Dynasty", <i>JEA</i> 37, 1951, pp. 20-28.



After: Macadam 1951: Pl. VI

Gate:

Cat. 13.20.6

Discovery location Madamud.

Provenance: Madamud.

Current location: Louvre Museum E 13819

Dimensions: H. 260 cm, W. 123.5 cm

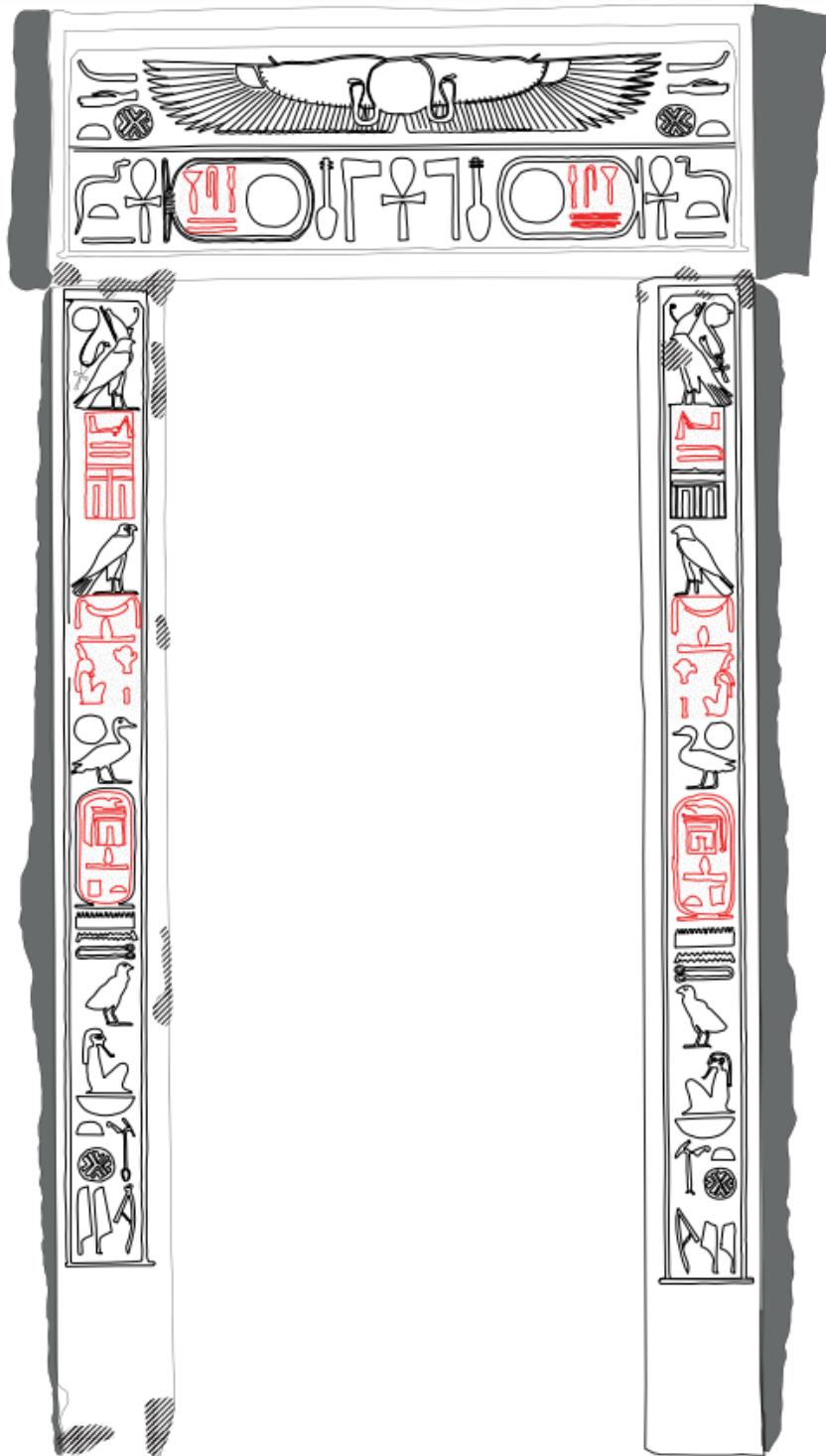
Material: Limestone

Condition Good

Bibliography MM. F. Bisson de la Rouque et J. J. Clère, *Les Fouilles de Médamoud* 1928, FIFAO VI, Cairo, 1929, 89, fig. 84.



© Louvre Museum



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Discovery location	Karnak.
Provenance:	Karnak.
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE52810)
Dimensions:	H. 47 cm. W. 60 cm, L. 82 cm.
Material:	Black granite
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	H. Gauthier, "Vestiges de la fin du Moyen Empire à Karnak", <i>ASAE</i> 31, 1931, pp. 191-192.



© Illustrations by Adel Kelnay



© Egyptian Museum

Text:

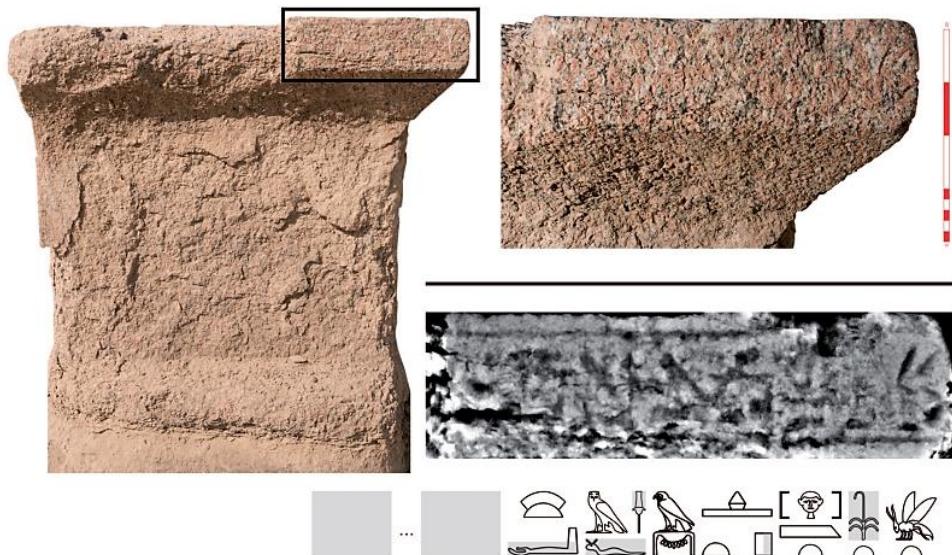
[nsw-bj.]tj Shm-R^c- sw3d-t3.wj mr.y Jmn-R^c mrw.tj nb ns.w-t3.wj n (?)jp.t-s.wt mW3s.t

[King] Shm-R^c- sw3d-t3.wj, beloved of Amun-Re, the beloved , Lord of the throne of the Two Lands in Karnak at Wast.

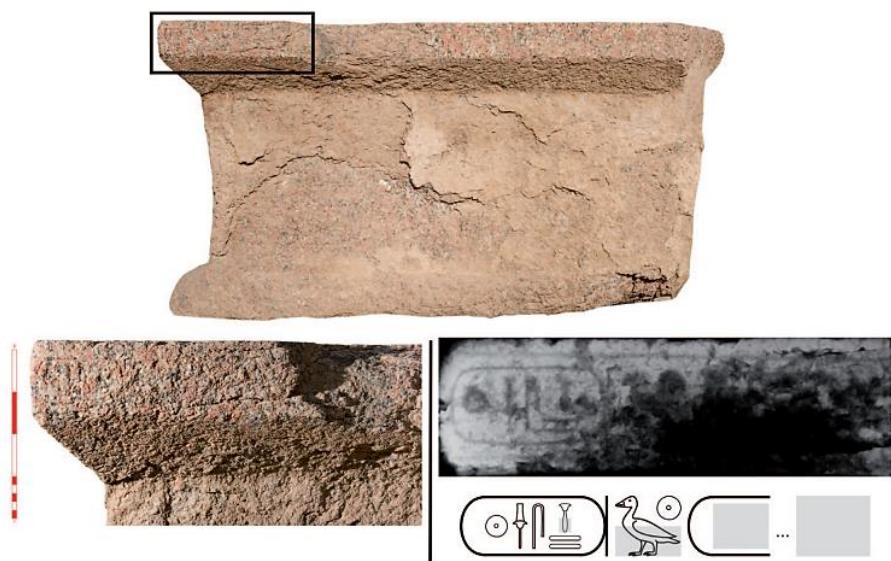
Altar:

Cat. 13.20.8

Discovery location	Karnak.
Provenance:	Karnak.
Current location:	In situ
Dimensions:	L. 151 cm, W. 90 cm, H. 81 cm.
Material:	Rose granite
Condition	Bad
Bibliography	C. Labarta, "Un support au nom de Sobekhotep Sékhemré-Séouadjtaouy: Karnak Varia (§ 8)", <i>Cahiers de Karnak</i> 16, 2017, pp. 279-288.



After: Labarta 2017, 286, fig. 2.



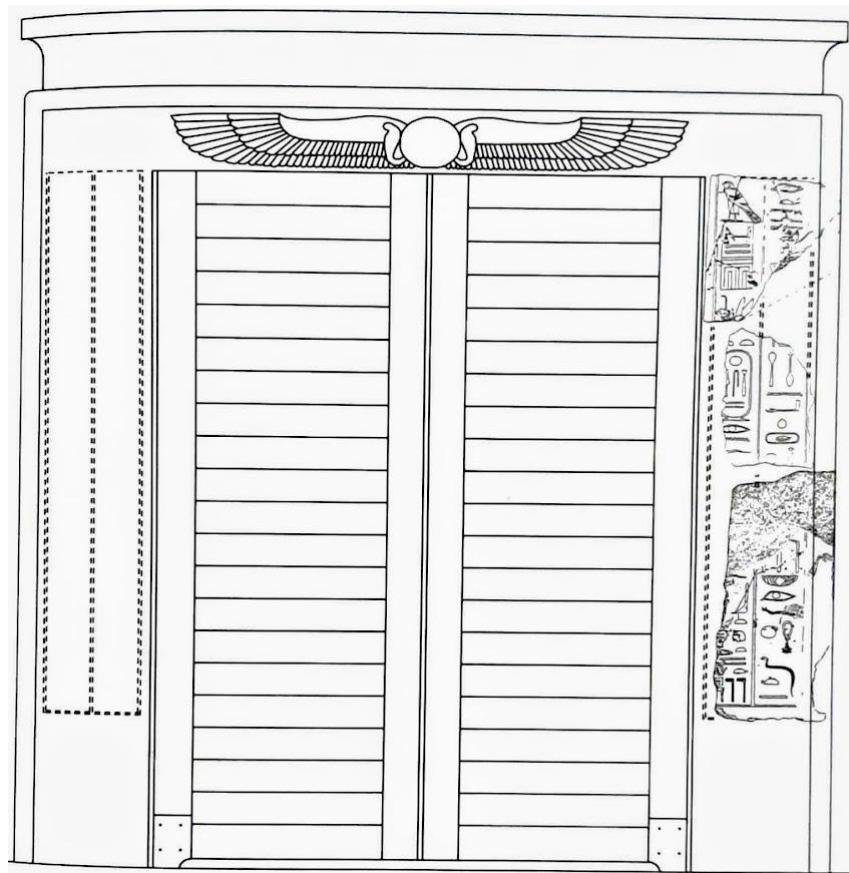
After: Labarta 2017, 287, fig. 3.

Discovery location	Unknown.
Provenance:	Gebelein?
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum of Art [30.8.313]
Dimensions:	H. 2.5 cm, W.1 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	<p>W. C. Hayes, <i>The Sceptre of Egypt I: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part I: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom</i>. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953, p. 343, fig. 226.</p> <p>https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544376</p>

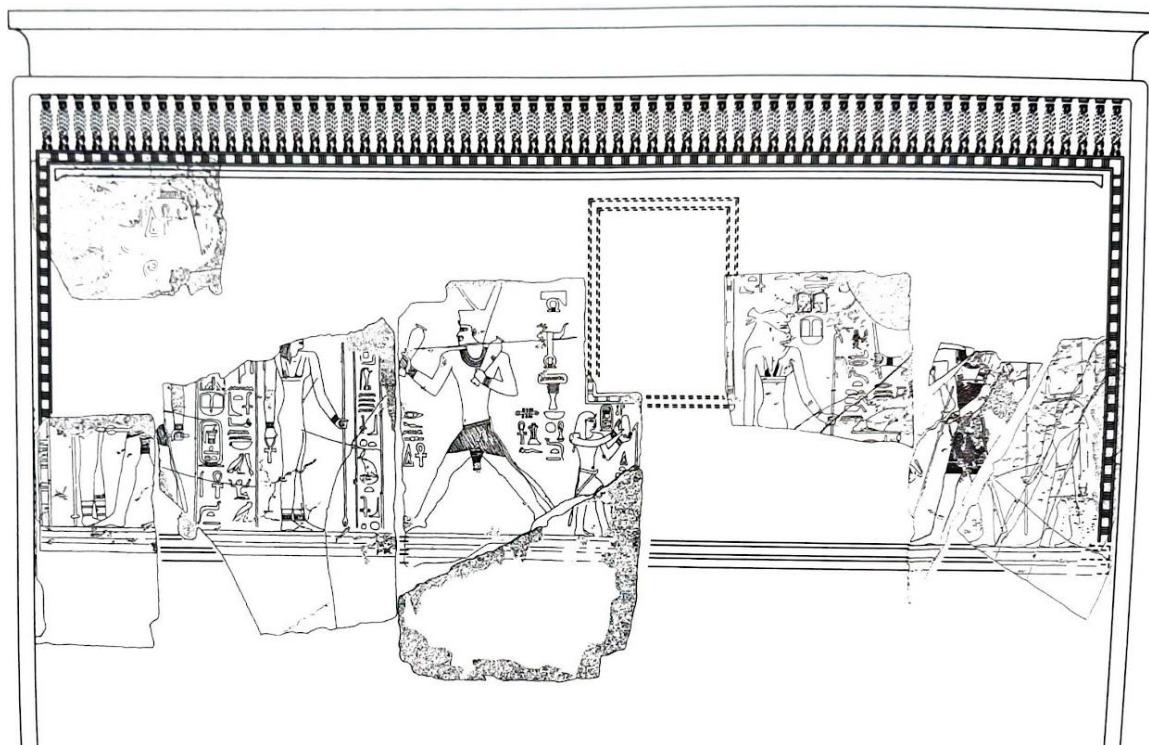


© Metropolitan Museum

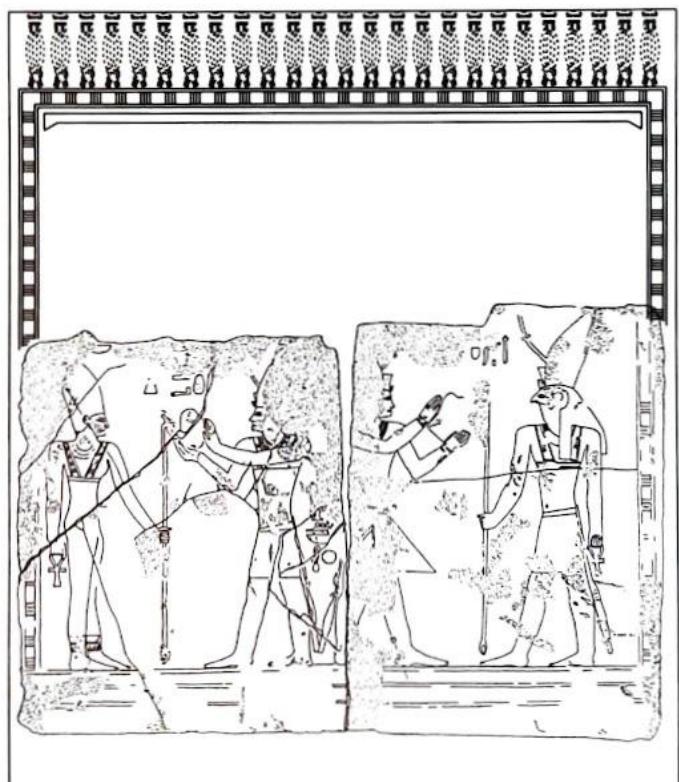
Discovery location	El-Kab
Provenance:	El-Kab
Current location:	Lost
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	limestone
Condition	_____
Bibliography	<p>J. Capart, "Deuxième rapport sommaire sur les fouilles de la fondation Égyptologique reine Élisabeth à El-Kab (janvier à mars 1938)", <i>ASAE</i> 38, 1938, 625-626[4-5]</p> <p>J. Capart, <i>Fouilles de El Kab: Documents</i>, Bruxelles, 1940, 22-25, pl. 30 c, 31-2.</p> <p>Ph. Derchain, "Elkab 1966-1969. Le Temples", <i>CdÉ</i> 45, pp. 25-27, 1970, 26-27, fig. 3.</p> <p>C. Eder, <i>Die Barkenkapelle des Königs Sobekhotep III. in Elkab: Beiträge zur Bautätigkeit der 13. und 17. Dynastie an den Göttertempeln Ägyptens</i>, Turnhout, 2002, 7-55, pl. 1-17, 58-70.</p>



After: Eder 2002: pl. 20.



After: Eder 2002: pl. 21



After: Eder 2002: pl. 25.

Fragments of a gate-jamb: Cat. 13.20.11



After: Gabra and Farid 1981: 30 [b], 183

Alter:

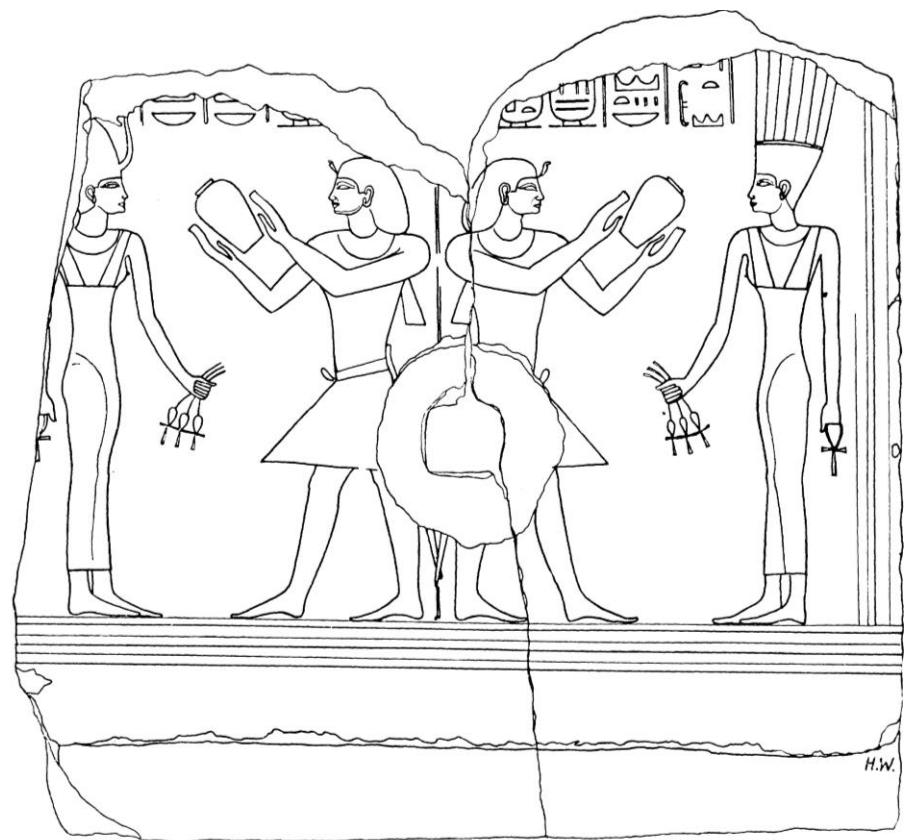
Cat. 13.20.12 [a, b, c]

a:

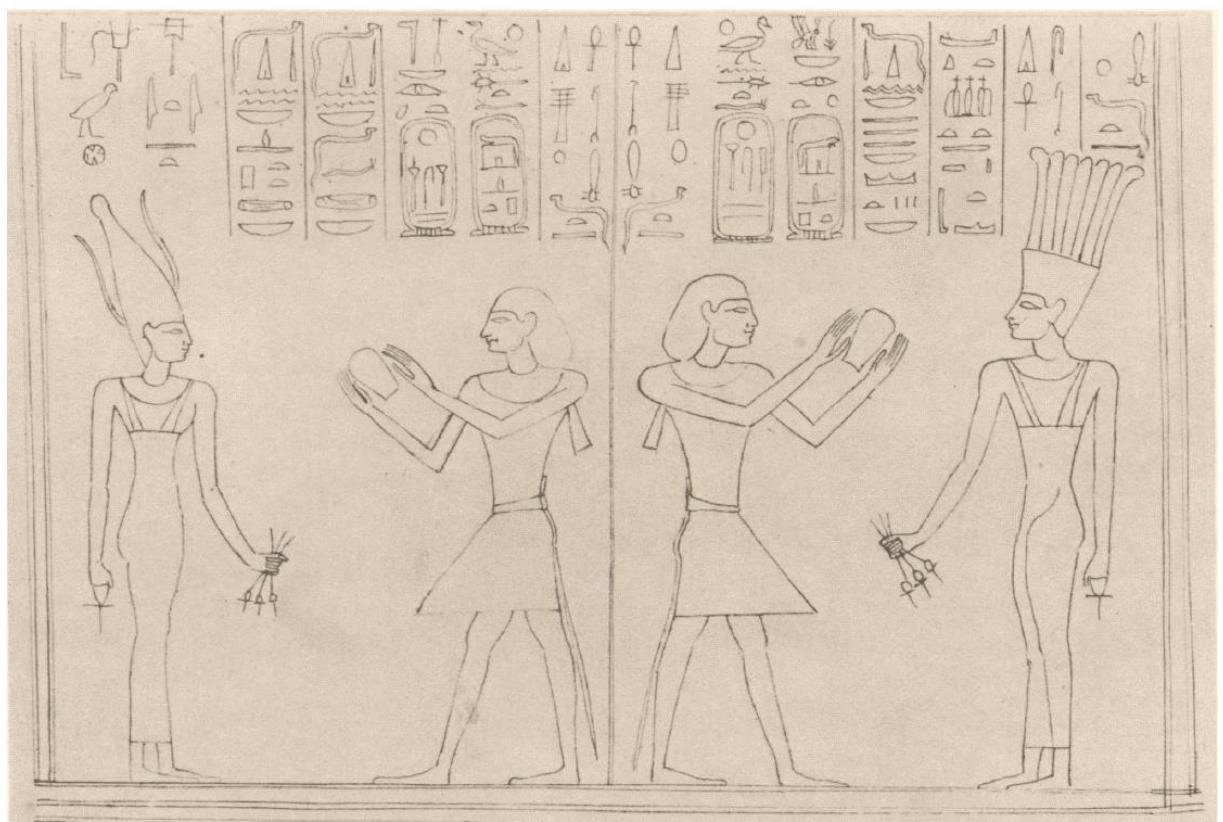
Discovery location	Sehel.
Provenance:	Sehel.
Current location:	Brooklyn Museum no. 77.149
Dimensions:	W. 62.5 cm, H. 66.5 cm
Material:	Quartzite
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	H. Wild, "A bas-relief of Sekhemrē'-sewadjetowē Sebkhotpe", <i>JEA</i> 37, pp. 12-16, 1951. R. A. Fazzini, S. B. Bianchi, J. F. Romano, and D. B. Spaniel, <i>Ancient Egyptian art in the Brooklyn Museum</i> , Brooklyn; New York: Brooklyn Museum; Thames and Hudson, 1989.



© Brooklyn Museum

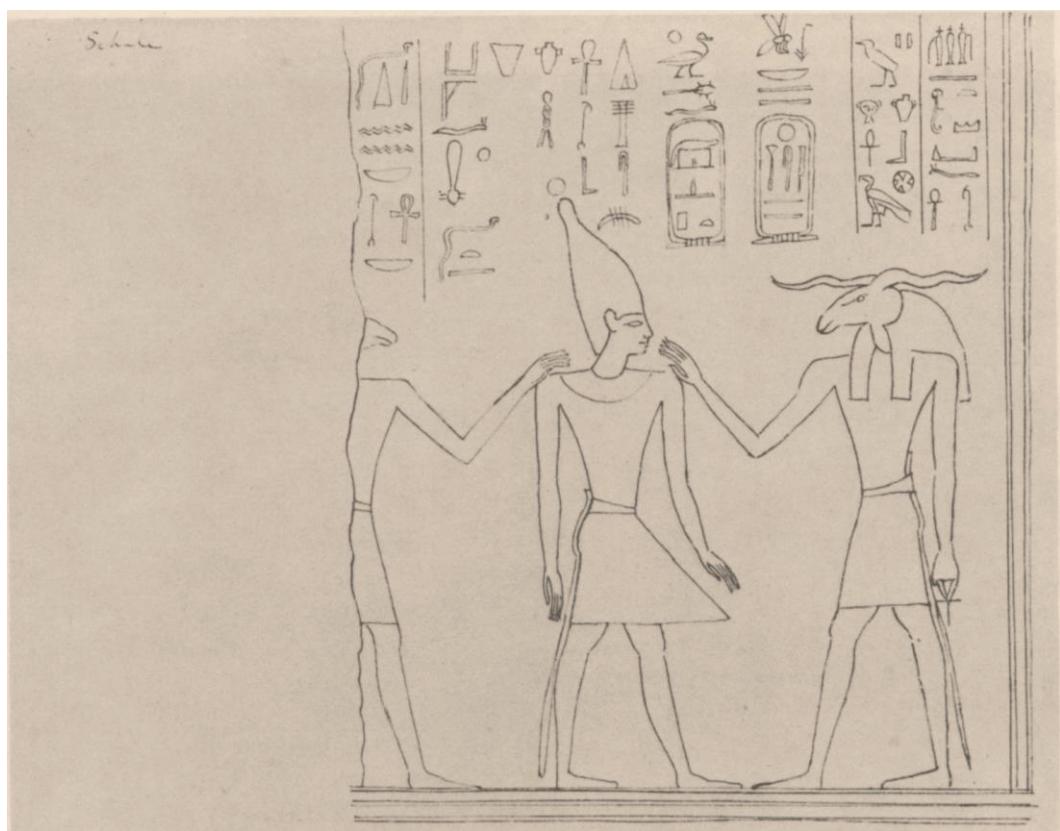


After: Wild 1951: Fig. 1



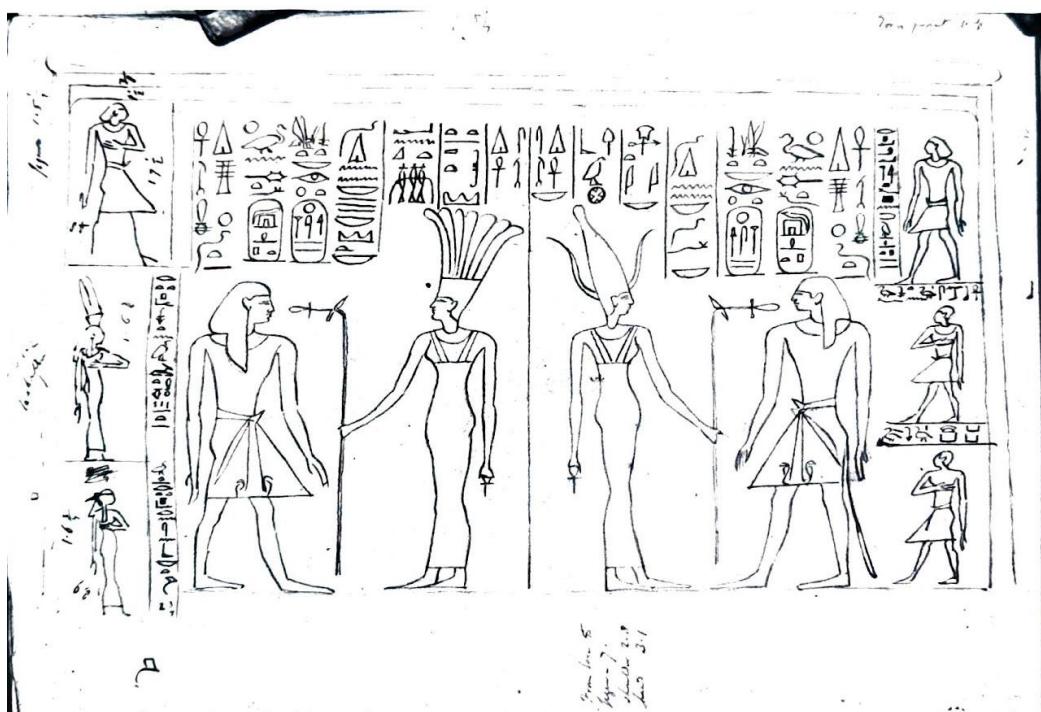
After: Macadam 1946: Pl. VIII

b:



After: Macadam 1946: Pl. VIII

c:



After: Wild 1951: Pl. IV.

Statue's pedestal:

Cat. 13.20.13

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Elephantine?
Current location:	Medelhavsmusst, Stockholm NME. 75.
Dimensions:	W.17.6 cm, H. 8.5 cm.
Material:	Black granite
Condition	Only the pedestal is survived
Bibliography	B. J. Peterson, "Ausgewählte ägyptische Personennamen nebst prosopographischen Notizen aus Stockholmer Sammlungen", <i>Orientalia Suecana 19-20</i> , 1971, PP. 3-22

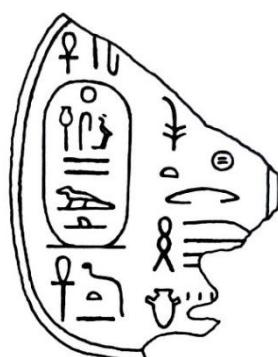


After: Peterson 1970-71: Abb. 6.

Seal-impression:

Cat. 13.20.14

Provenance:	Mirgessa.
Current location:	Boston Museum of Fine Arts [32.1.120].
Dimensions:	W. 1.7 cm. L. 2.1 cm.
Material:	Mud
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	D. Dunham, Second Cataract forts. Volume II: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa: excavated by G. A. Reisner and N. F. Wheeler. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1967, 164 [32-1-120], 171 [fig. 10.5]



After: Dunham 1967: 171 [fig. 10].

Axe's handle:

Cat. 13.20.15

Discovery location

Unknown.

Provenance:

Unknown.

Current location:

British Museum EA 20923

Dimensions:

Dia. 4.80 cm. H. 4.5 cm.

Material:

Wood

Condition

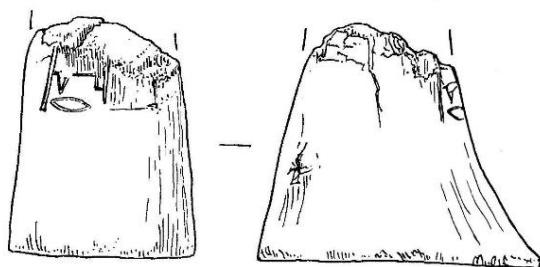
Burned

Bibliography

W. V. Davies, Tools and weapons I: Axes, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum 7. London: British Museum Publications, 1987, 54-55, Pl. 30, 31[170].



© British Museum



After: Davies 1987: Pl. 30, 31[170].

[a]

Discovery location	Abydos
Provenance:	Abydos
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 2523
Dimensions:	
Material:	Steatite
Condition	
Bibliography	<p>A. Mariette, Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos, Paris, I, II 1880, no. 1397.</p> <p>G.T. Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, Oxford, 1971, no. 578.</p>



After: Martin 1971: Pl. 23 [15]

Text:

3t.w n t.t hk3 Sbk-htp s3 3tw n t.t hk3 Mntw-htp

commander of the crew of the ruler
Sobekhotep son of commander of the crew
of the ruler Mentuhotep

[b]

Discovery location	Unknown.
Provenance:	Unknown.
Current location:	Petrie Museum UC11463
Dimensions:	W.1.6 cm. L. 2.2 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	<p>G.T. Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, Oxford, 1971, no. 575- 577, 579-588</p> <p>https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/collect/15703</p>



After: Martin 1971: Pl. 23[13]



© Petrie Museum

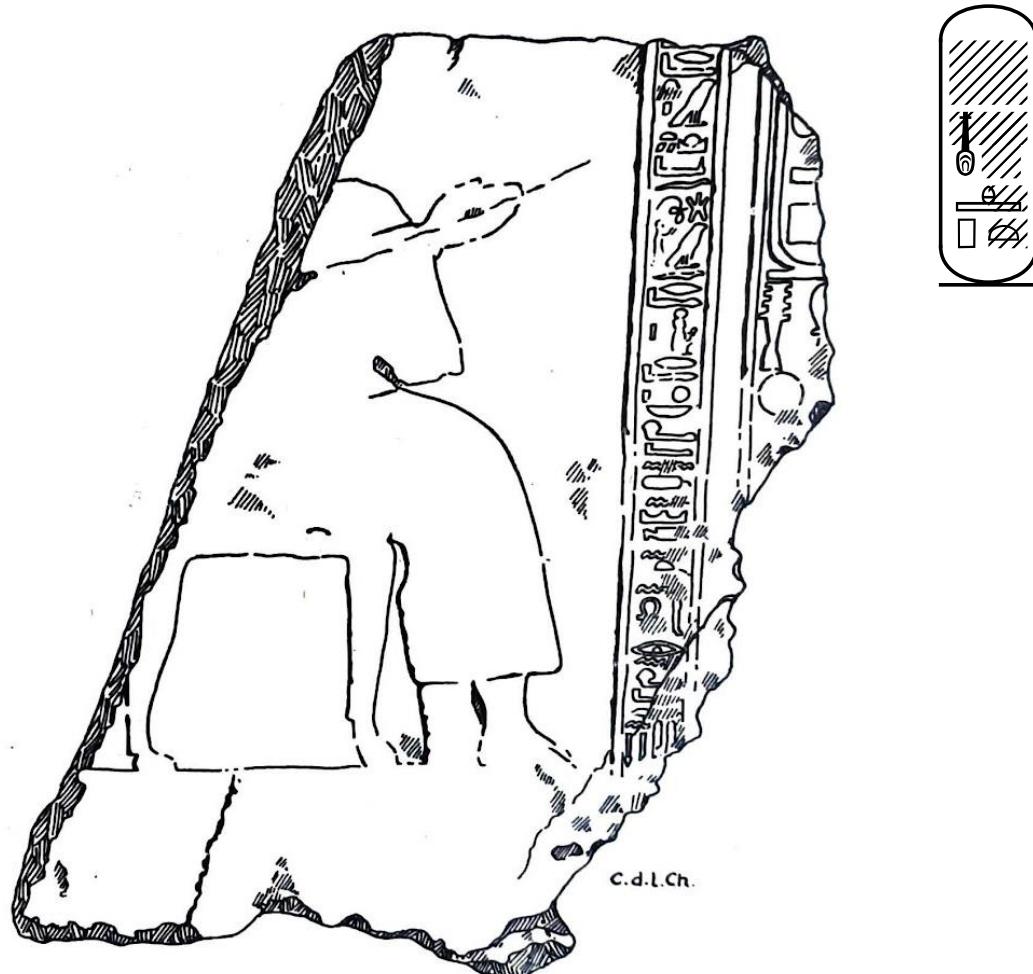
13. 21: King *Hr-shm-R* Noferhotep



Stela:

Cat.13.21.1

Discovery location	Byblos
Provenance:	Byblos
Current location:	The National Museum of Beirut ¹
Dimensions:	H. 1.78 cm., W. 1.05 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition:	Bad
Bibliography	P. Montet, "Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire des relations entre l'ancienne Égypte et la Syrie", <i>Kêmi 1</i> , 1928, pp. 90-93. M. Dunand, <i>Fouilles de Byblos: 1926-1932</i> , T. 1, Paris: Geuthner, 1937-1939.



After: Dunand: 1937-1939: 197, fig. 183.

¹ <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/inscription/4574>

Text:



[....*Nfr-htp*] (may give) stability and life like Re [...]



Ra-Horakhty, may give his praise to Re every day, the ruler of *Kpn* (*Byblos*), *Intn*, repeating lif

e, born to the ruler *Ryn*, justified.

Scarabs:

Cat.13.21.2

Discovery location	Fassuta and Tell el-Ajjul
Provenance	Fassuta and Tell el-Ajjul
Current location	Unknown
Dimensions	
Material	Steatite
Condition	
Bibliography	A. Kempinski, "The Middle Bronze Age in northern Israel", <i>Ä&L</i> 3, 1992, p.71. G.T. Martin, <i>Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period</i> , Oxford, 1971, no. 932, Pl. 26[12].



After: Martin 1971: Pl. 26[12]

Seal-impression:

Cat.13.21.3

Discovery location	Tell el-Dab'a
Provenance	Tell el-Dab'a
Current location	Unknown
Dimensions	
Material	Mud
Condition	
Bibliography	N. Sartori, "Die Siegel aus Areal F/II in Tell el-Dab'a: erster Vorbericht", <i>Ä&L</i> 19, 2010, p. 284, Abb. 5.



After: Sartori 2010: 284, Abb. 5.

Scarab:

Cat.13.21.4

Provenance:	Unknown (identical example for scarab of Tell el-Yahudiya)
Current location:	Louvre E 7728
Dimensions:	H. 2,31 cm., W. 1,65 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition:	Good
Bibliography	O. Tufnell, <i>Studies on scarab seals: Scarab seals and their contribution to history in the early Second Millennium B.C</i> , vol. I, Warminster, 1984, no. 3122.



© Louvre Museum



After: Tufnell 1984: no. 3122

Scarab:

Cat. Cat.13.21.5

Discovery location	Kahun/Lahun
Provenance:	Kahun/Lahun
Current location:	Petrie Museum LDUCE-UC11539
Dimensions:	H. 2.1 cm., W.1.6 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	G.T. Martin, <i>Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period</i> , Oxford, 1971, no. 924.



© Petrie Museum



After: Martin 1971: Pl. 26[6]

Statuette:

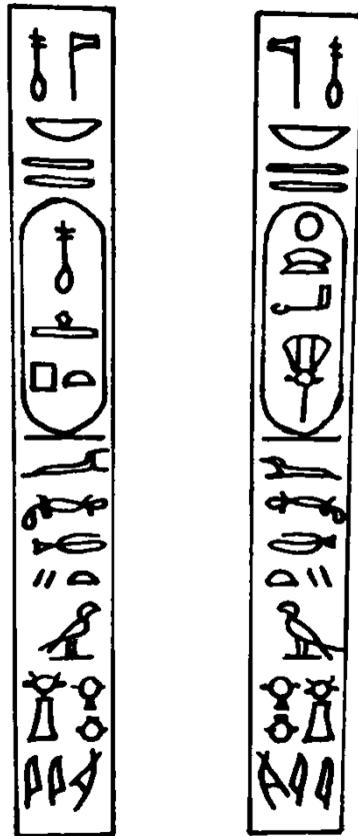
Cat. Cat.13.21.6

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Fayoum?
Current location:	Archaeological Museum of Bologna EG 1799 ¹
Dimensions:	H. 35 cm., W.10 cm.
Material:	Microgabbro/ Microdiorite
Condition	Very good
Bibliography	W. Bissing, <i>Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur</i> , Text, München, 1914, Pl. 28Aa, b. S. Pernigotti, <i>La statuaria egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna</i> , Cataloghi Nuova Serie 2, Bologna: Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1980, 29-30, Pl. Pl. I [fig. 2- N.3], XXVII, XXIX.

¹ http://www.museibologna.it/archeologicoen/sfoglia/66289/n_inv/1799/id/2801



© Museo Civico di Bologna



After: Pernigotti 1980: Pl. I fig. 2- N.3], XXVIII
[1]

Text:

(Right) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands *Hr-shm-R*, beloved of Sobek of Shedet
(and) Horus who resided at Shedet.

(Left) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands *Nfr-htp*, beloved of Sobek of Shedet
(and) Horus who resided at Shedet



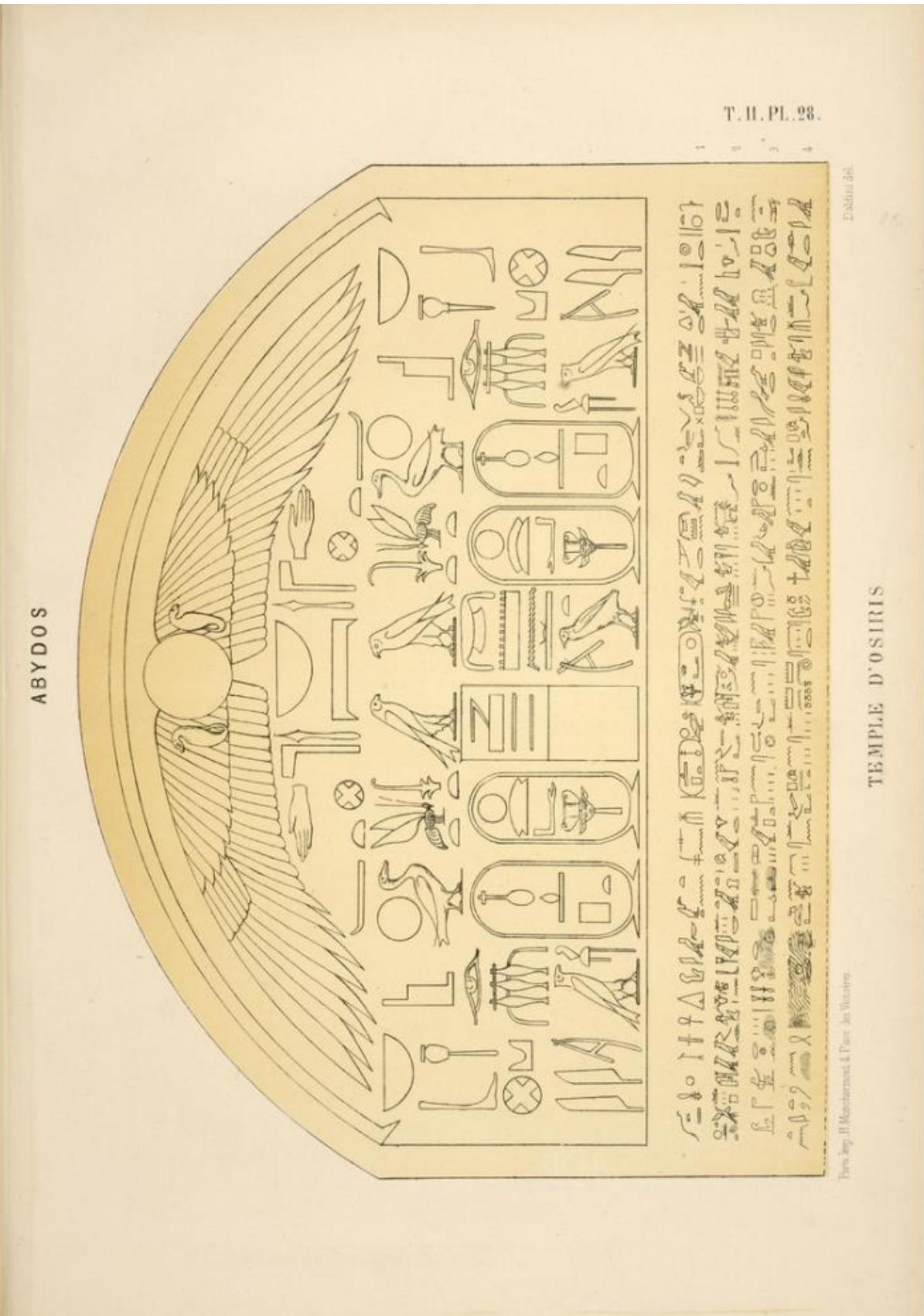
After: Pernigotti 1980: XXVIII [2], XXIX [1]

Great-Stela:

Cat.13.21.7

Discovery location	Abydos
Provenance:	Abydos
Current location:	Lost
Dimensions:	H. c.180 cm, W. c.120 cm.
Material:	Sandstone
Condition	(Bad in time of discovery)
Bibliography	<p>A. Mariette, Abydos, Description des Fouilles Exécutées sur l'Emplacement de Cette Ville, Paris, 1880, II, p.29, 30 (no.200), Pl. 28, 29, 30.</p> <p>A. Mariette, Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos, Paris, 1880, pp.233-234.</p> <p>M. Pieper, Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos: ein Beitrag zur ägyptischen Religions- und Literaturgeschichte, <i>MVAeG</i> ; 32, H. 2 , Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1929.</p> <p>H. Neale, The Neferhotep Stela, Revisited Kingship, Authority and Legitimacy in the Abydos Stela of Neferhotep I, MA thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, 2016.</p>

T. II. PL. 28.



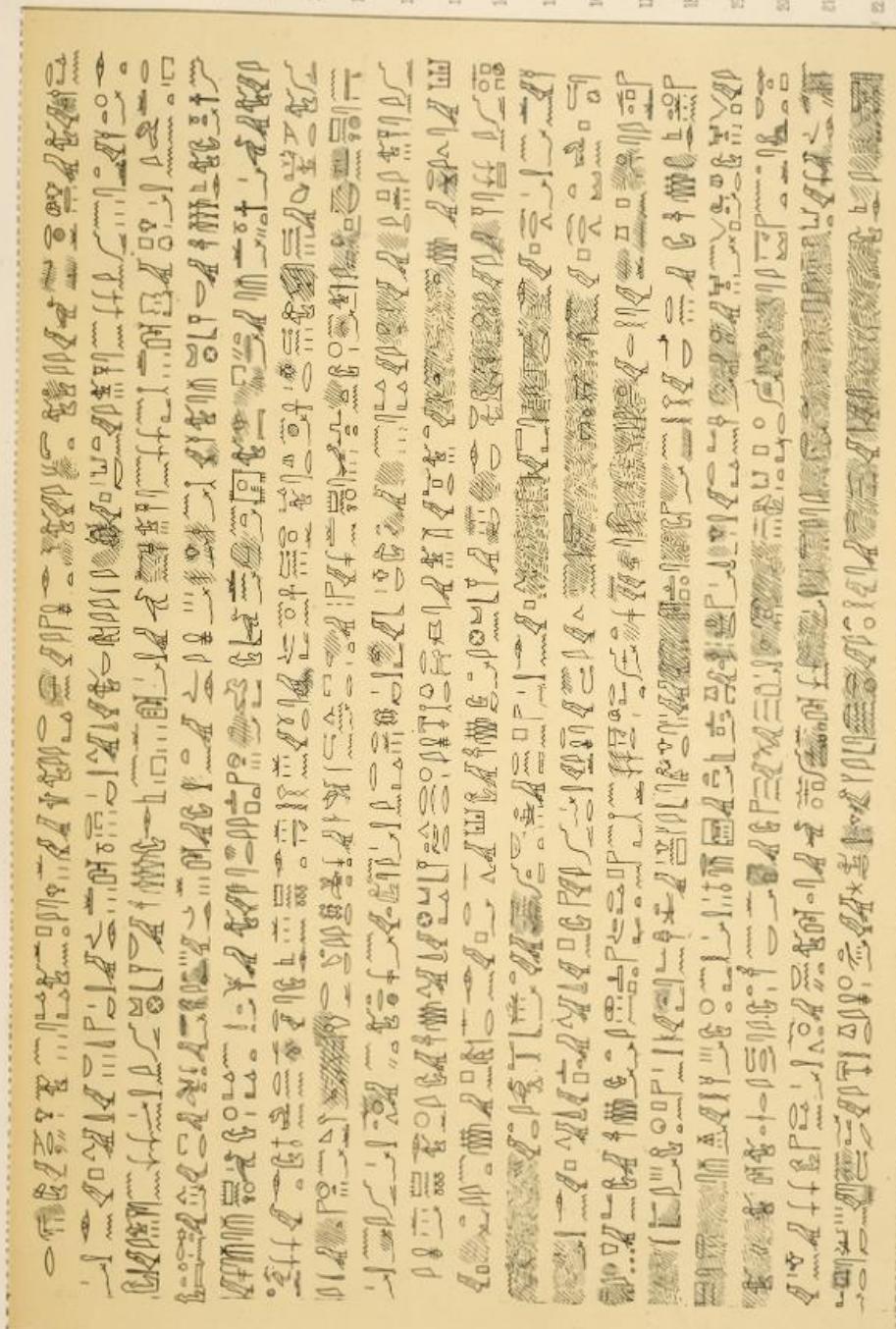
ABYDOS

TEMPLE D'OSIRIS

Temp. long. II. Mesurément à l'aide des bâtons.

After: Mariette 1880a: Pl. 28

ABYDOS



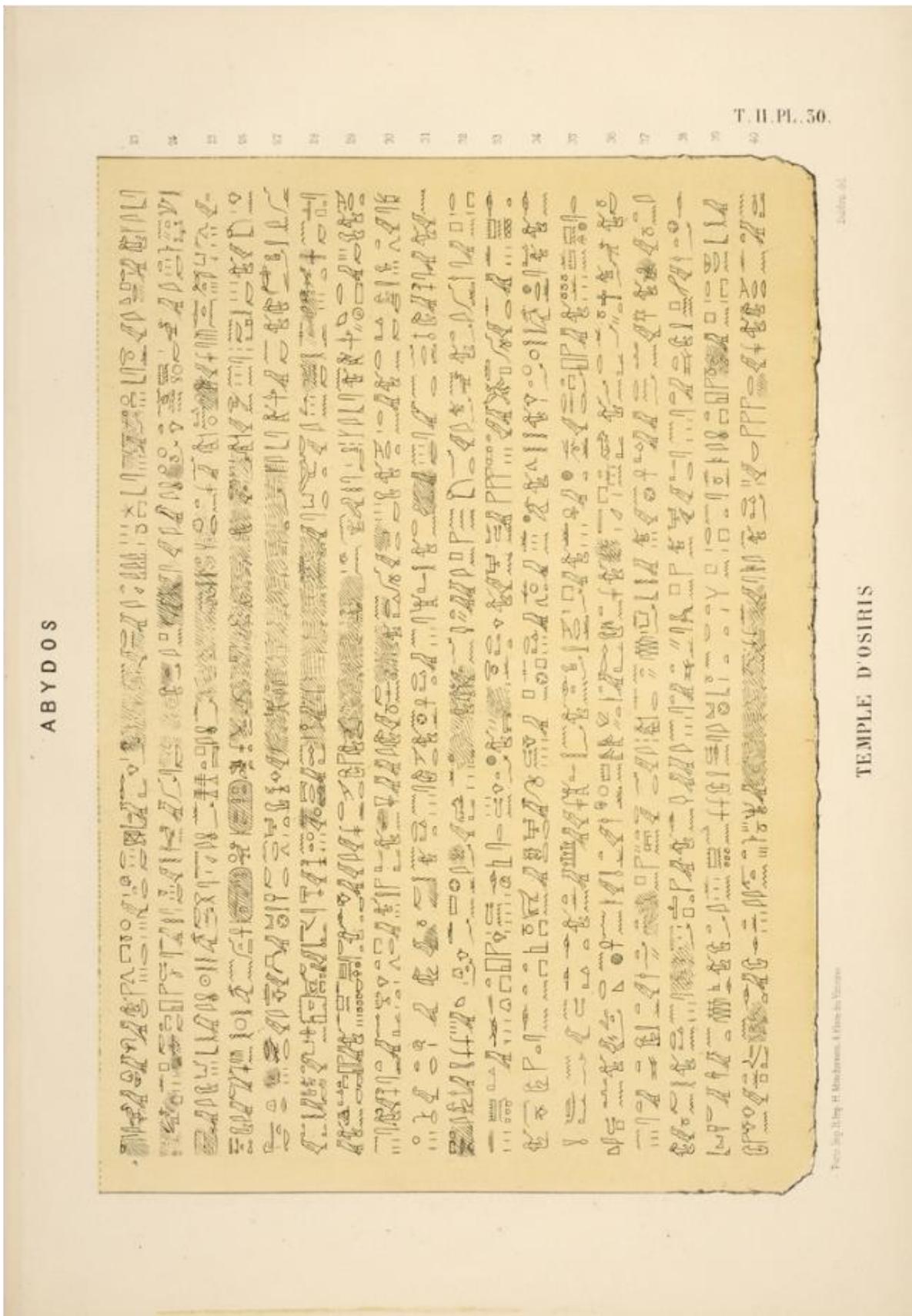
After: Mariette 1880a: Pl. 29

T. II. PL. 29.

Drawing by

TEMPLE D'OSIRIS

Paris Imp. Mathonnet & Fils des Varietez



After: Mariette 1880a: Pl. 30

Transcription:









After: Neale 2016: 100-103

Text¹:

Below of the winged sun-disk

“Behdet, the Great God, Lord of the sky. Then the king’s royal titles as: To the left, The Horus *Grg-tȝ.wy*, The King *Hȝ-shm-Rȝ*, The Son of Re *Nfr-htp*, beloved of Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos. To the right, Golden Horus *Mn-mr.wt*, The King *Hȝ-shm-Rȝ*, The Son of Re *Nfr-htp*, beloved of Osiris, Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos.

Opening

⁽¹⁾ Year 2 under the majesty of Horus *Grg-tȝ.wy*, He of the Two Ladies *Wp-mȝ.t*, Golden Horus *Mn-mr.wt*, The King *Hȝ-shm-Rȝ*, The Son of Re *Nfr-htp*, begotten by the King’s mother *Kemi*, given life, stability and authority like Ra, forever.⁽²⁾ appearance of his majesty upon the throne of Horus in the palace “Exalted of Beauties”.

King’s speech

his majesty said to the nobles, the companions who were in his entourage, the true scribes of the sacred writings and the masters of all secrets, “My heart has desired to see the writings of the primeval time ⁽³⁾ of Atum. Open, for me, the great inventory. Cause that (I) might know the god in his essence and the Ennead in their nature, so that I might present divine offerings to them and offer breads upon the offering tables, so that I might know the god ⁽⁴⁾ in his form and might fashion him according to his first state. For it is to set up their monuments upon earth and that they might grant me the inheritance of Geb, being (precisely) all which the sun disk ⁽⁵⁾ encircles, that they have made me their protector. My office as head of the land was given <to me>..., / for he (the god) knows the goodness of my wisdom. I gave more than was trusted to me. It was because of their wish that one act according to what ⁽⁶⁾ they command that they gave (it) to me”.

¹ The translation of the text refers to Simpson 2003: 339- 344; Neale 2016: 30-76.

Reply of the entourage

Then these companions said, “That which your Ka decrees is that which happens. May your majesty proceed to the house of writings so that your majesty might see all the words of the god.”

The King in the Library

His Majesty proceeded to ⁽⁷⁾ the library. Then his Majesty opened the writings together with these Companions. Then his Majesty found the writings of the Temple of Osiris Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos.

King's speech

Then his Majesty said to these Acquaintances: My Majesty will ⁽⁸⁾ protect my father, Osiris-Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, that I may fashion him together with his Ennead, as my Majesty has seen in his writings. It was as he made from the womb of Nut ⁽⁹⁾ that his form was made as a King of Upper and Lower Egypt. I am his son, his protector, his offspring came out as leader of his Large Hall, to whom Geb gave his legacy about which the Ennead is content, I am being in his great office which Re bestowed, an effective son who fashions him who fashioned him.

⁽¹⁰⁾ “I will say a great thing and I will cause that you might hear it. That you may open the heart in order that he live through it. I will cause that you might know a good life in the manner of those who remains on the earth, making monuments for Osiris and immortalize the name of Wennefer, if these are done, it shall be useful ⁽¹¹⁾ for the land and efficient for every land. I am one who is in the heart of his father Ra, the lord of that which exists and that which does not exist, he whom the gods caused to be effective in the [womb], he (I?) having come forth recognized as a King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the white crown having come into being upon his (my?) head, as he (I?) ruled the whole Ennead.”

Reply of the entourage

⁽¹²⁾ Then these companions said, “As for those who are in [the sky], they permit what your heart wishes, and what your Majesty decrees comes to pass.”

The journey to Abydos

Then his majesty caused that the Custodian of Royal Property who was among the entourage of his majesty, might be summoned [to him]. Then his majesty said to him, “⁽¹³⁾ Travel [southwards with a crew of sailors]. Do not sleep night or day until you reach Abydos. Cause that the Foremost of Westerners might set out. I shall make his monuments like ⁽¹⁴⁾ the first time.” Then these companions said, “How great is [that which you have said, Sovereign] Lord, that you will make your [monuments] in Abydos for your father, Foremost of the Westerners.”

This official journeyed southward / according ⁽¹⁵⁾ to that which his Majesty declared for him. He arrived at [Abydos] at the appearing of [this god]. The Majesty of this god

[advanced] to the *neshmet*-barque, “Mistress of Eternity” to [arrange] his crossing and the river⁽¹⁶⁾ being flooded with the smelling of Punt.

The king meets the God

They arrived at the Residence [...] and one went to state to his Majesty saying: This god has proceeded sufficiently. His Majesty then proceeded [to]⁽¹⁷⁾ the god’s barque, this [fleet] being prepared with the night-barque and transport vessels, the king himself travelling at the front of the canal to associate with this god and to cause holy offerings to be made to his father Foremost of the Westerners: myrrh, wine⁽¹⁸⁾, and divine products for Osiris Foremost of the Westerners in all his characteristics, which he set down for [this] god, appeasing the destroyers and turning back the rebel against the *neshmet*-barque.

The King accompanies the gods to the workshop

Then the Majesty of this god was caused to appear, his Ennead gathered [in his company],⁽¹⁹⁾ while Wepwawet was in front of him as he emptied the paths from his opponents. Next, the Majesty of this god was caused to proceed to the sanctuary so that he came to break in the workshop to fashion the beauties of his Majesty together with his Ennead, his altars being formed with [bronze] and adorned with⁽²⁰⁾ every noble precious / stone of god’s land.

The king oversees the work

Now [his Majesty] himself supervises their work [in silver], gold, and [copper], his Majesty being purified in the purity of the god in his [...] of Lord of the West. Now as for a stolist, scribe, and [craftsman]⁽²¹⁾ of the [workshop], who saw him working [in] this temple [...]. Now as for his Majesty [who found] this knowledge [himself], never had any scribe who was in his entourage found it. That the god put this in his heart⁽²²⁾ confidentially like Osiris [Foremost-of-the-Westerners, Lord of Abydos].

In favour of Osiris

For it was command [to him to be] while (still) in the egg. He demolished the rebels of your Majesty(?) that he might be praised day and night. [He] captured the enemies of your ship, annihilating the⁽²³⁾ rebels in *R-Pkr*. He knows the entrances of the Underworld and the entrances of the Fields of Iaru, his heart joyful with the calendrical offerings of every god going forth in the Wag-festival, the Thoth-festival⁽²⁴⁾ and an eternity of years therein.

In favour of the King

Your effective son, there is none beside him like Horus, as this son revenges his father. Your progeny who provisions your offering tables, who makes pleasant the scent of your temple. Uncover the Great Throne, / Open⁽²⁵⁾ the Great Sanctuary of him who made him

He stands up as king, having an immortal time upon [earth], that he might [flourish] like the heavens, that he might be steady like the earth, that he might pass eternity like *Neheb-kau* there. May the hearts of your priests be cheerful when they offer to his statues. [The hearts of those who praise you]⁽²⁶⁾ are cheerful, making praise to his [statues], the King, *ḥ-shm-Ṛ*, Son of Re Neferhotep, living forever and ever, born to the king's mother Kemi, the justified.

The King's speech to Osiris

(27) Then his Majesty said: "I will make recitations for you while driving off the rebels on the road of [R-Pkr. I will make] rejoicing [for you and praise] on the path of god when you (the god) arrive at Abydos in joy. The justices will be in front of you.⁽²⁸⁾ The enemies will be pacified for you and the arms of the villains brought low for you [...] in Abydos, in the evening of night offerings, you shall be justified in the *wsh.t* Hall, your subjects in exultation,⁽²⁹⁾ your devotees in joy, since I have fought the insurgents against your Majesty, just as I have pacified the heart of [my father Osiris Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos], the god loves the one who loves him. in your heart is all that I do".

"You make my monuments effective in your temple, and you let me be⁽³⁰⁾ the next of your Majesty. [You] cause to reinforce my arm in praise. Cause that the arms of the priests may give to me before the great altar that they⁽³¹⁾may memorize me with a good memory, that they may deference those who say my name, that they may celebrate in permitting me to live, that they may wish the performing of praise to me at the seasons of⁽³²⁾ this sanctuary through that which a father conveys to his son when he becomes a *ẉb*-priest of this god, his rod of old age, guarding the property of his legacy. Then shall he be strong upon his throne."

The King's will

Hear this. Repeat what I command.⁽³³⁾ Indeed, one makes monuments by preserving the ancient times of the gods. Behold I cause that [you] learn, for I am before you. Be observant for the temple. Look at, pray, the monuments⁽³⁴⁾ which I have made. I shall have <you> know about eternity according to my wish—that I might seek out what is useful for the future in placing this matter in your hearts, it being about to happen within this place (Abydos). God has accomplished it at my desire⁽³⁵⁾ to make my monuments effective in his temple, to fulfil my contracts in his house. His Majesty wishes what I have done for him, and he is cheering in what I ordained to be done. Justification was awarded to him.

King's penalties

⁽³⁶⁾I am his son, his protector. He gives me the legacy of one upon the earth. I am a king, great of strength, efficient of word. He who defies me shall not live. Shall not⁽³⁷⁾ my opponent take breathing. His name will not be among the living. His Ka will be tied before the noblemen and he will be thrown out before this god as one who collides what

my Majesty instructions, they who will not ⁽³⁸⁾ act according to this declaration of my Majesty, they who will not raise me up to this honorable god, they who will not be satisfactory to what I have done with his offerings, they [who will not] gift me praise ⁽³⁹⁾ at the festival of this sanctuary within this entire temple of this sanctuary and every office of Abydos.

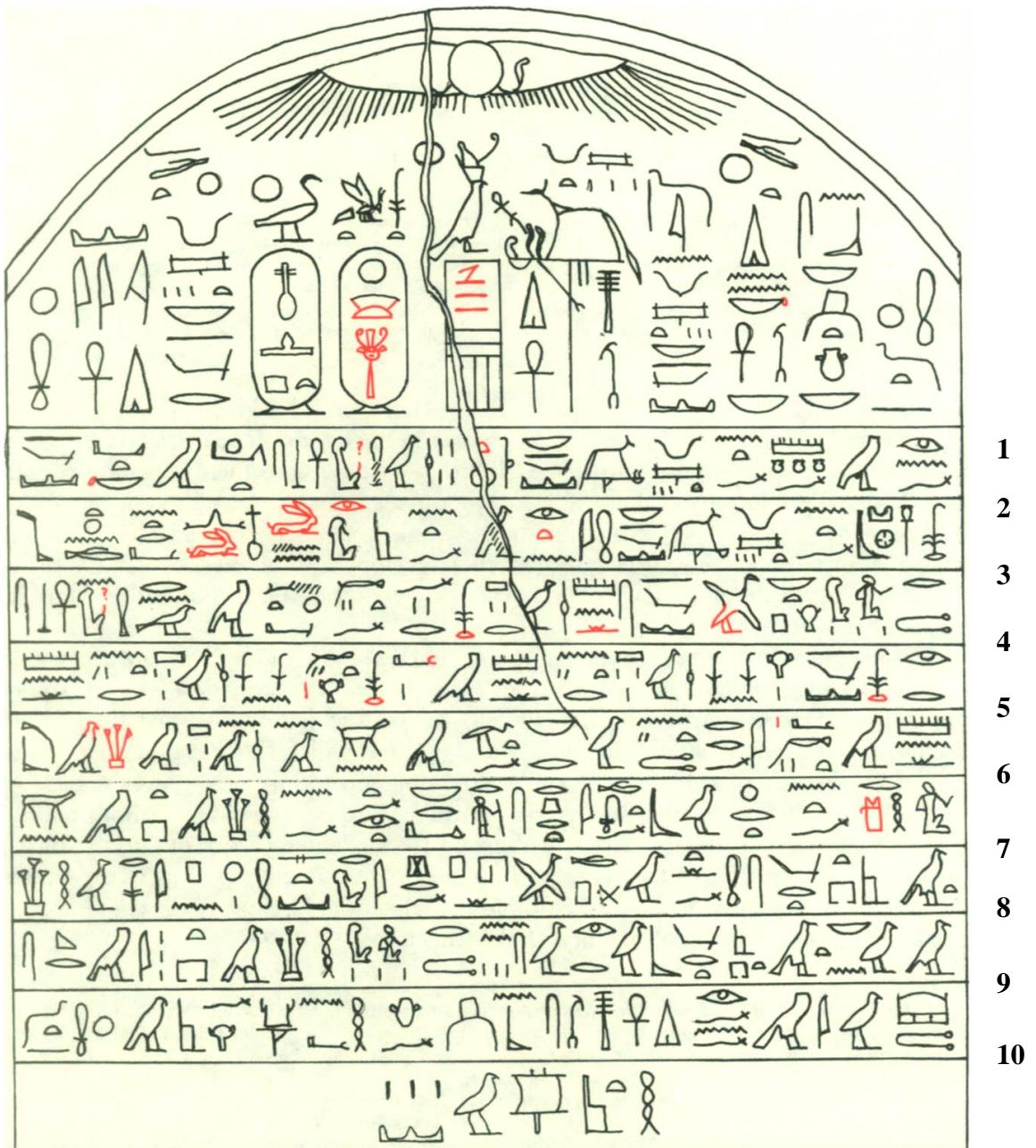
The king's most beloved god

My Majesty has made these monuments for my father Osiris Foremost of the Westerners, Lord of Abydos, ⁽⁴⁰⁾ because of I love him more than all the gods. He gives me a gift [for] these [monuments of mine (namely) a lifetime] of millions of years. The reward for my actions is in that which he has done. It is Maat in the heart of the god".

Discovery location	Abydos
Provenance:	Abydos
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 35256
Dimensions:	H. 167 cm.
Material:	Granite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	D. Randall-MacIver, A. C. Mace, <i>El Amrah and Abydos 1899 - 1901 / by D. Randall-MacIver and A. C. Mace</i> , London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902, p. 64, 84, 93 and pl. xxix. A. Leahy, "A protective measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty", <i>JEA</i> 75, 1989, pp. 41-60..



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



After: Leahy 1989: fig. 1.

Text¹:

“Below the winged sun-disk (*Bhd.t*) appears the main iconography of the stela where the God Wepwawet upon a stand presenting the symbols  and  to King’s Horus name *Grg-t3.wj*.

To the right side: Words spoken by Wepwawet, Lord of the sacred land (the necropolis), hereby (I) give you all Life and dominance, all health, all joy, like Re forever.

To the left side: King *Hr-shm-R*, son of Re *Nfr-htp*, beloved of Wepwawet, lord of scared land, to whom life is given like Re.

(1) He made this as his monument to his father Wepwawet, Lord of the sacred land (the necropolis), year 4 of my majesty, l.p.h., gave a decree that the sacred land (2) south of Abydos for his father Wepwawet, Lord of the sacred land, as Horus did for his father Osiris Wennefer, not allowing (3) any persons to set foot upon this sacred land. Two stelae are set up on its south and two at its north, engraved with the great name of my majesty l.p.h. (4) The south of the sacred land shall be outlined by those stelae which shall set up in the south, and the north at those stelae which shall (5) set up in the north. As for anyone who shall be found within these stelae except for a priest (6) for his duties he shall be burnt. As for any official who shall make himself a tomb within (7) sacred land, he shall be reported, and the law shall be executed upon him and to the necropolis guard as on this day. But as to (8) all outside this necropolis (in) the area where the people may make tombs for themselves there (9) one can be buried. May he (the king) give him life, stability, and dominance. May his heart rejoice with his ka upon the throne of Horus like Re forever (10) provider of breath.”

Scarab:

Cat.13.21.9

Discovery location	Abydos
Provenance:	Abydos
Current location:	Grand Egyptian Museum (5382), CG 36013
Dimensions:	H. 2.2 cm, W. 1 cm, L. 1.6 cm
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	A. Mariette, Catalogue Général des Monuments d’Abydos, Paris, 1880, pp.536-537 [1383] G.T. Martin, <i>Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period</i> , Oxford, 1971, no. 925.

¹ The translation of the text refers to Griffith 1902: 93; Breasted 1962: 337-338; and Leahy 1989: 43.



After: Martin 1970: Pl. 26 [7].



© Grand Egyptian Museum (GEM)

Block:

Cat.13.21.10

Discovery location

Karnak

Provenance:

Karnak

Current location:

Unknown

Dimensions:

H. 110 cm.

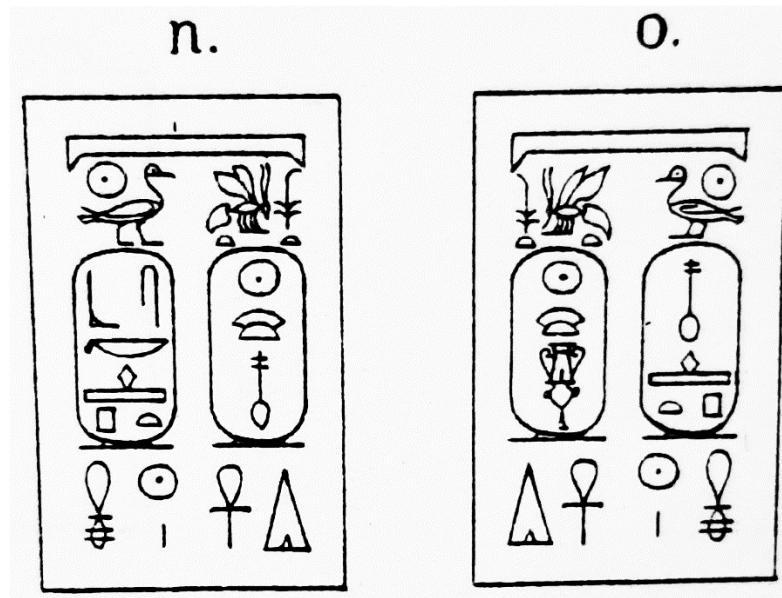
Material:

Sandstone

Condition

Bibliography

A. Mariette, *Karnak: étude topographique et archéologique, avec un appendice comprenant les principaux textes hiéroglyphiques découverts ou recueillis pendant les fouilles exécutées à Karnak*, 2 vols. Leipzig; Le Caire; Paris, 1875, 45 [n°19], Pl. 8 [n-o]



After: Mariette 1875: Pl. 8 [n-o]

Naos:

Cat.13.21.11

Discovery location	Karnak
Provenance:	Karnak
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 37497 [CG 42022]
Dimensions:	H.100 cm, W. 165 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	G. Legrain, <i>Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers de rois et de particuliers</i> , vol. 1., 1906, 13-14, no. 42022. M. Seidel, Die königlichen Statuengruppen, Band 1: die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie, 1996, 112-113, Tf. 29a-c.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Left



Middle



Right



Text:

Right:

*Hr Grg-t3.wj Nb.ty [Wp-m3c.t]....
[Jmn]Rc mr.wt.j nb ns.w t3.wj hn.tj ip.t
sw.t di 'nh*

Horus *Grg-t3.wj*, Two Ladies [*Wp-m3c.t*]....

beloved of [Amun]-Re, the Lord of the
thrones of the Two Lands, the Foremost
of Karnak, given life.

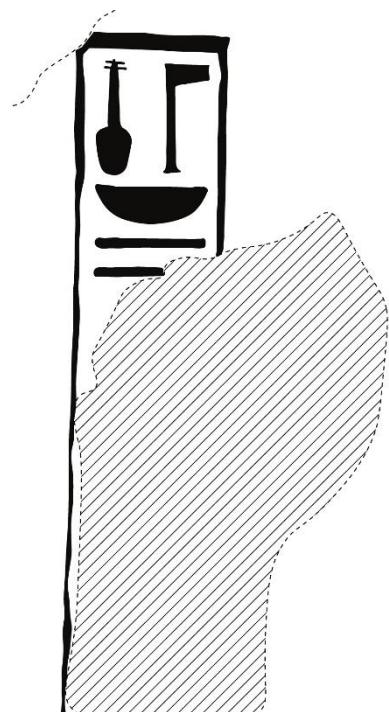


© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Middle:

ntr nfr nb t3.wj [Hc-shm-Rc]

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands
Hc-shm-Rc

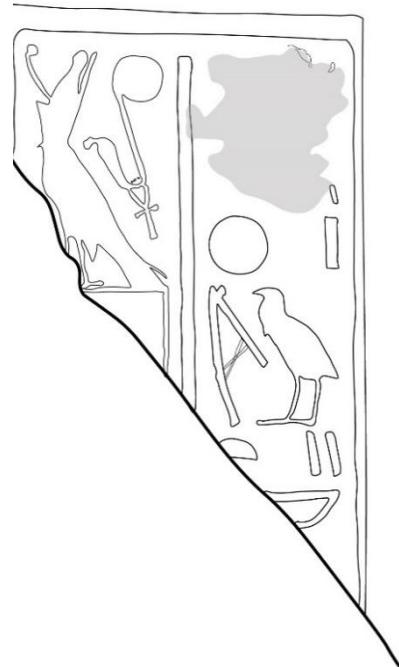


© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Left

*Hr [grg-t³.wj Nb.ty [Wp-m³C.t]....
Jmn-R^C mr.wt.j nb ns.w t³.wj hn.tj ip.t sw.t
di 'nh]*

Horus [grg-t³.wj, Two Ladies *Wp-m³C.t*]....
beloved [of Amun-Re, the Lord of the
thrones of the Two Lands, the Foremost
of Karnak, given life].



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Bead:

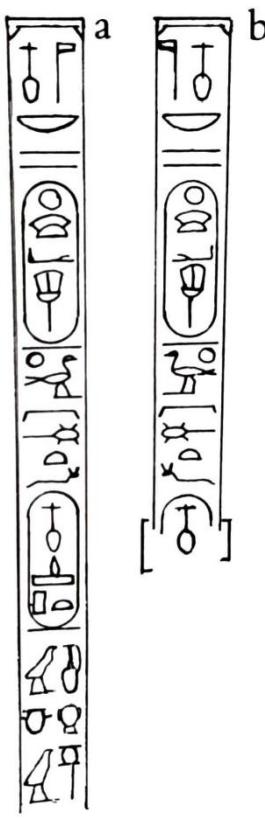
Cat.13.21.12

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Gebelein?
Current location:	Petrie Museum UC 11540
Dimensions:	H. 2.2 cm, W. 1.3 cm.
Material:	steatite
Condition	Bad
Bibliography	S. Quirke, "In the name of the king: on late Middle Kingdom cylinders", in E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman, and A. Schwab (eds), <i>Timelines: studies in honour of Manfred Bietak</i> 1, 2006, p. 269, Pl. 1.



After: Quirke 2006: 270 [Pl. 1]

Discovery location	Elephantine
Provenance:	Elephantine
Current location:	Aswan Museum 1363
Dimensions:	H. 31 cm. W. 15.5 cm
Material:	Gray granite
Condition	broken
Bibliography	L. Habachi, Elephantine IV: The sanctuary of Heqaib, 2 vols. Photographs by Dieter Johannes, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo 33, 115, Pl. 201-202 [a-b].



After: Habachi:1985: 115.

After: Habachi: 1985: Pl. 201[b]

**Text:**

The Good God, Lord of The Two Lands, *Hr-shm-R*, Son of Re of his body *Nfr-htp*, (beloved of) Khnum, the satisfied in Elephantine.

Discovery location	Sehel
Provenance:	Sehel
Current location:	In situ
Dimensions:	H. 87 cm. W. 68 cm
Material:	Rock-inscription
Condition	Good
Bibliography	J. De Morgen et al., <i>Catalogue Des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Egypte Antique</i> , Vol. 1, Vienna, 1894, 87 [40]. A. Gasse, V. Rondot, <i>Les inscriptions de Séhel</i> , Le Caire: IFAO, 2007, 88, 455.

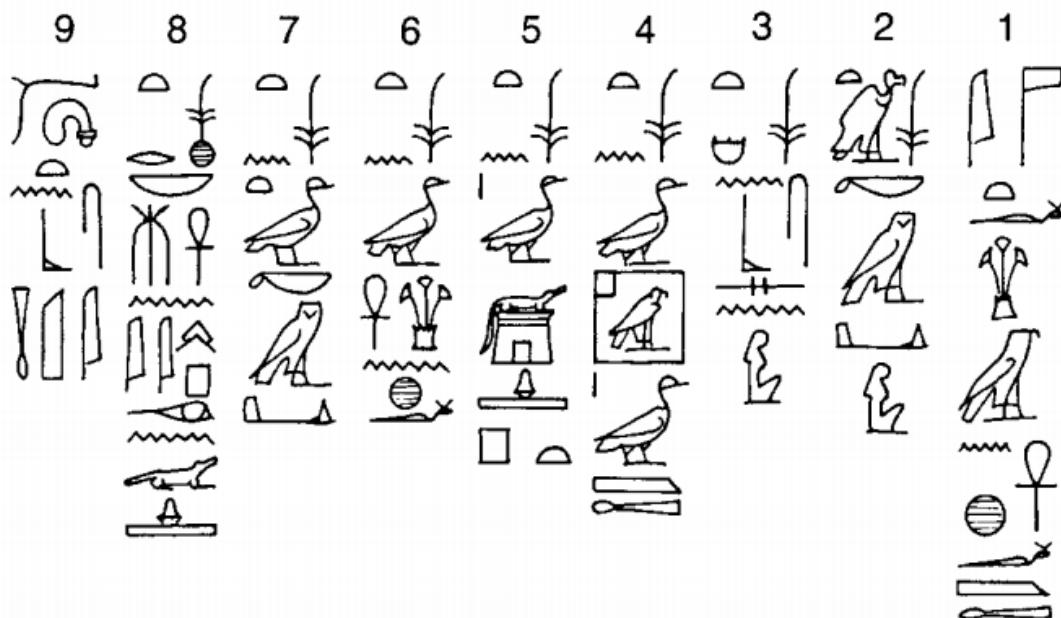


After: Wegner and Cahail 2015: Fig. 30.

Text: (the left scene) :

- (1) King *Hr-shm-Rˁ Nfr-htp* beloved of Ankut, the favourite of her mother.
- (2) speech spoken, I gave you life stability, and power like Re forever.
- (3) Let your monuments exist for eternity. May the sky remain and endure what you have done.

Discovery location	Sehel
Provenance:	Sehel
Current location:	In situ
Dimensions:	H. 66 cm. W. 143 cm
Material:	Rock-inscription
Condition	Good
Bibliography	J. De Morgan et al., <i>Catalogue Des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Egypte Antique</i> , Vol. 1, Vienna, 1894, 87 [44]. A. Gasse, V. Rondot, <i>Les inscriptions de Séhel</i> , Le Caire: IFAO, 2007, 92, 462.

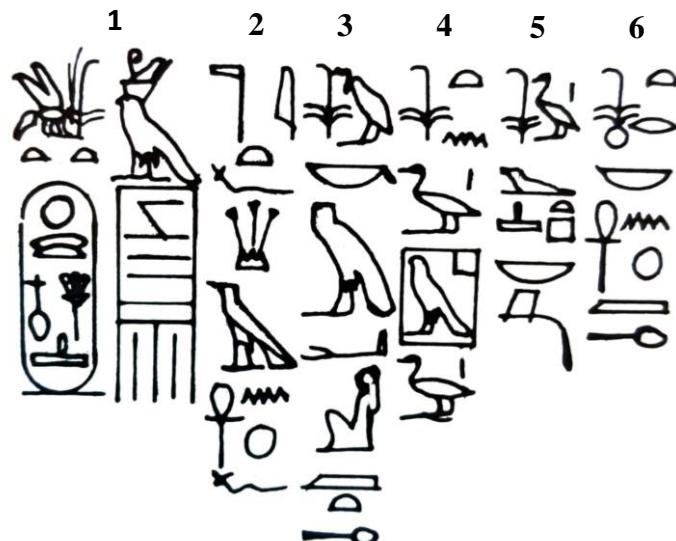


After: A. Gasse, V. Rondot 2007: 92

Text:

- (1) The God's father *H3-nh=f*, the justified
- (2) the royal mother *Kmj*
- (3) the royal wife *Snbsnj*
- (4) The royal son *s3-hwt-hr*, the justified
- (5) The royal son *Sbk-htp*
- (6) The royal son *H3-nh=f*
- (7) The royal daughter *Kmj*
- (8) The known by the king *nb-nh*, born of *H3py*, begotten of *Sbk-htp*,
- (9) The overseer of the seals, the justified.

Discovery location	On the Philae Road
Provenance:	On the Philae Road
Current location:	In situ
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Rock-inscription
Condition	_____
Bibliography	J. De Morgen et al., <i>Catalogue Des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Egypte Antique</i> , Vol. 1, Vienna, 1894, 17 [79].



After: Habachi 1981: Fig.5.

Text:

- (1) The King *H^c-shm-r^c, Nfr-htp*, Horus *Grg-t³.wj*.
- (2) The God's father *H³-nh=f*.
- (3) the royal mother *Kmj*, the justified.
- (4) The royal son *S³-hwt-hr*.
- (5) The royal son *Sbk-htp*, the reverend.
- (6) The known by the king *Nb-nh*, the justified.

Plaque:

Cat.13.21.17

Discovery location

Buhen

Provenance:

Buhen

Current location:

Pennsylvania University Museum (E10755)

Dimensions:

H. 11.43 cm. L. 18.41 cm.

Material:

Faiience

Condition

Good

Bibliography

D. Randall-MacIver, C. L. Woolley, Buhen, 2 vols, Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia 7-8, Philadelphia: University Museum, 1911, 192, 201, 234, pl. 74.

<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/281308>

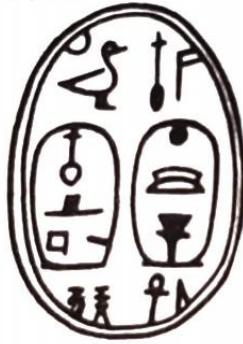


© Pennsylvania University Museum

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Unknown
Current location:	Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (E16886)
Dimensions:	L. 2.1 cm. W. 1.6 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	O. Tufnell, <i>Studies on scarab seals: Scarab seals and their contribution to history in the early Second Millennium B.C.</i> , vol. I, Warminster, 1984, no. 3110. https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/e65e607a-7f3d-4cb1-9085-f9c9576ecaf2



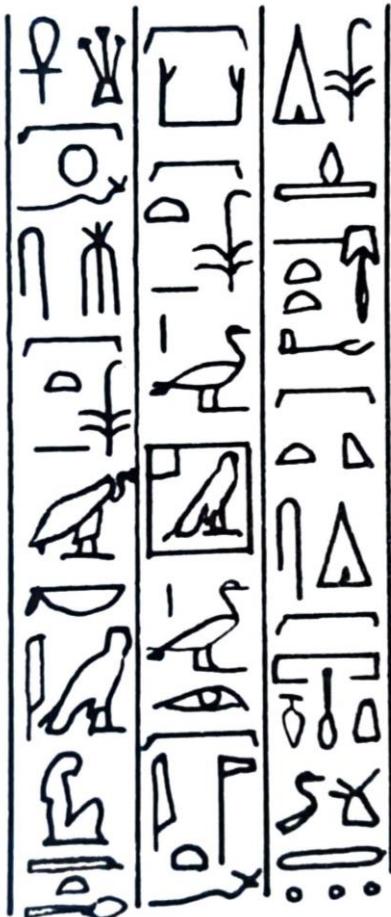
© Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago



After: Tufnell 1984: 3110

Statue: Cat.13.22.1

Provenance:	Elephantine
Current location:	Aswan Museum 1347 ¹
Dimensions:	H. 32 cm.
Material:	Gray Granit
Condition	Good (cracked under the chest across the arms)
Bibliography	L. Habachi, Elephantine IV: The sanctuary of Heqaib, 2 vols, 1985, 115-116, Pls. 203-205.



After: Habachi 1985: 115



After: Habachi 1985: Pl. 203

Text:

⁽¹⁾ Offering by The King to Satis and Anuket that they may give offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, ⁽²⁾ to the Ka of the king's son *S3-hw.t-hr*, begotten of the God's father ⁽³⁾ *H3-`nh=f* and born of the king's mother *Kmj*, the justified.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 348.

Provenance:

Elephantine

Current location:

Unknown location

Dimensions:**Material:**

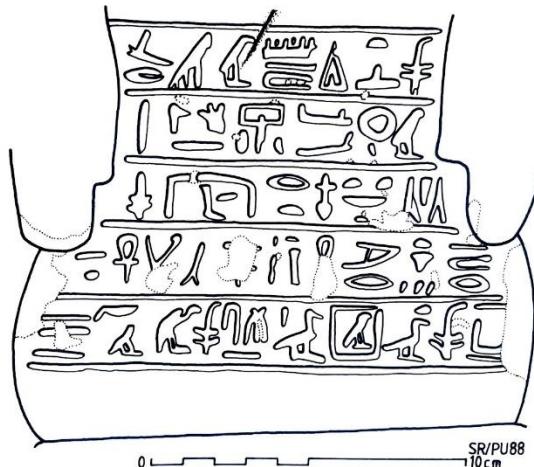
Black Granit

Condition

Head and chest are lost

Bibliography

S. Seidlmayer, "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 15./16. Grabungsbericht", *MADIK* 44, pp. 135-182, 1988.



After: Seidlmayer 1988: 181, App. 15



After: Seidlmayer 1988: Taf. 58 [a]

Text¹:

⁽¹⁾Offering by the king to Monthu of Medamud,⁽²⁾ may give offering of bread and beer, oxen and fowl,⁽³⁾ alabaster, cloths, everything good and pure⁽⁴⁾ incense, oil, and sweet breathing,⁽⁵⁾ for the Ka of Prince *S3-hw.t-hr*, born of the king's mother *Kmw/ Kmj*, the justified".

¹ After Seidlmayer 1988: 182.

13. 23: King *Hr-nfr-R*^c Sobekhotep



Statuette

Cat.13.23.1

Discovery location:

Tell Hizzin

Provenance

Heliopolis?

Current location:

Unknown (formerly National Museum of Antiquities Beirut)

Dimensions:

—

Material:

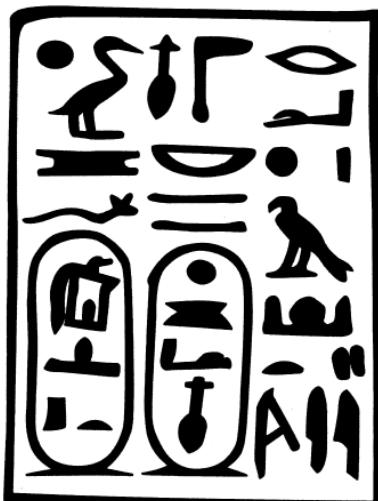
Diorite, anorthosite gneiss, or schist?

Condition

broken

Bibliography

A. Ahrens, "The Egyptian objects from Tell Hizzin in the Beqa'a Valley (Lebanon): an archaeological and historical reassessment", *Ä&L* 25, 2015, pp. 201-222.



After: Ahrens 2015: Fig. 6, 8

Text:

The Good God, the Lord of the Two Lands *Hr-nfr-R*^c
 Son of Re, his beloved *Sbk-htp*
 Beloved of *R*^c-*Hr-3lh.tj*

Cat.13.23. 2 [a]**Discovery location:**

Tanis

Provenance

Memphis?

Current location:

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 37486)

Dimensions:

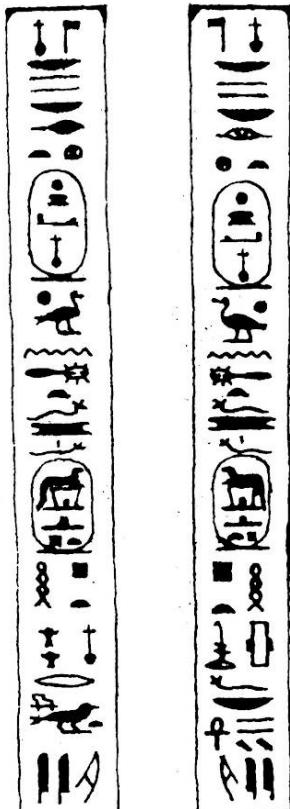
H. 2. 68 m.

Material:

Red granite

Condition

Broken at its arms

BibliographyW.M.F. Petrie, *Tanis*, Vol. I, EEF Memoir, 2, London, 1889, 8, Pl. 3 [plane 102].

After: Petrie 1889: Pl. 3 [plane 102]

Text:

(Right) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of action *H^r-nfr-R^r*, Son of Re from his body, his beloved *Sbk-htp*, beloved of Ptah *rsy-jnb=f*, Lord of *nht3.wj*.

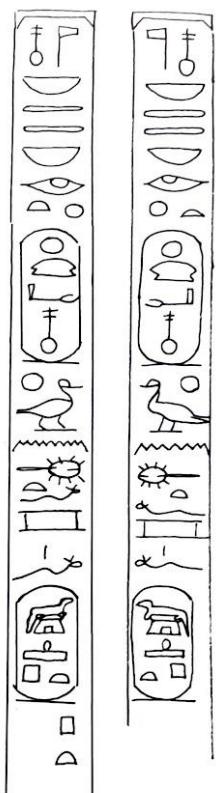
(Left) The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of action *H^r-nfr-R^r*, Son of Re from his body, his beloved *Sbk-htp*, beloved of Ptah *nfr-hr-hr-st-wr.t*.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Cat.13.23. 2 [b]

Discovery location: Tanis
Provenance: Memphis?
Current location: Louvre Museum (A16/ N16)
Dimensions: H. 2.75 m.
Material: Red granite
Condition Good
Bibliography É. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060-1560 avant J.-C.*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1987, pp. 17-19.



After: Delange 1987: 19

Text:

(Right) The Good God, Lord pf the Two Lands, Lord of action *Hr-nfr-R*, Son of Re from his body, his beloved *Sbk-htp*, ...

(Left) The Good God, Lord pf the Two Lands, Lord of action *Hr-nfr-R*, Son of Re from his body, his beloved *Sbk-htp*, beloved of Pt...



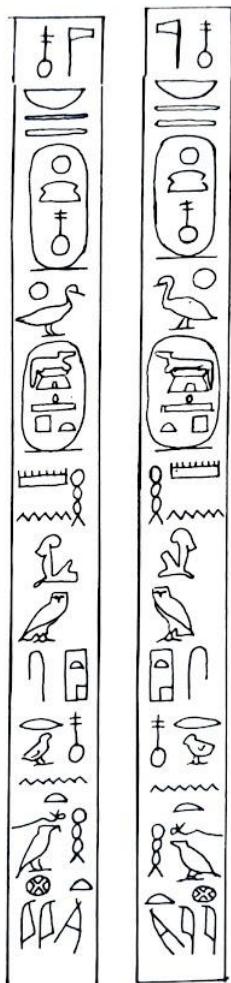
© Louvre Museum

Discovery location:	Tanis
Provenance:	Memphis?
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Black granite
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	P. Montet, <i>Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932)</i> , Paris 1933, 117, Pl. LXVII [4].



After: Montet 1933: Pl. LXVII [4].

Discovery location:	Tanis
Provenance:	Moalla?
Current location:	Louvre A17 [N17]
Dimensions:	H. 1.24 m.
Material:	Gabbro
Condition	Semi-complete (lost parts from the nose and <i>nemes</i>)
Bibliography	É. Delange, <i>Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060-1560 avant J.-C.</i> Paris, 1987, pp. 20-21.



After: Delange 1987: 21

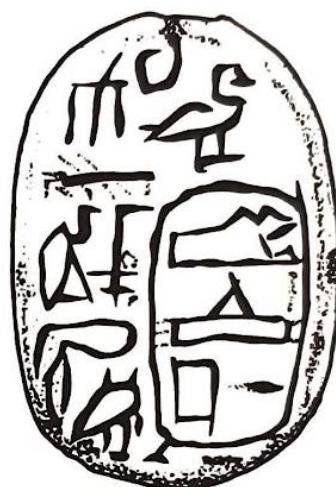
Text:

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands,
Hr-nfr-Rˁ, Son of Re *Sbk-htp*, beloved of
 Hemen, in *hw.t-s:nfrw* of *hf3.t*



© Louvre Museum

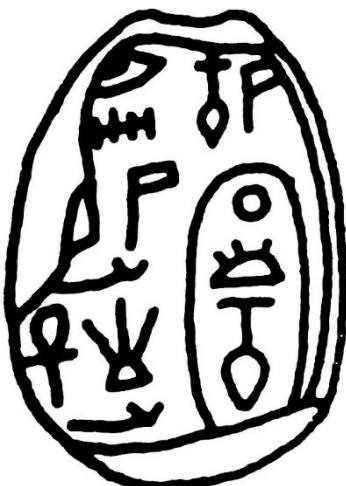
Discovery location:	Tell el-Maskhuta
Provenance	Unknown
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	J. S. Holladay, <i>Cities of the Delta, part III: Tell el-Maskhuṭa: preliminary report on the Wadi Tumilat Project 1978-1979, ARCE: reports 6</i> , Malibu: 1982, 45, 50, Fig. 75-76.



After: Holladay 1982: Fig. 75-76

Cat.13.23. 5 [a]:

Discovery location:	Lisht
Provenance	Lisht?
Current location:	Grand Egyptian Museum (5387), former Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 31373) [CG 36018].
Dimensions:	Length 2.5 cm, Height 1 cm.
Material:	Steatite/ soap stone
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	J.-E. Gautier, G. Jéquier, <i>Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 6</i> , Le Caire, 1902, 107, Fig. 134.



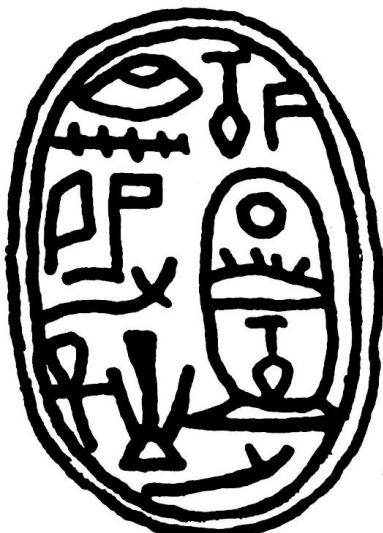
After: Martin 1971: Pl. 26 [31]



© Grand Egyptian Museum

Cat.13.23. 5 [b]:

Discovery location:	Lisht
Provenance	Lisht
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum (MMA 22.1.316)
Dimensions:	L. 1.5 cm, H. 1 cm,
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	A. C. Mace, "The Egyptian Expedition 1921-1922: excavations at Lisht", <i>BMMA</i> 17 (12.2), 1922, 16 [1], Fig. 22.



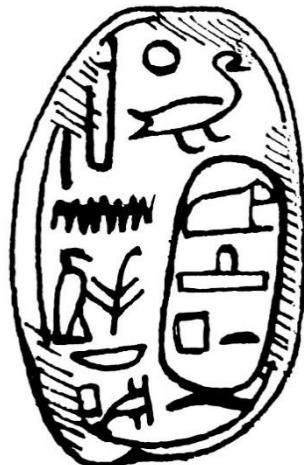
After: Martin 1971: Pl. 26 [34]



© Metropolitan Museum

Cat.13.23. 5 [b]:

Discovery location:	Lisht
Provenance	Lisht
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum (MMA 22.1.423)
Dimensions:	L. 2.1 cm, H. 1 cm,
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	A. C. Mace, "A group of scarabs found at Lisht", <i>JEA</i> 8 (1/2), 1922, 13, Pl. III [2].



After: Ben-Tor 2007: Pl. 22 [1]



© Metropolitan Museum

Cylinder-seal

Cat.13.23. 7

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Fayoum?
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum (MMA 10.130.1638)
Dimensions:	L. 2.3 cm
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	W. C. Hayes, <i>The Scepter of Egypt I: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part I: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom</i> , New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953, 343, Fig. 226. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544379



© Metropolitan Museum

Text:

- (1) The Good God *Hr-nfr-R*
- (2) beloved of Sobek (of) Shedet (and) Horus who is resided at Shedet
- (3) given life forever.

Sphinx

Cat.13.23. 8

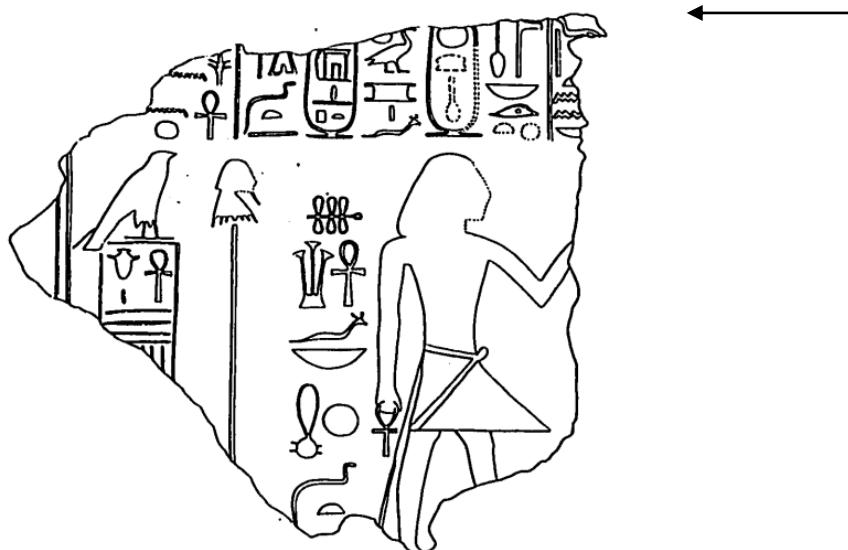
Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Atfih?
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 26039)
Dimensions:	H. 22 cm., W. 17 cm. L. 57 cm.
Material:	Black granite
Condition	Headless
Bibliography	L. Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo</i> , Nr. 1-1294, Teil 2: Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 381-653. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Berlin, 1925, 29 [421], Pl. 68. W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, <i>British Museum Occasional Paper</i> 28, London, 1981, no. 29.



After: Borchardt 1925: Pl. 68 [421].

Discovery location:	Abydos
Provenance	Abydos
Current location:	Cat.13.23. 8 [a, b,] unknown, [c] Royal Museum of Art and History in Brussels (E. 5262)
Dimensions:	Cat.13.23. 8 [c] W. 127 cm. H. 19 cm.
Material:	Cat.13.23. 8 [a, b,] Black granite, [c] Limestone
Condition	
Bibliography	<p>W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Abydos</i>, with a chapter by A. E. Weigall, <i>Vol I</i>, London, 1902, 29, 42, Pl. LIX.</p> <p>W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Abydos</i>, with a chapter by F. Ll. Griffith, <i>Vol II</i>, London, 1903, 34, 43, Pl. XXVIII.</p> <p>L. Speleers, <i>Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles</i>, Bruxelles, 1923, 16 [71].</p> <p>J. Wegner, The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III at Abydos: a Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos, Dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1996, 100, 108.</p>

Cat.13.23. 8 [a]



After: Petrie 1902: Pl. LIX

Text:

Spoken by gods ...The Good God, Lord of actions, *Hr-nfr-Rˁ*, Son of Re, his beloved *Sbk-htp*, given life forever. Living (Ka) of the king.

Behind the Ka-figure: Horus *'nh-jb-t3.wy*

Behind the King: All of his health, prosperity, and life like Re forever.

Cat.13.23. 8 [b]

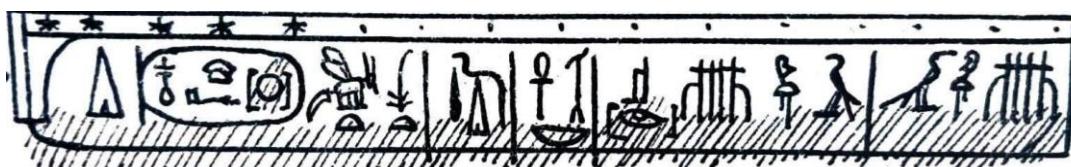


After: Petrie 1903: Pl. XXVIII.

Text:

“... of / for his father Osiris-Wennenefer/ Khentiamentiu. What he made is a chapel of stone... so that Osiris might grant his protection daily”¹.

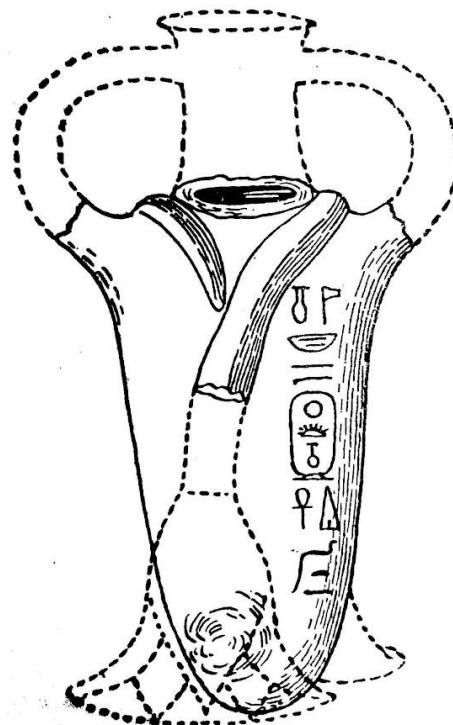
Cat.13.23. 8 [c]



After: Speleers 1923: 16 [71].

¹ After Wegner 1996: 108; Petrie 1903: 43.

Discovery location:	Dendera
Provenance	Dendera
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	H. c. 10 cm
Material:	Marble
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	A. E. P. Weigall, "Upper Egyptian notes", <i>ASAE</i> 9, 1908, p. 107 [5]



After: Weigall 1908: 107, Fig 2.

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Dendera?
Current location:	Yale University Art Gallery (1936.30)
Dimensions:	Max. Dia. 8.7 cm
Material:	Glazed faience
Condition	Good
Bibliography	G.D Scott, <i>Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale</i> , New Haven, 1986, 188 [117]. P. E. Newberry, "Extracts from my notebooks (IV)", <i>PSBA</i> 23, 1901, 220.



© Yale University Art Gallery



After Scott 1986: 188 [117].

Text:

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, *H^c-nfr-R^c*, Son of Re *Sbk-htp* beloved Hathor, mistress ...

Discovery location:

Wadi Hammamat

Provenance

Wadi Hammamat

Current location:

Unknown

Dimensions:**Material:**

Schist

Condition**Bibliography**

F. Debono, "Expédition archéologique royale au désert oriental (Keft-Kosseir):

Rapport préliminaire sur la campagne 1949", ASAE 51, 1951, pp. 81- 82, Pl. XV.

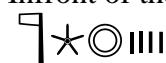
W. K. Simpson, "The Dynasty XIII stela from the Wadi Hammamat", MDAIK 25, 1969, pp. 154-158.

Recto:**Text:**

Above the king:

Son of Re, from his body,
Sbk-htp

Infront of the king:

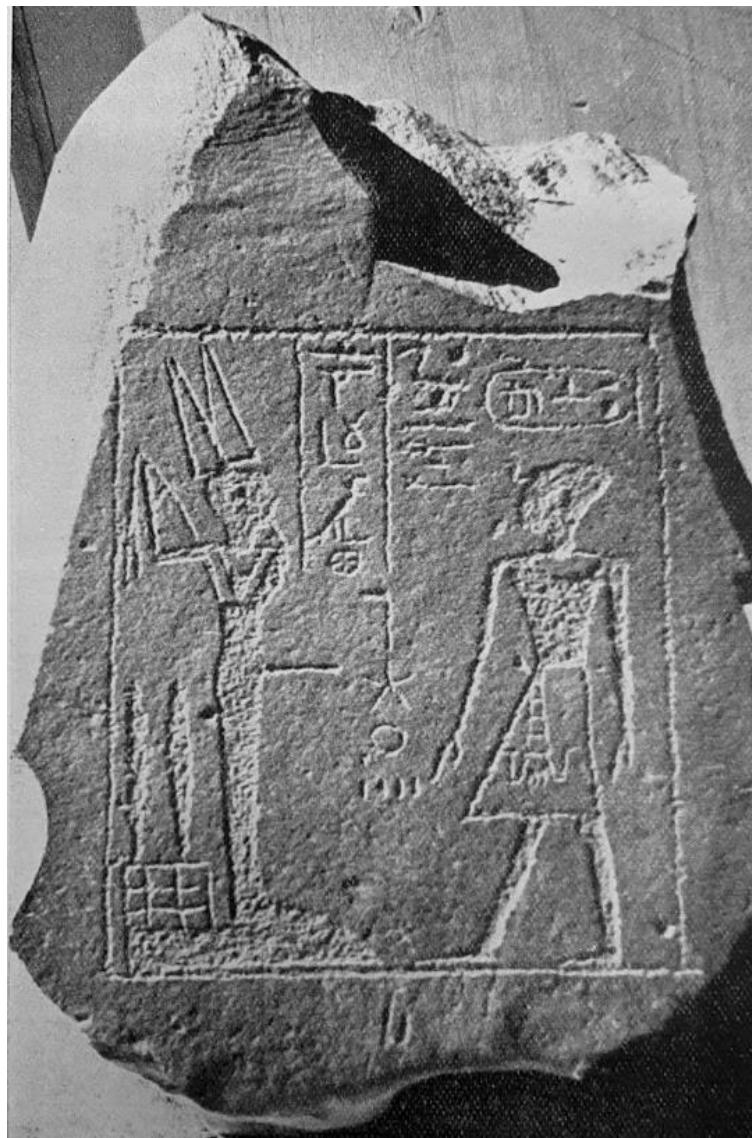


Adoring the god 4 times.

Infront of the God:



Min of Coptos.



After: Debono 1951: Pl. XV

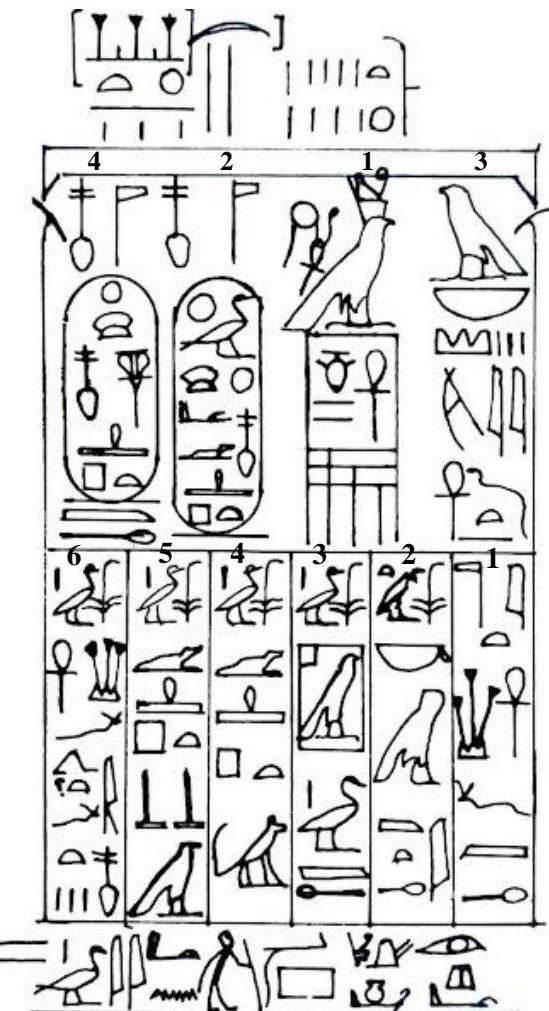
Verso:

Text:

The regnal-year 9, 2 month of the *Akhet*

- (1) Horus *nḥ-jb-t3.wy*,
- (2) Good God, Son of Re *Hr-nfr-R Sbk-htp*,
- (3) Beloved of Horus, Lord of the foreign lands, given life forever
- (4) Good God *Hr-shm-R Nfr-htp*, the justified.

- (1) The Father's God *H3-nh=f*, the justified.
 - (2) The royal mother *Kmj*, the justified.
 - (3) The prince *S3-ht-hr*, the justified.
 - (4) The prince *Sbk-htp, s3b?*
 - (5) The prince *Sbk-htp*, of *djadat* council¹.
 - (6) Prince *H3-nh=f*, the coming of beauty.
- “Made under the charge of the representative (?) of the chief steward, *Sj-rmny*”²



After: Habachi 1981: Fig 6.

Scarab

Cat.13.23.13

Discovery location:	Tukh
Provenance	Tukh
Current location:	Petrie Museum LDUCE-UC11546
Dimensions:	H. 2.4 cm, W. 1.5 cm
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Good
Bibliography	<p>W. M. F. Petrie, J. E. Quibell, <i>Naqada and Ballas: 1895</i>, London, 1896, Pl. LXXX [19].</p> <p>G.T. Martin, <i>Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period</i>, Oxford, 1971, no. 949</p>

¹ After Simpson 1969: 157.

² After Simpson 1969: 158; Habachi 1981: 79.



After: Martin 1971: Pl. 26 [28]



© Petrie Museum

Cup

Cat.13.23.14

Discovery location:

Asasif

Provenance

Asasif ?

Current location:

Myers Museum, Eton College 2199

Dimensions:

H. 9.1 cm, Dia. 9.6 cm

Material:

Faience

Condition

Good

Bibliography

P. E. Newberry, "Extracts from my notebooks (VI)", *PSBA* 25, 1903, pp. 134-

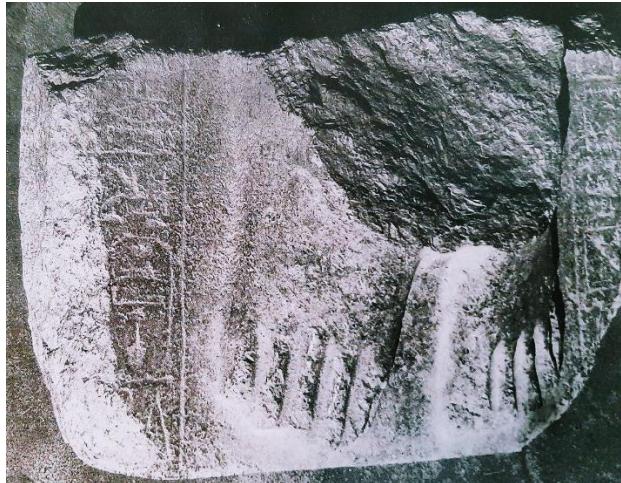
135.

J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals: Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge, 1988, 130 [123].



© Myres Museum, Eton College

Discovery location:	Qurna
Provenance	Qurna?
Current location:	Unknown [may be still in the portico of Seti I's funerary temple in Qurna]
Dimensions:	H. 89.5 cm, W. 49 cm.
Material:	Red granite
Condition	Lost its upper half
Bibliography	W. V. Davies, "A statue of the 'King's son, Sahathor', from Thebes", in G. Heike and D. Polz (eds), <i>Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet</i> , Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998, pp. 177-179, Pl. 13



After: Davies 1988: Pl. 13

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	H. 2.13 m.
Material:	Red Granite
Condition	
Bibliography	G. Legrain, "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902", ASAE 4, 1903, p. 26.

Text:

Horus *'nh-jb-t3.wj*, King *Hr-nfr-R*, beloved of Amun, given life forever.



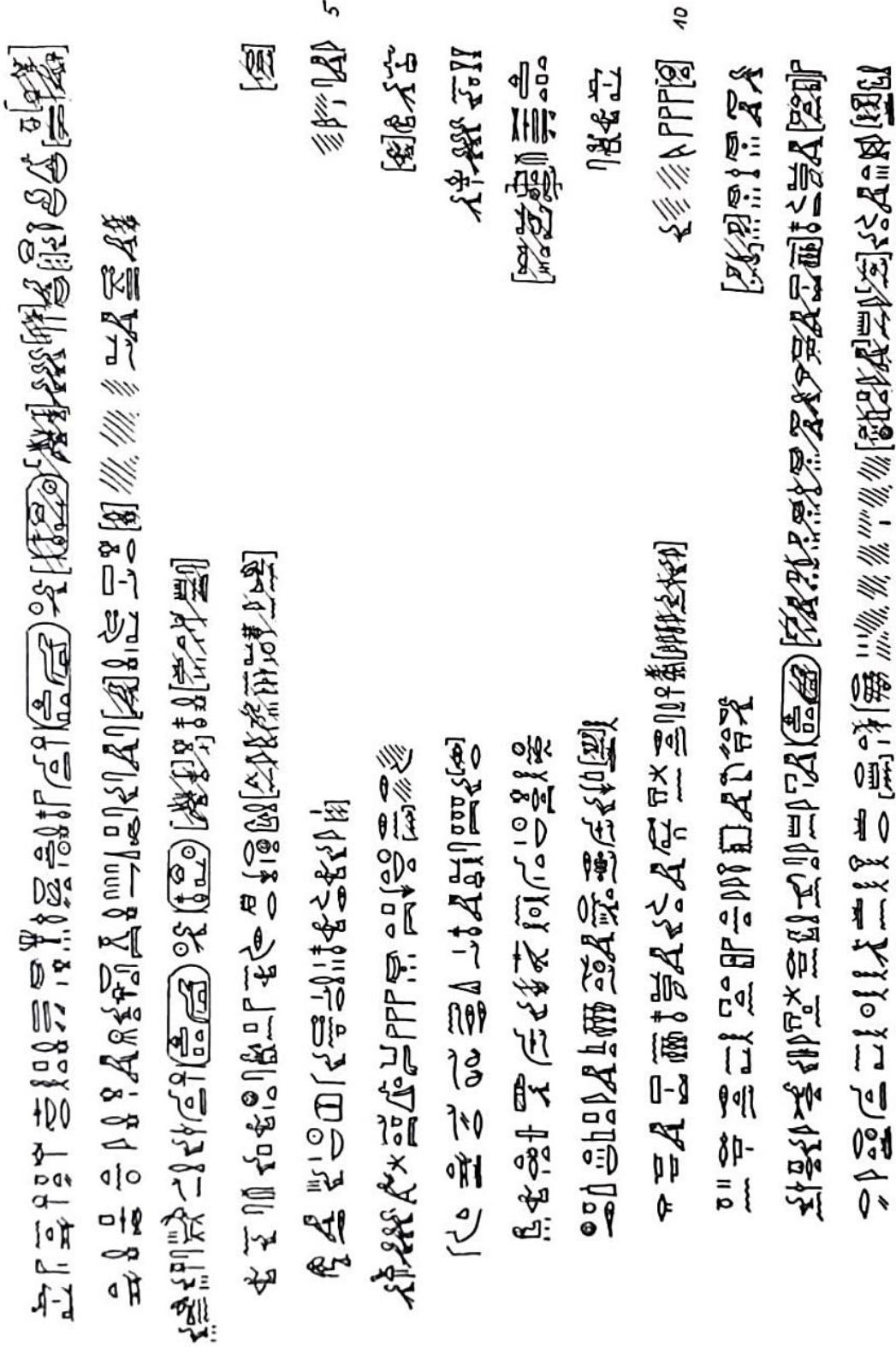
Two Ladies *W3d-hr.w*, Son of Re *Sbk-htp*, beloved of Amun, given life forever.

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 51911)
Dimensions:	H. 105 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Bad (rubbed at the right half and lost most of the lower third)
Bibliography	W. Helck, "Eine Stele Sebekhoteps IV. aus Karnak" <i>MDAIK</i> 24, 1969, pp. 194-200. F.T. Miosi (ed.), <i>A reading book of Second Intermediate Period texts</i> , Toronto: Benben Publications, 1981, pp. 4-11. C. Wallet-Lebrun, <i>Le grand livre de pierre: les textes de construction à Karnak</i> , Études d'égyptologie 9; Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, nouvelle série 41. Paris, 2009, pp. 41-43.

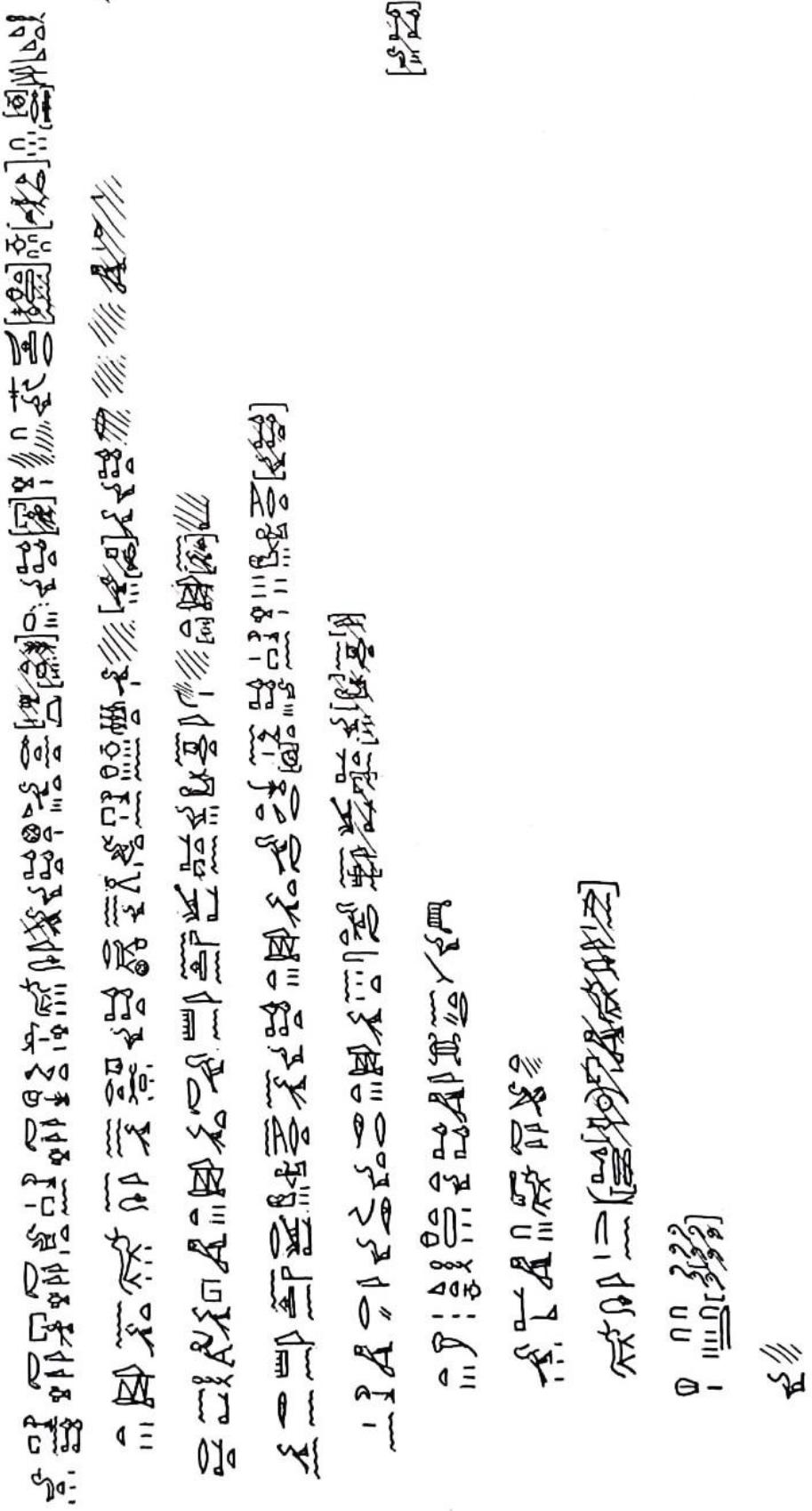


© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text¹:



¹ After Helck 1969; The illustration of Helck is generally considered reliable, while the currently available photographs are not sufficient for an accurate illustration-facsimile. It is worth noting that Helck made several speculative additions to the original text based on his interpretation of the context or information from other studies that reference the stela; See Hayes 1953a: 37; Otto 1952: 8.



After: Helck 1969: Abb. 2

Under *Bhdt* the winged sun-disk, the king's throne (*ntr nfr*) and birth names are separated by the sign of life as follows:



“(1) [Horus ‘nh-]jb-[t3.wj], Two Ladies *W3d-hw*, Golden Horus *W[sr-]b3.w*, [King *H-nfr-R*], Son of Re *Sbk-htp* given life forever. The Good God, the image of Re, Lord of strength, Great of Power, The Golden upon the Two Lands like Ptah-Sokar, Living protector of Atum, the one God. (2) [.....] Like Horus, who seizes the Two Lands with his arm [.....like] who upon his lake, mighty arm like the elder [Horus] with sharp thirty spears like Onuris, Lord of the rays in the face like Iten, the sun-disk, shining like Atum. (3) [..... , who establishes the offices] Like beautiful-faced, King *H-nfr-R*, Son of Re *Sbk-htp* given life forever.

His majesty ordered the nobles and courtiers, who were (4) [beside him]:, [..... it is many years since]¹ my majesty [has come]² to the southern city, and since I have seen the blessed god, it is my city in which I was born. (5)[.....]. I saw the goodness of his majesty at all feasts when I spent my youth (6) but (now) [I] cannot [satiate myself at the sight of him. Praise Amun.....] saw (?), then he had done all things, King of the sky, gold of the gods, the bull of his mother Nut! Adoration for the souls of the west, (7) united with the souls of the west, [.....] who created the primaeval waters, noble in his goodness, then his eyes and his ears focused on the whole, who (8) made the offering, the Two Lands are united, Egypt gives birth [and the foreign lands] gripped [..... und] the sky remains every day for all eternity; who guides himself and knows which is in the human body: (9) the only one, the blessed, [.....] who protects himself and extends his protection to those who are with him; the foremost in Karnak, Lord of Heliopolis, (10) who created [the Ninth], and the [.....] loves, [.....]

[now the sovereign commands] life, prosperity, and health, create for him a new gate 10 cubits of fine fir/cedar wood from *bnt.j-s*, Lebanon, with two door-leaves, (11) covered with gold, silver, [copper and bronze,.....] a clean floor in the portico of this temple, and to make for him a second gate for (12) this temple of original fine fir/cedar [from Lebanon with two door-leaves, covered with gold, silver, copper, and bronze in the chapel of] [*sbk-]htp* in the temple of Amun. Because my majesty found the doors of that gate is very decayed. Also ordered (13) my majesty new offerings [established to my father Amun in Karnak] every year continuously remain for all eternity; the list as: (14) 15 large *kb*-jars of beer, 30 *krh.t*-jars, [fine bread] for the *dbh.t*-offering for renovation?, 1[5] from [the treasury. Give emmer and wheat from] the great [granary] of the territory of the city. Give also 4 oxen, one from (the administration) of the *W'r.t tp rsj* head of the south district, another from the vizier's bureau, another from the treasury and another from this bureau which

¹ Hayes 1953a: 37.

² Hayes 1953a: 37.

distributes the people (labour office). (15) [.....] give bird: [.....]
 1 goose (?) from the supplies of the vizier's bureau, this brings to the residence. Also,
 give the ox's fat for the offering. (16) [.....] the storage
 stewards of the workhouse (factory) of the divine offering of Amun prepare the offering
 as an obligatory work come and leave (17) [.....] Give
 5 workers from the bureau, which supply the people of the administration of *W'r.t tp rsj*
 head of the south district for making these offering. Give these workers to the
 workhouse of the divine offering of Amun by these (18) [workers] be made [to
]. The storage stewards of the workhouse of the divine
 offering of Amun make this offering, by having the appropriate supervision in the office
 of (19) the supplier of the people, made. [replace] the death,
 which is happened. Give bread, beer, dates (20)
 [give] the 13 other cattle on the alters (21) [make offering a half cattle in the chapel of *Shm-Rˁ]-hw-[t3.wj]*, a half cattle (22)
 [9] 34^{1/2}m (23)
 „¹

Statue Cat.13.23.18

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	H. 97 cm.
Material:	Black granite
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	R. Engelbach, "Report on the inspectorate of Upper Egypt from April 1920 to March 1921", <i>ASAE</i> 21, 1921, pp. 63- 64. W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, <i>British Museum Occasional Paper</i> 28, London: British Museum, 1981, no. 26.

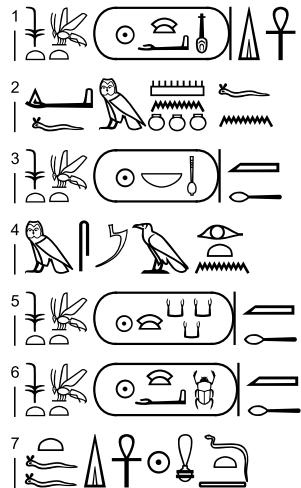
Text:



The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of action, King *H-r-nfr-Rˁ Sbk-htp*

¹ After Helck 1969: 195-198.

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 38579
Dimensions:	H. 1. 95 m
Material:	Sandstone
Condition	Lost its right shoulder
Bibliography	G. Legrain "Notes d'inspection, XXX-XXXVI, ASAE 7, 1907, pp. 33-34 [XXX].

Text¹:

(1) King *Hr-nfr-R*, given life, (2) is his monument that he made for (3) King *nb-hpt-R*, the justified (4) restored that which was made (5) by King *Hr-k3.w-R*, the justified (6) (and) King *Hr-hpr-R*, the justified, (7) his father, given life like Re forever.



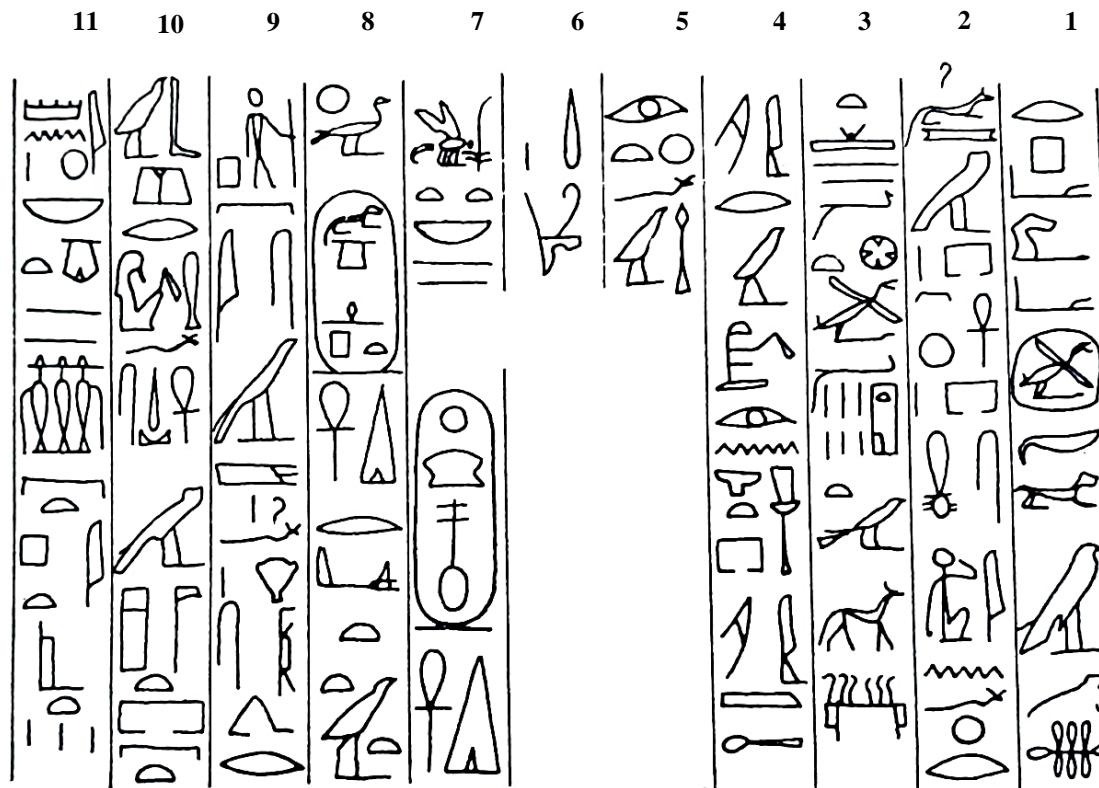
© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

¹ Helck 1958: 36 [44]

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Institute of Egyptology, Heidelberg (274)
Dimensions:	H. 46 cm
Material:	Grey granite
Condition	Headless
Bibliography	H. Ranke, "Ein Wesir der 13. Dynastie", In Anonymous (ed.), <i>Mélanges Maspero I: Orient ancien 1</i> , Le Caire: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1934, pp. 361-365. L. Habachi, "New light on the Vizier Iymeru, son of the controller of the hall, Iymeru", <i>BLFAO</i> 81 (supplément: bulletin du centenaire), 1981, pp. 29-31, Pl. III, A-B.



After: Habachi 1981: Pl. III [a]



After: Habachi 1981b: Fig. 1

Text¹:

“(1) The prince and the governor, the one who is in privacy in the palace of the king (2), who is over the secrets (?) in the house of life, to whom are reported the affairs (3) of the Two lands, the chief of the town and vizier, the overseer of the six Great Mansions, the judge and the one of the curtain, (4) *Jy-mr.w*, begotten of the controller of the hall, *Jy-mr.(w)*, justified. (5) Made according to (6) the command of (7) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands’ *H^r-nfr-R^c*, given life, (8) son of ‘*Sbk-htp*’, given life, to give (9) this statue as he recognizes (?) (him) while following to (10) the place where his Majesty I.p.h is in the temple of (11) Amun-Re, lord of the Throne-of-the-Two-Lands”.

¹ After Habachi 1981b: 30.

Statue of Vizier *Jy-mr.w nfr-* Cat.13.23.21
K3-Rc

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Louvre Museum A125
Dimensions:	H. 153 cm.
Material:	Egyptian quartzite/ reddish sandstone ¹
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	É. Delange, <i>Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060-1560 avant J.-C.</i> , Paris, 1987, pp. 66- 68.



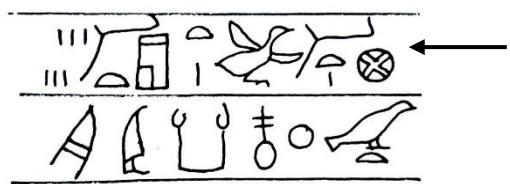
© Louvre Museum

¹ Delange 1987: 66; <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010008106>

Text¹:

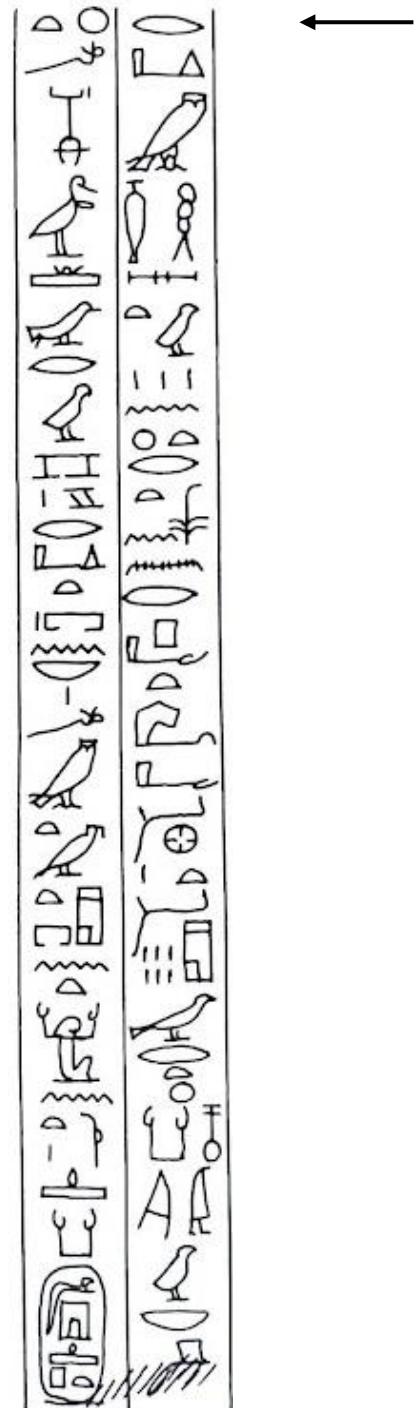
Front:

“(1) The chief of the town and vizier, the overseer of the Six Great Mansion (2) *Nfr-k3-R* *Jy-mr(.w)*”



Rear pillar:

“(1) Given as a favour from the king to the prince and governor, The chief of the town and vizier, the overseer of the Six Great Mansions *Nfr-K3-R*^c *Jy-mr.w*, possessor of honour...(2) after the great opening of the canal, (making the ceremony of) giving the house to his lord in the Temple-Millions-of-Years, (called), ‘*htp-k3-sbk-htp*’...”



After: Delange 1987: 67

¹ After Habachi 1981b: 31

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	H. 35 cm.
Material:	Sandstone
Condition	Only the base survived
Bibliography	A. Mariette, <i>Karnak: étude topographique et archéologique, avec un appendice comprenant les principaux textes hiéroglyphiques découverts ou recueillis pendant les fouilles exécutées à Karnak</i> , 2 vols. Leipzig; Le Caire; Paris, 1875, 45 [20], Taf. 8 [p]. A. Verbovsek, "Als Gunsterweis des Königs in den Tempel gegeben ...": <i>private Tempelstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches</i> , ÄAT 63, Wiesbaden, 2004, 388.

Text:



After: Mariette 1875: Taf. 8 [p]

Given as a favour from King *Hr-nfr-R* to the holder of the royal seal, the courtier, and the great commander of the army *Jmn-m-h3.t*, the justified.

Two stelae of the high-official *Hr-3* Cat.13.23.23 [a, b]

Cat.13.23.23 [a]

Discovery location:	Tell Edfu
Provenance	Tell Edfu
Current location:	IFAO (C 5254)
Dimensions:	H. 53 cm ¹ .
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Lost parts of the left upper part
Bibliography	M. Alliot, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)</i> , Fouilles IFAO 10 (2). Le Caire, 1935, p. 33 [13], Pl. XVII [2]

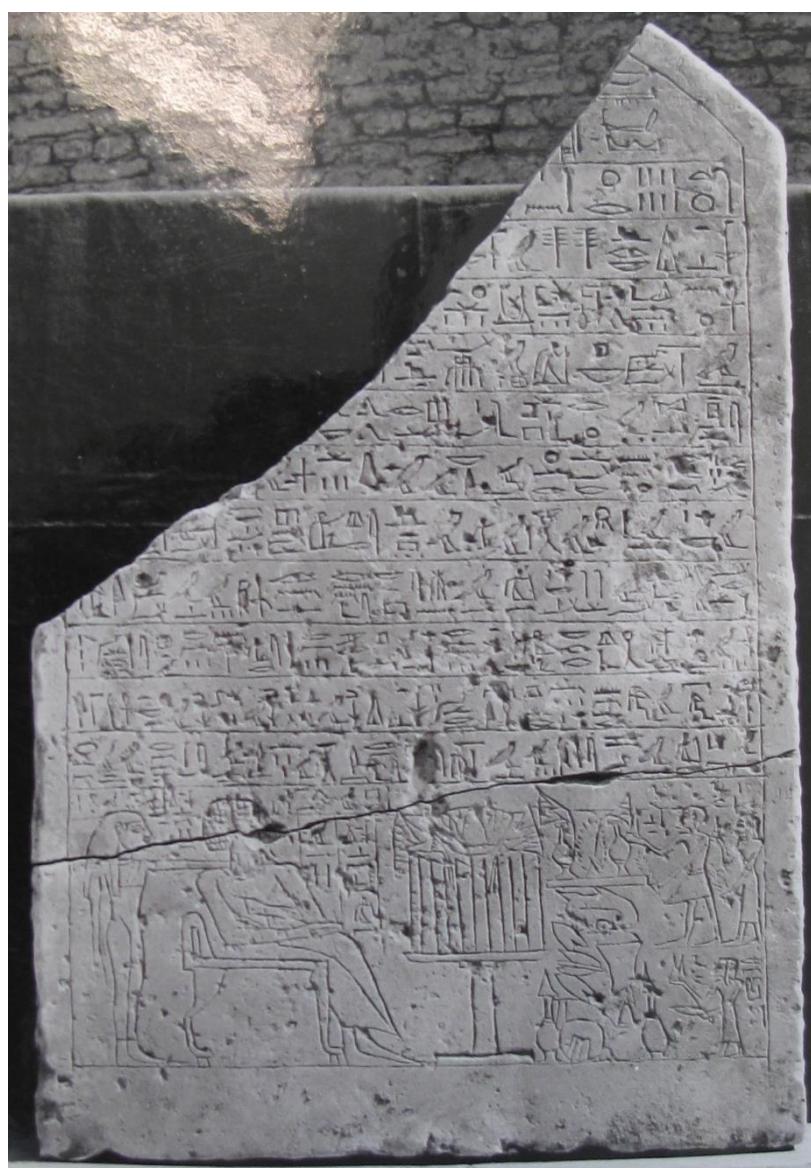


After: Alliot 1935: Pl. XVII [2]

¹ <https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/inscription/2455>

Cat.13.23.23 [b]

Discovery location:	Tell Edfu
Provenance	Tell Edfu
Current location:	IFAO (C 5310)
Dimensions:	H. 49.5 cm
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Lost the left upper corner
Bibliography	M. Alliot, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)</i> , Fouilles IFAO 10 (2). Le Caire, 1935, p. 32 [10], Pl. XVI [2]. S. Kubisch, <i>Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie</i> , DAIK, Sonderschrift 34, Berlin; New York, 2008, pp. 180- 185.

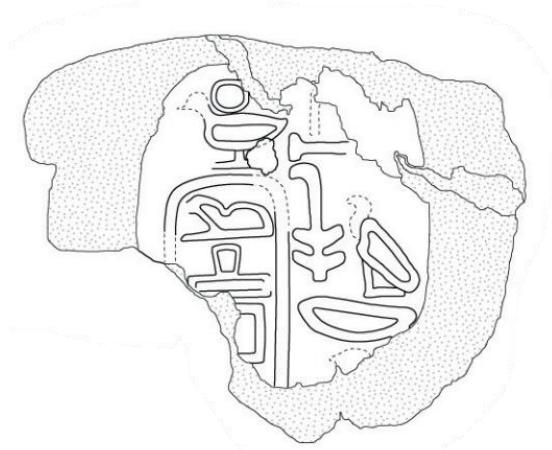


© Griffith Institute, University of Oxford

Seal-impressions

Cat. 13.23.24

Discovery location:	Tall Edfu
Provenance	Tall Edfu
Current location:	
Dimensions:	
Material:	Mud
Condition	Incomplete
Bibliography	N. Moeller, G. Marouard, and N. Ayers, "Discussion of late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period history and chronology in relation to the Khayan sealings from Tell Edfu", <i>A&L</i> 21, 2011, pp. 87-121, Fig. 11 [2]



After: Moeller et al. 2011: 101, 110, Fig. 11 [2]

Cylinder-seal

Cat.13.23. 25

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Kom Ombo?
Current location:	Chicago oriental Institute E18358
Dimensions:	L. 2.5 cm
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	G. C. Pier, "Historical scarab seals from the Art Institute collection, Chicago", <i>AJS</i> 23 (1), 1906-1907, p.76, Pl. II [1129].

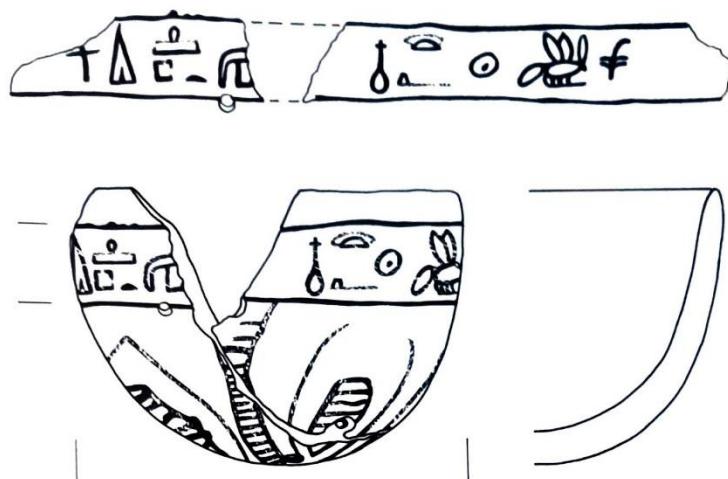


Text:

The Good God *Ḥ-nfr-ṛ*, beloved of Sobek, Lord of *Nbw.tj*

After: Pier 1906-1907: Pl. II [1129]

Discovery location:	Elephantine
Provenance	Elephantine
Current location:	
Dimensions:	H. 6 cm
Material:	Faience
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	C. Von Pilgrim, <i>Elephantine XVIII: Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit</i> , AVDAIK 91, Mainz, 1996, 316, Abb. 134.

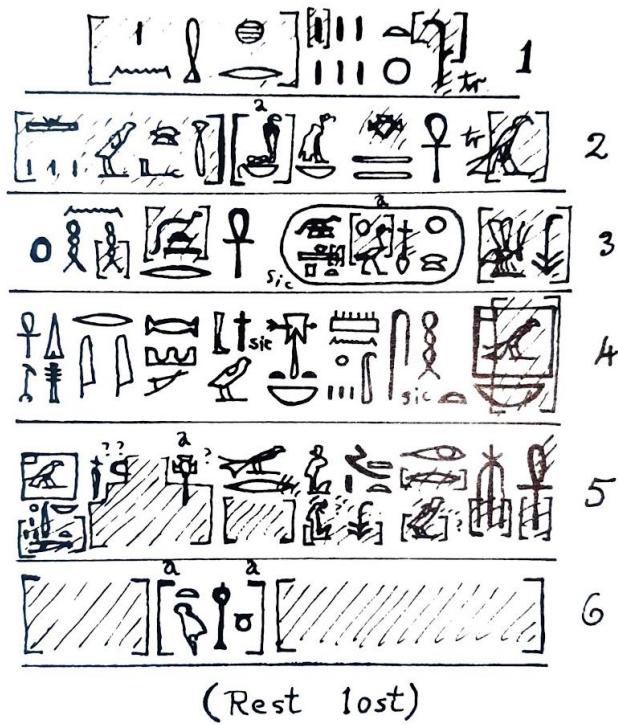


After: Von Pilgrim 1996: Abb. 134

Text:

The King *Hr-nfr-Rˁ Sbk-htp*, given life

Discovery location:	Wadi el-Hudi
Provenance	Wadi el-Hudi
Current location:	Aswan Museum (no. 1484)
Dimensions:	Original W. c. 52 cm
Material:	Quartzose sandstone
Condition	Fragmented (5 pieces)
Bibliography	A. Fakhry, <i>The Egyptian deserts: the inscriptions of the amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi</i> , Cairo, 1952, no. 22. A. Sadek, <i>The amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi I: Text</i> , Modern Egyptology, Warminster, 1980, no. 22.



After: Sadek 1980: 46

Text¹:

“(1) Year 6 [under the Majesty of (2) [Hor]us, ‘nh-jb-t3.wj, Two Ladies [W3d-h‘w], (3) [King] H‘-nfr-R‘, Son [of Re] Sbk-htp, may he live forever and ever (4) beloved of Hathor, Lady of Amethyst, and Satis, Lady of Elephantine, (being) given life, stability and domination;

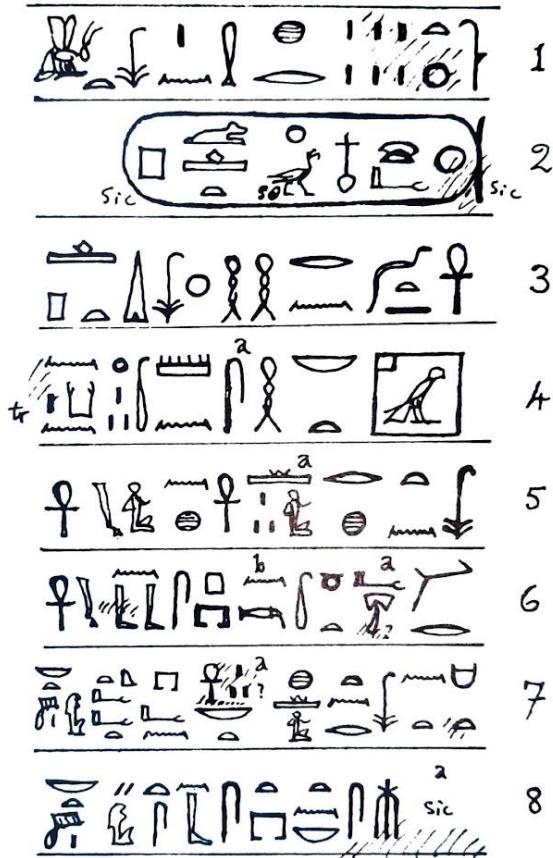
(5) The ‘Life-of-birth’, one who performs truth, a king (?) great in [...], protector [of...], [...], [beloved of] Hathor, Lady of Amethyst, (6) [...united with] the White Crown, [...]”

Stela

Cat.13.23. 26 [b]

Discovery location:	Wadi el-Hudi
Provenance	Wadi el-Hudi
Current location:	Aswan Museum (no. 1486)
Dimensions:	H. 32 cm. W. 20 cm
Material:	Black granite
Condition	Slightly damaged at the beginnings and ends
Bibliography	A. Fakhry, <i>The Egyptian deserts: the inscriptions of the amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi</i> , Cairo, 1952, no. 24. A. Sadek, <i>The amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi I: Text</i> , Modern Egyptology, Warminster, 1980, no. 24.

¹ After Sadek 1980: 46



After: Sadek 1980: 51

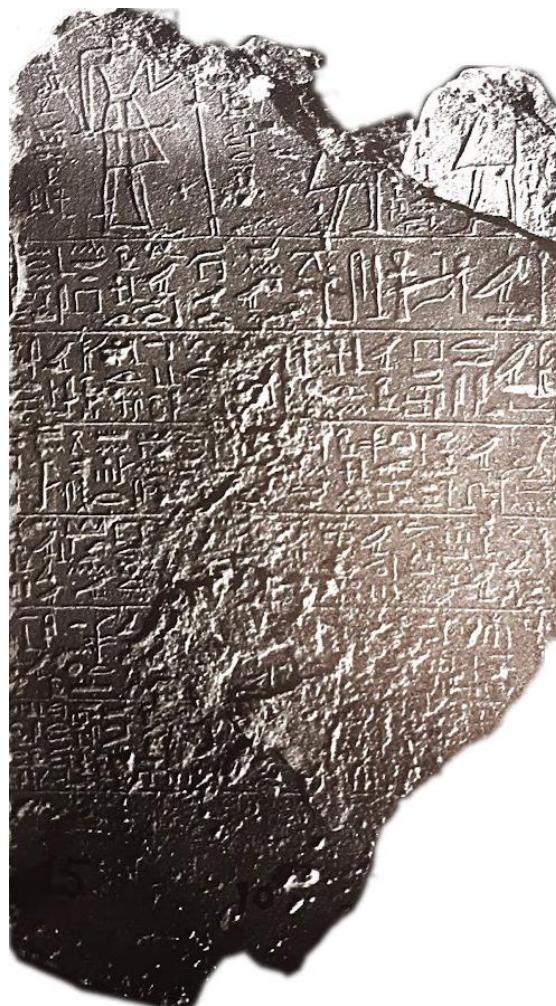
Text¹:

“(1) Year 6 under the Majesty of King (2) *Hr-nfr-Rr*, Son of Re *Sbk-htp*, (3) may he live for ever and ever.

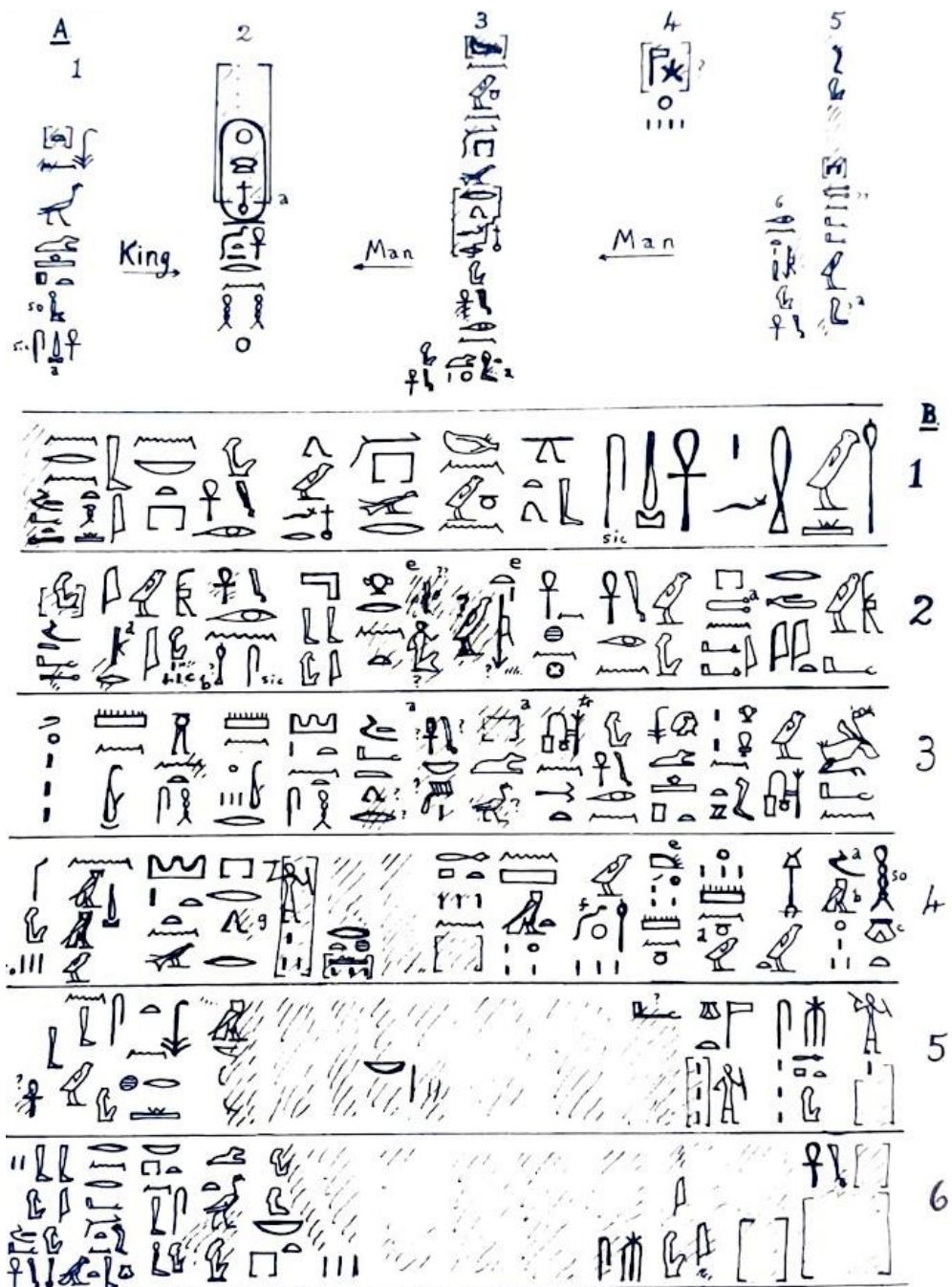
A boon which the king gives to (4) Hathor, Lady of Amethyst, for the *Ka* of (5) the King’s acquaintance, *Rh.w-nh*, repeating life; (6) the palace-chamberlain, *Snbb*, repeating life; (7) the wife of the King’s acquaintance, *Rh.w-nh*, the lady of the house, *Ddt-nk.t*, possessing veneration, (8) born of the lady of the house, *Snbtj=sj*, possessing veneration”.

¹ After Sadek 1980: 51.

Discovery location:	Wadi el-Hudi
Provenance	Wadi el-Hudi
Current location:	Aswan Museum (no. 1485)
Dimensions:	H. 116 cm. W. 56 cm
Material:	Sandstone
Condition	Some upper and lower parts are lost
Bibliography	A. Fakhry, <i>The Egyptian deserts: the inscriptions of the amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi</i> , Cairo, 1952, no. 23. A. Sadek, <i>The amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi I: Text</i> , Modern Egyptology, Warminster, 1980, no. 23.



After: Sadek 1985: Pl. XL [WH 23]



After: Sadek 1980: 49

Text¹:

A. Scene.

“(1) The King’s son, *Sbk-htp*, L.P.H. (2) [The King...], [H^c]nfr[R^c], may he live forever and ever. (3) Deputy of the High Steward, [jw]-nfr, repeating life, begotten by the District Officer (?), *Sbk-Ra*, repeating life. (4) [Adoring the god], four times. (5) The officer?...dd.w-tn.j (?), (6) begotten of *w^c.tj* (?) repeating life”.

B. Main Text:

¹ After Sadek 1980: 49

“(1) His majesty, L.P.H., commanded the sending of: the Deputy of the High Steward, *jw-nfr*, repeating life, born of the lady of the house, *bnrnj.t*.

(2) the guard of the palace-foyer, *dd.w-tn.j*, repeating life, begotten of the citizen *w-w..(?)*; The Chief of the *tm*, *bb.j*, repeating life, begotten by the inspector of Retainers, *rh.w-jrj*, justified; (3) scribe in charge of the seal of the district ‘Head-of-the-South’, *sbk-htp*, repeating life, begotten by the Scribe (?) of the Prison/ work camp¹, *s3-sbk*, repeating life (?) possessing veneration (?).

Proceeding to the amethyst-desert, to fetch: amethyst; (4) garnet; greenstone (?); black quartz; white quartz; green felspar- The precious stones of [.....].

List (?) of the expedition that want out to this desert land: Chief of recruits of (5) the expedition, one; [...]; prospectors, stonemasons (?), [...]; [.... (*much lost*)]

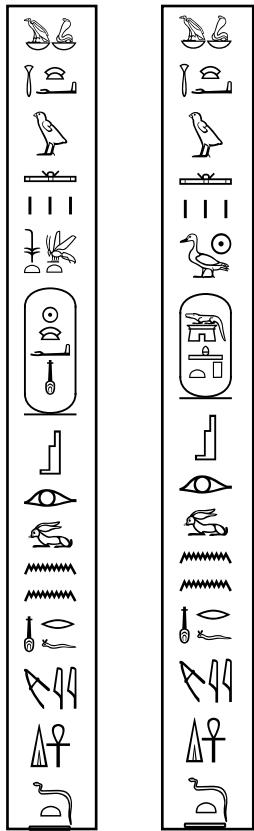
The King’s acquaintance, *snb.w-‘nh*; (6) [.....title?, PN?], repeating life; [...] *mes* [..... PN]; lady of the house, *s3.t-sbk*; lady of the house, *snb.b....the District Superintendent of Koptos bb.j*”.

Statue

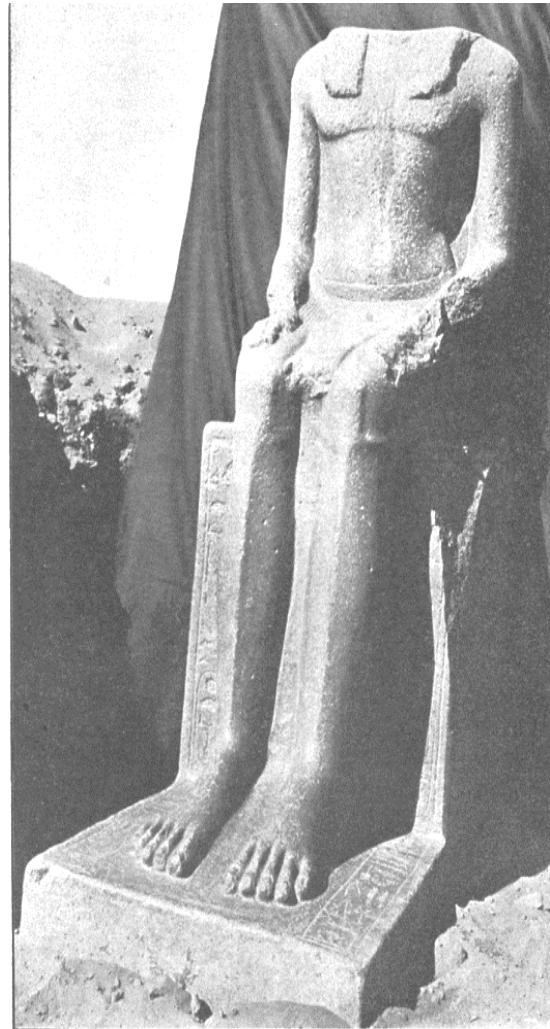
Cat.13.23. 27

Discovery location:	Argo Island (Upper Nubia)
Provenance	Abydos?
Current location:	Merowe Museum 46 [Khartum 5228]
Dimensions:	H. 1.37 m.
Material:	Black granite
Condition	Headless
Bibliography	J. H. Breasted, “Second preliminary report of the Egyptian Expedition”, <i>AJSLL</i> 25, pp. 110, 1908, 41, 44, Fig. 26. W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, <i>British Museum Occasional Paper</i> 28, London: British Museum, 1981, no. 27. W. Helck, <i>Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie</i> , Wiesbaden, 1983, 36 [42].

¹ It could be trans lated also as “work camp” See Quirke 1988.



After: Helck 1983: 36 [42]



After Breasted 1908: Fig. 26

Text:

(right) Two Ladies *W3d-h3.w*, Son of Re *Sbk-h3tp* beloved of *Wsir-Wnn-nfr* given life forever.

(Left) Two Ladies *W3d-h3.w*, King *H3-nfr-R3* beloved of *Wsir-Wnn-nfr*, given life forever.

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Unknown
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 34407
Dimensions:	L. c. 12 cm
Material:	Ebony wood
Condition	Fragment
Bibliography	P. E. Newberry, "Extracts from my notebooks (VI)", <i>PSBA</i> 25, 1903, p. 358.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:

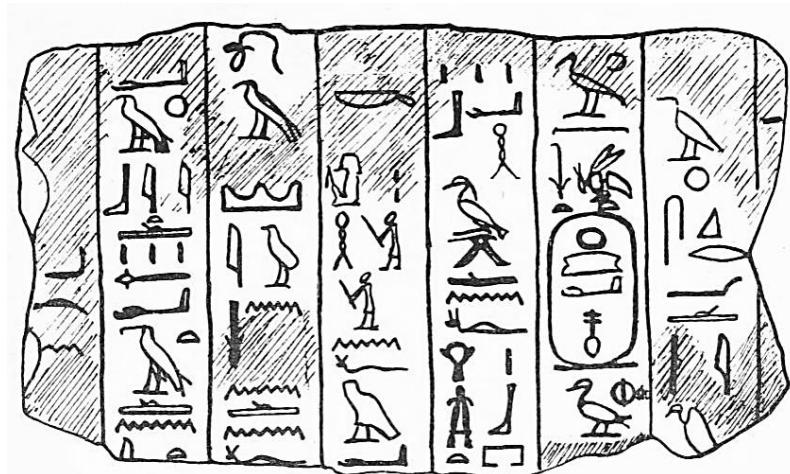
[...]*htp ir.n nsw-bj.tj H^r-nfr-r^c (nb) t³.wj/ m³^c-hrw? ms n hm.t nsw t³-n[...]*

[...]*htp* begotten by King *H^r-nfr-r^c* (Lord of the Two Lands/ Justified? born of the royal wife *t³-n*[...]

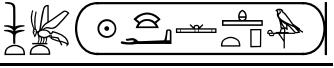
Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Unknown
Current location:	British Museum EA 1060
Dimensions:	L. 48.3 cm, W. 35.6 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Bad
Bibliography	E. A. Wallis Budge, <i>Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, &c., in the British Museum, part IV</i> , London: British Museum, 1913, 8, Pl. 23.



© British Museum



After: Budge 1913: Pl. 23

13. 24: King *Hr*-*htp-R* 

Scarab

Cat. 13.24. 1

Discovery location:	Abydos
Provenance	Abydos
Current location:	Grand Egyptian Museum (5389); former Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 36020
Dimensions:	L. 1.5 cm., H. 2.1 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition:	Complete
Bibliography	P. E. Newberry Scarab-shaped seals, London, 1907, no. 36020.



© Grand Egyptian Museum

Statuette

Cat. 13.24. 2

Discovery location:	Kerma
Provenance:	Elephantine?
Current location:	Neues Meuseum Berlin, Egyptian Collection ÄM 10645
Dimensions:	H. 46 cm., W. 17 cm.
Material:	Granite
Condition:	Lost its left hand.
Bibliography:	D. Wildung (ed.), <i>Sudan: antike Königreiche am Nil</i> , Tübingen, 1996, 116 [128]. https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/605988/kniefigur-sobekhotep-v?language=de&question=10645&limit=15&controls=none&collectionKey=AM_P*&objIdx=0



© Egyptian Collection, Neues Museum Berlin

Text¹:



Good God *H̄t-p-R̄*, beloved of Satet, mistress of Elephantine [....]

Cylinder-seal

Cat. 13.24. 3

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance:	Unknown
Current location:	Petrie Museum UC 11580
Dimensions:	L. 1.5 cm., H. 2.1 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition:	Complete
Bibliography:	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Buttons and design scarabs: illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London</i> , 1925, Pl. XXVI [13.26.5].

¹ Siesse 2019: 391, no. 20 [3].



© Petrie Museum

Scarabs

Cat. 13.24. 4

Discovery location:

Unknown

Provenance:

Unknown

Current location:

Chicago Oriental Institute (18449)

Dimensions:

L. 2.3 cm., H. 1.5 cm.

Material:

Steatite

Condition:

Complete

Bibliography:

O. Tufnell, *Studies on scarab seals: Scarab seals and their contribution to history in the early Second Millennium B.C*, vol. II, Warminster, 1984, 368, PL. LV [3167]

<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/84ddbff2-aa17-449c-8644-31cef25c1fa5>



After: Tufnell 1984: PL. LV [3167]



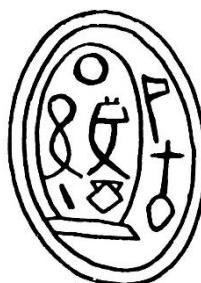
© Chicago Oriental Institute

13. 25: King *W3h-jb-R^r j^rj-jb* 

Scarab

Cat. 13.25.1

Discovery location:	Byblos
Provenance	Byblos
Current location:	National Museum, Beirut
Dimensions:	L. 1.9 cm., W. 1.4 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	M. Dunand, <i>Fouilles de Byblos : 1933-1938</i> , T.II, Paris, 1950-1985, p. 24, Pl. CC. O. Tufnell, <i>Studies on scarab seals: Scarab seals and their contribution to history in the early Second Millennium B.C.</i> , vol. II, Warminster, 1984, 368, PL. LV [31969]



After: Tufnell 1984: no, 3169

Bead

Cat. 13.25.2

Discovery location:	Lisht-north
Provenance	Gebelein?
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum (09.180.1139)
Dimensions:	
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	W. C. Hayes, <i>The Scepter of Egypt I</i> , New York, 1953, 344, Fig. 226. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544387



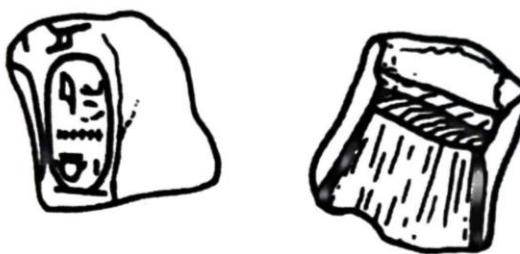
Text:

Good God *W3h-jb-R^r* beloved of Sobek, Lord of Semenu.

Seal-impression

Cat. 13.25.3

Discovery location:	Abydos-south
Provenance	Abydos-south
Current location:	_____
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Mud
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	J. Wegner, "Institutions and officials at South Abydos: an overview of the sigillographic evidence", <i>CRIPEL</i> 22, 2001, p. 91-93.



After: Wegner 2000: Fig. 5 [4]

Stela of an official

Cat. 13.25.4

Discovery location:	Thebes
Provenance	Thebes
Current location:	British Museum EA 1348
Dimensions:	H. 57 cm., W. 38 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Restored
Bibliography	J. Bourriau, <i>Pharaohs and mortals: Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom</i> , Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp.57-59.



© British Museum

Cylinder-seals

Cat. 13.25.5

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Gebelein?
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 72666
Dimensions:	
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	J. Yoyotte, "Le Soukhos de la Maréotide et d'autres cultes régionaux du dieu-crocodile d'après les cylindres du Moyen Empire", <i>BIFAO</i> 56, 1957, p. 88 [2jj]



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Scarabs

Cat. 13.25.6

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Unknown
Current location:	British Museum EA 66157, EA 66158.
Dimensions:	EA 66157: H. 0.71 cm., L. 1.76 cm. EA 66158: H. 0.78 cm., L. 2 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	O. Tufnell, <i>Studies on scarab seals: Scarab seals and their contribution to history in the early Second Millennium B.C.</i> , vol. II, Warminster, 1984, 368, PL. LV [3168, 3170]



After: Tufnell 1984: Pl. LV

13. 26: King *Mr-nfr-Rc* 

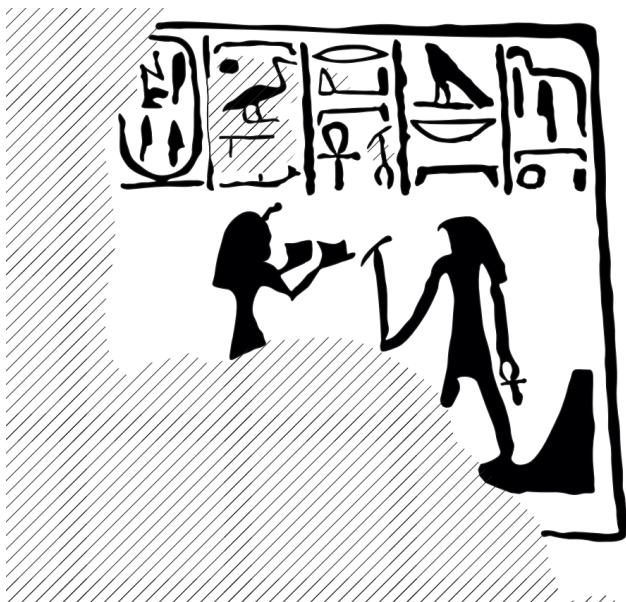
Pyramidion

Cat. 13.26.1

Discovery location:	Fâqûs
Provenance	Memphis?
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 43267,
Dimensions:	H. 85 cm., W. 83 cm.
Material:	Granite
Condition	Fragmented -restored
Bibliography	L. Habachi, "Khatâ'na-Qnatîr: Importance" <i>ASAE</i> 52, 1952, pp. 471-479, Pls. XVI-XVII.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

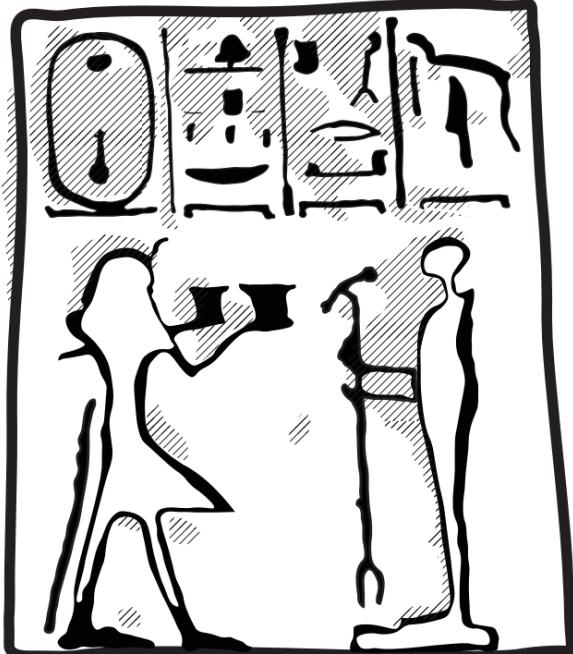
Text:

dd mdw n R^c-Hr(-3h.tj?) nb p.t rdj.n nh w3s, s3
R^c, mry=f Jy



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Words spoken by Re-Hor(akhty?) Lord of the sky,
gave you life and power, to the son of Re, his
beloved *Jy*



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

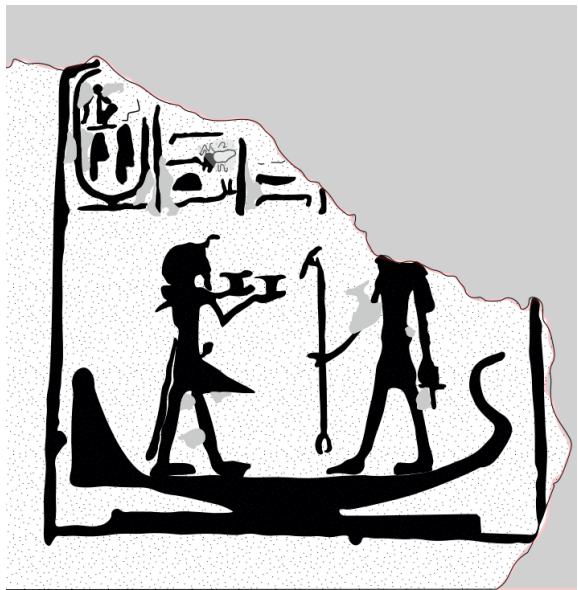
Text:

dd mdw n [pth] rdj.n nb htp.tw n [mr?]-nfr-R^c



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Words spoken by Ptah, gave all provision to [mr?]-
nfr-R^c



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Text

[*dd mdw n*] [.....] [*rdj.n*] [.....] [*s3 R*] [*mry=f Jy*



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Words spoken by [.....], [gave] [.....], [to the son of Re], his beloved *Jy*

Scarab

Cat. 13.26.2

Discovery location:

Bubastis

Provenance

Bubastis?

Current location:

Grand Egyptian Museum (5391), former Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 36022.

Dimensions:

H. 1.8 cm., L. 1.3 cm.

Material:

Steatite

Condition

Complete

Bibliography

P. E. Newberry Scarab-shaped seals, London, 1907, no. 36022.

O. Tufnell, *Studies on scarab seals*, Warminster 1984, no. 3173.

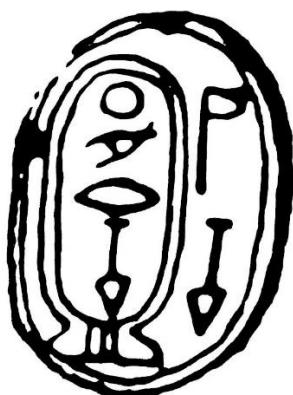


After: Newberry 1907: no. 36022



© Grand Egyptian Museum

Discovery location:	Tell el-Yahudiya
Provenance	Tell el-Yahudiya?
Current location:	University Museum, Manchester 3378; Basel catalogue 126
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Steatite
Condition	_____
Bibliography	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Hyksos and Israelite cities</i> , London, 1906, Pl. IX [116]. G. Fraser, <i>A Catalogue of the Scarabs Belonging to George Fraser</i> , London, 1900, no. 55.



After: Fraser 1900: no. 55



After: Petrie 1906: Pl. IX [116]

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Heliopolis?
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum 66.99.17
Dimensions:	H. 4.0 cm., D. 4.2 cm.
Material:	Obsidian
Condition	Good
Bibliography	J. D. Cooney, "Egyptian art in the collection of Albert Gallatin", <i>JNES</i> 12 (1), 1953, 5-6, Pl. IX [a]. C. Lilyquist, <i>Egyptian Stone Vessels</i> , New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995, 47, Fig. 127. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545940



© Metropolitan Museum

Text:

The Good God *Mr-nfr-Rˁ*, beloved of Re-Horakhty

Ball

Cat. 13.26.5

Discovery location:

Unknown

Provenance

Fayoum?

Current location:

Unknown

Dimensions:

D. 1.5 cm.

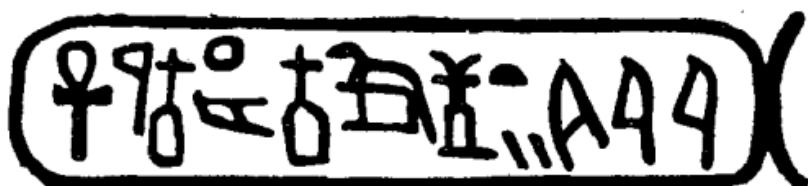
Material:

Limestone

Condition

Bibliography

G. Godron, "Deux objets du Moyen Empire mentionnant Sobek", *BIFAO* 63, 1965, pp.198-200.



After: Godron 1965: 199

Text:

The Good God *Mr-nfr-Rˁ*, beloved of Sobek *Shedet*.

Discovery location:	Lisht
Provenance	Lisht?
Current location:	Metropolitan Museum 20.1.1[as example]
Dimensions:	L. 1.9 cm., H. 0.7 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	O. Tufnell, <i>Studies on scarab seals</i> , Warminster 1984, no. 3191. https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545685 .



© Metropolitan Museum

Discovery location:	Abydos
Provenance	Abydos?
Current location:	Grand Egyptian Museum 5390, former Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 36021 [as example]
Dimensions:	L. 1.9 cm., H. 0.7 cm.
Material:	Steatite
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	O. Tufnell, <i>Studies on scarab seals</i> , Warminster 1984, no. 3199. P. E. Newberry Scarab-shaped seals, London, 1907, no. 36021.



After: Newberry 1907: no. 36021



© Grand Egyptian Museum

Seal-impression

Cat. 13.26.8

Discovery location:

Abydos-south

Provenance

Abydos-south

Current location:

Unknown

Dimensions:

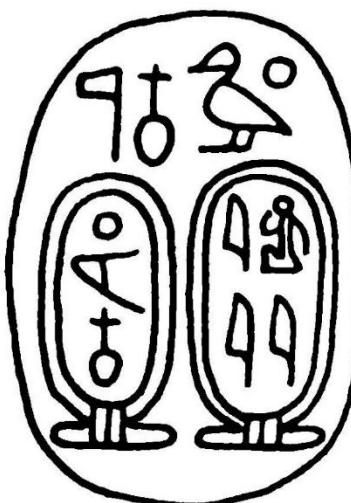
Material:

Mud

Condition

Bibliography

J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, New Haven and Philadelphia, 2007, 113-115, Fig. 144 [8].

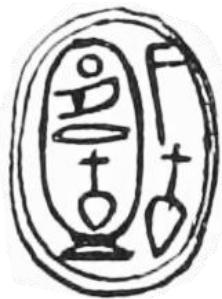


After: Wegner 2007: Fig. 144 [8].

Scarab

Cat. 13.26.9

Discovery location:	Koptos
Provenance	Koptos?
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	_____
Material:	Steatite
Condition	_____
Bibliography	W.M.F. Petrie, <i>Koptos</i> . London, 1896, Pl. XXIV [3].



After: Petrie 1896: Pl. XXIV [3].

Lintel

Cat. 13.26.10

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Grand Egyptian Museum 11229, former Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 41468
Dimensions:	L. 58.4 cm., H. 20 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Good
Bibliography	G. Legrain, "Notes d'inspection, LX-LXII, ASAE 9, 1908, pp. 273-277.



© Grand Egyptian Museum

Discovery location:

Unknown

Provenance

Unknown

Current location:

Metropolitan Museum 10.130.1639

Dimensions:

L.1.3 cm., Dia. 0.4 cm.

Material:

Steatite

Condition

Complete

BibliographyW. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I*, New York, 343–344, fig. 226

© Metropolitan Museum

Text:

Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, *Mr-nfr-Rˁ*, given life forever.

13. 27 King *Mr-htp-R'*

Stela

Cat.13.27. 1

Discovery location:	Abydos
Provenance	Abydos
Current location:	Egyptian Museum CG 20044
Dimensions:	H. 37 cm
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Rubbed in some parts and missing the lower part.
Bibliography	H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo: No. 20001-20780</i> , vol. I. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, no 20044.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:

Above of the King:

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, *Mr-htp-R'*, given life

Above the God Wepwawet:

Beloved of Wepwawet, Lord of the sacred Land, in the middle of Abydos.

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Egyptian Museum CG 42027
Dimensions:	H. 126 cm
Material:	Granodiorite
Condition	Semi-complete
Bibliography	G. Legrain, <i>Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers de rois et de particuliers</i> , vol. 1, Le caire, 1906, no. 42027. W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, <i>British Museum Occasional Paper 28</i> , London: British Museum, 1981, no. 31.



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny

© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:

- (1) *s3 R^c mry=f Sbk-htp mry R^c-Hr-3h.tj dj
‘nh*
(2) *ntr nfr nb t3.wj mr-htp R^c mry Jmn-R^c
nb ns.wt t3.wj di ‘nh*

Son of Re beloved him *Sbk-htp* beloved of Re-Horakhty, given life.

The Good god, Lord of the Two Lands *mr-htp R^c* beloved of Amun-Re, Lord the throne of the Two Lands.

Statuette

Cat.13.27. 3

Discovery location:

Karnak

Provenance

Karnak

Current location:

Egyptian Museum JE 39258

Dimensions:

H. 39 cm

Material:

Schist

Condition

Headless

Bibliography

W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, *British Museum Occasional Paper 28*, London: British Museum, 1981, no. 32.



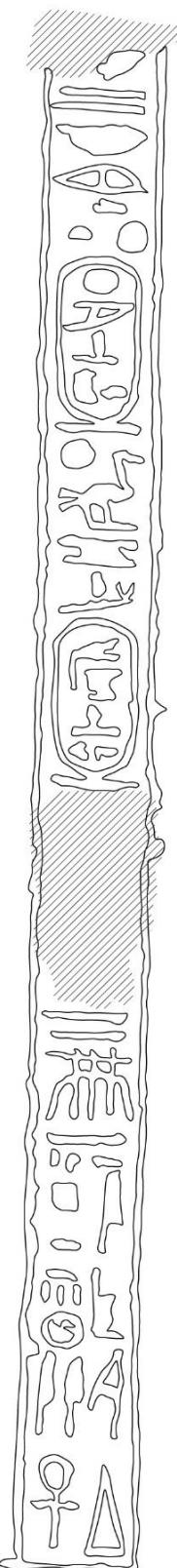
© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:

Back- pillar

[*ntr nfr nb*] *t3.wj nb ir.t h.t Mr-htp-R^c s3 R^c*
mry=f Sbk-htp mrj [Jmn-R^c nb ns.wt] t3.wj
hn.tj jp.t sw.t di nh

[The Good God, Lord], of the Two lands,
Lord of action *Mr-htp-R^c*, Son of Re,
beloved him *Sbk-htp*, beloved of [Amun-
Re, Lord of the throne] of the Two Lands,
the foremost of Karnak, given life.



Pedestal

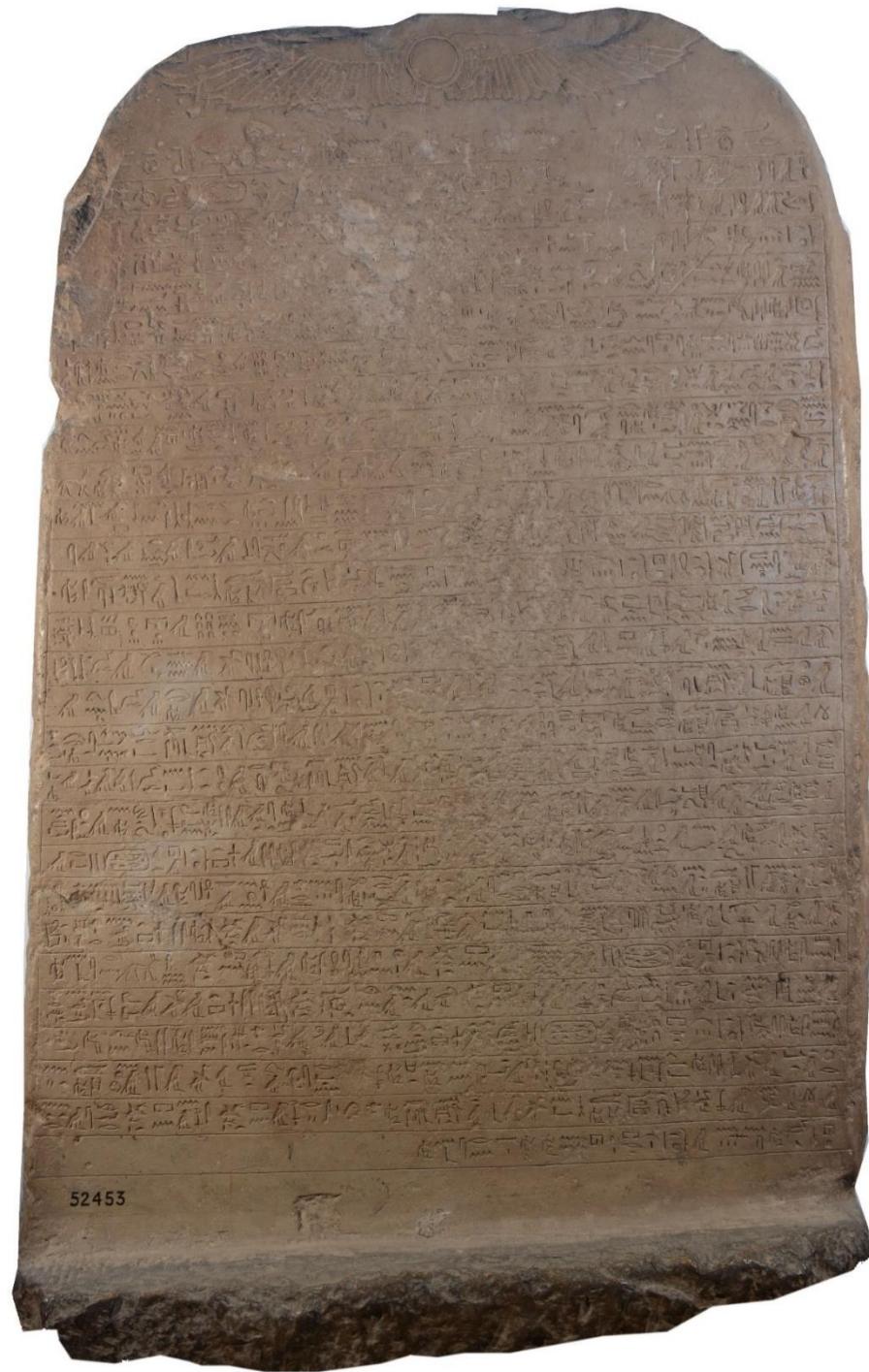


s3 R^c sbk-htp

Son of Re *Sbk-htp*

© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Egyptian Museum JE 52453
Dimensions:	H.120 cm, W.73 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Scratched at many parts
Bibliography	P. Lacau, "Une stèle juridique de Karnak", SASAE 13. Le Caire, 1949.



© Egyptian Museum JE 52453



© Illustrations by Nader El-Hosseiny

Text:



Bhd.t(i) ntr Ⲉ nb p.t.

The one of *Bhd*t the Great God, the Lord of the sky

di m hst nt hr nsw r hwt ntr Jmn-R^c

Given by the favor of the king (for being placed) in the temple of Amun Re.



nh HrS:w3d t3.wj nb.tj Ntr-hprw hr
nb.....w
nsw bj.tj S:wd n R^c dj nh <mr.j> Jmn-
R^c nb ns.wt t3.wj

the living Horus *S:w3d t3.wj*, Two Ladies
Ntr-hprw, Golden Horus [.....]w
The King *S:wd n R^c* given life, < beloved >
of Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the Two Lands.

ntr Ⲉ nb [p.t.] s3 R^c Nb-jry-r-3w nh d.t

The great god lord of [the sky], Son of Re
Nb-jry-r-3w giving life forever.

3w jb=f hr[.....]

Flourish his heart upon[.....]



Nfr m33 mj wbn Jtn
[m]n h^c.w mi K3-mw.t=f s3 imn[.....]

The one who has a beautiful appearance
like the rising of Aton

The lasting like Kamutef Son of
Amun[.....]

..[wtt] n=f m [p]rt=f 3h.t
mrrw ntr.w[nb]

[From] his semen from his precious seed,
beloved of [all] Gods



h3.t-sp 1 3bd 4 3ht rk.j
hr hm n ntr pn
Jmj.t-pr jr.t n [....]n[.....]

1st year, 4th month of the inundation, the
last day of the month

Under the majesty of this god
transferring the property of
[....](n?)[.....]

*n-h3w=f s3 nsw htm.tj-bj.tj [jm.j-r] -pr
[Sbk-nht]*

At that time the royal sealer [overseer] of
the temple [Sobeknakht]



wnn t3y.j wp.t h3.t(j)-` n nhb

That is my own position as governor of El-Kab

*Jyt.n (=j) m wp.t n jt(j)=j h3.tj-` n
nhb [Jmrw]*

(which) came <to me> as a position of my
father the governor of El-Kab Aymeru .

Jj jtj=jm h.t nt sn=f n mw.t =f

(which) came (to my) father as a possession
of his brother from his mother

*[h3.tj-` n] nhn J.j hrd n.tj mwt nn
ms.w=f*

[The governor of] El-Kab Ay the child who
died without children

*wnn=s n p3 si n h3.w [s3] nsw[Sbk]-
nht*

that the function belongs to the man of royal
son [Sobek]nahkt

m s3 n s3 jw` .w n jw` .y

Son to son heir to heir



*rdi.n=f `k.w= {s} hn.k.t=s [w`b.t]=s
df3=s hm-k3.w=s tz.t=s pr=s*

Gave him its revenue, its bear, its meat
its provisions, its priests, its servants and
its house.



nn r dj.t d3.tw t3 r=s jn rm t nb.t

Do not let anybody prevent you from
transferring this property

*hr-ntt rdj.n=f n=j swnt dbn 60 m h.t
nb.t*

Since he gave me the price of 60 *dbn* of
gold as various objects



jr nty nb r jjt r spr=j sr sdm wdt

if someone comes to complain to the Sar
or to “the one who hears the orders”.

r-pw r-dd jw n=j t3 j3t

Saying “This is my position”

*m rdj sdm.tw n=f
dd.tw t3y=j j3t n p3 s n
h3w=j s3-nsw jmj-r gs pr Sbk-nht*

*m s3 n s3 jw^c n n sp-sn
tm sdm n nt.y nb spr hr=s hr-ntt j3t pw
nt jt=j*

*jr.n=j ssm=s n p3 s n h3w=j s3-nsw
jmj-r gs-pr Sbk-nht*

Don't listen to him
my position will be given to this man
of my kindred the royal son, the overseer
of the temple Sobeknacht

Son to son, heir to heir
Don't listen to anyone complain about it,
this is my father's position

I made (transferred) it to this man of my
kindred the royal son, the overseer of the
temple Sobeknakht.



*jr.jw s3 nb s3t nbt sn nb snt nbt s nb n
h3w=j
r-dd jw n=j t3 j3t
m rdj sdm.tw n=sn
dd.tw =s n p3y=j sn s3-nsw h3ty-^c Sbk-
nht*

If any son, any daughter, any brother, any
sister, any one of my kindred comes
Saying return the position
Don't listen to them
Let it be given to my brother, the royal son
Sobeknacht



*jr.n.tw t3 jmj.t-pr m- b3h jmj-r3 njwt t3ty
jmj-r3 Hwt wrt 6 Sbk-nht z3b? nb smn.w
hm-ntr n Hr nhn sbk-nht*

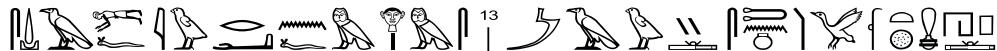
This transfer of property was done in the
presence of the overseer of the city, the
vizier, the great of the six great Mansions
Sobeknakht by judge Ren-Snb, Lord of
Semnu, the priest of Horus of Nkhen
Sobeknakht



*jr ph t3 jmj.t-pr wdf jr.tw hft=s
m rdj hnnt =s jn rmf nbt r nhh*

If the document of the property transfer
reaches delayed, executed according to it.
Not allowed anyone to remove it forever





*ir in h3 n w̄hm w̄r.t-mh.tj dd n s̄š n hnr.t
Jmn-htp*

m jdn.w s̄š n w̄hm w̄r.t

ir.n tw n=f mi ntt r hp m-ht sd3=f

*jw rdj n=f m hr m̄s m3.wj=s (r-) tnw rnpt
mj hb.*

Done by the bureau of the announcer of the Northern Wa'ret by the scribe of the prison Amenhotep

As a representative of the bureau of the Wa'ret

(He) acted that according to the law after his death (Ay)

that is to say, he was instructed (Amenhotep) to renew each year the transfer-written according to the law.



h3.t-sp1, 3bd 4, rk.y hr hm n ntr pn

*s(w)n.t s3-nsw htm.w-bj.tj jm.j-r'-pr Sbk-nh.t hn' 3t.w n t.t hk3 Kbsj s3 t3.tj Jmrw
h3.t(j) n nhb*

The first year, the fourth month, the last day in the month under the majesty of this god

A payment between the king's son, the royal sealer, the overseer of the temple Sobeknakht and the commander of the crew of the ruler Kebesy the son of the vizier Aymeru the governor of El-Kab

What was given by the king's son, the royal sealer, the overseer of the temple Sobeknakht to the commander of the crew of the ruler Kebesy

60 *dbn* consisting of gold, copper, grains, and cloths.



gm.n=tw jn snn m h3 n w̄hm n w̄r.t-mh.tj

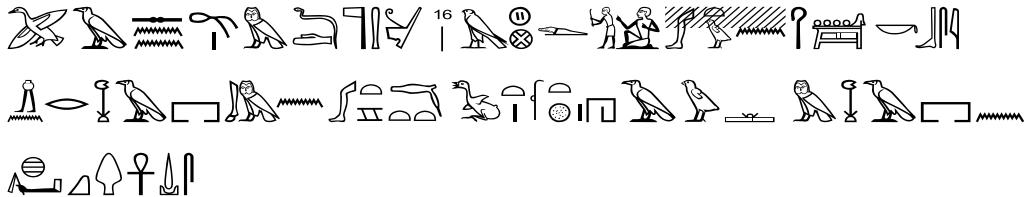
m h3 n t3.tj h3.t-sp1 h3 hwj b3k.t

nh wd3 snb

This document was found and brought to the bureau of the representative of the Wa'ret

from the bureau of the vizier, in the first year of the protector of Egypt may he live, be prosperous, and be

healthy.



p3 spr m dd hm ntr in Hr nhn Sbk-nht

3t.w n t.t hk3 Kbsj

in(.n) r h3 n whm w'rt-mh.tj m sh3 n t.tj

*m sh3 n t.tj h3.t-sp1 h3w hwj b3k.t nh wd3
snb*



*p3 spr m dd iti(=j) m g3g.w n s3 nsw jm.j-
r'-pr Sbk-nh.t*

*r dd rdj.n=j 60dbn m nb.w hr bj3 hr hbs jt
n=j
jm swd.t n 3t.w n t.t hk3 Kbsj*

n rdj.n=f n=s.t spr=j hr=f

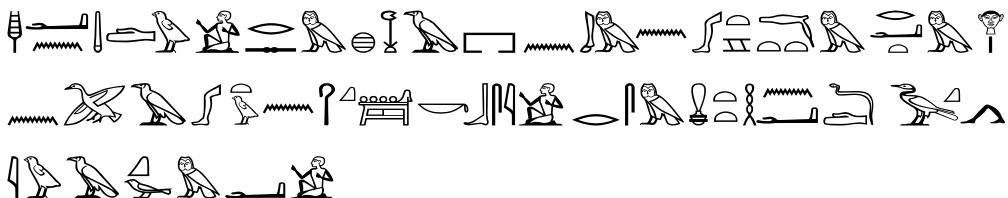
šdj=tw n m =f hrw-fj s.t

This document in the name of the priest of Horus of El-Kab Sobeknakht and the commander of the crew of the ruler Kebesy

It was brought to the bureau of the representative of wa'ret from the bureau of the vizier

in the 1st of the protector of Egypt, may he live, be prosperous, and be healthy

This complaint said "I came as a representative of the royal son, the overseer of the temple, Sobeknakht I gave 60 dbn as gold, copper, cloths, and grains that belong to me To the commander of the crew of the ruler Kebesy He did not return them to me (I) file a complaint against him Let them get me back", that's what I say.



=h3.n mdw=j r=s m h3 n whm n w'r.t mh.tj

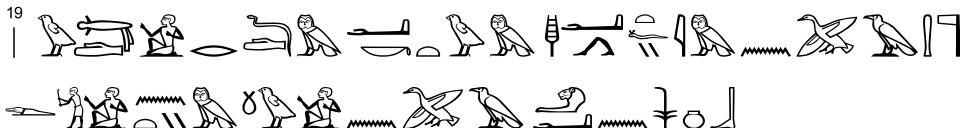
m rdj.t=s hr n p3 3t.w n t.t hk3 Kbsj

3k r=s m-mjtt hn' dd

This is discussed in the office of the Wheat of the Northern Wa'ret in order to place this complaint before the eyes of Prince Kebesy, commander of the crew of the ruler (He) recognized the fact and said also

iw 3k m-^c=i

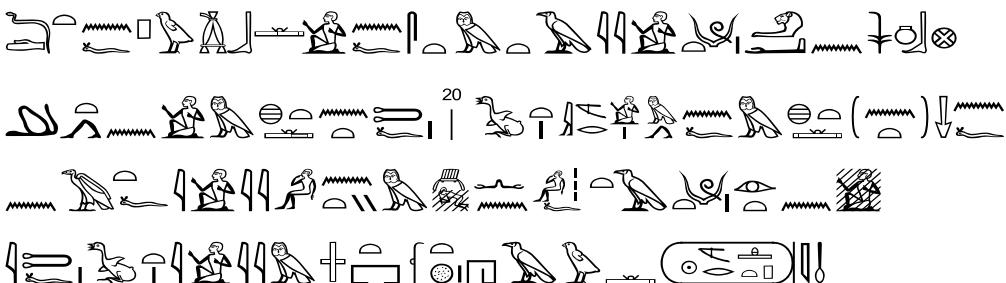
It happened that it perished in my hand



wšd r-dd mk.tw m ḥ^c.ty=fy jm

*n P3 hm-ntr sbk-nht nt.j m g³g.w n p³
ḥ³.t(j) n nhb*

It is said in these terms, Here you are in
the state of defendant-in-justice
this priest Sobeknakht who is the
representative of this governor of El-Kab



*dd.t n=f pw db³=j n=f s.t m t³y=j j³t
ḥ³.tj-^c n nhb*

*pht n=j m h.t n.t jt(=j) jm.j-r'-njw.t t³.tj
Jj-mr*

m jwt n=f m h.t sn=f n mw.t=f J-jj hrd

*nty m mwt nn hrdw=f
t³ j³t jrt n=j jt=j t³ty J-jj*

*m jmj.t-pr rnpt 1 h³w Mr-htp-r^c m³c-
hrw*

Here is his statement: "I will compensate
him for this by my function as governor of
El-Kab

which came to me as a possession from
my father, the town chief and vizier,
Aymeru

Which came to him as a possession from
his son from his mother, Ay the young.

Who dead without children

(it) was appointed for him by his father,
Vizier Ay

by a written transference, in the first of
reign of King *Mr-htp-r^c*, justified.

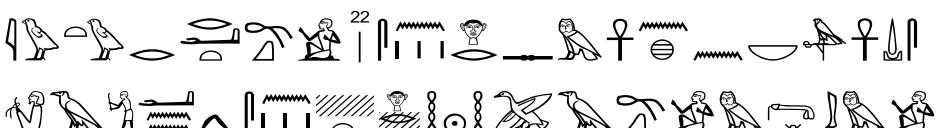


*rdj m mjtt m hr n p³ hm-ntr Sbk-nht
n.tj m g³g.w n p³ ḥ³.tj-^c n nhb Sbk-nht*

hr hr=s m mjtt

Also placing before the priest Sobeknakht
Who is the representative of this governor
of El-Kab Sobeknakht

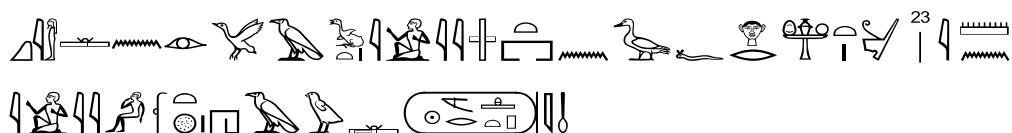
Also (he) is declaring himself satisfied





jw tw r rdi ḫrk sn hr=s m ḫn h n nb ḫn h wd
 snb
 s3w ḫnn=sn s.t hr=s r nhḥ
 p3 ḫrk m-b3ḥ whm k3-msw n w' r.t mh.tj
 m hrw pn hn' 3w rdj s.t n h3 n t3ty

They swear by the oath of the master
 (King), given life, prosperity, and health
 to prevent them from coming back forever
 This oath (took place) before the
 spokesman, kamsw of the northern W'ret
 At the same time recorded it in the vizier's
 bureau



kj n ir p3 t3.tj J-jj jm.jt-pr n s3=f hr h3(w).t
 n
 Jmn Jj hrđ
 h3.t-sp1 h3.w Mr-htp-R' m3' hrw

Here is how Vizier Ay made a transferring
 property in favour of his son the head of
 the altar of Amun Ay the Young,
 The first year at the time of the King Mr-
 htp-r', justified



jrj.w m snn n h3 n t3.tj m hrw pn
 jn.n smj m h3 n t3.tj
 jn.n n s3b Rn-snb m jdnw sš n t3.tj
 whm r.w hn' dd hnw r=s m h3 n t3ty
 gm.n tw jr.n jm.j-r njw.t t3.tj J-jj jm.jt-pr
 m p3 h3.tj- c n nhb
 n s3=f hrđ h3(w).t n Jmn Jj hrđ
 h3.t-sp13bd 3 pr.t hrw 19 h3.w Mr-htp-R'
 m3' hrw

Done as a report in the vizier's bureau in
 this day
 The report came from the vizier's bureau
 It was brought by the Sab Rn-seneb as the
 vizier's scribe
 This review and discussion in the vizier's
 bureau
 It was found that the town governor and
 the vizier Ay had made a transferring
 property about the governorate of El-Kab
 In favour of his son the head of the altar of
 Amun Ay the young
 The first year, the third month of the
 winter, the nineteenth day at the time of
 the King Mr-htp-r', justified



dd.n=f hr t3 jm.jt-pr jr.t n=f

*fdk wd3.w (?) m s3(=f) hr h3(.w)t n Jmn J-
jj hrd nn hrd.w=f*

hr.tw dj.tw p3.j- h3.tj-^c n nhb

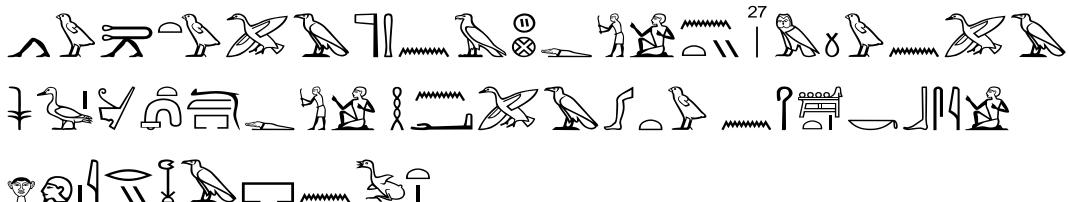
*n sn.w=f mw.t=ms n hm.t s3.t -nsw. Rd.t-n-
s*

He talked about the property transfer that he had done

The integrity of his son was broken, head of the altar of Amun, Ay the young, who has no children

So, then my governorate of El-Kab is given

To his brother-in-law whom my wife, king's daughter Reditenes.



jw jtj.tw p3 hm-ntr n Hr-nhn Sbk-nht

*nty m g3g.w n p3 s3-nsw htm.tj-bj.t j jm.j-r
gs-pr sbk-nht*

hn^c p3 3t.w n t.t hk3 Kbsj

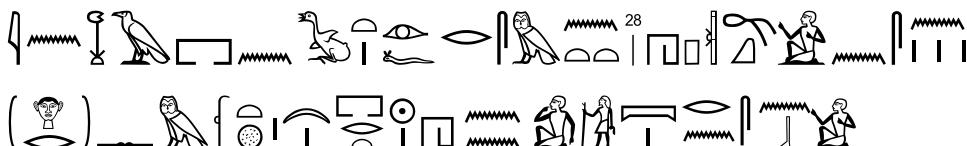
hr tp Jry h3 n t3.tj

One comes to lead this priest of Horus of El-Kab Sobeknakht

Who is representative of this royal son, the royal sealer, the overseer of the temple Sobeknakht

With this commander of the crew of the ruler Kebesy

With the help of these in the office of the vizier



jn h3 n t3.tj

Ir=f r=s m ntt r hb

r3k.n sn (hr=s)

m h3.t-sp13bd I pr.t hrw I

hnn hrj Rn-snb

It is the office of the vizier

That he must act on it following the law.

They took the oath

In the first year, the first month of the winter on the 1st day

Approval of the chief Rensneb

13. 29: King: *Mr-shm-R^c* Jnd

Statuette

Cat. 13.29.1

Discovery location:

Karnak

Provenance

Karnak

Current location:

Grand Egyptian Museum 8258; former Egyptian Museum CG 42023.

Dimensions:

H. 74.5 cm., W. 23 cm.

Material:

Granite

Condition

Restored.

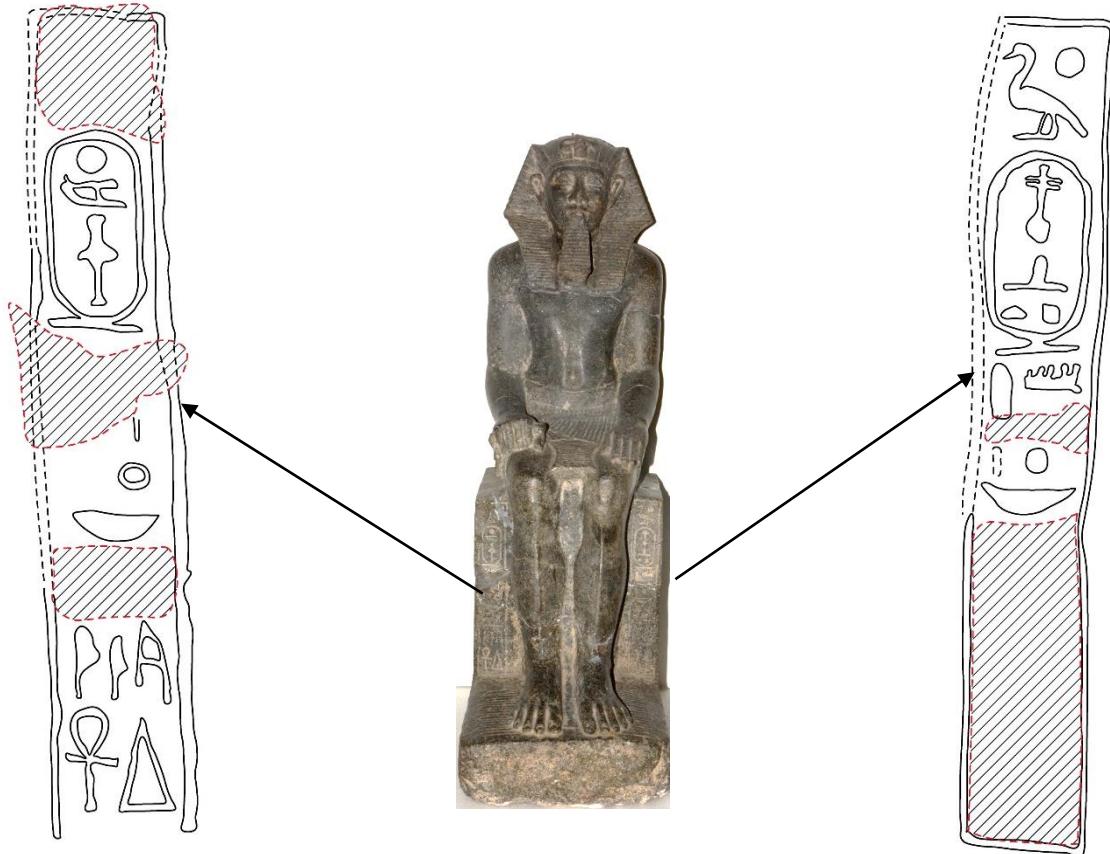
Bibliography

G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers de rois et de particuliers*, vol. 1. Catalogue général, Le Caire, 1906, no. 42023.

W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, *British Museum Occasional Paper* 28, London, 1981, no. 34.



© Grand Egyptian Museum



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Text:

Right: *s3 R^c Nfr-h_{tp} [mry] Jmn-R^c nb [p.t., dj 'nh]*

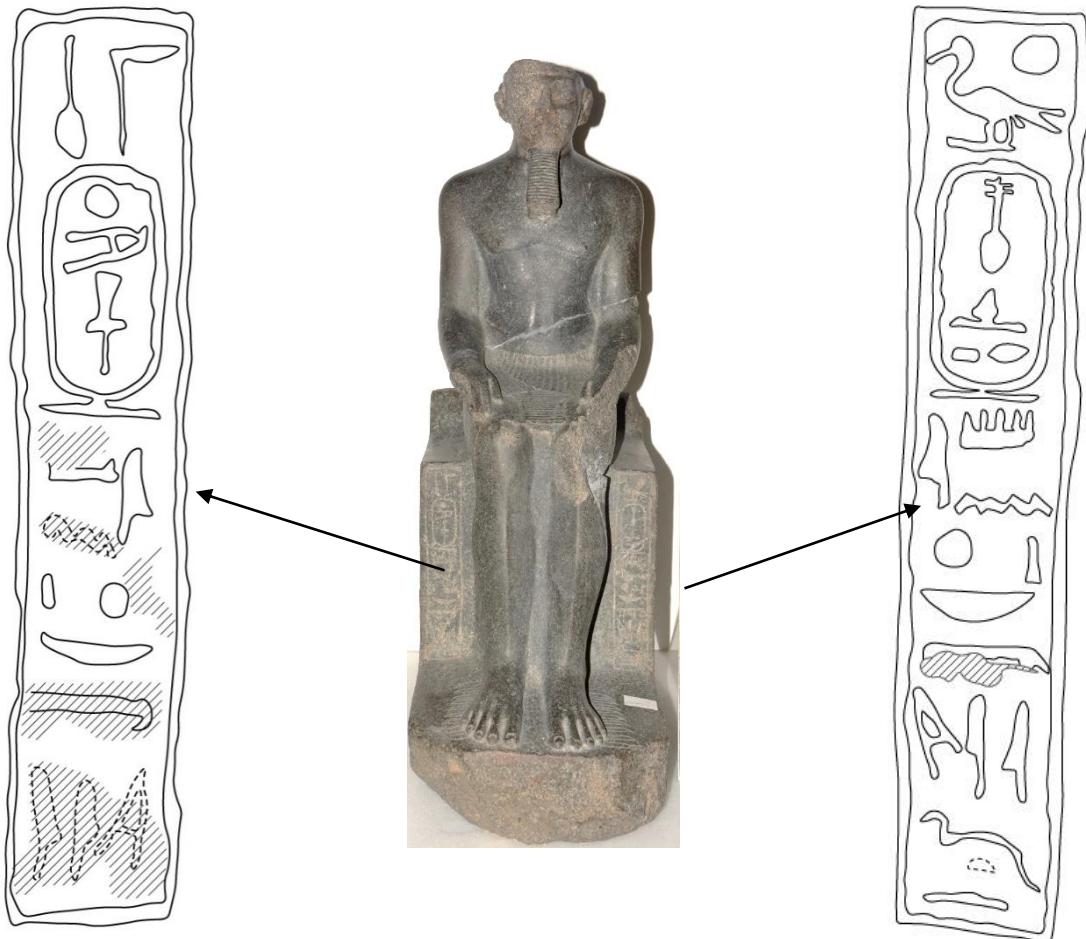
Left: *[ntr nfr] Mr-shm-R^c, Mry [Jmn-R^c] nb [p.t.], dj 'nh*

Son of Re *Nfr-h_{tp}*, [beloved] of Amun-Ra,
Lord [of the sky, given life]
[Good God] *Mr-shm-R^c*, beloved of
[Amun-Re], lord of [the sky], given life.

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Grand Egyptian Museum 8258; former Egyptian Museum CG 42023.
Dimensions:	H. 71 cm., W. 24 cm.
Material:	Granite
Condition	Lost the corwn
Bibliography	G. Legrain, <i>Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers de rois et de particuliers</i> , vol. 1. Catalogue general, Le Caire, 1906, no. 42024. W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, <i>British Museum Occasional Paper 28</i> , London, 1981, no. 35.



© Grand Egyptian Museum



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

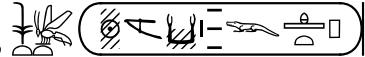
Text:

Right: *s3 R^c Nfr-htp mry Jmn-R^c nb p.t d.t*

Son of Re *Nfr-htp*, beloved of Amun-Ra,
lord of the sky, forever.

Left: *ntr nfr Mr-shm-R^c, Mry Jmn-R^c nb
p.t, [d.t]*

Good God *Mr-shm-R^c*, beloved of Amun-
Re, lord of the sky, [forever].

13. 31: King: *Mr-k3.w-R^r Sbk-htp* 

Pair of Statues

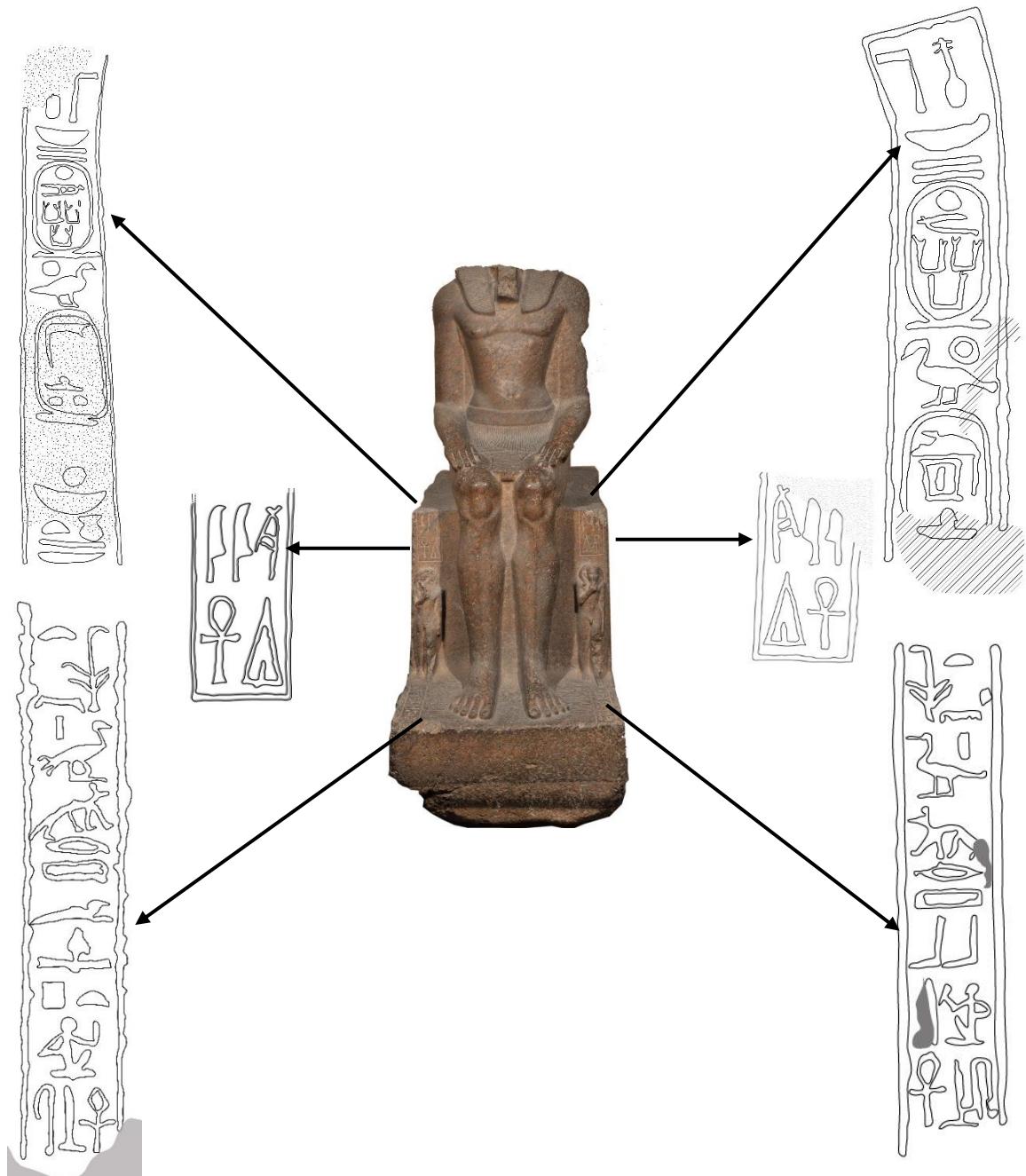
Cat. 13.31.1[a, b]

a

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 43599
Dimensions:	H. 128 cm., W. 52 cm.
Material:	Red Granite
Condition	Headless.
Bibliography	W. V. Davies, <i>A royal statue reattributed</i> , British Museum Occasional Paper 28, London, 1981, no. 36.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Text:

Right: *ntr nfr nb t3.wj Mr-k3.w-R^c s3 R^c
Sbk-htp mry [Jmn-R^c nb ns.wt t3.wj] dj 'nh*

s3-nsw s3b r nhn bbj [dj] 'nh w3d snb

Left: *ntr nfr nb t3.wj Mr-k3.w-R^c s3 R^c Sbk-
htp [mry Jmn]-R^c nb ns.wt t3.wj dj 'nh*

s3-nsw s3b r nhn Sbk-htp (dj) 'nh w3d snb

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands,
Mr-k3.w-R^c, Son or Re *Sbk-htp*, beloved of
[Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the Two
Lands] given life.

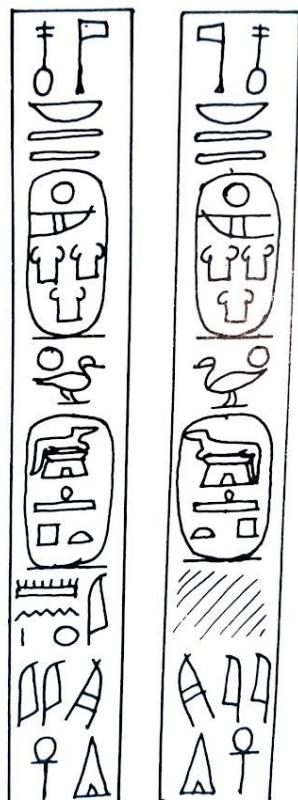
The prince, *s3b*, mouth of Nekhen *Bbj*
[given] life, prosperity, and health.

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands,
Mr-k3.w-R^c, Son or Re *Sbk-htp*, [beloved
of [Amun]-Re, Lord of the thrones of the
Two Lands] given life.

The Prince, *s3b*, mouth of Nekhen *Sbk-htp*
(given) life, prosperity, and health.

b

Discovery location:	Karnak
Provenance	Karnak
Current location:	Louvre Museum A 121 [E. 7824]
Dimensions:	H. 62 cm., W. 52.3 cm.
Material:	Red Granite
Condition	The upper half and lower part missing.
Bibliography	W. V. Davies, <i>A royal statue reattributed</i> , British Museum Occasional Paper 28, London, 1981, no. 37. É. Delange, <i>Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060-1560 avant J.-C.</i> Paris, 1987, 22-23.



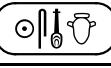
After: Delange 1987: 23.



© Louvre Museum

Text:

Good God, Lord of Two Lands *Mr-k3.w-R'*, Son of Re *Sbk-htp*, beloved of Amun-Re,
given life.

13.a:   **S:nfr-ib-r^c, Senwosret IV**

Colossal-statue: Cat. 13.a.1

Provenance:

Karnak.

Current location:

Egyptian Museum JE 35642.

Dimensions:

H. 275 cm.

Material:

Red granite.

Condition

restored

Bibliography

Legrain, G., Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers de rois et de particuliers, vol. 1. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Le Caire, 1906.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Text:



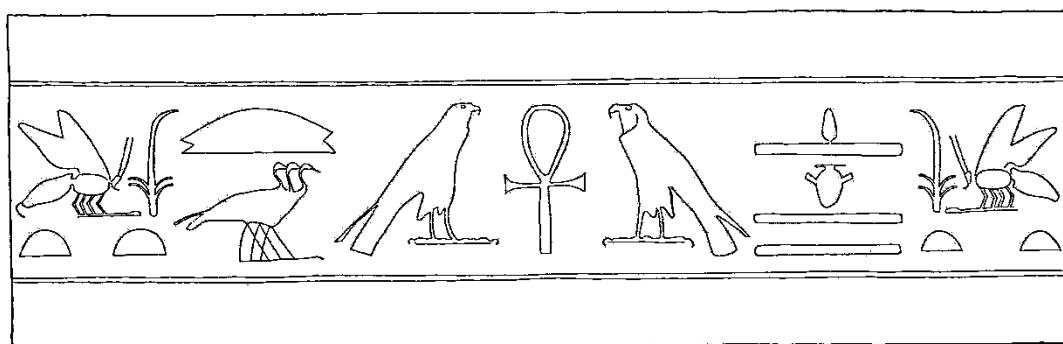
Hr [Whm-ⁿh] nb.tj S:ⁿh - t³.wj Hr.w-nbw Nfr-h^r.w nsw- bj.tj S:nfr-Jb-R^r s³ R^r s(j)-n wsr.t mr.y Jmn-R^r nb-ns.wt- t³.wj dd

Hours [whm-ⁿh], Two Ladies S:ⁿh -t³.wy,
Golden Horus nfr-h^r.w, Throne name S:nfr-Jb-R^r,
Birth name s(j)-n wsr.t, beloved of Amun-Re,
Lord of the throne of the two lands forever
t³.wj dd

13. b: King  **Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj Khabaw**

Lintel: Cat. 13. b.1

Discovery location	Tanis
Provenance:	Tanis?
Current location:	Unknown.
Dimensions:	L. 3.5 m, W. 1.14 m.
Material:	Red Granite.
Condition	
Bibliography	P. Montet, Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis, <i>La nécropole royale de Tanis 3</i> , Paris, 1960, 71-73, Pl. XXXVIII



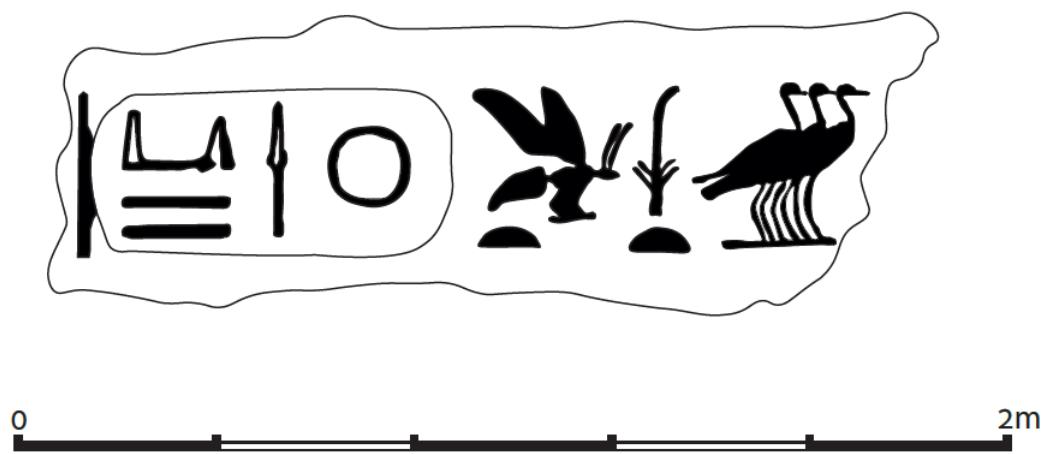
After: Montet 1960: Pl. XXXVIII

Lintel: Cat. 13. b.2

Discovery location	Bubastis.
Provenance:	Bubastis.
Current location:	British Museum EA 1100.
Dimensions:	H.c. 78.5 cm, W. of two fragments c. 170 cm.
Material:	Red Granite.
Condition	Brocken
Bibliography	E.A.W. Budge, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc., in British Museum, V, (1914), London, P. 7, Pl. XVIII.



© British Museum



0 2m

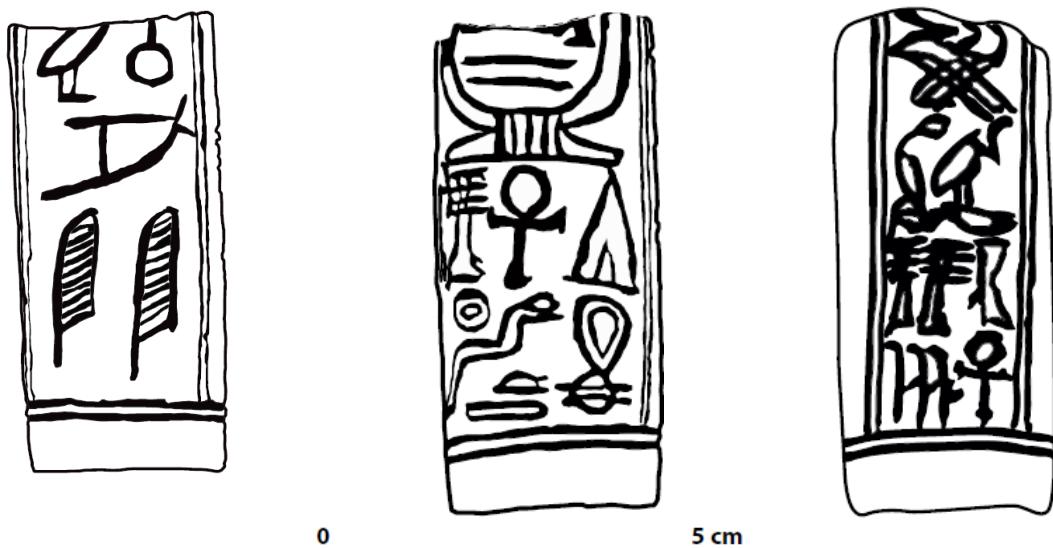
© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Cylinder-seal: Cat. 13. b.3

Discovery location	Unknown
Provenance:	Gebelein/ el-Mahamid Qibli?
Current location:	Petrie Museum UCL. 11527.
Dimensions:	H.2.5 cm. W.1.1 cm.
Material:	Blue-glazed steatite.
Condition	Brocken
Bibliography	W.M.F. Petrie, Scarabs and Cylinders with Names, London, (1917), PL. XVIII [13.15.1].



© Petrie Museum



© Illustrations by Adel Kelany

Text:

- (1) [nsw-bj.tj] [Shm-r^c] hw t³w.j di 'nh dd
mj r^c d.t [the King] [Shm-r^c]-hw-t³w.j, to whom
life is given and stability like Re forever.
- (2) [Hr] [H^c]-b³.w nb.ti Whm-dd.j-'nh-
rnp.wt [Horus] [H^c]-b³.w, Two Ladies whm dd.j
'nh rnp.wt
- (3) mr.y [sbk-R^c nb] [swm]nw Beloved of [Sobek-Re lord]of [Sem]enu

Seal-impressions: Cat. 13. b.4

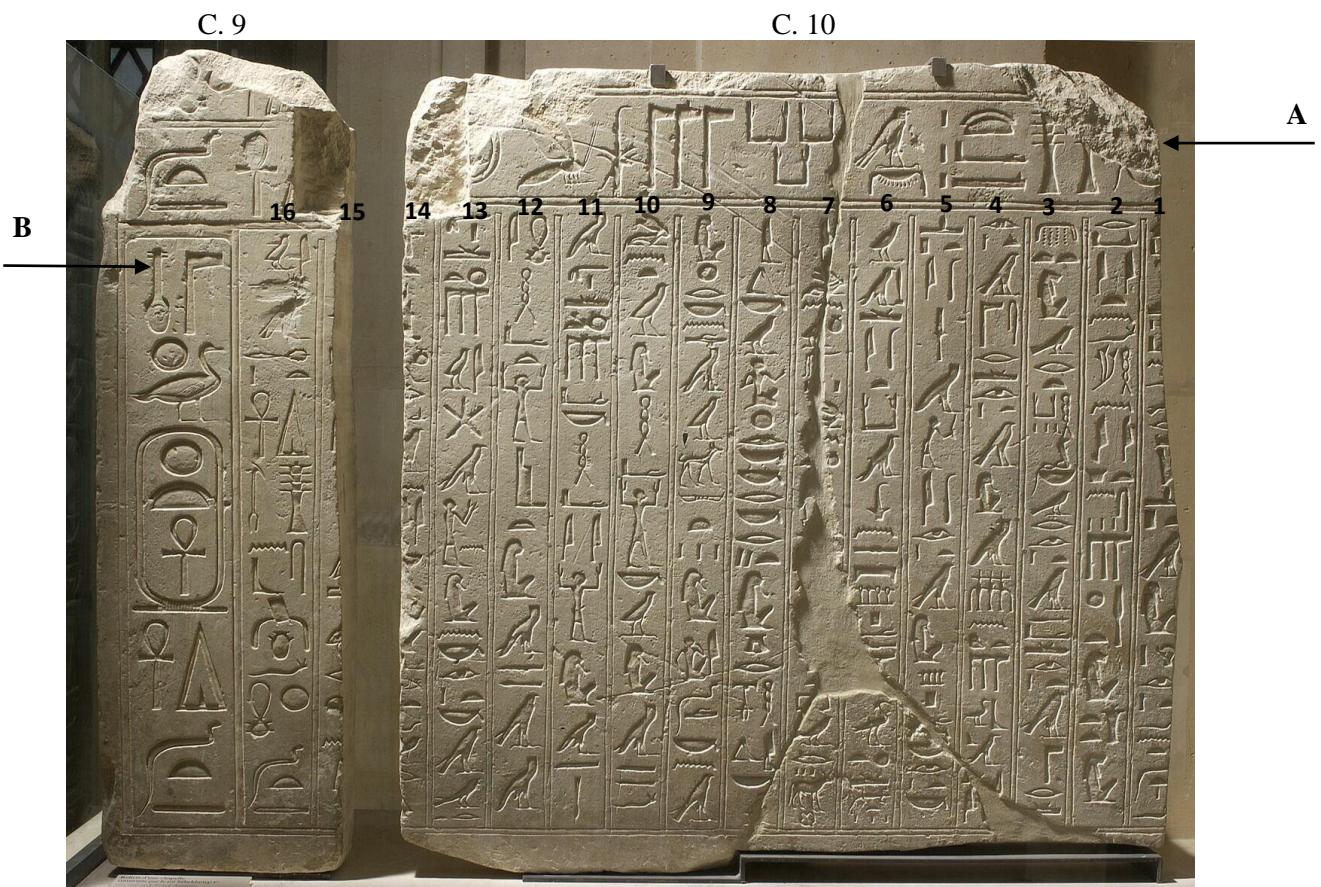


After: Dunham 1967: 64[3A]

13.c : King  **King *Hr-nh-Rr* Sobekhotep**

Blocks of a chapel: Cat. 13. c. 1

Discovery location: Abydos
Provenance Abydos
Current location: Louvre Museum (C. 9-10)
Dimensions: (C.9) H. 110 cm. L. 32 cm; (C. 10) H. 110 cm, L.106 cm
Material: Limestone
Condition: Two parts
Bibliography:
E. Bresciani, "Un edificio di Kha-anekh-Ra Sobek-hotep ad Abido", *EVO* 2, 1979, pp. 1-20.
C. Barbotin, *La voix des hiéroglyphes: promenade au département des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris, 2005, PP. 88-89.



© Louvre Museum

Text:

The main text from Col. 1-16 is a hymn to the eye of Horus translated by Barbotin 2005: 88-89

(A) [Two Ladies] *Dd-hr.w* Golden Horus *K3.w-ntr.w*, King [*Hr-cnh-R*] [given] life forever

(B) The Good God Son of Re *Hr-cnh-R*, given life forever.

Discovery location:	Abydos
Provenance	Abydos
Current location:	Louvre Museum (B. 3)
Dimensions:	H. 96 cm., L. 106 cm.
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Good
Bibliography	E. Bresciani, "Un edificio di Kha-anekh-Ra Sobek-hotep ad Abido", <i>EVO</i> 2, 1979, pp. 1-20.

B. 3



© Louvre Museum

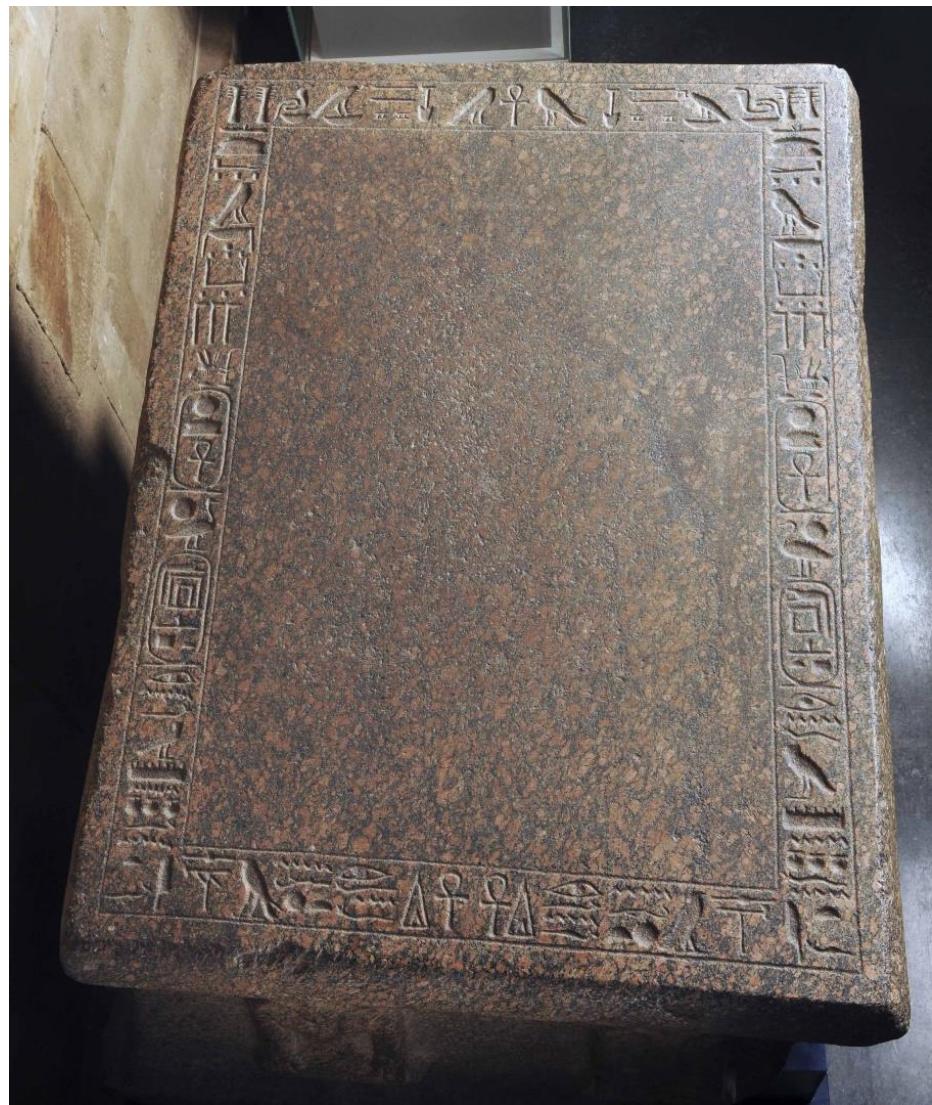
Altar:

Cat. 13. c. 2

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Abydos?
Current location:	Leiden Museum AM. 109
Dimensions:	H. 114 cm., W. 120 cm., L. 160 cm
Material:	Red Granite
Condition	Lost a part of the base
Bibliography	E. Bresciani, "Un edificio di Kha-anekh-Ra Sobek-hotep ad Abido", <i>EVO</i> 2, 1979, pp. 1-20.

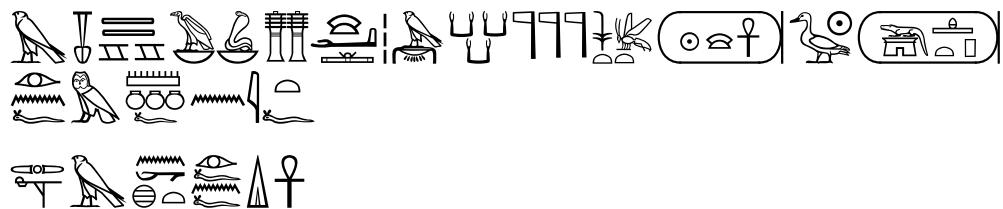


© Leiden Museum



© Leiden Museum

Text:

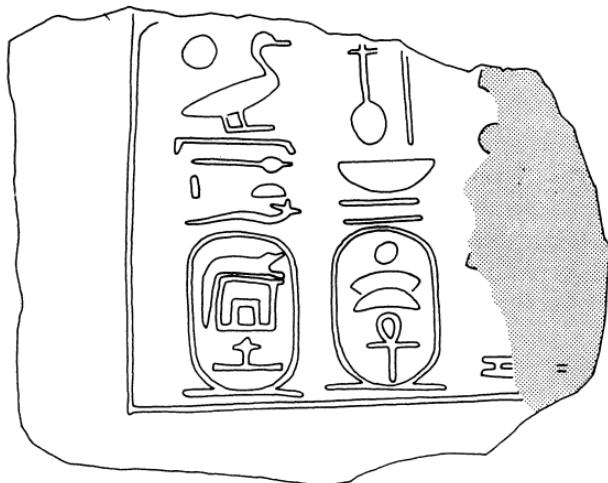


Horus *Sm3-t3.wj*, Two Ladies *Dd-h3.w*, King *H3-nh-R3*, Son of Re *Sbk-htp* he made
(this) as his monuments to his father Min-Hor- the victories that he may give him life.

Discovery location:	Unknown
Provenance	Karnak?
Current location:	British Museum EA 96497
Dimensions:	H. 5.8 cm., W. 16.2cm.
Material:	Black granite
Condition	Broken
Bibliography	C. N. Reeves, <i>Miscellanea epigraphica</i> , SAK13, 1986, pp. 165-167.



© British Museum



After: Reeves 1986: Fig. 1

Text:

Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, *Hr-nh-R*

Son of Re (of) his body *Sbk-htp*

Beloved of [Amun]-Re [Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands]

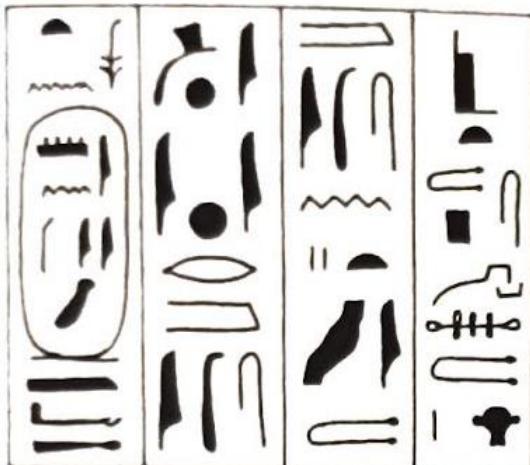
13. d: King  *Jmny-km3w*

Canopic Jars

Cat. 13.d.1 [a, b, c, d]

A

Discovery location:	Dahshur
Provenance	Dahshur
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	H. 26 cm. Dia. 20.5 cm.
Material:	Calcite
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	N. Swelim and A. Dodson 1998, "On the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its canopic equipment, <i>MDAIK</i> 54, 1998, pp. 319-334.



After: Swelim and Dodson 1998: 327.



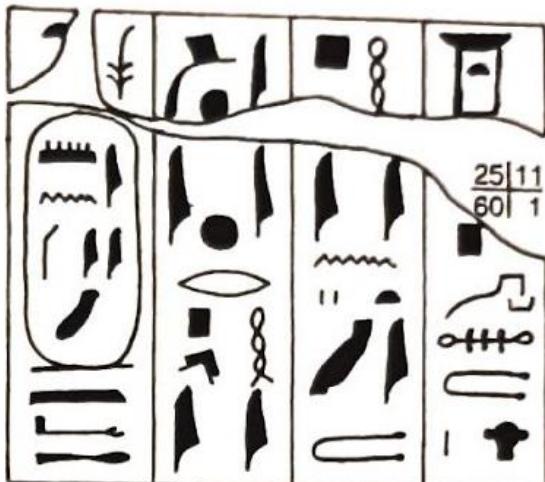
After: Swelim and Dodson 1998: Pl. 54 [a]

Text:

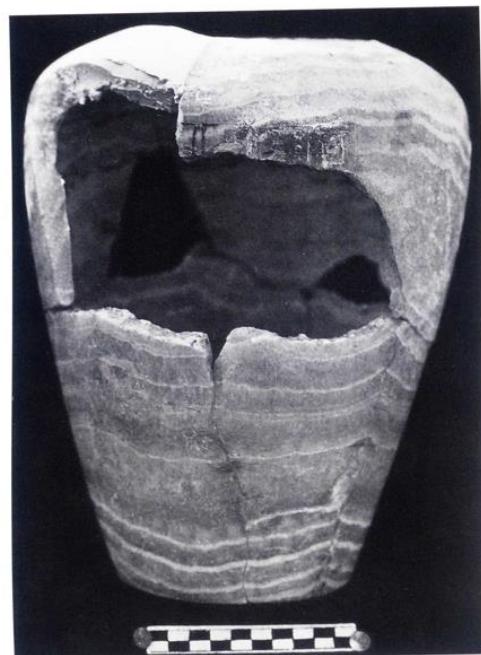
Isis, delimit your protection about Amseti
who is in you, the honoured before
Amseti, the King *Jmny-km3w*, the justified

B

Discovery location:	Dahshur
Provenance	Dahshur
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo TR 25.11.60.1
Dimensions:	H. 27.5cm. Dia. 21.5 cm.
Material:	Calcite
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	N. Swelim and A. Dodson 1998, "On the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its canopic equipment, <i>MDAIK</i> 54, 1998, pp. 319-334.



After: Swelim and Dodson 1998: 327



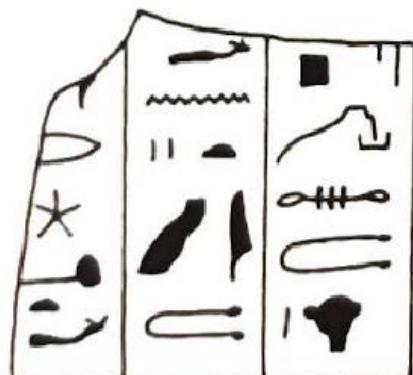
After: Swelim and Dodson 1998: Pl. 54 [b]

Text:

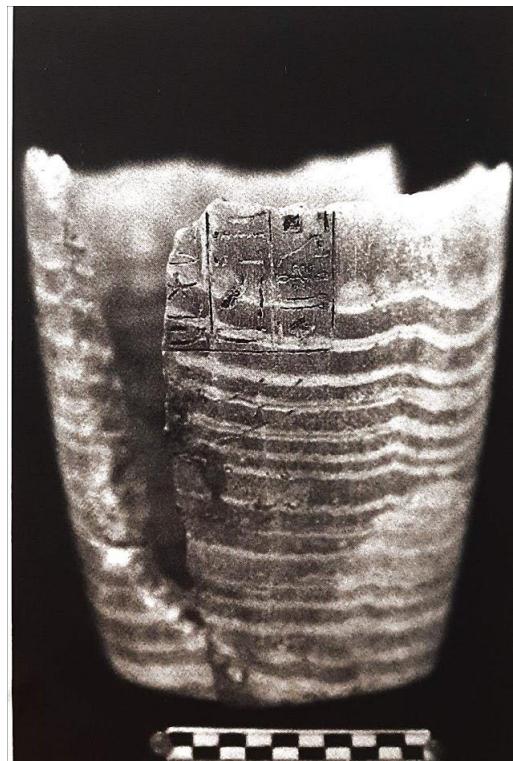
Nephthys, delimit your protection about Hapy
who is in you, the honoured before
Hapy, King *Jmny-km3w*, the justified.

C

Discovery location:	Dahshur
Provenance	Dahshur
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo TR 25.11.60.2
Dimensions:	H. c. 19 cm
Material:	Calcite
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	N. Swelim and A. Dodson 1998, "On the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its canopic equipment, <i>MDAIK</i> 54, 1998, pp. 319-334.



After: Swelim and Dodson 1998: 327



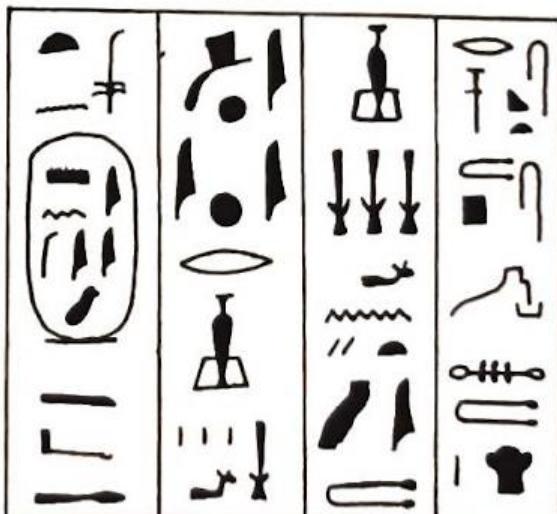
After: Swelim and Dodson 1998: Pl. 55 [c]

Text:

Neith, delimit your protection about [Duamut]ef
who is in you, the honoured before
Duamutef, King [*Jmny-km3w*, the justified]

D

Discovery location:	Dahshur
Provenance	Dahshur
Current location:	Unknown
Dimensions:	H. 26 cm. Dia. 19 cm.
Material:	Calcite
Condition	Fragmented
Bibliography	N. Swelim and A. Dodson 1998, "On the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its canopic equipment, <i>MDAIK</i> 54, 1998, pp. 319-334.



After: Swelim and Dodson 1998: 327



After: Swelim and Dodson 1998: Pl. 55 [d]

Text:

Selqt, delimit your protection about Qebehsenuef
who is in you, the honoured before
Qebehseuef, King *Jmny-km3w*, the justified.

13. e.  King *Htp-jb-Rˁ*

Statue: Cat. 13.e. 1

Discovery location	Tell el-Dab'a
Provenance:	Memphis?
Current location:	unknown
Dimensions:	H. 140 cm.
Material:	schist
Condition	fragmented
Bibliography	L. Habachi, "Khatâ'na-Qnatîr: Importance", <i>ASAE</i> 52, 1952, pp. 460-461, pl. IX.

Text:



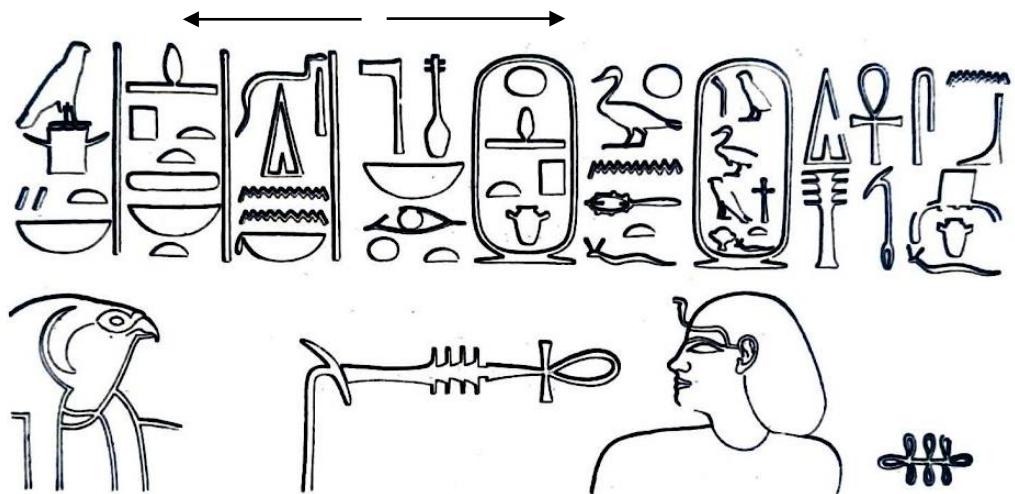
The Good God [Lord of the Two Lands] Lord of action, King *htp-jb-Rˁ*, Son of Re, from his own body, his beloved *km3w s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt=f*, beloved of Ptah *rsy-jnb=f*, given life.

Wall-relief: Cat. 13.e.2

Discovery location	el-Atawla
Provenance:	el-Atawla
Current location:	Egyptian Museum, Cairo RT 25.4.22.3
Dimensions:	L. 100 cm. W. 55cm
Material:	Limestone
Condition	Complete
Bibliography	A. Kamal, "Rapport sur la nécropole d'Arabe-el-Borg", <i>ASAE</i> 3, 1902, pp. 80-84. L. Habachi, "Khatâ'na-Qnatîr: Importance", <i>ASAE</i> 52, 1952, pp. 461, pl. X-XI A.



© Egyptian Museum, Cairo



After: Habachi 1952: Pl. XI A

Text:

←
Words are spoken, (I) gave you every offering (to) Nemty lord of?
→

The Good God [Lord of the Two Lands] Lord of action, King *Htp-jb-R*^c, Son of Re, from his own body, his beloved *km3w s3-Hr-nd-hr-jt-f*, given life, health, stability, prosperity, and happiness of his heart.

Appendix

App. 1: Nile records: King *Shm-Rc-hw-t3wy*

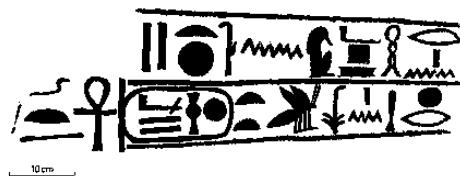
Three rock inscriptions register the Nile-recodes refer to King *Shm-r^c-hw-t3wy* in Semna

and Kumma¹. In three locations, the king's name is inscribed . The following documentation shows these rock inscriptions:

Semna:

Two rock inscriptions in Semna refer to the regnal-years 2 and 3 of the king as follows:

- The second year²:

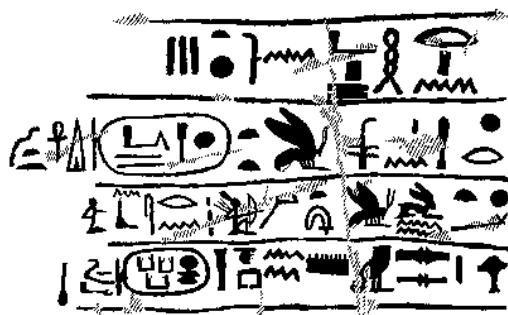


After: Hintze and Reineke 1989: Pl. 210.

Text:

Level of the flood in the year 2 under the majesty of the King *Shm-Rc-hw-t3.wj*, given life forever.

- The third year³:



After: Hintze and Reineke 1989: Pl. 211.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 336, File 13/1 [6-7]; Siesse 2019: 372, no. 1 [10-11].; PM. VII, (1952): 150, 156.

² Hintze and Reineke 1989: 151-152 [508], Pl. 210; Dunham and Janssen 1960: 131[RIS 2], Pl. 93 [B].

³ Hintze and Reineke 1989:102 [509], Pl. 211; Dunham and Janssen 1960:131[RIS 3], Pl. 93 [B].

Text:

Level of the flood in the year 3 under the majesty of the King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*,
given life forever in the powerful fortress of *Hˁj k3.w Rˁ* (Amenhat III), the
justified.

Kumma

- The fourth year¹:

This piece now is exhibited in Berlin No. 1160².



After: Wildung (ed.) 1996: 80 [83].

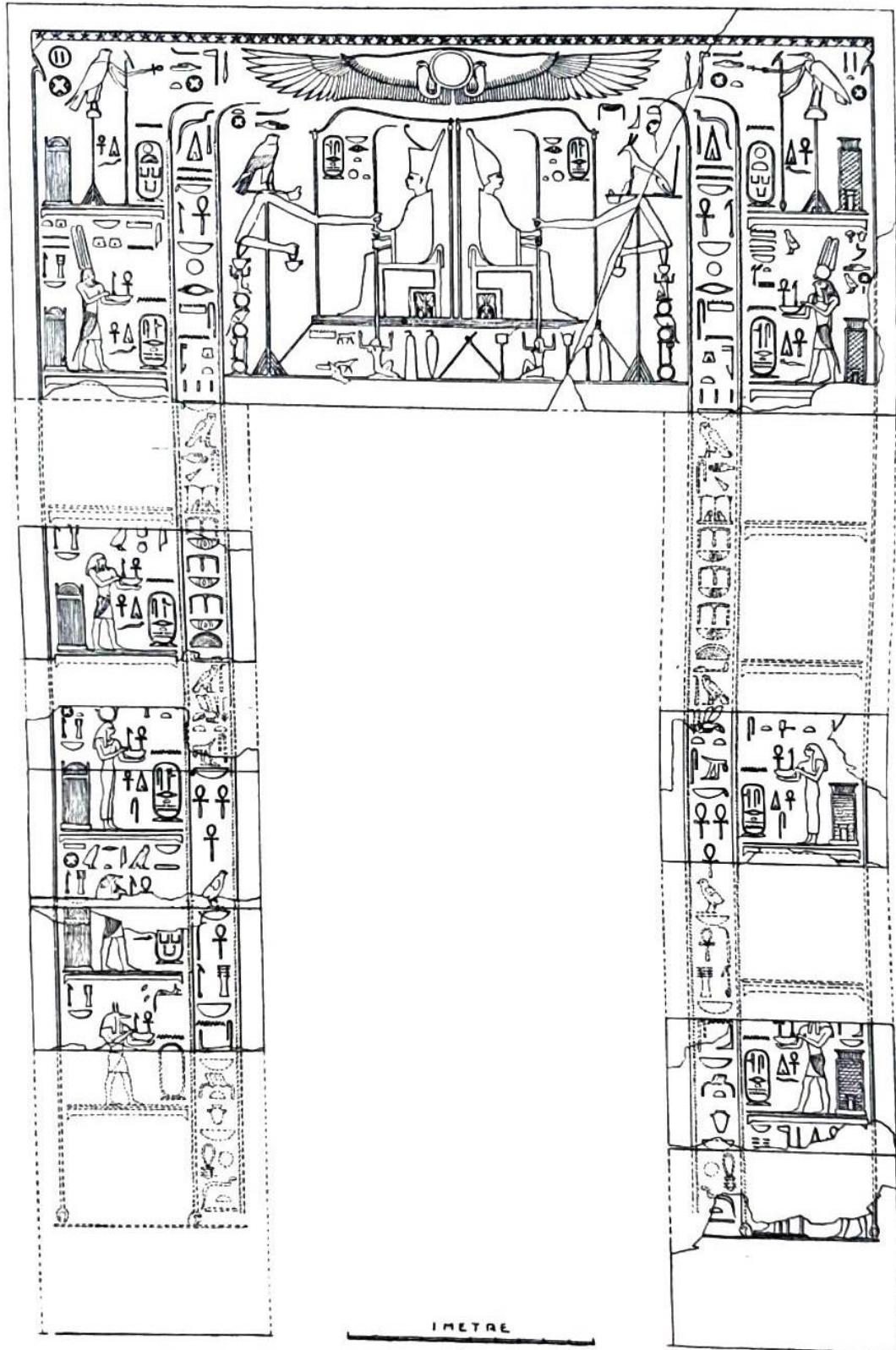
Text:

Level of the flood in the year 4 under the majesty of the King *Shm-Rˁ-hw-t3.wj*
(given) life forever and in eternity.

¹ Ryholt 1997: 336, File 13/1 [8]; Siesse 2019: 371, no. 1 [12]; Hintze and Reineke 1989: 152 [382 A], Pl. 133.

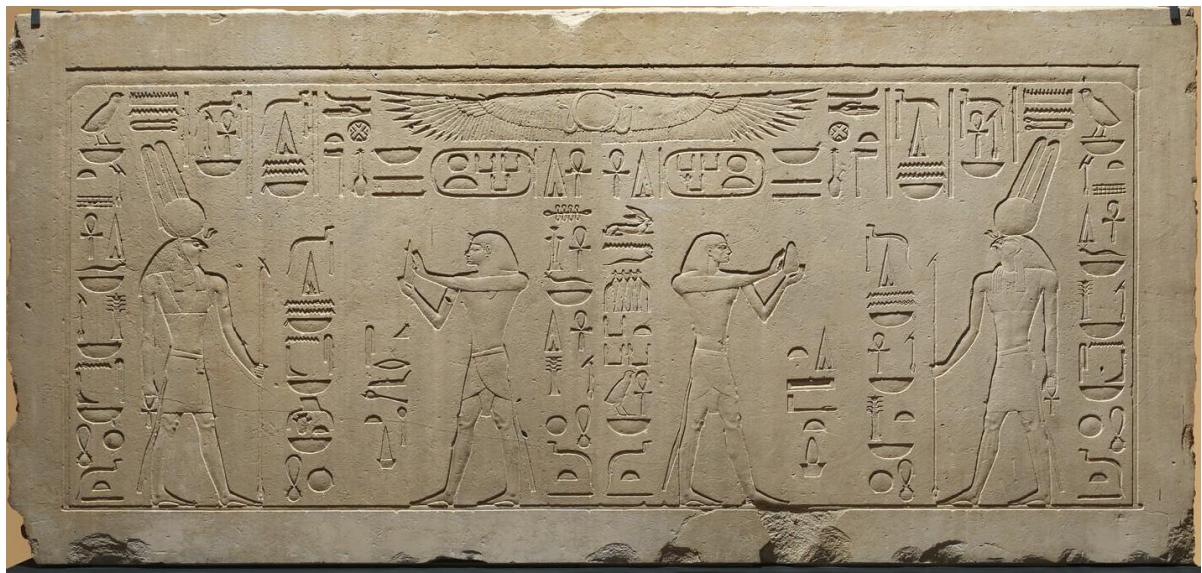
² Wildung (ed.) 1996: 80 [83]; Vercoutter 1975: 224.

App: 2: King Senwosret III' gate of Madamud



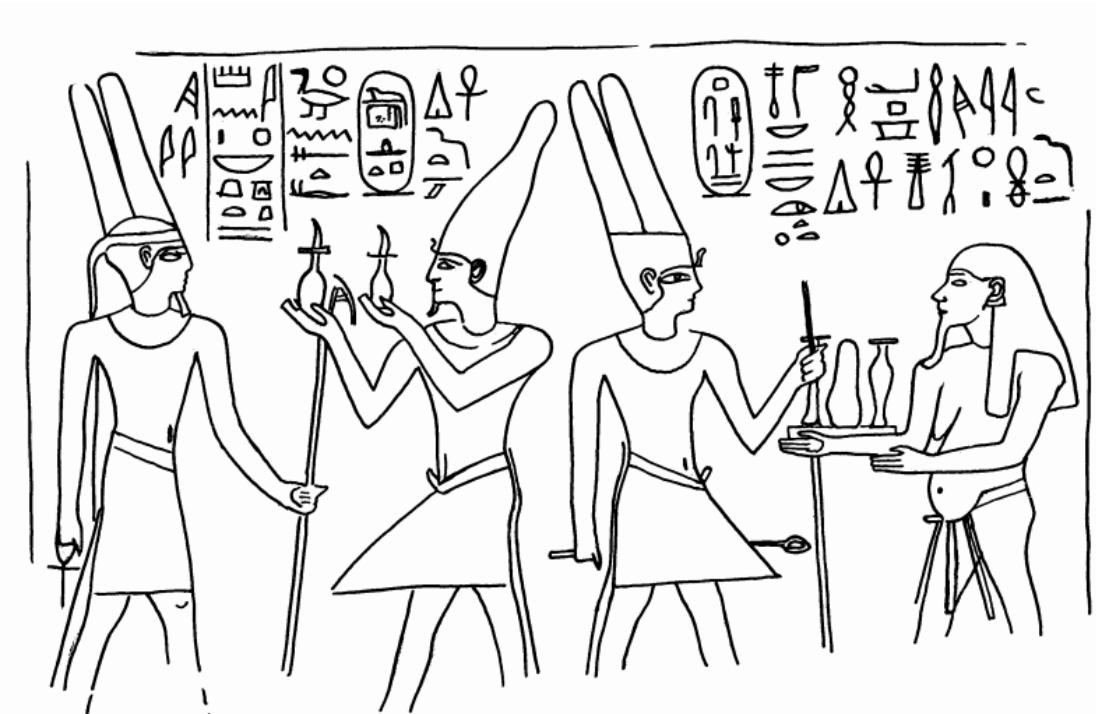
After: Gardiner 1944: Pl. IV

App: 3: King Senwosret III' lintel of Madamud



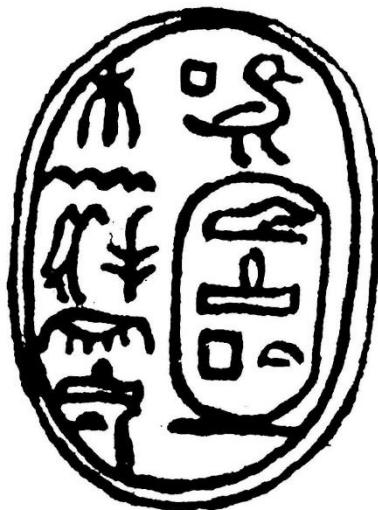
© Louver Museum

App. 4: Stela of King Sobekhotep (VIII) *Shm-Rc-s:wsr-t3.wj*



After: Baines 1974: Fig. 2

App. 5: Maternal genealogical scarab of Sobekhotep and King's mother *Nbw-htp.ty*

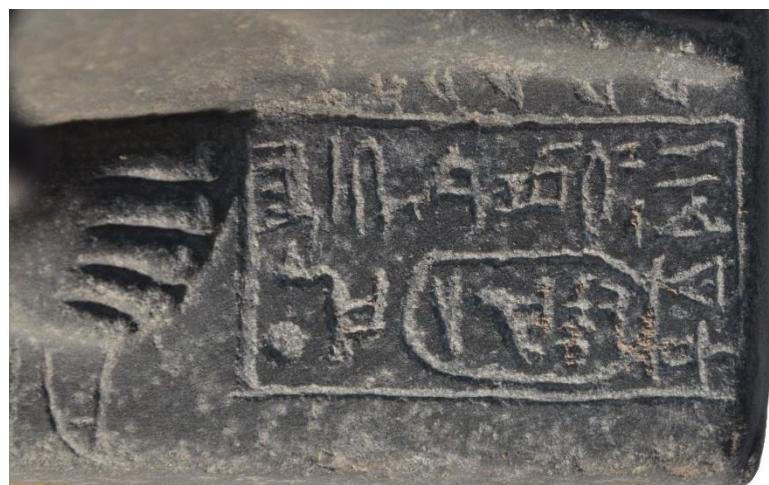


After: Newberry 1914: Pl. X [c]



©Metropolitan Museum 26.7.94

App. 6: standing statuette of King Sobekemsaf



Bibliography

A

- Abd el-Maksoud 1983:** M. Abd el-Maqsooud, “Un monument du roi 'Aa-*sh-R'* *Nhsy* à Tell-Haboua (Sinaï nord)”, *ASAE* 69, 1983, pp. 3-5.
- Abdul-Qader Muhammad 1966:** M. Abdul-Qader Muhammad, “Recent finds”, *ASAE* 59, 1966, pp. 143-155.
- Adam 1959:** S. Adam, “Report on the Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Ezbet Rushdi”, *ASAE* 56, 1959, pp. 207-226
- Ahrens 2015:** A. Ahrens, “The Egyptian objects from Tell Hizzin in the Beqa'a Valley (Lebanon): an archaeological and historical reassessment”, *Ä&L* 25, 2015, pp. 201-222.
- Aksamit 2011:** J. Aksamit, “The necropolis at Tell Edfu: an overview”, *PAM* 20 (research 2008), 2011, pp. 379-386.
- Allam 2019:** S. Allam, *Hieratischer Papyrus Bulaq* 18, 2 vols. Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im alten Ägypten 2. Tübingen: Selbstverlag, 2019.
- Allen 1999:** J. P. Allen, “The Turin King-list” in D. Ben-Tor, S. J. Allen, and J. P. Allen, “Seals and kings” Review: Ryholt, K. S. B. 1997. *The political situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 BC*. CNI Publications 20. Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, University of Copenhagen; Museum Tusculanum Press, *BASOR* 315, 1999, pp. 47-74.
- Allen 2010:** J. Allen, “The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin king-list”, in: M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): current research, future prospects*, 2010, Leuven, pp. 1-10.
- Alliot 1935:** M. Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)*, Fouilles IFAO 10 (2). Le Caire, 1935.
- Alliot 1937:** M. Alliot, “Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l’Égypte ancienne”, *IFAO* 37, Le Caire, 1937, pp. 93-160.
- Al-sayyed 2013:** N. Al-sayyed, Cairo: Histories of a City, Harvard University Press, 2013.
- Altenmüller and Moussa 1991:** H. Altenmüller, A. Moussa, “Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis. Ein Vorbericht”, *SAK* 18, 1991, pp. 1-48.

- Arnold and Arnold 1979:** D. Arnold, and D. Arnold, *Der Tempel Qaser el-Sagha, AV, Vol. 27* (Mainz am Rahein: Philipp von Zabern, 1979).
- Arnold 1987:** D. Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhat III. In Dahshur*, Band. I. Die Pyramide, Mainz am Rhein, 1987.
- Arnold 1991:** D. Arnold, “Amenemhat I and the Early Twelfth Dynasty at Thebes”, *MMJ* 26, 1991, pp. 5-48.
- Arnold 2002:** D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosert III at Dahshur: Architectural Studies*, New York, 2002.
- Arnold and Jánosi 2015:** D. Arnold, P. Jánosi, “The Move to the North: Establishing a New Capital”, in: A. Oppenheim et al. (eds.), *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015, pp. 54-57.
- Arnold 2015:** D. Arnold, “Selected Sites” in: A. Oppenheim et al., *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.
- Arnold 1990:** F. Arnold, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht. 2: The Control Notes and Team Marks*, the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, 1990.
- Aufrère 2001:** S. H. Aufrère, “Le roi Aouibrê Hor: essai d'interprétation du matériel découvert par Jacques de Morgan à Dahchour (1894)”, *BIFAO* 101, 2001, pp. 1-41.
- B**
- Baines 1974:** J. Baines, “The inundation stela of Sebekhotpe VIII”, *AcOr* 36, 1974, pp. 39-54.
- Baines 2009:** J. Baines, “The stelae of Amenisonbe from Abydos and Middle Kingdom display of personal religion”, in: D. Magee, J. Bourriau, S. Quirke, (eds.), *Sitting beside Lepsius. Studies in Honour of Jaromír Málek at the Griffith Institute*, Louvain, Peeters, (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta = OLA; 185), 2009, pp. 1-22,
- Bakry 1971:** H. S. K. Bakry “The discovery of a temple of Sobk in Upper Egypt”, *MDAIK* 27, 1971, pp. 131-146.
- Barbotin 2005:** C. Barbotin, *La voix des hiéroglyphes: promenade au département des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Louvre*, Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2005.
- Barguet 1962:** P. Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, Le Caire, 1962.
- Von Beckerath 1958:** J. Von Beckerath, “Notes on the viziers 'Anku and 'Iymeru in the thirteenth Egyptian dynasty”, *JNES* 17 (4), 1958, pp. 263-268.
- Von Beckerath 1959:** J. Von Beckerath, “Die Könige mit dem Thronnamen *Shm-r‘ hw-t3wj*”, *ZÄS* 84, 1959, pp. 81-85.

- Von Beckerath 1964:** J. Von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, Glückstadt: Augustin, 1964.
- Von Beckerath 1997:** J. Von Beckerath, *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr*, Müncher Ägyptologische Studien, Band 46, Maniz, 1997.
- Von Beckerath 1999:** J. Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 49, Münchener Universitätsschriften, Philosophische Fakultät für Geschichts- und Kunsthistorischen Mainz, 1999.
- Bennett 2002:** C. Bennett, “A genealogical chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty”, *JARCE* 39, 2002, pp. 123-155.
- Bennett 2006:** C. Bennett, “Genealogy and the Chronology of the Second Intermediate Period”, *Ägypten und Levante* 16, 2006, pp. 231-243.
- Ben-Tor 2007:** D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, chronology, and interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 27. Fribourg: Göttingen: Academic Press, 2007.
- Berman 1985:** L. M. Berman, *Amenemhat I*, Dissertation, Yale University, 1985.
- Betrò 2006:** M. Betrò, “Sobek a Sumenu” in Pernigotti, S. and M. Zecchi (eds), *Il coccodrillo e il cobra: aspetti dell'universo religioso egiziano nel Fayyum e altrove: atti del colloquio, Bologna - 20/21 aprile 2005*, Imola: La Mandragora, 2006, pp. 91-102.
- Bietak 1979:** M. Bietak, *Avaris and piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta*, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979.
- Bietak 1996:** M. Bietak, *Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos*, British Museum Press, 1996.
- Bietak 2010:** M. Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?”, in: M. Marée, *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): current research, future prospects*, Leuven, 2010, pp. 139-181.
- Bietak and Lange 2014:** M. Bietak and E. Lange, “Tell Basta: The palace of the Middle Kingdom”, *EA* 44, 2014, pp. 4-7.
- Bietak 2016:** M. Bietak, “The Egyptian Community in Avaris during the Hyksos Period”, *Ä&L* 26, 2016. pp. 263-274.
- Bissing 1914:** W. Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, Text, München, 1914.
- Bisson de la Rouque 1930:** F. Bisson de la Rouque, *Les Fouilles de Médamoud 1929*, FIFAO VII, Cairo, 1930.

Bisson de La Roque 1937: MM. F. Bisson de La Roque, *Tôd: (1934 - 1936), FIFAO XVII*, Le Caire, 1937.

Bisson de la Rouque and Clère 1928: MM. F. Bisson de la Rouque et J. J. Clère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1927)*, *FIFAO V.1*, Le Caire, 1928.

Bisson de la Rouque and Clère 1929: MM. F. Bisson de la Rouque et J. J. Clère, *Les Fouilles de Médamoud 1928*, *FIFAO VI*, Cairo, 1929.

Bietak 2019: M. Bietak, “Bubastis: A Palace for a King or a Provincial Administrative Centre?”, *Ancient Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Palaces*, vol. II, ed. by M. Bietak, P. Matthiae and S. Prell, *CAENL 8*, Wiesbaden, 2019.

Borchardt 1925: L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1-1294*, Teil 2: Text und Tafeln zu Nr. 381-653. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei. At head of series title: Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1925.

Bourriau 1988: J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and mortals: Egyptian art in the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Bourriau 2000: J. Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period (c. 1650-1550 BC)” in I. Shaw, (ed.), *The Oxford history of ancient Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 185-217.

Bourriau 2010: J. Bourriau, “The relative chronology of the Second Intermediate Period: problems in linking regional archaeological sequences”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): current research, future prospects*, 2010, Leuven, pp. 11-37.

Breasted 1908: J. H. Breasted, “Second preliminary report of the Egyptian Expedition”, *AJSLL 25*, pp. 110, 1908.

Breasted 1962: J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*. Vol. 1: The First to the Seventeenth Dynasties, Reprinted, New York, 1962.

Bresciani 1979: E. Bresciani, “Un edificio di Kha-anekh-Ra Sobek-hotep ad Abido”, (MSS Acerbi, Biblioteca comunale di Mantova), *EVO 2*, 1979, pp. 1-20.

Buchberger 1993: H. Buchberger, Transformation und Transformat: Sargtextstudien 1, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 52. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993.

Budge 1907: E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Sûdân – Its History and Monuments*, Vol.1, London, 1907.

Budge 1913: E. A. Wallis Budge, *Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, &c., in the British Museum, part IV*, London: British Museum, 1913.

C

Cahail 2022: K. M, “The internal chronology of the Second Intermediate Period: a summary of old theories and new discoveries”, in G. Miniaci, Gianluca and P. Lacovara (eds), *The treasure of the Egyptian queen Ahhotep and international relations at the turn of the Middle Bronze Age (1600-1500 BCE)*, pp. 3-17, 2022, London: Golden House.

Callender 1998: V. G. Callender, “Materials for the reign of Sebekneferu”, in: C. J. Eyre (ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995*, Leuven, pp. 227-236.

Callender 2000: G. Callender, “The Middle Kingdom Renaissance”, in I. Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 148 - 183.

Capart 1938: J. Capart, “Deuxième rapport sommaire sur les fouilles de la fondation Égyptologique reine Élisabeth à El-Kab (janvier à mars 1938)”, *ASAE* 38, 623-640, 1938.

Capart 1940: J. Capart, *Fouilles de El Kab: Documents*, Bruxelles, 1940.

Castel and Soukiassian 1985: G. Castel and G. Soukiassian, “Dépôt de stèles dans le sanctuaire du Nouvel Empire au Gebel Zeit”, *BIFAO* 85, 1985, pp. 285-293.

Castel and Soukiassian 1989: G. Castel and G. Soukiassian, *Gebel el-Zeit I: les mines de galène (Égypte - IIe millénaire av. J.-C.)*, *FIFAO* 35, Le Caire, 1989.

Castle 1993: E. W. Castle, “The dedication formula 'ir.n.f m mnw.f'”, *JEA* 79, 1993, pp. 99-120.

Chéhab 1983: M. Chéhab, “Découvertes phéniciennes au Liban”, in [Bartoloni, Piero, Sandro Filippo Bondì, Gianna Coacci Polselli, Maria Teresa Francisi, Federico Mazza, Gesualdo Petruccioli, and Paolo Xella] (eds), *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici: Roma, 5-10 Novembre 1979 I*, 1983, pp. 165-172. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

Connor 2020: S. Connor, *Être et paraître: statues royales et privées de la fin du Moyen Empire et de la Deuxième Période intermédiaire (1850-1550 av. J.-C.)*, Middle Kingdom Studies 10, London: Golden House, 2020.

Connor 2022: S. Connor, *Ancient Egyptian statues: their many lives and deaths*, Cairo; New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2022.

Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020: S. Connor, K. Abou Al-Ella, “From Bab el-Nasr to Matariya: a tale of two wandering sphinxes”, *ZÄS* 147 (2), 2020, pp. 141-152.

Cooney 1953: J. D. Cooney, “Egyptian art in the collection of Albert Gallatin”, *JNES* 12 (1), 1953, pp.1-19.

Currelly 1904: C. T. Currelly, “The Tomb of Senusert III,” in E. Ayrton, C. Currelly and A. Weigall, *Abydos*, Part III. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1904.

Cron and Johnson 1995-1996: R. L. Cron, and G.B. Johnson “A great find revisited 7: de Morgan at Dahshur. Excavations in the 12th Dynasty pyramids, 1894-'95”, Part two, 1995-1996, *KMT* 6 (4), pp. 48-66.

Collier and Quirke 2004: M. Collier and S. Quirke, *The UCL Lahun papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical*, With a chapter by Annette Imhausen and Jim Ritter. BAR International Series 1209. Oxford, 2004.

Cottevieuille-Giraudet 1933: R. Cottevieuille-Giraudet, *Les Fouilles de Médamoud 1931*, FIFAO IX, Cairo, 1933.

Cruz-Uribe 1987: E. Cruz-Uribe, “The fall of the Middle Kingdom”, *VA* 3 (2), 1987, pp. 107-111.

D

Daressy 1912: G. Daressy, “Note sur des pierres antiques du Caire”, *ASAE* 12, 1912, pp. 284-286.

Darnell 2013: J. C. Darnell, “Wadi el-Hol”, Edited by Willeke Wendrich, *UCLA*, 2013 (May).

Davies 1981: W. V. Davies, A royal statue reattributed, *British Museum Occasional Paper* 28, London: British Museum, 1981.

Davies 1987: W. V. Davies, *Tools and weapons I: Axes*, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum 7, London: British Museum Publications, 1987.

Davies 1998: W. V. Davies, “A statue of the 'King's son, Sahathor', from Thebes”, in: G. Heike and D. Polz (eds), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998, pp. 177-179.

Davies 2010: W. V. Davies, “Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: the genealogical data”, in M. Marée, Marcel (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): current research, future prospects*, 2010, Leuven, pp. 223-240.

Davies 2016: W. V. Davies, “The tomb of a Governor of Elkab of the Second Intermediate Period”, in: G. Miniaci, and W. Grajetzki (eds), *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC): contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources. Vol. II, MKS*, pp. 71-83. London: Golden House, 2016, pp. 71-83.

- Delange 1987:** É. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060-1560 avant J.-C*, Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1987.
- Delange 2015:** É. Delange (ed.), *Monuments égyptiens du Nouvel Empire: Chambre des Ancêtres - annales de Thoutmosis III - décor de palais de Séthi Ier*, Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2015.
- Delia 1980:** R. D. Delia, *A Study of the Reign of Senwosert III*, Dissertation, Columbia University, 1980.
- Delia 1995:** R. D. Delia, “Khakaure Senwosret III: King & Man”, *KMT* 6 (2), 1995, pp. 18-33.
- Debono 1951:** F. Debono, “Expédition archéologique royale au désert oriental (Keft-Kosseir): Rapport préliminaire sur la campagne 1949”, *ASAE* 51, 1951, pp. 59-91.
- Dewachter 1976:** M. Dewachter, “Le roi Sahathor et la famille de Neferhotep I”, *RdÉ* 28, 1976, pp. 66-73.
- Dewachter 1984:** M. Dewachter , “Le roi Sahathor - compléments (cf. *RdÉ* 28, 66-73)”, *RdÉ* 35, 1984, pp. 195-199.
- Dodson 1987:** A. Dodson, “The Tombs of the Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Memphite Necropolis” *ZÄS* 114, pp. 36-45.
- Di Teodoro 2018:** M. Di Teodoro, *Labour organisation in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, Middle Kingdom Studies 7, London: Golden House, 2018.
- Dodson 1994 a:** A. Dodson, “From Dahshur to Dra Abu el-Naga: The Decline & fall of the Royal Pyramid” *KMT* 5 (3), 1994, pp. 25- 39.
- Dodson 1994 b:** A. Dodson, *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt*, London and New York, 1994.
- Dodson and Hilton 2004:** A. Dodson, D.Hilton, *The complete royal families of ancient Egypt*, London; New York: Thames & Hudson, 2004.
- Derchain 1970:** Ph. Derchain, “Elkab 1966-1969. Le Temples”, *CdÉ* 45, pp. 25-27, 1970.
- Dunand 1937-1939:** M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos : 1926-1932*, T. I, Paris, 1937-1939.
- Dunand 1950-1985:** M. Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos : 1933-1938*, T.II, Paris, 1950-1985.
- Dunham and Janssen 1960:** D. Dunham, J. M.A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts: Excavated by George Andrew Reinser*, Vol. I, Semna-Kumma, Boston, 1960.

Dunham 1967: D. Dunham, *Second Cataract forts. Volume II: Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa: excavated by G. A. Reisner and N. F. Wheeler*, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1967.

E

Eder 2002: C. Eder, *Die Barkenkapelle des Königs Sobekhotep III. in Elkab : Beiträge zur Bautätigkeit der 13. und 17. Dynastie an den Göttertempeln Ägyptens*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.

Eid 2022: A. H. Eid, “The Journey from Authenticity to Forgery: A Case-study on an Adzeblade (Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 67944) of the Thirteenth Dynasty”, in: G. Miniaci and W. Grajetzki (eds), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt III, MKS 12*, London, 2022, pp. 157-163.

El-Enany 2004: K. El-Enany, “Le «dieu» nubien Sésostris III”, *BIFAO* 104, 2004, pp. 207-213.

Engelbach 1921: R. Engelbach, “Report on the inspectorate of Upper Egypt from April 1920 to March 1921”, *ASAE* 21, 1921, pp. 61-76.

Engelbach 1923: R. Engelbach, *Harageh; British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account Twentieth Year, 1914*.London, 1923.

Erman 1895: A. Erman, “Der König Horus”, *ZÄS* 33, 1895, PP. 142-143.

F

Fakhry 1952: A. Fakhry, *The Egyptian deserts: the inscriptions of the amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi*, Cairo, 1952.

Farina 1938: G. Farina, *Il papiro dei re restaurato*, Rome, 1938.

Fay 1988: B. Fay, “Amenemhat V - Vienna/Assuan”, *MDAIK* 44, 1988, pp. 67-77.

Fazzini et al. 1989: R. A. Fazzini, S. B. Bianchi, J. F. Romano, and D. B. Spaniel, *Ancient Egyptian art in the Brooklyn Museum*, Brooklyn; New York: Brooklyn Museum; Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Fiore Marochetti 2013: E. Fiore Marochetti, “Gebelein”, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 2013.

Forman and Quirke 1996: W. Forman and S. Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the afterlife in ancient Egypt*, London: British Museum Press, 1996.

Franke 1984: D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1-976*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 41, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984.

Franke 1984a: D. Franke, “Ursprung und Bedeutung der Titelsequenz *z3b r3-Nhn*”, *SAK* 11, 1984, pp. 209-217.

Franke 1988: D. Franke, “Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches. Teil II: die sogenannte "Zweite Zwischenzeit Altägyptens". *Orientalia* 57 (3), 1988, pp. 245-274.

Franke 1991: D. Franke, “The Career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and The So-Called Decline of the Nomarchs”, in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, New Malden: SIA, 1991, pp. 51-67.

Franke 1995: D. Franke, “The Middle Kingdom in Egypt”, in: J. M., Sasson, J. Baines, G. Beckman, K. S. Robinson, *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East, Vol. II*, New York, 1995, pp. 735-748.

Franke 2008: D. Franke, “The late Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties): the chronological framework”, *JEGH* 1 (2), 2008, pp. 267-287.

Franke 2013: D. Franke, *Egyptian stelae in the British Museum from the 13th - 17th Dynasties*, Volume I, fascicule 1: Descriptions. Edited by Marcel Marée. London: British Museum.

Fraser 1900: G. Fraser, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs Belonging to George Fraser*, London: B. Quaritch, 1900.

G

Gabolde 1990: L. Gabolde, “Nerkarê a-t-il existé?” *BIFAO* 90, 1990, pp. 213-222.

Gabra and Farid 1981: G. Gabra, A. Farid, “Neue Materialien zu königlichen Baudenkmälern in Edfu” *MDAIK* 37, 1981, pp. 181-186.

Gardiner 1944: A. Gardiner, “Horus the Behdetite”, *JEA* 30, 1944, pp. 23-60.

Peet and Černy 1952: A. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and, J. Černy, *The Inscriptions of Sinai II*, London, 1952.

Gardiner 1932: A. Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Stories, Bruxelles, 1932.

Gardiner 1957: A. Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs*, 3rd, rev. ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Gardiner 1959: A. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*, London, 1959.

Gardiner 1961: A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction*, Oxford, 1961.

Gasse and Rondot 2007: A. Gasse, V. Rondot, *Les inscriptions de Séhel*, Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 126, Le Caire: IFAO, 2007.

- Gautier and Jéquier 1902:** J.-E. Gautier, G. Jéquier, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 6, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie oriental, 1902.
- Gauthier 1912:** H. Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, II, Le Caire, 1912.
- Gauthier 1924:** H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Nomes Géographieques Contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques*, Tome I, Le Caire, 1924.
- Gauthier 1931:** H. Gauthier, “Vestiges de la fin du Moyen Empire à Karnak”, *ASAE* 31, 1931, pp. 191-192.
- Gestermann 1995:** L. Gestermann, “Der politische und kulturelle Wandel unter Sesostris III”, in: *Per aspera ad astra: Wolfgang Schenkel zum neunundfünfzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Louise Gestermann, and Heike Sternberg- el Hotabi, Kassel, 1995.
- Giddy 1987:** L. Giddy, *Egyptian oases: Bahariya, Dakhla, Farafra and Kharga during pharaonic times*, Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1987.
- Gilmartin 2010:** M. Gilmartin, “Nation-state”, in C. Gallaher, C. T. Dahlman, M. Gilmartin, A. Mountz, & P. Shirlow (eds.), *Key Concepts in Political Geography*, SAGE Publications Ltd, 2010, pp. 19-27.
- Godron 1965:** G. Godron, “Deux objets du Moyen Empire mentionnant Sobek”, *BIFAO* 63, 1965, pp. 197-200.
- Goedick 1977:** H. Goedick, *The Protocol of Neferyt*, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977.
- Goedicke 1986:** H. Goedick, The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre^c, San Antonio, 1986.
- Grajetzki 2000:** W. Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen*, Berlin, 2000.
- Grajetzki 2002:** W. Grajetzki, “Zwei Pyramiden der 13. Dynastie bei Mazghuna und die ungeklärte Frage des Bestattungsortes von Amenemhet IV. und Sobeknofru”, *Sokar* 5, pp. 24-27.
- Grajetzki 2003:** W. Grajetzki, *Burial customs in ancient Egypt: life in death for rich and poor*, Duckworth Egyptology, London, 2003.
- Grajetzki 2005:** W. Grajetzki, *Ancient Egyptian queens: a hieroglyphic dictionary*, London: Golden House Publications, 2005.

Grajetzki 2005 b: W. Grajetzki, “Reconstructing the coffins of king Hor, the “king’s daughter” Nubhetepet-khered and the “lady of the house” Satsobek”, *BEM* 2, 2005, pp. 71-78

Grajetzki 2006: W. Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: History, Archaeology and Society*, London, 2006.

Grajetzki 2007: W. Grajetzki, “Box coffins in the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period”, *EVO* 30, 2007, pp. 41-54

Grajetzki 2009: W. Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, London, 2009.

Grajetzki 2010: W. Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor and other rectangular coffins of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, GHP Egyptology 15, London: Golden House, 2010.

Grajetzki 2013: W. Grajetzki, “*Late Middle Kingdom*”, UCLA, Online publication, 2013.

Grajetzki 2015: W. Grajetzki, “Middle Kingdom History: An Overview, in: A. Oppenheim et al., *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.

Grajetzki 2020: W. Grajetzki, “The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford handbook of Egyptology*, Online publication, Dec. 2020:

<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199271870.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199271870-e-34?rskey=c3hX49&result=1>

Gratien 1986: B. Gratien, “Premières constatations sur les empreintes de sceaux de la forteresse de Mirgissa”, in: Krause, Martin (ed.), *Nubische Studien: Tagungsakten der 5. Internationalen Konferenz der International Society for Nubian Studies*, Heidelberg, 22. - 25. September 1982, pp. 89-91, Mainz, 1986.

Greenberg 2004: G., Greenberg, *Manetho- A Study in Egyptian Chronology: How Ancient Scribes Garbled an Accurate Chronology of Dynastic Egypt*, Marco Polo Monographs 8, Warren Center, PA: Shangri-La Publications, 2004.

Griffith 1897: F. Ll. Griffith, “Notes”, *PSBA* 19, 1897, pp. 293- 300.

Griffith 1898: F. Ll. Griffith, *The Petrie papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob (principally of the Middle Kingdom)*, 2 vols, London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898.

Griffith 1902: F. Ll. Griffith, “The Inscriptions”, in: D. Randall-MacIver, A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899 - 1901*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902, pp. 93-96.

Grimal 1988: N. Grimal, *Histoire de l’Égypte ancienne*, Paris, 1988.

Grimal 2011: N. Grimal, “Les ancêtres de Karnak”, *CRAIBL* 154 (1), 2010, pp. 343-370.

Gundlach 1994: R. Gundlach, *Die Zwangsumsiedlung auswärtiger Bevölkerung als Mittel ägyptischer Politik bis zum Ende des mittleren Reiches*, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994.

H

Habachi 1940: L. Habachi, “The Monuments of Biyahmu”, *ASAE* 40, 1940, pp. 721-732, Figs. 79- 80, Pls. LXXXIII- LXXXVI.

Habachi 1952: L. Habachi, “Khatâ‘na-Qnatîr: Importance” *ASAE* 52, 1952, pp. 443-479, pls. I- XIX.

Habachi 1963: L. Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Places in History, Deification and Unusual Representation in the Form of Gods”, *MDAIK* 19, 1963, pp. 16-52.

Habachi 1981a: L. Habachi, “New light on the Neferhotep I family, as revealed by their inscriptions in the Cataract area”, in: S. William Kelly, W. M. Davis (eds), *Studies in ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980*, Boston, MA: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts. 1980, pp. 77-81.

Habachi 1981b: L. Habachi, “New light on the Vizier Iymeru, son of the controller of the hall, Iymeru”, *BlFAO* 81 (supplément: bulletin du centenaire), 1981, pp. 29-39.

Habachi 1984: L. Habachi, “The family of the vizier Ibi' and his place among the viziers of the Thirteenth Dynasty”, *SAK* 11, 1984, pp. 113-126.

Habachi 1985: L. Habachi, Elephantine IV: The sanctuary of Heqaib, 2 vols. Photographs by Dieter Johannes, AV 33, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, 1985.

Hagen and Ryholt 2016: F. Hagen, T. K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880-1930: The H.O. Lange Papers*, Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistica, 4. Vol. 8 (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2016).

Hall 1929: H.R. Hall, *Scarabs*, London, 1929.

Saladino Haney 2020: L. Saladino Haney, *Visualizing Corgency: An Exploration of the Link between Royal Image and Co-Rule during the Reign of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III*, *Harvard Egyptological Studies*, Vol. 8, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2020.

Hari 1980: R. Hari, “Une reine énigmatique: Nebou-Hotepti”, *BSEG* 4, 1980, pp. 45-48.

Hayes 1947: W. C. Hayes, “Horemkha‘uef of Nekhen and his trip to It-towe”, *JEA* 33, 1947, pp. 3-11.

Hayes 1953a: W. C. Hayes, “Notes on the Government of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom”, *JNES*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 1953, pp. 31- 39.

Hayes 1953b: W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt I: A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Part I: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953.

Hayes 1955: W. C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum: [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446] / Ed. with Transl. and Commentary by William C. Hayes*. New York, NY: Brooklyn Museum, 1955.

Hayes 1962: W. Hayes, “Egypt: From the Death of Ammenenmes III to Seqenenre II”, *CAH*, Vol. II, Ch. II, Cambridge, 1962.

Hayes 1971: W. Hayes, “The Middle Kingdom in Egypt”, *CAH*, Vol. I, Part 2, Cambridge, 1971.

Heiden 2001: D. Heiden, “Pharaonische Baumaterialien in der ayyubidischen Stadtbefestigung von Kairo”, *MDAIK* 57, 2001, pp. 59-72.

Heiden 2002: D. Heiden, “Pharaonische Baumaterialien in der mittelalterlichen Stadtbefestigung von Kairo”, *MDAIK* 58, pp. 257-75.

Hein (ed.) 1994: I. Hein, *Pharaonen und Fremde: Dynastien im Dunkel*, Vienna, 1994,

Hein and Satzinger1989: I. Hein, H. Satzinger, *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung, Lieferung 4: Stelen des Mittleren Reiches 1: einschliesslich der I. und II. Zwischenzeit*, Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum: Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer Altertümer, Mainz/Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1989.

Helck 1958: W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, Leiden-Köln, 1958.

Helck 1969a: W. Helck, *Der Text der Lehre Amenemheta I. für seinen Sohn*, Wiesbaden, 1969.

Helck 1969b: W. Helck, “Eine Stele Sebekhoteps IV. aus Karnak” *MDAIK* 24, 1969, pp. 194-200.

Helck 1970: W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nrf.tj.*, Weibaden, 1970.

Helck 1971: W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr*, 2nd revised ed, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5. Wiesbaden, 1971.

Helck 1983: W. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, Wiesbaden, 1983.

Helck 1992: W. Helck, "Anmerkungen zum Turiner Königspapyrus", *SAK* 19, 1992, pp. 150-216.

Hintze and Reineke 1989: F. Hintze, W. F. Reineke, *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien*, Berlin, 1989.

Hofmann 2004: B. Hofmann, *Die Königsnovelle: "Strukturanalyse am Einzelwerk"*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 62. Wiesbaden, 2004.

Holladay 1982: J. S. Holladay, *Cities of the Delta, part III: Tell el-Maskhuṭa: preliminary report on the Wadi Tumilat Project 1978-1979*, American Research Center in Egypt: reports 6, Malibu: Undena, 1982.

I

Ilin-Tomich 2012: A. Ilin-Tomich, "Late Middle Kingdom stelae workshops at Thebes", *GM* 234, 2012, pp. 69-84.

Ilin-Tomich 2014: A. Ilin-Tomich, "The Theban kingdom of Dynasty 16: its rise, administration and politics", *JEGH* 7 (2), 2014, pp. 143-193.

Ilin-Tomich 2015: A. Ilin-Tomich, "King Seankhibra and the Middle Kingdom Appeal to the Living", in G. Miniaci and W. Grajetzki (eds), *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC): contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources*, Vol. I 1, London, 2015, pp. 145-168.

Ilin-Tomich 2017: A. Ilin-Tomich, *From Workshop to Sanctuary: The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae*, Middle Kingdom Studies 6. London: Golden House Publications, 2017.

Ilin-Tomich 2021: A. Ilin-Tomich, "The vizier Ankhu and the dual vizierate in the late Middle Kingdom", *JEGH* 14 (2), 20221, pp. 145-169.

J

James 1974: T.G.H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, I, From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII*, The Brooklyn Museum, 1974.

Jéquier 1933: G. Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire*, Fouilles à Saqqarah, Le Caire, 1933.

Junker 1939: H. Junker, "Pḥrnfr", *ZÄS* 75, 1939, pp. 63- 84.

Junker and Delaporte 1933: H. Junker, L. Delaporte, *Die Völker des antiken Orients: die Ägypter / die Babylonier, Assyrer, Perser und Phöniker. Geschichte der führenden Völker* 3. Freiburg, 1933.

K

Kahl et al. 2015: J. Kahl et al., “The Asyut Project: Eleventh Season of Fieldwork (2014)”, *SAK* 44, 2015, pp. 103-161.

Kamal 1902: A. Kamal, “Rapport sur la nécropole d'Arabe-el-Borg”, *ASAE* 3, 1902, pp. 80-84.

Kamal 1909: A. Kamal, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire: Nos 23001-23256: tables d'offrandes*, 2 vols. Le Caire, 1909.

Kanawati and Woods 2010: N. Kanawati and, A. Woods, *Beni Hassan: Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province*, Cairo, 2010.

Kaplony 1981: P. Kaplony, *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs II: Katalog der Rollsiegel*, 2 vols. *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 3, Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1981.

Kemp 1983: B. Kemp, “Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period c. 2686- 1552 BC”, in: B. G., Trigger et al., eds., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* Cambridge, 1983.

Kemp 1991: B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, London: Routledge, 1991.

Kemp 2018: B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, London: Routledge, 2018.

Kempinski 1992: A. Kempinski, “The Middle Bronze Age in northern Israel”, *Ä&L* 3, 1992, pp. 69-73.

Kilani 2016: M. Kilani, *Byblos in the Late Bronze Age: Interactions Between the Levantine and Egyptian Worlds*, PhD thesis, University of Oxford, 2016.

Kitchen 1967: K. A. Kitchen, “Egypt and Mari in the early second millennium B.C.”, *Orientalia* 36 (1), 1967, pp. 39-54.

Kitchen 1990: K. A. Kitchen, *Catálogo da coleção do Egito antigo existente no Museu Nacional, Rio de Janeiro / Catalogue of the Egyptian collection in the National Museum, Rio de Janeiro*, 2 vols. Museu Nacional - Universidade federal de Rio de Janeiro, 1990.

Koefoed-Petersen 1951: O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens*, Copenhagen: N.p., 1951.

Kopetzky 2016: K. Kopetzky, “Some remarks on the relations between Egypt and the Levant during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period”, in G. Miniaci and W. Grajetzki (eds), *The world of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)*:

contributions on archaeology, art, religion, and written sources, Volume II, 2016, pp. 143-159. London: Golden House.

Kraemer 2016: B. Kraemer, “Evidence for Administration of the Nubian Fortresses in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Semna Dispatches,” *JEGH* 9, 2016.

Krekeler 1988: A. Krekeler, “Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 15./16. Grabungsbericht”, *MDAIK* 44, pp. 135-182, 1988.

Kubisch 2008: S. Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie*, *DAIK*, Sonderschrift 34, Berlin; New York, 2008.

L

Labarta 2017: C. Labarta, “Un support au nom de Sobekhotep Sékhemré-Séouadjtaouy: *Karnak Varia* (§ 8)”, *Cahiers de Karnak* 16, 2017, pp. 279-288.

Lacau 1949: P. Lacau, “Une stèle juridique de Karnak”, *SASAE* 13. Le Caire, 1949.

Lange and Schäfer 1902: H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo: No. 20001-20780*, vol. I. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 51-54. Berlin, 1902.

Larkman 2007: S. J. Larkman, “Human Cargo: Transportation of Western Asiatic People during 11th and 12th Dynasty”, *JSSEA* 34, 2007, pp. 107- 133.

Langer 2019: C. langer, *Egyptian Deportations of the Late Bronze Age: A Study in Political Economy*, Dissertation, Freie Universität Berlin.

Leahy 1989: A. Leahy, “A protective measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty”, *JEA* 75, 1989, pp. 41-60.

Legrain 1903: G. Legrain, “Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902”, *ASAE* 4, 1903, pp.1-40.

Legrain 1905: G. Legrain, “Notes d'inspection, *ASAE* 6, 1905, pp. 130-140, 192, 284-285.

Legrain 1906: G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers de rois et de particuliers*, vol. 1. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1906.

Legrain 1906: G. Legrain “Notes d'inspection, XXX-XXXVI, *ASAE* 7, 1906, pp. 33-57.

Legrain 1907: G. Legrain “Notes d'inspection, *ASAE* 8, 1907, pp. 248- 252.

Legrain 1908a: G. Legrain, “Notes d'inspection, LX-LXII, *ASAE* 9, 1908, pp. 271-284

Legrain 1908: G. Legrain, “Sur une stèle de Senousrit IV”, *RT* 30, 1908, pp. 15-16.

- Lehner 2008:** M. Lehner. *The Complete Pyramids*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2008.
- Leprohon 1980:** R. Leprohon, *The Reign of Amenemhat III*, dissertation, University of Toronto, 1980.
- Leprohon 2013:** R. Leprohon, *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013.
- Lepsius 1842:** K. R. Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten urkunden des Aegyptischen Alterthums: Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1842.
- Lepsius 1897:** K. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Koenige von Preussen, Friedrich Wilhelm IV., nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition*, Text I, Abteilung II [B. IV], Berlin, 1897.
- Lichtheim 1988:** M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom. A Study and an Anthology*, Fribourg-Göttingen, Universitätsverlag-Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, (OBO = Orbis biblicus et Orientalis ; 84), 1988.
- Lichtheim 2006:** M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian literature*, Vol. I, The Old and Middle Kingdoms, with a New Foreword by Antonio Loprieno, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Lilyquist 1995:** C. Lilyquist, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995.
- Lloyd 1970:** A. Lloyd, “The Egyptian Labyrinth”, *JEA* 56, 1970, pp. 81- 100.
- M**
- Macadam 1946:** M. F. L. Macadam, “Gleanings from the Bankes MSS”, *JEA* 32, 1946, pp. 57-64,
- Macadam 1951:** M. F. L. Macadam, “A royal family of the Thirteenth Dynasty”, *JEA* 37, 1951, pp. 20-28.
- Mace 1911:** A. C. Mace, “The Murch collection of Egyptian antiquities”, *BMMA* 6 (1, supplement), pp. 1-28, 1922.
- Mace 1922a:** A. C. Mace, “A group of scarabs found at Lisht”, *JEA* 8 (1/2), pp. 13-15, 1922.
- Mace 1922b:** A. C. Mace, “The Egyptian Expedition 1921-1922: excavations at Lisht”, *BMMA* 17 (12.2), pp. 4-18, 1922.
- Mackay 1912:** W. M. F. Petrie, G. A. Wainwright, E. Mackay. *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, London: School of Archaeol. in Egypt, 1912.

- Mahfouz 2010:** S. Mahfouz, “Amenemhat VI au ouadi Gaouasis”, *BIFAO* 110, 2010, pp. 163- 173.
- Mahieu 2021:** B. Mahieu, “The identities of the Second Intermediate Period dynasties in Egypt”, *JEGH* 14 (2), 2021, pp. 170-202.
- Málek 1982:** J. Málek, “The original version of the royal canon of Turin”, *JEA* 68, 1982, pp. 93-106.
- Manassa 2011:** C. Manassa, “El-Mo'alla to el-Deir”, Edited by W. Wendrich, *UCLA*, 2011 (October).
- Maragiogglio and Rinaldi 1968:** V. Maragiogglio and C. Rinaldi, “Note sulla piramide di Ameny 'Aamu”, *Orientalia* 37 (3), 1968, pp. 325-338.
- Marée 2009:** M. Marée, “The 12th - 17th Dynasties at Gebel el-Zeit: a closer look at the inscribed royal material”, *BiOr* 66 (3-4), 2009, pp. 147-162.
- Marée 2010:** M. Marée, “Foreword”, in: M. Marée, *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): current research, future prospects*, Leuven, 2010, pp. XI- XV.
- Martin 1971:** G.T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, Oxford, 1971.
- Mariette 1872:** A. Mariette, *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, Vol. 2, Paris, 1872.
- Mariette 1875:** A. Mariette, *Karnak: étude topographique et archéologique, avec un appendice comprenant les principaux textes hiéroglyphiques découverts ou recueillis pendant les fouilles exécutées à Karnak*, 2 vols. Leipzig; Le Caire; Paris, 1875.
- Mariette 1880a:** A. Mariette, *Abydos, Description des Fouilles Exécutées sur l'Emplacement de Cette Ville*, Paris, 1880.
- Mariette 1880b:** A. Mariette, *Catalogue Général des Monuments d'Abydos*, Paris, I, II 1880.
- Matzker 1986:** I. Matzker, *Die Letzten Könige der 12. Dynastie*, Frankfurt am Main; Bern; New York, 1986.
- McCormack 2006:** D. McCormack, “Borrowed legacy: royal tombs S9 and S10 at South Abydos”, *Expedition* 48 (2), 2006, pp. 23-26.
- McCormack 2008:** D. Landua-McCormack, *Dynasty XIII Kingship in Ancient Egypt: A Study of Political Power and Administration through an Investigation of the Royal Tombs of the Late Middle Kingdom*, Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 2008.

- McCormack 2010:** D. McCormack, “The significance of royal funerary architecture for the study of Thirteenth Dynasty kingship”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): current research, future prospects*, 2010, Leuven, pp. 69-84.
- McCormack 2014:** D. McCormack, “Fragments of a difficult era: excavations of tomb S9 at South Abydos”, *Expedition 56 (1)*, 2014, pp. 16-18.
- McCormack 2017:** D. McCormack, “The 13th Dynasty at Abydos: A Royal Tomb and its context”, in: Rosati, Gloria, and M. Cristina Guidotti. *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence, Italy 23-30 August 2015*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2017, pp. 399-404.
- Mey 1980:** P. Mey, “Installation rupestres du Moyen et du Nouvel Empire au Gebel Zeit (près de Râs Dib) sur la Mer Rouge”, *MDAIK 36*, 1980, pp. 299-318.
- Van De Miroop 2011:** M. Van De Miroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 2011.
- Meyer 1908:** E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I. 2, 2th Auflage, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1908.
- Miniaci 2010:** G. Miniaci, “The incomplete hieroglyphs system at the end of the Middle Kingdom” *RdÉ 61*, 2010, pp. 113-134.
- Miosi 1981:** F.T. Miosi (ed.), *A reading book of Second Intermediate Period texts*, Toronto: Benben Publications, 1981.
- Mlinar 2004:** C. Mlinar, “The scarab workshops of Tell el-Dab'a”, in: M. Bietak, E. Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the second millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: chronological and historical implications; papers of a symposium, Vienna, 10th - 13th of January 2002*, Wien, 2004, pp. 107-140.
- Moreno García 2019:** J. C. Moreno García, *The state in ancient Egypt: power, challenges and dynamics*, Debates in Archaeology, London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2019.
- Montet 1928:** P. Montet, “Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire des relations entre l'ancienne Égypte et la Syrie”, *Kêmi 1*, 1928, pp. 19-28, 83-93.
- Montet 1933:** P. Montet, *Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis (1929-1932)*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg 2ème série, 10, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1933.
- Montet 1951:** P. Montet, “Le roi Ougaf à Médamoud”, *RdÉ 8*, 1951, pp. 163-170.
- Montet 1954:** P. Montet, “Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire des relations entre l'ancienne Égypte et la Syrie”, *Kêmi 13*, 1954, pp. 63-76.

Montet 1960: P. Montet, *Les constructions et le tombeau de Chéchanq III à Tanis*, La nécropole royale de Tanis 3, Paris, 1960.

De Morgen 1894 et al.: J. De Morgen, U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, A. barsanti, *Catalogue Des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Egypte Antique*, Vol. 1: De La Frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombo, Vienna, 1894.

De Morgen 1895: J. De Morgen, *Fouilles à Dahchour: mars - juin 1894*, Avec la collaboration de MM Berthelot, membre de l'Institut de France, G. Legrain, G. Jéquier, V. Loret, D. Fouquet, Vienne, 1895.

De Morgen 1903: J. De Morgen, *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894- 1895*, Vienna, 1903.

Mourad 2015: A. Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period*, Oxford, 2015.

Moeller et al. 2011: N. Moeller, G. Marouard, and N. Ayers, “Discussion of late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period history and chronology in relation to the Khyan sealings from Tell Edfu”, *Ä&L* 21, 2011, pp. 87-121.

Moeller 2016: N. Moeller, *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge University, 2016.

Moeller and Marouard 2018: N. Moeller, G. Marouard, “The context of the Khyan sealings from Tell Edfu and further implications for the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt”, in: I. Forstner-Müller, N. Moeller (eds), *The Hyksos ruler Khyan and the early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: problems and priorities of current research. Proceedings of the workshop of the Austrian Archaeological Institute and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Vienna, July 4 – 5, 2014*, Wien, 2018, pp. 173-197.

Murnane 1977: W. J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1977.

N

Naville 1907: E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, I, London, 1907.

Naville 1910: E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, II, London, 1910.

Neale 2016: H. Neale, *The Neferhotep Stela, Revisited Kingship, Authority and Legitimacy in the Abydos Stela of Neferhotep I*, MA thesis, Macquarie University, Sydney, 2016.

Newberry 1893: P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, London, 1893.

Newberry 1901: P. E. Newberry, “Extracts from my notebooks (IV)”, *PSBA* 23, 1901, pp. 218-224.

Newberry 1903: P. E. Newberry, “Extracts from my notebooks (VI)”, *PSBA* 25, 1903, pp. 130-138, 357-363.

Newberry 1907: P. E. Newberry Scarab-shaped seals, London, 1907.

Newberry 1908: P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs: An introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings*, London, 1908.

Newberry 1914: P. E. Newberry, “Egyptian historical notes III”, *PSBA* 36, 1914, pp. 168-174

O

O’Connor 1974: D. O’Connor, “Political systems and archaeological data in Egypt: 2600-1780 BC.”, *WA* 6 (1), 1974, pp. 15-38.

O’Connor 1997: D. O’Connor, “The Hyksos Period in Egypt”, in E. D. Oren, (ed.), *The Hyksos: new historical and archaeological perspectives*, Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 1997, pp. 45-67.

O’Connor 2009: D. O’Connor, *Abydos: Egypt’s First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*, London, 2009.

O’Connor and Silverman 1995: D. O’Connor, D. Silverman, “Introduction”, in D. O’Connor, D. Silverman (eds.), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 9, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995. PP. XVII-XXXIII.

O’Mara 1997: P. O’Mara, “Manetho and the Turin Canon: a comparison of regnal years”, *GM* 158, 1997, pp. 49-61.

Oppenheim 2015: A. Oppenheim, “Temples: Secluded Domains for Kings and Gods”, in: A. Oppenheim et al., *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.

Ormos 2009: I. Ormos, *Max Herz Pasha (1856-1919): His Life and Career*, 2 Vol, Cairo: IFAO, 2009.

Otto 1952: E. Otto, *Topographie des thebanischen Gaues*, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 16, Berlin; Leipzig, 1952.

P

Painter and Jeffrey 2009: J. Painter, A. Jeffrey, *Political and Geography: An Introduction to Space and Power*, SAGE publications Ltd, 2009.

Parkinson 1997: R. P. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940- 1640 BC*, Oxford, 1997.

- Peden 2001:** A. Peden, *The graffiti of pharaonic Egypt: scope and roles of informal writings (c. 3100-332 B.C.)*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001.
- Pernigotti 1980:** S. Pernigotti, *La statuaria egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*, Cataloghi Nuova Serie 2, Bologna: Istituto per la Storia di Bologna, 1980.
- Petrie 1889:** W.M.F. Petrie, *Tanis*, Vol. I, EEF Memoir, 2, London, 1889.
- Petrie and Quibell 1896:** W. M. F. Petrie, J. E. Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*: 1895, London, 1896.
- Petrie 1894:** W.M.F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt: From the Earliest Times to the XVIth Dynasty*, Vol. 1, London, 1894.
- Petrie 1896:** W.M.F. Petrie, *Koptos*. London, 1896.
- Petrie 1902:** W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos*, with a chapter by A. E. Weigall, *Vol 1*, London, 1902.
- Petrie 1903:** W.M.F. Petrie, *Abydos*, with a chapter by F. Ll. Griffith, *Vol II*, London, 1903.
- Petrie 1906:** W.M.F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite cities*, London, 1906.
- Petrie 1917:** W.M.F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, London, 1917.
- Petrie 1925:** W.M.F. Petrie, *Buttons and design scarabs: illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College*, London, 1925.
- Petrie 1926:** W.M.F. Petrie, *Ancient weights and measures*, London, 1926.
- Peterson 1970-1971:** B. J. Peterson, “Ausgewählte ägyptische Personennamen nebst prosopographischen Notizen aus Stockholmer Sammlungen”, *Orientalia Suecana 19-20*, 1970-1971, PP. 3-22
- Pignattari 2018:** S. Pignattari, *Amenemhat IV and the End of the Twelfth Dynasty: Between the End and the Beginning*, Oxford, 2018.
- Pieke 2007:** G. Pieke (ed.), *Tod und Macht: Jenseitsvorstellungen in Altägypten*, Bonn: Ägyptisches Museum, 2007.
- Pieper 1929:** M. Pieper, Die grosse Inschrift des Königs Neferhotep in Abydos: ein Beitrag zur ägyptischen Religions- und Literaturgeschichte, *MVAeG* ; 32, H. 2 , Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929.
- Pier 1906-1907:** G. C. Pier, “Historical scarab seals from the Art Institute collection, Chicago”, *AJSL* 23 (1), 1906-1907, pp. 75-94.
- Von Pilgrim 1996:** C. Von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII: Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, AVDAIK 91, Mainz, 1996.

Prisse d'Avesnes 1846: E. Prisse d'Avenues, "Notice sur la salle des ancêtres de Thouthmès III au Temple de Karnak: exposée a la Bibliothèque royale", *Revue archéologique* 2, 1846, pp. 5-15

Prisse d'Avennes 1847: E. Prisse d'Avenues, *Monuments Égyptiens. Bas-reliefs, peintures, inscriptions, etc., d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux*, Paris, 1847.

Q

Quirke 1986: S. Quirke, *An investigation into problems of Thirteenth Dynasty kingship with special reference to Papyrus Boulaq 18*, Unpublished Diss., University of Cambridge, 1986.

Quirke 1988: S. Quirke, "The State labour in the Middle Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Term *hnrt*", *RdÉ* 39, 1988, Pp. 83- 106.

Quirke 1990: S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents*, New Malden, 1990.

Quirke 1990a: S. Quirke, *Who were the Pharaohs? A history of their names with a list of cartouches*, London: British Museum Publications, 1990.

Quirke 1991: S. Quirke "Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty", in: S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom studies*, New Malden: SIA, 1991, pp. 123-139.

Quirke 1992: S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian religion*, London: The British Museum Press, 1992.

Quirke 2004: S. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt, 1850-1700 BC*, London 2004.

Quirke 2005: S. Quirke, *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of its Landscape*, London, 2005.

Quirke 2006: S. Quirke, "In the name of the king: on late Middle Kingdom cylinders", in: E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman, and A. Schwab (eds), *Timelines: studies in honour of Manfred Bietak 1*, Leuven, 2006, pp. 263-274.

Quirke 2009: S. Quirke, "The residence in relations between places of knowledge, production and power: Middle Kingdom evidence", in: R. Gundlach and J. H. Taylor (eds.), *Egyptian royal residences: 4th symposium on Egyptian royal ideology; London, June,*

1st-5th 2004, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009, pp. 111-130.

Quirke 2010: S. Quirke, "Ways to measure Thirteenth Dynasty royal power from inscribed objects", With a contribution by Claudio D'Amico and Daniele Picchi on the petrological classification of the Neferhotep I, in: M. Marée (ed.), *The Second*

Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): current research, future prospects, Leuven, 2010, pp. 55-68.

Quirke 2016: S. Quirke, *Birth tusks: the armoury of health in context - Egypt 1800 BC*. Including publication of Petrie Museum examples photographed by Gianluca Miniaci, and drawn from the photographs by Andrew Boyce, *Middle Kingdom Studies 3*, London: Golden House Publications, 2016.

R

Randall-Maciver 1902: D. Randall-Maciver, “A Temple of Usertesen III near Abydos”, in: D. Randall-MacIver, A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899 - 1901*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902, pp. 57-60.

Randall-Maciver and Mace 1902: D. Randall-Maciver, A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899 - 1901*, London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902.

Randall-Maciver and Woolley 1911: D. Randall-Maciver, C. L. Woolley, Buhén, 2 vols, Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia 7-8, Philadelphia: University Museum, 1911.

Ranke 1934: H. Ranke, “Ein Wesir der 13. Dynastie”, in: Anonymous (ed.), *Mélanges Maspero I: Orient ancien 1*, Le Caire: l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1934, pp. 361-365.

Raven 2009: M. J. Raven, “Aspects of the Memphite residence as illustrated by the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis”, in R. Gundlach, and J. H. Taylor (eds), *Egyptian royal residences: 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 4th symposium on Egyptian royal ideology*. London, June, 1st–5th 2004, Wiesbaden, 2009, pp. 153-164.

Rebinguet 1997: M. Rebinguet, “Quelques réflexions sur les pyramidions de pyramides royales”, in C. Berger and B. Mathieu (eds), *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer 2*, Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier III, 1997, pp. 363-377.

Redford 1979: D. B. Redford, “The historiography of ancient Egypt”, in: K. R. Weeks, (ed.), *Egyptology and the social sciences: five studies*, Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1979, pp. 3-20.

Redford 1986: D. B. Redford, Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-books: a Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History, Mississauga, 1986.

Redford 1992: D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, Princeton, 1992.

Redford 1997a: D. B. Redford, “The ancient Egyptian 'city': figment or reality”, in A. E. Walter, N. A. Mirau, and S. W. Gauley (eds), *Urbanism in antiquity: from Mesopotamia to Crete*, Sheffield, 1997, pp. 210-220.

Redford 1997: D. B. Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period”, in: Oren, E., *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspective*, Philadelphia, 1997, pp. 1-44.

Redford 2001: D. B. Redford, “*Manetho*” in D. B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. 2, Oxford, 2001, 336- 337.

Reeves 1986: C. N. Reeves, *Miscellanea epigraphica*, SAK13, 1986, pp. 165-170.

Régen and Soukiassian 2008: I. Régen and G. Soukiassian, *Gebel el-Zeit, II: le matériel inscrit. Moyen Empire - Nouvel Empire*, Contributions de Dominique Beyer et Bernard Mathieu, *FIAO* 57, Le Caire, 2008.

Rosselini 1832: I. Rosselini, *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia, L Monumenti storici*, I, Pisa, 1832.

Ryholt 1997: K .S. B. Ryholt, The political situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 BC, With an appendix by Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, CNI Publications 20. Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, University of Copenhagen; Museum Tusculanum Press, 1997.

Ryholt 1997a: K. Ryholt, “A bead of King Ranisonb and a note on King Qemaw”, *GM* 156, 1997, pp. 95-100.

Ryholt 1998: K. Ryholt, “A statuette of Sobekhotep I from Kerma Tumulus X”, *CRIPEL* 19, (1998), 1998, pp. 31-33, Pl. 6-8.

Ryholt 2000: K .S. B. Ryholt “The late Old Kingdom in the Turin king-li,st and the identity of Nitocris” *ZÄS* 127, 2000, pp. 87-100.

Ryholt 2004: K .S. B. Ryholt, “The Turin king-list”, *Ägypten und Levante* 14, 2004, pp. 135-155.

Ryholt 2006: K .S. B. Ryholt, “The Turin king-list or so-called Turin canon (TC) as a source for chronology” In E., Hornung, R., Krauss, and D., Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian chronology*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2006, pp. 26-32.

Russman and Finn 1989: E. Russman, D. Finn, *Egyptian Sculpture*, London, 1989.

S

Sabbahy 2020: L. Sabbahy, *Kingship, Power, and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt: From the Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom*, New York: University of Cambridge, 2020.

- Sadek 1980:** A. Sadek, *The amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi I: Text*, Modern Egyptology, Warminster, 1980.
- Sadek 1985:** A. Sadek, *The amethyst mining inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi II: Additional texts*, Modern Egyptology, Warminster, 1985.
- Saleh and Sourouzian 1987:** M. Saleh, H. Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo: Official Catalogue*, Cairo, 1987.
- Sarette 2016:** P. Sarette, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality*, Oxford, New York, New Delhi, Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2016.
- Sartori 2010:** N. Sartori, “Die Siegel aus Areal F/II in Tell el-Dab'a: erster Vorbericht”, *Ä&L* 19, 2010, pp. 281-292.
- Satzinger 1994:** H. Satzinger, *Das Kunsthistorische Museum in Wien: die Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung*, Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 14. Mainz, 1994.
- Säve-Söderbergh 1951:** T. Säve-Söderbergh, “Hyksos rule in Egypt”, *JEA* 37, 1951, pp.53-71.
- Sayed 1999:** A. Sayed “Wadi Gasus” in: K. Bard, *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, London and New York, 1999.
- Scandone Matthiae 1997:** G. Scandone Matthiae, “The relations between Ebla and Egypt”, in E. D. Oren, (ed.), *The Hyksos: new historical and archaeological perspectives*, Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania. 1997, pp. 415-427.
- Schmitz 1976:** B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-njśwt "Königssohn"*, Habelts Dissertationsdrucke, Reihe Ägyptologie 2, Bonn, 1976.
- Schneider 2003:** T. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit*, 2, Die ausländische Bevölkerung, Wisbaden, 2003.
- Schneider 2006:** T. Schneider, “The relative chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos period (Dync. 12-17)”, in E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D. A. Warburton (eds), *Ancient Egyptian chronology*, Leiden; Boston, 2006, pp. 168-196.
- Schneider 2008:** T. Schneider, “Periodizing Egyptian history: Manetho, convention, and beyond”, in: A. Klaus-Peter (ed.), *Historiographie in der Antike*, Berlin, 2008, pp. 181-195.
- Schneider 2010:** T. Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context”, in: W. Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, Oxford, 2010.

- Schneider and Raven 1981:** H. D. Schneider, and M. J. Raven, *De Egyptische Oudheid: Een inleiding aan de hand van de Egyptische verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, 's-Gravenhage, 1981.
- Schögl (ed.) 1978:** H. Schlögl, A. *Geschenk des Nils: ägyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz*, Basel, 1978.
- Scott 1986:** G.D Scott, *Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale*, New Haven, 1986.
- Seidel 1996:** M. Seidel, Die königlichen Statuengruppen, Band 1: die Denkmäler vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende der 18. Dynastie, *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 42, Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1996.
- Seidlmayer 1988:** S. Seidlmayer, "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 15./16. Grabungsbericht", *MADIK* 44, pp. 135-182, 1988.
- Seidlmayer 1999:** S. Seidlmayer, "New rock inscriptions at Elephantine", *EA*, pp.14, 41-43, 1999.
- Seidlmayer 2003:** S. Seidlmayer, "New rock inscriptions on Elephantine Island" in H. Zahi and L. Pinch Brock (eds), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cairo, 2000, Vol. 1, American University in Cairo Press, 2003, pp. 440-447.
- Seyfried 1981:** K.-J. Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-Wüste*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 15, Hildesheim, 1981.
- Van Seters 1966:** J. Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, New Haven and London.
- Shaw 2000:** I. Shaw, "Egypt and the Outside World", in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2000, pp.314-329.
- Shaw 2000:** I. Shaw, "Introduction: Chronologies and Cultural Changes in Egypt", in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 1-16.
- Scharff 1922:** A. Scharff, "Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie (Pap. Boulaq Nr. 18)", *ZÄS* 57, 1922, pp. 51-68.
- Siesse and Connor 2015:** J. Siesse and S. Connor, "Nouvelle datation pour le roi Sobekhotep Khâankhrê", *RdÉ* 66, 2015, pp. 227-247.
- Siesse 2016-2017:** J. Siesse, "L'identité du fondateur de la 13^e dynastie: Amenemhat-Sobekhotep ou Ougaf?" *CRIPEL* 31, 2016-2017, pp. 161-178.
- Siesse 2019:** J. Siesse, *La XIII^e dynastie: Histoire de la fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*, Paris: Sorbonne Université, 2019.

Siesse 2020: J. Siesse, "Les stèles du Moyen Empire à Abydos: Osiris et les chapelles mémorielles de la "terrasse du grand dieu""", *Égypte, Afrique & Orient* 98, pp. 33-44, 2020.

Simpson 1969: W. K. Simpson, "The Dynasty XIII stela from the Wadi Hammamat", *MDAIK* 25, 1969, pp. 154-158.

Simpson 2003: W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The literature of ancient Egypt: an anthology of stories, instructions, stelae, autobiographies, and poetry*, third ed. New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2003.

Smith 1965: W. S. Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia*, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1965.

Smith 1995: S. S. T. Smith, *Askut in Nubia : the Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, London and New York 1995.

Smither 1939: P. Smither, "The writing of *htp-di-nsw* in the Middle and New Kingdoms", *JEA* 25 (1), 1939, pp. 34-37.

Smither 1945: P. Smither, "The Semnah Despatches," *JEA* 31, 1945, pp. 3-10.

Stadelmann and Alexanian 1998: R. Stadelmann, N. Alexanian, "Die Friedhöfe des Alten und Mittleren Reiches in Dahschur: Bericht über die im Frühjahr 1997 durch das Deutsche Archäologische Institut Kairo durchgeföhrte Felderkundung in Dahschur", *MDAIK* 54, 1998, pp. 293-317.

Spalinger 2001: A. Spalinger, "Review of The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c.1800-1550 B.C by K.S.B Ryholt", *JNES* 60, 2001, pp.296-300.

Speleers 1923: L. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles*, Bruxelles, 1923.

Staring 2017: N. Staring, "Graffiti on a Thirteenth Dynasty stela from Abydos (Louvre C8)", in: C. Di Biase-Dyson, and L. Donovan (eds), *The cultural manifestation of religious experience: studies in honour of Boyo G. Ockinga*, 2017, pp. 251-262.

Stock 1942: H. Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13. bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Skarabäen dieser Zwischenzeit*, ÄF 12, Glückstadt, 1942.

Swelim and Dodson 1998: N. Swelim and A. Dodson 1998, "On the pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its canopic equipment", *MDAIK* 54, 1998, pp. 319-334.

Szafrański 1990: Z. E. Szafrański, “Observations on the Second Intermediate Period relief”, in B. Schmitz and A. Eggebrecht (eds), *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath: zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990*, 1990, pp. 245-251.

T

Tallet 2005: P. Tallet, *Sèsostris III et la fin de la XII^e dynastie*, Pygmalion, 2005.

Taylor 2000: J. Taylor, “The Third Intermediate Period”, in I. Shaw, (ed.), *The Oxford history of ancient Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 330-368.

Theis 2009a: C. Theis, “Die Pyramiden der 13. Dynastie”, *SAK* 38, 2009, pp. 311-342.

Theis 2009b: C. Theis, “Die chronologische Abfolge der Pyramiden der 13. Dynastie”, *Sokar* 19, 2009, pp. 52-61.

Traunecker 2001: C. Traunecker, *The gods of Egypt*, Translated by David Lorton, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Trench and Fuscaldo 1989: J. Trench and P. Fuscaldo 1989, “Observations on the pyramidions”, *GM* 113, 1989, pp. 81-90.

Tufnell 1984: O. Tufnell, *Studies on scarab seals: Scarab seals and their contribution to history in the early Second Millennium B.C.*, vol. I, II, Warminster, 1984.

Tylor 1896: J. Tylor, *The tomb of Sebeknekht: Wall drawings and monuments of El Kab*, London, 1896.

U

Ullmann 2002: M. Ullmann, *Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren: eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*, ÄAT 51, Wiesbaden.

Uphill 2000: EP Uphill, *Pharaoh's Gateway to Eternity: The Hawara Labyrinth of king Amenemhat III*, London, and New York, 2000.

V

Vassilika 1995: E. Vassilika, “Museum acquisitions, 1993: Egyptian antiquities accessioned in 1993 by museums in the United Kingdom”, *JEA* 81, 1995, pp. 201-203.

Vogel 2010: C. Vogel, *The Fortifications of Ancient Egypt 3000- 1780 BC.*, Illustrated by Brian Delf, 2010.

Vogliano 1942: A. Vogliano, *Un'impresa archeologica milanese ai margini orientali del Deserto Libico*, Milano, 1942.

Valloggia 1969: M. Valloggia, “Amenemhat IV et sa corégence avec Amenemhat III” *RdÉ* 21, 1996, pp. 107- 133.

Verbovsek 2004: A. Verbovsek, "Als Gunsterweis des Königs in den Tempel gegeben ...": *private Tempelstatuen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*, ÄAT 63, Wiesbaden, 2004.

Vercoutter 1966: J. Vercoutter “Semna South fort and the records of Nile levels at Kumma”, *Kush* 14, 1966, pp. 125-164.

Vercoutter 1968: J. Vercoutter, “Six Années de Fouilles à Mirgissa”, *BSFE* 52, 1968, pp. 7-14.

Vercoutter 1975: J. Vercoutter, “Le Roi Ougaf et la XIII^e Dynastie sur la II^{me} Cataracte”, *RdÉ* 27, 1975, pp. 222-234.

Vernus 1986: P. Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire: répertoire, procédés d'expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XIIe dynastie à la fin de la XVIIe dynastie*, Rome, 1986.

W

Waddell 1940: W. G. Waddell, *Manetho*: with an English Translation, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press; William Heinemann, 1940.

Wakeling 1912: T. G. Wakeling, *Forged Egyptian Antiquities*, London, 1912.

Wallet-Lebrun 2009: C. Wallet-Lebrun, *Le grand livre de pierre: les textes de construction à Karnak*, Études d'égyptologie 9; Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, nouvelle série 41. Paris, 2009.

Ward 1982: W. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom: with a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used*, Beirut: American Univ. of Beirut, 1982.

Ward 1989: W. Ward, Review: P. Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire: répertoire, procédés d'expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XIIe dynastie à la fin de la XVIIe dynastie*. *Studia Pohl* 13. Rome, *JNES* 48 (3), 1989, pp. 224-225.

Warmenbol and Hendrickx 2009: E. Warmenbol, S. Hendrickx “Une tombe intacte du début de la 18e dynastie: Elkab, BE 18”, in W. Claes, H. De Meulenaere, and S. Hendrickx (eds), *Elkab and beyond: studies in honour of Luc Limme*, pp. 75-125, Leuven: Peeters. Avec la collaboration de Frans Depuydt, Lieven Moelants, Claire Newton, Françoise Roloux et Marit Vandenbruaene, 2009.

Waston 1987: P. Watson, *Costume of Ancient Egypt*, London 1987.

Wegner 1995: J. Wegner, “South Abydos: Burial Place of the Third Senwosert? Old and New Evidence at the Abydene Complex of Senwosert III.” *KMT* 6, 1995, pp. 58-71.

Wegner 1996: J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III at Abydos: a Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos*, Dissertation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1996.

- Wegner 2000:** J. Wegner, “Institutions and officials at South Abydos: an overview of the sigillographic evidence”, *CRIPEL* 22, 2001, pp. 77-106.
- Wegner 2001:** J. Wegner, “The Town of *Wah-sut* at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations”, *MDAIK* 57, 2001, pp. 281-308.
- Wegner 2007:** J. Wegner, The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, Publication of the Pennsylvania-Yale- Institute of Fine Arts Expedition to Egypt, 8, New Haven and Philadelphia, 2007.
- Wegner 2015:** J. Wegner, “Selected Sites: Abydos”, in: A. Oppenheim et al., *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.
- Wegner and Cahail 2015:** J. Wegner, K. Cahail, “Royal Funerary Equipment of a King Sobekhotep at South Abydos: Evidence for the Tombs of Sobekhotep IV and Neferhotep I?” *JARCE* 51, 2015.
- Wegner and Houser 2015:** J. Wegner, Josef, J. Houser, *The sphinx that traveled to Philadelphia: the story of the colossal sphinx in the Penn Museum*, Philadelphia, PA: University Museum, 2015.
- Wegner and Cahail 2021:** J. Wegner, K. Cahail, King Seneb-Kay’s Tomb and The Necropolis of a Lost Dynasty at Abydos, With contributions by Jane Hill, Maria Rosado, and Molly Gleeson, University Museum monograph 155, Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2021.
- Weigall 1908:** A. E. P. Weigall, “Upper Egyptian notes”, *ASAE* 9, 1908, pp. 105-112.
- Weigall 1927:** A. E. P. Weigall, *A History of the Pharaohs. 2, From the Accession of Amenemhet I of the Twelfth Dynasty to the Death of Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, 2111 to 1541 B.C.*, London, 1927.
- Weill 1918:** R. Weill, *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien : étude sur les monuments et l'histoire de la période comprise entre la XIIe et la XVIIIe dynastie*, Paris, 1918.
- Werner 1985:** E. K. Werner, The God Montu: from the Earliest Attestations to the End of the New Kingdom, Dissertation, Yale University, 1985.
- Wild 1951:** H. Wild, “A bas-relief of Sekhemrē-sewadjetowē Sebkhotpe”, *JEA* 37, pp. 12-16, 1951.
- Wildung (ed.) 1996:** D. Wildung (ed.), *Sudan : antike Königreiche am Nil*, Tübingen, 1996.
- Willem 1983:** H. Willem, “A Second Look at the Reconstruction of the Two Festival Gates from the Middle Kingdom”, *JSSEA* 14, 1983, pp. 103-104.

Willem 2013: H. Willem “Nomarchs and Local Potentates: The provincial Administration in the Middle Kingdom”, in: J.C. Moreno Garcia, *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Leiden, 2013.

Willem 2014: H. Willem, Historical and archaeological aspects of Egyptian funerary culture: religious ideas and ritual practice in Middle Kingdom elite cemeteries, *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 73, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2014.

Williams 1926: C. R. Williams, “The cylinder seal of a king Userkerē”, *ZÄS* 61, 1926, pp. 81-83.

Wilkinson 2010: T. Wilkinson, *The Rise and Fall of Ancient Egypt: The History of a Civilisation from 3000 BC. to Cleopatra*, London: Bloomsbury, 2010.

Winlock 1947: H. E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, New York, 1947.

Weigall 1904: A. Weigall, “The Tomb and Cemetery of Senusret III.” in E. Ayrton, C. Currelly and A. Weigall, *Abydos*, Part III. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1904.

Y

Yamamoto 2015: K. Yamamoto, “Comprehending Life: Community, environment, and the Supernatural,” in A. Oppenheim et al., *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.

Yamamoto 2015: K. Yamamoto, “Abydos and Osiris: The Terrace of the Great God”, in: A. Oppenheim et al., *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2015.

Yoyotte 1957: J. Yoyotte, “Le Soukhos de la Maréotide et d'autres cultes régionaux du dieu-crocodile d'après les cylindres du Moyen Empire”, *BIFAO* 56, 1957, pp. 81-95.

Dictionaries

Cambridge International Dictionary of English: [for Advanced Learners] 1. publ., reprinted. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.

Classic Greek Dictionary: In two parts: Greek-English and English-Greek. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010.

Websites

<https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2017/05/11/archaeologists-uncover-ancient-egyptian-princess-tomb-in-dahshur> [accessed on 20.05.2017]

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NToAZjOzXAI> [accessed on 15.06.2022]

https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=149455&partId=1&searchText=37686&page=1 [accessed on 10.04.2020]

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG54626> [accessed on 17.03.2022]

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA75196 [accessed on 20.05.2022]

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA74185 [accessed on 16.09.2022]

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/56813> [accessed on 15.01.2023]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544379> [accessed on 20.10.2022]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544372> [accessed on 17.08.2022]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/556933> [accessed on 02. 05.2022]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544377> [accessed on 13. 02.2022]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544441> [accessed on 13. 02.2022]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544376> [accessed on 16. 04.2022]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544387> [accessed on 19. 10.2022]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545940> [accessed on 22. 10.2022]

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/545685> [accessed on 23. 10.2022]

<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/281308> [accessed on 14. 08.2022]

http://www.museibologna.it/archeologicoen/sfoglia/66289/n_inv/1799/id/2801
[accessed on 27. 11.2023]

<https://pnm.uni-mainz.de/2/inscription/2455> [accessed on 03. 02.2023]

