

The Legacy of the Hyksos:  
A Study in Cultural Memory and Identity

by

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# **Declaration**

I, Laura Peirce, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Date: 9 October, 2015

Signature:

“None can be at rest, being desolated by the taxes of the Asiatics!  
I will engage with him, that I may break his belly, my desire is to  
save Egypt (and) to smite the Asiatics!”

-Kamose

Lines 4-5, *Carnarvon Tablet I*.

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# Abbreviations

The abbreviations used predominantly follow Bernard Mathieu, *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo,<sup>5</sup> 2010).

<i>ABSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>ÄgLev</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AcOr(B)</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>Enchoria</i>	<i>Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>OrNS</i>	<i>Orientalia Nova Series</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 vols., W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds) (Wiesbaden 1972/5-).
<i>LD I</i>	Karl Richard Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> , Volume I (Leipzig, 1897).
<i>LD II</i>	Karl Richard Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> , Volume II (Leipzig, 1904).



LD IV	Karl Richard Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> , Volume IV (Leipzig, 1901).
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutsche Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NGC	<i>New German Critique</i>
OEAE	Donald B. Redford (ed.) <i>Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt</i> , 3 vols (Oxford and New York, 2001).
PM II <sup>2</sup>	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Volume II: <i>Theban Temples</i> (Oxford, <sup>2</sup> 1972).
PM IV	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Volume IV: <i>Lower and Middle Egypt</i> (Oxford, 1934).
PM V	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Volume V: <i>Upper Egypt: Sites</i> (Oxford, 1937).
RAr	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RecTrav	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
SAOC	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i>
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
TrabEg	<i>Trabajos de Egiptología</i>
Urk. IV	Kurt Sethe, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV</i> (Leipzig, 1906–1909).
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

# **Abstract**

The Hyksos era during the Second Intermediate Period had a significant impact on the formation of cultural memory and identity in Ancient Egypt. Specific moments of this era were documented in the Egyptian textual sources from the Second Intermediate Period onwards, and grew increasingly negative towards the Hyksos rulers over time. The specialised descriptions in these texts, however, often contradict the archaeological evidence, and a new approach is needed that can explain the divergences in these two source bases.

The present study aims to overcome these issues by re-evaluating the Egyptian textual sources through the concept of cultural memory. The framework of cultural memory represents a unique approach that can allow a fresh understanding of the Hyksos and their legacy to be reached. It initially sets out to determine the frames of experience of the Second Intermediate Period and Expulsion Era, including the events, catastrophes, and obstacles faced by the Thebans and the Hyksos. Following this, the study turns to the non-contemporary accounts to determine features that were altered, added, and omitted. These later texts are then related to their historical and physical context to determine how this influenced the creation of a document and representations of Egyptian identity.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The changes experienced during the Second Intermediate Period disrupted many aspects of Ancient Egyptian society, from foreign policy to conceptions of Egyptian identity. It was a period characterised by regionalisation and a loss of unity, with rulers of foreign lands, today known by the Greek appellation “Hyksos”, governing the north of Egypt for over a century (1648-1536 BC).<sup>1</sup> Their occupation of Egypt split the country in two, with new political and administrative centres formed by the Hyksos at Avaris in the north and Egyptians at Thebes in the south.<sup>2</sup> The associated military clashes that arose in this era between the two centres, and most significantly the Hyksos Expulsion, conflicted with ideas of Egyptian kingship and culture. This in turn had a lasting impression on the Egyptian’s perception of foreigners and of themselves.<sup>3</sup> This thesis assesses how, and why, the legacy of the Hyksos developed in texts from the Second Intermediate Period, Expulsion Era, and New Kingdom.

### 1.1 Research Problems

In trying to understand the Hyksos and their legacy, scholars are faced with fragmentary evidence and non-contemporary material. This evidence is heavily dominated by Egyptian textual sources, and there is a dearth of Hyksos documents that can provide insight into this era from their perspective.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, these Egyptian texts, predominantly from the Expulsion Period and the New Kingdom, have rendered the Hyksos legacy as one of oppression,

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<sup>1</sup> The term “foreign” has been irrevocably tied to the name “Hyksos”, an understanding derived from the title **ḥqA xAsw.t** “rulers of foreign lands”. However, though the Hyksos are known and understood as having originated from Asiatic countries, they integrated themselves with Egyptian culture, used the Egyptian language, worshipped Egyptian gods and used the traditional titulary of the Egyptian kings. As a consequence, the author is hesitant to employ “foreign” as a term to encapsulate the ethnicity and culture of the Hyksos. Charlotte Booth, *The Hyksos Period in Egypt* (Princes Risborough, 2005), 7; Marcel Marée, “Foreword”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, 2010), xi; Anna-Latifa Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to Early Second Intermediate Period*, Volume I (PhD Thesis Macquarie University, Sydney, 2014), 3, 358-362; Jürgen von Beckerath, *Chronologie des Pharaonischen Ägypten: Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.* (Mainz, 1997), 189.

<sup>2</sup> Janine Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period (c. 1650-1550 BC)”, in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2000), 172-173.

<sup>3</sup> Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 172-173.

<sup>4</sup> Donald B. Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period”, in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 1.

exploitation, and disaster, marked by images of the Hyksos as “vile Asiatics” who destroyed the land.<sup>5</sup> This understanding of the Hyksos was further propagated in the earliest studies on the Second Intermediate Period, as the Egyptian texts were taken as accurate accounts on the Hyksos.<sup>6</sup>

To make things more problematic, archaeological material discovered at the Hyksos capital Avaris has conflicted with many of the statements found in the later Egyptian accounts.<sup>7</sup> Today, scholars are faced with many difficulties in attempting to reconcile the archaeological and textual material, which has called into question the validity of utilising the Egyptian sources to reach an understanding of the Hyksos.<sup>8</sup> Instead of disregarding these texts, however, the focus should be on finding new methodological approaches than can use these texts in a balanced and informative manner.

## 1.2 Research Objectives

The central focus of this study involves a detailed examination of the development of the Hyksos legacy in the Egyptian textual sources, from the Second Intermediate Period, Expulsion Era, and New Kingdom. Specifically, this project understands legacy as the information that exists, and that which is remembered, by the Egyptians as knowledge about the Hyksos.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, “The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I”, *JEA* 3 (1916), 95- 110.

<sup>6</sup> Henry George Tomkins, “Notes on the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings of Egypt”, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 19 (1890), 183; Gaston Maspero, *History of Egypt, Chaldea, Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria*, Volume IV (London, 1901), 73; Archibald H. Sayce, “The Hyksos in Egypt”, *The Biblical World* 21:5 (1903), 349.

<sup>7</sup> For example, Hatshepsut claims the Hyksos ruled without Re, which conflicts with the primary evidence that has demonstrated that the Hyksos had a polytheistic approach to religion, as shown through their building projects and titulary. For more on this, see Chapter 4.3 and 6.1. Alan H. Gardiner, “Davies’s Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription”, *JEA* 32 (1946), 43-56; Ahmed Kamal, *Tables d’offrandes: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1909), 61 (CG 23073); Auguste Mariette and Gaston Maspero, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie (Tables)* (Paris, 1872), pl. XXXVIII; Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c., in the British Museum*, Part V (London, 1914), pl. 18 (no. 339); Edouard Naville, *Bubastis 1887-1889* (London, 1891), pl. XXXV (b/c); Manfred Bietak, “Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology: New Evidence from Egypt”, *AJA* 88:4 (1984), 471-485; Manfred Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse: Archaeological Exploration in the Eastern Nile Delta* (Oxford, 1986); Manfred Bietak, “Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age”, *BASOR* 281 (1991), 27-72.

<sup>8</sup> Battiscombe Gunn and Alan H. Gardiner, “New Renderings of Egyptian Texts: II. The Expulsion of the Hyksos”, *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 36; Donald B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (Mississauga, 1986), 163; Manfred Bietak, “The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dab’a)”, in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 111.

<sup>9</sup> Arthur Delbridge (ed.), *The Macquarie Dictionary* (McMahons Point, 1982), 1004.

In order to understand the Hyksos legacy, the trends in the textual sources concerning these rulers must be traced over time and accounted for. As a tool to track this information, this thesis applies the concept of memory to these Egyptian texts. This is a unique approach that can assist in understanding these sources in a more comprehensive manner, by relating the various facets of a document to its historical context, motives of the composer, intended audience, and physical context.<sup>10</sup> It is also a method that can determine how recollections of the past shape ideas of cultural identity, and in turn account for the development of the content.<sup>11</sup>

Overall, this project has three research questions that direct the program of the thesis:

- 1) How do the representations of the Hyksos in the Egyptian sources develop over time?
- 2) Why do these representations change? Can they be related to the historical context, motives of the composer, intended audience, and physical context?
- 3) How is this linked to ideas of Egyptian culture and identity?

### **1.3 Research Method**

The research questions will be answered by closely examining the ancient Egyptian sources for the Hyksos legacy from 1648-1186 BC. This involves a three-step approach:

- 1) Selecting textual sources from the Hyksos rule in the Second Intermediate Period to the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty (1648-1186 BC) that discuss the Hyksos or events of the Second Intermediate Period.
- 2) A philological study and close reading of the textual sources within three historical eras, namely, the Second Intermediate Period, the Expulsion Period, and New Kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 197.

<sup>11</sup> See Chapter 3.5. Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 197.

<sup>12</sup> von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 188-190; Kim S. B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.* (Copenhagen, 1997), 302-303.

- 3) Studying each text in context through the categories informed by the theoretical and methodological framework of cultural memory.<sup>13</sup>

## 1.4 Limitations

This study is not without its own limitations. The most significant issue is the paucity of sources, which, in the words of Redford “exposes one to the risk of misinterpretation and overrating”.<sup>14</sup> The lack of sources from a Hyksos perspective has led to a study dominated by Theban texts, and despite the introduction of material authored by the Hyksos, the texts that fit the criteria of source selection survive only from the reign of Apophis.<sup>15</sup> Secondly, views of the Hyksos are unlikely to be homogenous amongst the Egyptians at all times. To combat tendencies to overgeneralise, the texts used for this study are predominantly royal sources, which would have held wide dissemination and influenced public opinion regarding the Hyksos. Finally, the material is restricted to textual sources. Due to time constraints, it was inadvisable to incorporate archaeological and artistic data to any meaningful extent. While the textual material presents a limited evidence base, it is these sources that can provide insight into the encoding of memory and of the past.

## 1.5 Research Outline

The literature review in Chapter 2 discusses the background necessary to understand the problem of the Hyksos legacy. Chapter 3 explains the methods used for the project. Chapter 4 studies textual sources contemporary with the Second Intermediate Period in order to determine the conditions experienced by both the Hyksos and Thebans. Chapter 5 considers the textual sources from the Expulsion Period, which provide evidence for changing ideas of the Hyksos in a period of intensified warfare. In Chapter 6, the texts of the New Kingdom that represent the Hyksos are examined as manifestations of cultural memory. Chapter 7 ties together the findings to illustrate the development of the Hyksos legacy and its links with Egyptian identity.

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<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 3 for an extensive description on the methods used and characteristics of cultural memory. Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory”, in A. Erll and A. Nünning (eds), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin and New York, 2008), 111; Martin A. Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 594-628.

<sup>14</sup> Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 1.

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 3.2 for more information on source selection.

Finally, Chapter 8 discusses the significance of the project and possible directions for future research.

## Chapter 2

### Review of the Literature

Over the past century, Egyptologists have been preoccupied with the origins,<sup>16</sup> rise,<sup>17</sup> and fall of the Hyksos.<sup>18</sup> The focus of this thesis however, the development of the Hyksos legacy, has virtually escaped scholarly gaze. This chapter explores the various ways in which scholars have approached the Hyksos in the past, and aims to highlight why a new trajectory is needed to understand the textual sources.

#### 2.1 Textual Sources of the Hyksos in Early Scholarship

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<sup>16</sup> Tomkins, “Notes on the Hyksos”, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 19 (1890), 182-199; Maspero, *History of Egypt*, 73; Sayce, “The Hyksos in Egypt”, *The Biblical World* 21:5 (1903), 347-355; Robert M. Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered* (Chicago, 1939), 42; Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, “The Hyksos Rule in Egypt”, *JEA* 37 (1951), 53-71; John Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven, 1966); Wolfgang Helck, “Die Hyksos”, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1971), 89-106; Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse*; Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 3.

<sup>17</sup> This includes the various theories of infiltration (which diverge between two models of a gradual and peaceful take over to a gradual increase in the Levantine population who forcibly took control of the government), to invasion (namely, as a hoard of foreigners who invaded Egypt from the east). Pahor Cludios Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz* (New York, 1936); Herbert E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York, 1947); Albrecht Alt, “Die Herkunft der Hyksos in Neuer Sicht”, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Volume III (Munich, 1959), 72-98; William A. Ward, “Egypt and the East Mediterranean in the Early Second Millennium B. C. (Concluded)”, *OrNS* 30:2 (1961), 129-155; William H. Stiebing, Jr., “Hyksos Burials in Palestine: A Review of the Evidence”, *JNES* 30:2 (1971), 110-117; Bietak, “Egypt and Canaan”, *BASOR* 281 (1991), 27-72; Stephen Quirke, “Royal Power in the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty”, in S. Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Maiden, 1991), 123-139; Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992), 101-119; Wolfgang Helck, “Das Hyksos-Problem”, *OrNS* 62:2 (1993), 60-66; Daphna Ben-Tor, “The Relations between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom as Reflected by Contemporary Canaanite Scarabs”, *IEJ* 47:3:4 (1997), 162-189; John S. Holladay, Jr., “The Eastern Nile Delta During the Hyksos and Pre-Hyksos Periods: Towards a Systemic / Socioeconomic Understanding”, in E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, 1997), 183-252; Dawn 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* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, 2010), 69-84; Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 358-359.

<sup>18</sup> Battiscombe Gunn and Alan H. Gardiner, “New Renderings of Egyptian Texts: II. The Expulsion of the Hyksos”, *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 36-56; Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos*, 35-37; Claude Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis fondateur de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Brussels, 1971); Daniel Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende* (Berlin and New York, 2007); Christophe Barbotin, *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Paris, 2008); Garry J. Shaw, “The Death of King Seqenenre Tao”, *JARCE* 45 (2009), 159-176.



For the better part of the twentieth century, the textual and archaeological sources for the Hyksos Period were extremely limited. The most cited of these sources was Manetho, an Egyptian priest living in the third century BC.<sup>19</sup> His work, *Aegyptiaca*, has consistently been mined for historical data since the late nineteenth century, particularly for details regarding the Hyksos.<sup>20</sup> Manetho provides the only account of the Hyksos rise to power, and describes them as people of “despicable ethnicity” who invaded Egypt, ravaged the land and its people.<sup>21</sup> Yet, the nature of Manetho’s work, as it currently exists, is problematic. It is preserved as fragments in a text composed in the first century AD, namely, Josephus’ *Contra Apionem*.<sup>22</sup> Further, Josephus quoted and paraphrased sections of the *Aegyptiaca* in order to present a narrative in which the Hyksos and the Jews were synonymous ethnic groups.<sup>23</sup> Consequently, the excerpts of Manetho that survive today have been removed from their original context and are extremely late in date.

It is important to note that the earliest studies on the Hyksos by Tomkins (1890),<sup>24</sup> Maspero (1901),<sup>25</sup> and Sayce (1903)<sup>26</sup> viewed Manetho as a trustworthy source. Manetho’s reliability was established through a comparison with the Egyptian sources that shared the common theme of destruction.<sup>27</sup> These sources are predominantly non-contemporary, and included the fictional narrative of the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre and Hatshepsut’s Speos Artemidos Inscription.<sup>28</sup> Additionally, the Manethonian tradition influenced the interpretation of archaeological, architectural, and textual sources. This is illustrated by the work of Petrie (1906),<sup>29</sup> who argued Tell el-Yahudiyeh was the ancient Hyksos capital based on a description found in Manetho, and Gunn and Gardiner’s 1918 study, where the Hyksos “invasion” coloured the interpretation of the ancient textual sources.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, “The Hyksos Rule in Egypt”, *JEA* 37 (1951), 55; Ian Shaw and Paul Nicholson, *The British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1995), 169.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Tomkins, “Notes on the Hyksos”, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 19 (1890), 182-199.

<sup>21</sup> Manetho, *Aegyptiaca*, Frg. 42, 1.75-79 (Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I.14.75-79), translation in Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 19 (no. 77).

<sup>22</sup> Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 169.

<sup>23</sup> Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Tomkins, “Notes on the Hyksos”, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 19 (1890), 183.

<sup>25</sup> Maspero, *History of Egypt*, 73.

<sup>26</sup> Sayce, “The Hyksos in Egypt”, *The Biblical World* 21:5 (1903), 349.

<sup>27</sup> Tomkins, “Notes on the Hyksos”, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 19 (1890), 192; Sayce, “The Hyksos in Egypt”, *The Biblical World* 21:5 (1903), 349.

<sup>28</sup> Tomkins, “Notes on the Hyksos”, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 19 (1890), 192; Sayce, “The Hyksos in Egypt”, *The Biblical World* 21:5 (1903), 349.

<sup>29</sup> William M. Flinders Petrie, “The Hyksos”, *Man* 6 (1906), 113-114.

<sup>30</sup> Gardiner and Gunn, “The Expulsion of the Hyksos”, *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 36-56; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 9.

It was only in the 1930s that many of the elements of Manetho's narrative of the Hyksos began to be questioned.<sup>31</sup> Labib (1936), after studying the various epigraphic and literary materials available, concluded that many of Manetho's claims were clearly embroidered.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, Labib's work still represents an overtly negative appraisal of the Hyksos rulers, as it was highly influenced by later Egyptian texts, such as the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre.<sup>33</sup> This encapsulates one of the pitfalls for studying a period of the past using solely textual sources, as Labib's heavy reliance on the textual data contributed to his negative understanding of the Hyksos.<sup>34</sup>

In 1939, Engberg published his study of the Hyksos that quickly became recognised as the most comprehensive work on the Second Intermediate Period at the time.<sup>35</sup> Engberg analysed a wide range of archaeological evidence and ancient accounts to reach an understanding of the Hyksos.<sup>36</sup> It was through this approach that Engberg concluded many of Manetho's statements were exaggerated, which consequently called into question the accuracy of the later Egyptian sources.<sup>37</sup> His work is of the utmost significance as it began to dismantle the negative image of the Hyksos through an objective appraisal of the evidence.<sup>38</sup>

Following Engberg, studies continued to argue that Manetho's idea of the despotic Hyksos kings was flawed. The landmark works of Säve-Söderbergh (1951),<sup>39</sup> Alt (1959),<sup>40</sup> Gardiner (1961),<sup>41</sup> and Van Seters (1966)<sup>42</sup> set out to challenge the reliability of Manetho in relation to the Hyksos, which assisted in shifting away some of the negativity surrounding these kings. Scholars discussing the Hyksos in this era emphasised the discrepancies observed in Manetho and the archaeological material in order to criticise the former, though scholars such as von

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<sup>31</sup> Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos*, 36.

<sup>32</sup> Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos*, 35-36.

<sup>33</sup> Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos*, 12, 36; Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt", *JEA* 37 (1951), 65 (no. 1).

<sup>34</sup> Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos*, 26.

<sup>35</sup> Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 15; William C. Hayes, "Reviewed Work: 'The Hyksos Reconsidered' by Robert M. Engberg", *The Classical Weekly* 33:14 (1940), 159.

<sup>36</sup> Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*.

<sup>37</sup> Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 4, 9, 14.

<sup>38</sup> Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 21-24; Raymond O. Faulkner, "Reviewed Work: 'The Hyksos Reconsidered' by Robert M. Engberg", *JEA* 27 (1941), 171.

<sup>39</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt", *JEA* 37 (1951), 53-71.

<sup>40</sup> Alt, "Die Herkunft der Hyksos", *Kleine Schriften*, 72-98.

<sup>41</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction* (London, 1961), 171.

<sup>42</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos*.

Beckerath (1964) continued to use Manetho for chronological insight.<sup>43</sup> This gradual scepticism of the Egyptian textual sources resulted in the attitude that understandings of the Hyksos could only be reached through archaeological remains, as exemplified by Säve-Söderbergh's 1961 study.<sup>44</sup> Säve-Söderbergh aspired to study the Hyksos through the archaeological material in Egypt and elsewhere, though this approach has been questioned due to the dearth of archaeological evidence available at the time.<sup>45</sup>

Van Seters has been one of the advocates of the need to study the Hyksos through both the textual and the archaeological material.<sup>46</sup> While Van Seters assisted in dismantling the stereotyped image of the Hyksos as despots, his work nevertheless contains problematic sources.<sup>47</sup> His argument that the Hyksos were not barbaric invaders is based upon the literary text of The Admonitions of Ipuwer (Pap. Leiden I 344), a text today believed to date from the Middle Kingdom and before the Hyksos era.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, Van Seters rightly contended that scholars must be careful when utilising Manetho for information on the Hyksos, and like Engberg before him, set the precedent of engaging with both archaeological and textual sources.<sup>49</sup>

## 2.2 The Archaeology of Avaris: Shifting Perceptions

The discovery of Tell el-Dab'a as the ancient Hyksos capital in 1966 dramatically altered how scholars approached the Hyksos.<sup>50</sup> The site that marks Avaris has introduced a wealth of material concerning the rule and cultural practices of the Hyksos, which has demanded a reassessment of how the Egyptian textual sources are used in conjunction with this new data.

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<sup>43</sup> Alt, "Die Herkunft der Hyksos", *Kleine Schriften*, 72-98; Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt", *JEA* 37 (1951), 53-71; Van Seters, *The Hyksos*; Jürgen von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1964).

<sup>44</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos", *JEA* 37 (1951), 53-71.

<sup>45</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos", *JEA* 37 (1951), 53-71; Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 13-14.

<sup>46</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 97-126.

<sup>47</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 103-120; Alan R. Schulman, "Reviewed Work: 'The Hyksos: A New Investigation' by John Van Seters", *The American Historical Review* 72:4 (1967), 1355-1356; Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Reviewed Work: 'The Hyksos: A New Investigation' by John Van Seters", *BSOAS* 31:1 (1968), 140-141.

<sup>48</sup> Alan H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden* (Leipzig, 1909), 3, 111; Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 103-120; Barry Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (Glasgow, 2006), 69; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Los Angeles, 1975), 149-163; Hans Goedicke, "Reviewed Work: 'The Hyksos: A New Investigation' by John Van Seters", *AJA* 71:4 (1967), 412-413.

<sup>49</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 121-126.

<sup>50</sup> Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule", *The Hyksos*, 111.

Scholars such as Manfred Bietak (1997) argue that the archaeological material is the most authoritative source for the Hyksos rule.<sup>51</sup> Nonetheless, such an approach diminishes the importance of the textual material to provide an understanding of the past, from assisting in chronological understandings to the political context. This attitude is present in the work of Bietak (1984, 1986, 1991, 1997, 2001), as he often places significant weight on the archaeological and artistic evidence with little reference to the textual sources.<sup>52</sup> The inaccuracies perceived in the Egyptian texts, such as allusions to destruction by the Hyksos, which is not reflected in the archaeology, has caused Bietak to describe these accounts as “negative propaganda” and not necessarily informative for the nature of Hyksos rule.<sup>53</sup> Consequently, whilst the introduction of archaeological material from Avaris has assisted in counteracting the negative image of the Hyksos, it has also diminished the value perceived in the Egyptian textual sources.

Research from the past few decades has maintained that the best approach to study the Hyksos is to balance the archaeological and textual sources. Vandersleyen (1971) has integrated this method in his study on the reign of Ahmose in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, by incorporating various royal, private, and archaeological data.<sup>54</sup> More recently, Weinstein (1975, 1981)<sup>55</sup>, Bourriau (2003)<sup>56</sup>, and Booth (2005)<sup>57</sup> have further illustrated that this is the most appropriate approach to reach a holistic understanding of the past.

Unfortunately, the legacy of Manetho’s work continues to affect studies of the Hyksos. The idea of “invasion”, something absent in the early Egyptian sources, is still supported by numerous scholars, including Helck (1971, 1993),<sup>58</sup> Quirke (1991),<sup>59</sup> Redford (1992),<sup>60</sup> and Ryholt (1997).<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, it appears Manetho continues to colour our interpretation of the

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<sup>51</sup> Manfred Bietak, “Hyksos”, *OEA II*, 138.

<sup>52</sup> Manfred Bietak, “Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology: New Evidence from Egypt”, *AJA* 88:4 (1984), 471-485; Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse*; Bietak, “Egypt and Canaan”, *BASOR* 281 (1991), 27-72; Bietak, “The Center of Hyksos Rule”, *The Hyksos*, 87-139; Bietak, “Hyksos”, *OEA II*, 138.

<sup>53</sup> Bietak, “The Center of Hyksos Rule”, *The Hyksos*, 111.

<sup>54</sup> Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis*, 13.

<sup>55</sup> James M. Weinstein, “Egyptian Relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom”, *BASOR* 215 (1975), 1-16; James M. Weinstein, “The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment”, *BASOR* 241 (1981), 1-28.

<sup>56</sup> Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 172-206.

<sup>57</sup> Booth, *The Hyksos Period*.

<sup>58</sup> Helck, “Die Hyksos”, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, 89-106; Helck, “Das Hyksos-Problem”, *OrNS* 62:2 (1993), 60-66.

<sup>59</sup> Quirke, “Royal Power in the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty”, *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 123-139.

<sup>60</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 101-122.

<sup>61</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 302-303.

ancient texts. This is evidenced in Redford's (1992) study, which argues for the Hyksos invasion based on a flawed translation.<sup>62</sup> The basis of Redford's argument is that the Carnarvon Tablet I alludes to destruction by the Hyksos in the line that reads, "ib=i r nHm Km.t Hwi.t aAm.w", specifically, "my desire is to save Egypt which the Asiatics have destroyed".<sup>63</sup> Despite the appeal of this translation, it is grammatically questionable and is not supported by the archaeological remains or the original text itself.<sup>64</sup> In brief, Redford has taken Hwi.t as a feminine perfective relative form, though there is no "n" in the hieratic on the tablet.<sup>65</sup> Alternatively, this sentence can be taken as a future clause that follows on logically from the previous verb forms, and translated accordingly as: "my desire is to save Egypt, (and) to smite the Asiatics".<sup>66</sup> This translation leads to a different understanding of the Hyksos, and challenges Redford's theory that the Hyksos destroyed Egypt. Thus, despite the gradual disinclination to use Manetho, his legacy has continued to impact our study of the Hyksos and textual sources.

In contrast, Ryholt's (1997) work on the Second Intermediate Period is foundational to current research on the Hyksos. This volume is the best compendium for studies on the Hyksos as Ryholt assembled all available sources of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>67</sup> Though Ryholt does draw on Manetho for chronological insight, he has reconstructed the Second Intermediate Period through other evidence.<sup>68</sup> Notably, Ryholt incorporated a reconstructed Turin Canon, ceramic traditions, and seals.<sup>69</sup> This has reinforced the multitude of sources that are now available to scholars for the study of the Second Intermediate Period.

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<sup>62</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 102.

<sup>63</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 102.

<sup>64</sup> There are no destruction levels found in the stratigraphy in Egypt dating to the rule of the Hyksos, except for some relating to the Expulsion Period. If the Hyksos did destroy Egypt, as this translation and Manetho suggests, it is reasonable to assume that there would be evidence for it. Consequently, the lack of destruction levels cannot be used as evidence the Hyksos destroyed Egypt. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 102-103.

<sup>65</sup> Additionally, Redford has chosen "Asiatics" as the subject, when previous translations have taken this as the object, which follows on consistently from the previous sentence. For more information and context on this translation, see Appendix B[12]. Wolfgang Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 84 (no. 119); Boyo G. Ockinga, *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian* (Mainz, 2005), §107.

<sup>66</sup> Authors translation, see Appendix B[12].

<sup>67</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 333-406.

<sup>68</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 302; Anthony Spalinger, "Reviewed Work: 'The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550 B. C.' by K. S. B. Ryholt", *JNES* 60:4 (2001), 296-300.

<sup>69</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 302; Spalinger, "Reviewed Work: 'The Political Situation in Egypt'", *JNES* 60:4 (2001), 296-300.

## 2.3 Current Scholarship

Current scholarship is focused on incorporating new and neglected material in the study of the Hyksos.<sup>70</sup> Scholars are more than ever engrossed in reaching a more accurate understanding of the chronology of the Second Intermediate Period,<sup>71</sup> building projects,<sup>72</sup> administration,<sup>73</sup> and socio-political history.<sup>74</sup> Though scholars such as Polz (2007, 2010),<sup>75</sup> Quirke (2010)<sup>76</sup> and Wegner (2015)<sup>77</sup> are still focused on royal documents and archaeology, there has been a shift to reviewing the non-royal sources. In particular, a recent work by Franke and Marée (2013) has published a series of private stele from the British Museum, which were studied within their historical and social contexts to elucidate new information.<sup>78</sup> Innovative methodological approaches have also been incorporated into the study of ancient texts, such as Popko (2006) who has promoted the importance of studying the context, author, and function of a text.<sup>79</sup> Ilin-Tomich (2014) has also demonstrated the need to retranslate the Egyptian textual sources as new evidence is found.<sup>80</sup> Today, works on the Hyksos are becoming disassociated from the Manethonian tradition, and instead archaeological and non-royal sources are taking precedence.

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<sup>70</sup> Marée, “Foreword”, *The Second Intermediate Period: Current Research, Future Prospects*, xiv.

<sup>71</sup> Chris Bennett, “A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty”, *JARCE* 39 (2002), 123-155; James P. 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* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, 2010), 1-10; Janine 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* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, 2010), 11-37; Alexander Ilin-Tomich, “The Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16: Its Rise, Administration, and Politics”, *JEH* 7 (2014), 143-193.

<sup>72</sup> Daniel Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende* (Berlin, 2007), 61ff.

<sup>73</sup> Wolfgang Grajetzki, “Notes on the Administration in the Second Intermediate Period”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, 2010), 305-312; JJ Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of Ramesses”, in J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Boston, 2013), 521-606.

<sup>74</sup> Marcel Marée, “A Sculpture Workshop at Abydos from the Late Sixteenth or Early Seventeenth Dynasty”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, 2010), 241.

<sup>75</sup> Daniel Polz, “New archaeological data from Dra’ Abu el-Naga and their historical implications”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, 2010), 343-353.

<sup>76</sup> Stephen Quirke, Daniela Picchi and Claudio d’Amico, “Ways to measure Thirteenth Dynasty royal power from inscribed objects”, in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, 2010), 55-68.

<sup>77</sup> Josef Wegner, “A Royal Necropolis at South Abydos: New Light on Egypt’s Second Intermediate Period”, *NEA* 78:2 (2015), 68-78.

<sup>78</sup> Detlef Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, Volume I, Fascicule 1: Descriptions*, M. Marée (ed.) (London, 2013), 1-6.

<sup>79</sup> Lutz Popko, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung der Ahmosiden- und Thutmo- sidenzeit: „damit man von seinen Taten noch in Millionen von Jahren sprechen wird“* (Würzburg, 2006), 45-140.

<sup>80</sup> Alexander Ilin-Tomich, “The Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16”, *JEH* 7 (2014), 143-193.

## 2.4 On the Hyksos in the Egyptian Tradition

As yet, Redford (1970) is the only scholar who has attempted to understand the legacy of the Hyksos in terms of tradition, namely, the transmission of beliefs and customs.<sup>81</sup> Redford's paper discusses the Hyksos tradition in order to gain insight into the Hyksos rise to power and account for Manetho's version of events.<sup>82</sup> Despite the innovative nature of this study, the terminology utilised is problematic as the concept of "tradition" is used synonymously with his so-called "historical memory", and the distinctions between these terms are not articulated.<sup>83</sup> "Historical memory" has only become a key concept in memory studies in the past decade, and yet Redford does not define what he means when this term is used.<sup>84</sup> As the only work that has attempted to understand the origins and development of the Hyksos tradition, however, it has made significant contributions to the scholarship, for connecting the "history" of the Hyksos with the "memory" of the Egyptians.

More recently, Assmann (1998) has understood the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre, a famous literary tale that discusses the Hyksos ruler Apophis, as an example of repressed memory.<sup>85</sup> Through understanding the text as a memory shaped by the trauma of the Amarna Period, Assmann was able to account for some of the features added to the Hyksos legacy, such as a monolatry religion.<sup>86</sup> Assmann's concept of memory marks a key development in the study of the Hyksos and ancient texts as a whole, and clearly has considerable potential, though there is room for further study.

## 2.5 Summary

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<sup>81</sup> Donald B. Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition", *OrNS* 39 (1970), 1-51.

<sup>82</sup> Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion", *OrNS* 39 (1970), 1.

<sup>83</sup> For example, Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion", *OrNS* 39 (1970), 20.

<sup>84</sup> Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion", *OrNS* 39 (1970), 5. For examples of the use of "Historical Memory" see Ana Luisa Sánchez Laws, *Panamanian Museums and Historical Memory* (Oxford, 2011); Bruce E. Baker, *What Reconstruction Meant: Historical Memory in the American South* (Charlottesville, 2007).

<sup>85</sup> Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (London, 1998), 28-33.

<sup>86</sup> Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 28-33.

In sum, the numerous approaches applied to the study of the Hyksos often favour one form of evidence over another, which has led to conflicting ideas of these rulers. This thesis aims to account for the incongruities that exist between the archaeological material and textual sources by reaching a more nuanced understanding of the Egyptian documents through the framework of memory.<sup>87</sup> It follows recent scholarly practice, including methods advocated by Popko and Ilin-Tomich, by considering the impact of the author and context on the content of a document. Furthermore, this study aims to provide a more holistic examination of the nature of the Hyksos legacy, building on Redford's and Assmann's work, through a more refined understanding of memory and how it functions. Through such a method, this study aims to contribute to our knowledge of how and why the Hyksos legacy developed.

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<sup>87</sup> See Chapter 3.



## Chapter 3

### Methodology

In order to investigate the Hyksos legacy this study employed a two-phase method. The first phase was data-driven and involved the analysis of Ancient Egyptian texts that describe the Hyksos rulers or the conditions experienced during the Second Intermediate Period. The second step was interpretive-theory driven, by studying the texts through the framework of cultural memory.

#### 3.1 Issues of Chronology

Numerous problems abound in studies of the Second Intermediate Period due to gaps in our understanding of the chronology of this time. These gaps have led to inconsistent interpretations of the sequence of kings, as well as their length of rule. For this study, the basic placement of the dynasties follows von Beckerath as his work represents a reliable survey of Egyptian chronology.<sup>88</sup> In spite of this, von Beckerath's work was composed before Ryholt's reconstruction of the Turin Canon and is out-dated in this regard, which is why this study adheres to Ryholt's king-list for the Second Intermediate Period alone.<sup>89</sup> Though Ryholt's chronological framework has been criticised for excessive compression, it still represents the benchmark for studies of this era.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> von Beckerath, *Chronologie*; Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Reviewed Work: 'Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten. Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.' by Jürgen von Beckerath", *JEA* 85 (1999), 245-248.

<sup>89</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 408-410; Allen, "The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List", *The Second Intermediate Period*, 1-10.

<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, this study does adhere to recent scholarly consensus of an overlap of dynasties ruling from Itjtawy and Thebes (specifically, the Thirteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties). Nonetheless, as the texts accumulated for this thesis begin from the reign of Sobekhotep VIII (who is accepted in recent publications as a king of the Sixteenth Dynasty), it does not overtly affect the chronology of the texts discussed or conclusions made. Spalinger, "Reviewed Work: 'The Political Situation in Egypt' by K. S. B. Ryholt", *JNES* 60:4 (2001), 296-300; Bennett, "A Genealogical Chronology", *JARCE* 39 (2002), 123; Allen, "The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List", *The Second Intermediate Period*, 1; Ilin-Tomich, "The Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16", *JEH* 7 (2014), 146-147, 182-184.

### 3.2 Data Collection and Analysis of Historical Sources

The first phase of the project was the textual and linguistic component, which attempted to determine how the various authors encoded their past in different periods of Egyptian history.

These textual sources have been selected according to the following criteria:

- 1) The texts date from the beginning of the Hyksos rule in the Fifteenth Dynasty until the end of the Egyptian Nineteenth Dynasty (1648 BC to 1186 BC).<sup>91</sup>
- 2) The perspectives of these texts are Egyptian, though supplementary material from the Hyksos rulers is incorporated as a contrast to the Theban sources.<sup>92</sup>
- 3) The content of these sources either describe the conditions of the Second Intermediate Period, including political, religious and cultural concerns, or they contain details that elucidate information on the nature of Hyksos rule and their expulsion.
- 4) The texts are public in nature, by being incised and painted on stone monuments including stele, temples, and tombs, or they contain evidence of royal sponsorship or an oral tradition.<sup>93</sup> This criterion is essential as it selects material that had the ability to disseminate their content to a wide audience.

The corpus of texts was compiled from Redford's anthology of textual sources for the Hyksos Period.<sup>94</sup> Redford's corpus represents a comprehensive compilation of textual sources for the Hyksos era and as such is the best compendium for material on this period.<sup>95</sup> Nonetheless, as Redford's study is not exhaustive, it was necessary to supplement the texts in Redford with material from various publications.<sup>96</sup> After the selection of texts was made, each source was restudied, transliterated and translated, based on photographs, hieroglyphic transcriptions, and line drawings.<sup>97</sup> These translations have aspired to be literal, in order to retain the style of the original text, and to reflect the terminology used by the author.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 104, 136.

<sup>92</sup> "Egyptian" here is not used as a term for ethnicity, but a perspective originating from a specific geo-political area. By applying a geo-political schema to this criteria, it assists in avoiding confusion arising from texts and authors that have a "hybrid-ethnicity", namely, the author may be Egyptian in origin, but associate themselves with the Hyksos regime.

<sup>93</sup> See Appendix for full list of sources, context, and artefact type.

<sup>94</sup> Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 1-44.

<sup>95</sup> Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 1-44.

<sup>96</sup> Barbotin, *Áhmosis*; James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Volume II (Chicago, 1906).

<sup>97</sup> The translations use Redford's work as a guide, though the transliteration and commentary are the authors own. See Appendix for full transliteration and translation of the ancient texts.

<sup>98</sup> For a discussion on the benefits and problems of free versus literal translations, see Friedrich Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*, trans. D. Warburton (Oxford, 2012), 29-30; Laurence Venuti, "The Poet's Version; or, An Ethics of Translation", *Translation Studies* 4:2 (2011), 230-247; Julie-Marie Strange, "Reading

Further, each word or phrase describing the Hyksos or conditions experienced in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period was accumulated into a corpus for comparison. This included compiling words and phrases that are repeated across the corpus of texts into thematic and chronological groups. This aspect of the thesis allowed the terminology used to encode the Hyksos legacy to be tracked over time.

### 3.3 Memory

The second phase of the research involved studying the texts through the framework of memory. Memory is a term used to describe how the mind stores and recollects information about the past.<sup>99</sup> This has both a neural and social basis: the neural functions of the brain allow us to remember, but it is only through social interactions that memory can develop.<sup>100</sup> Apart from the neural processes that store information in the brain, memory is also accessed via writing, speech, art, architecture, and photographs.<sup>101</sup> The most accessible of these forms for studies in antiquity is writing, and these texts are often referred to as “memory documents”, namely, the texts that encode, store, and retrieve information about the past.<sup>102</sup>

Methods found in memory studies offer a unique approach to other favoured means of textual analysis in ancient history, namely literary criticism and *Sitz im Leben*.<sup>103</sup> Literary criticism has been used problematically in the past, as scholars have failed to consider texts as artefacts with their own internal structure, context, and meaning.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, though *Sitz im Leben* assists in understanding the real-life context of a document and promotes a diachronic analysis, it is

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Language as a Historical Source”, in S. Gunn and L. Faire (eds), *Research Methods for History* (Croydon, 2012), 167.

<sup>99</sup> Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. R. Livingstone (Stanford, 2006), 1.

<sup>100</sup> Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 1.

<sup>101</sup> Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 101.

<sup>102</sup> For example, Matt K. Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern* (New York, 1996), 134; Janice Cheddie, “Rita Keegan: Documents of Memory”, *Third Text* 13:45 (1998), 88-89; David B. Pillemer, “Can the Psychology of Memory Enrich Historical Analyses of Trauma?”, *History and Memory* 16:2 (2004), 151; Andrew R. Mayes and Neil Roberts. “Theories of Episodic Memory”, *Philosophical Transactions: Biological Sciences* 356:1413 (2001), 1395.

<sup>103</sup> Samuel Byrskog, “A Century with the *Sitz im Leben*. From Form-Critical Setting to Gospel Community and Beyond”, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 98:1-2 (2007), 3; John Baines, “Interpreting Sinuhe”, *JEA* 68 (1982), 44; John Baines, “Interpreting the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor”, *JEA* 76 (1990), 55-72; Christopher J. Eyre, “The Semna Stelae: Quotation, Genre, and Functions of Literature”, in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology: Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, Volume I (Jerusalem, 1990), 134-165.

<sup>104</sup> Richard B. Parkinson, “Literary Form and the ‘Tale of the Eloquent Peasant’”, *JEA* 78 (1992), 163-164.

too focused on the impact of the present on the past.<sup>105</sup> The concept of memory however, can actively contribute to a holistic understanding of a text, as it considers the effect of the past on the present and how various features contribute to the creation of a text, including context and author.

### 3.4 Memory on Three Levels

Renowned scholars such as Nietzsche (1887),<sup>106</sup> Freud (1895, 1910, 1939),<sup>107</sup> and Bergson (1896)<sup>108</sup> first studied the concept of memory in the fields of psychoanalysis and philosophy in the late nineteenth century.<sup>109</sup> This has developed over the past century; to the extent scholars now recognise various levels and manifestations of memory. These levels of memory are based on the works of Halbwachs (1925, 1950),<sup>110</sup> Yates (1966),<sup>111</sup> Nora (1989, 1996),<sup>112</sup> and Assmann (1995, 1998, 2008, 2011).<sup>113</sup>

1. *Memory on the Social Level*: memory is framed, transformed, and retrieved through social interaction.<sup>114</sup> It is through memory that a sense of self and identity is perpetuated, which is also enhanced through social interactions.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Byrskog, "Sitz im Leben", *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 98:1-2 (2007), 3.

<sup>106</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, trans. C. Dieth, K. Ansell-Pearson (ed.) (New York, 2006).

<sup>107</sup> Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud, *Studies on Hysteria*, trans. J. Strachey (ed.) (New York, 1955); Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism*, trans. K. Jones (Letchworth, 1939), 110-112; Sigmund Freud, "Leonardo Da Vinci and A Memory of His Childhood", in P. Gay (ed.), *The Freud Reader* (New York and London, 1989), 456.

<sup>108</sup> Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, trans. N. M. Paul and W. Scott Palmer, J. H. Muirhead (ed.) (London and New York, 1929).

<sup>109</sup> An overview can be found in Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory", *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 179-197. Also see Sutton for an overview on cognitive science and memory. John Sutton, "Cognitive conceptions of language and the development of autobiographical memory", *Language and Communication* 22 (2002), 375-390; Peter Mandler, "The Problem with Cultural History", *Social and Cultural History* 1:1 (2004), 94-98.

<sup>110</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Cadres sociaux de la memoire* (Paris, 1925); Maurice Halbwachs, *La memoire collective*, published posthumously by Jeanne Alexandre (Paris, 1950); Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. L. A. Coser (ed.) (London, 1992).

<sup>111</sup> Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (New York, 1966).

<sup>112</sup> Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire", *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24; Pierre Nora, "General Introduction: Between Memory and History", in P. Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past Volume One: Conflicts and Divisions*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New York, 1996), 1-20.

<sup>113</sup> Jan Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 125-133; Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*; Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*; Assmann, "Communicative and Cultural Memory", *Cultural Memory Studies*, 109-118; Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (New York, 2011).

<sup>114</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 39.

<sup>115</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 47.

2. *Memory on the Cultural Level*: this is the cultural foundation of a society that influences the way an event is represented in language, art, religion, and other means of communication.<sup>116</sup> Memory is a manifestation of the ideas and customs of a particular culture.
3. *Memory on the Physical Level*: memory is displayed on a physical and visual level through art and architecture.<sup>117</sup> Sites, from memorials to geographical areas, can become what Nora (1989) calls *les lieux de mémoire*, namely, places of memory.<sup>118</sup> Physical locations can act as memorials to a past event, which furthermore represents a desire to resurrect and maintain old meanings for the present world.<sup>119</sup>

These three levels explain various dimensions of memory. Though scholars often distinguish between social and cultural memory, both informs the other in the creation of meaning. Cultural memory is always influenced by society, and the physical location of a text assists in determining how the society understands and remembers its past. Such an idea adds a meaningful dimension to this study, as the physical location of a monument assists in determining why specific areas became loci of remembrance.

### 3.5 Identifying “Communicative” and “Cultural” Memory

Distinguishing between “communicative memory” and “cultural memory” is a further differentiation of Jan Assmann and Aleida Assmann to separate social memory and cultural memory.<sup>120</sup> As Jan Assmann’s study of Ancient Egypt is the background to his work on memory, his theoretical approach is the best to apply to studies of the Hyksos, as it has been designed explicitly to understand early written cultures of the Near East.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 1.

<sup>117</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History”, *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24.

<sup>118</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History”, *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24; Lawrence D. Kritzmas, “Forward: In Remembrance of Things French”, in P. Nora (ed.), *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past Volume One: Conflicts and Divisions*, trans. A. Goldhammer (New York, 1996), x; Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (New York, 1966), 2-3.

<sup>119</sup> Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History”, *Realms of Memory*, 15-20.

<sup>120</sup> Assmann and Assmann, “Schrift, Tradition and Kultur”, *Zwischen Festag und Alltag*, 25-50; Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis*; Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 126; Jan Assmann, “Ancient Egyptian Antijudaism: A Case of Distorted Memory”, in D. L. Schacter (ed.), *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past* (London, 1995), 365-376; Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*; Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 1-3; Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory”, *Cultural Memory Studies*, 110; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*; Aleida Assmann, “Canon and Archive”, in A. Erll and A. Nünning (ed.), *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin and New York, 2008), 97-108.

<sup>121</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, ix.

Specifically, communicative memory is restricted to a time span of 80-100 years and represents the shared knowledge present in the basic, everyday communications between individuals.<sup>122</sup> It is non-institutional and often disorganised, but contains overarching common event(s) that allows it to be socially mediated.<sup>123</sup> Conversely, cultural memory can span centuries, and is located on a group level.<sup>124</sup> Jan Assmann (1995) has defined the following characteristics of cultural memory:<sup>125</sup>

- 1) Cultural memory is a resource for cultural identity.
- 2) Cultural memory must be able to be reconstructed in various contexts so that it remains relevant to contemporary society.
- 3) The memory is preserved in the form of texts, statues, images, rituals, monuments, and sites. These objects are tangible reminders of past events, and the longevity of these objects, such as stele preserved in stone, ensures the past is relevant for future generations.
- 4) The memory is sponsored, shaped, or transmitted by an institutional body, resulting in a highly specialised and mediated representation of the past.
- 5) There is a sense of obligation in recalling the event, whether because it reflects a moral code or cultural knowledge. It also has the capacity to “bond” a group together because the same set of values is shared.
- 6) The memory is reflexive, that is, it often says more about the contemporary concerns of the group than of the past event.

Assmann’s categorisation of the various features that identify a cultural memory reinforces the complexity surrounding ancient cultural documents. Because these features regard culture in all its manifestations, it is not restricted to any one genre, and is designed to be inclusive of all text types.<sup>126</sup> Most significantly, these texts say more about the contemporary concerns of the group at the time the texts were composed. This means memory texts *cannot* be studied solely for the content they provide about the past.

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<sup>122</sup> Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 1-3.

<sup>123</sup> Assmann, “Collective Memory”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 126-127.

<sup>124</sup> Assmann, “Collective Memory”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 126-127.

<sup>125</sup> Assmann, “Collective Memory”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 130.

<sup>126</sup> Genre itself is an indication of different functioning contexts, and if one studies the purpose and context of a text genre is no longer an issue. Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization*, 217.

### 3.6 Conceptual and Methodological Frameworks of Memory

Though Assmann and others have made impressive conceptual and theoretical advances in the study of collective memory, there have not been clearly defined methodological frameworks to accompany their work.<sup>127</sup> Kansteiner (2002) has addressed these shortcomings, whose conceptual “hermeneutical triangle” offers a clear method to study memory texts.<sup>128</sup> The triangle demonstrates that meaning is created by the interactions between the object, the memory maker (author), and the memory consumer (audience).<sup>129</sup> The main strength of this method lies in its ability to provide new categories of analysing ancient texts within historical contexts. The second method of this study consequently involved applying these analytical categories of the memory maker and audience to the textual sources, whilst also considering the content, original location, artefact type and historical context of the object.

### 3.7 Summary

This thesis involved the collection of Ancient Egyptian textual sources that can provide insight into the Hyksos and their legacy. After the collection of materials, each text was perceived through Assmann’s lens of cultural memory and analysed with Kansteiner’s hermeneutical triangle. The key themes that emerged were further compared with the historical and archaeological evidence to demonstrate the reflexive nature of these texts (Chapters 4-6). In Chapter 7, the findings of the study are presented regarding how and why the Hyksos legacy developed.

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<sup>127</sup> In fact, Nora deliberately did not dwell on methods when he developed his idea of *lieux de mémoire*. Nora, “Between Memory and History”, *Representations* 26 (1989), 24; Wulf Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory”, *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 179.

<sup>128</sup> Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory”, *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 197.

<sup>129</sup> Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory”, *History and Theory* 41:2 (2002), 197.

## Chapter 4

### The Second Intermediate Period - A Tale of Two Cities

“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times...”

Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*.<sup>130</sup>

The Hyksos occupation of northern Egypt was the first instance of Egyptian subjugation by a people of foreign origin. It resulted in a situation in Egypt where the land was divided between two territories and cities: Avaris in the north and Thebes in the south.<sup>131</sup> This division was more than just a geographical boundary: the entire administration of Egypt was divorced, the trade routes blocked off, and the scribal schools isolated.<sup>132</sup> Each state was secluded and self-reliant, which had a negative impact when famine, natural disasters, or military conflict struck.

The textual sources of the Second Intermediate Period provide evidence for diverging conditions experienced between the two states and cities, from famine in Thebes to an almost utopian world in Avaris. As these texts are not stable thematically and not fixed to any specific point in the past, they can be understood as “communicative memories”.<sup>133</sup> They are unique texts that provide insight into the varying frames of experience that occurred between the Thebans and the Hyksos, and assist in accounting for inconsistencies between the sources.

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<sup>130</sup> Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) (London: Penguin Classics, 2000), 5.

<sup>131</sup> This does not consider the short-lived dynasty at Abydos (1650/30-1600 BC), as the evidence of their power and administration system is fragmentary at best. There are no textual sources from this dynasty that can shed light on the nature of the Hyksos rule and development of their legacy. Moreover, Marée proved that a stela believed to be from one of the Abydos kings, Wepwawetemsaf originated from the same workshop as one that produced Rahotep's, suggesting they are part of the same dynasty. However, the existence of the Abydos Dynasty is still disputed since the discovery of Seneb-kay's mummy at Abydos in 2014. Marée, “A Sculpture Workshop at Abydos”, *The Second Intermediate Period*, 261-266; Josef Wegner, “A Royal Necropolis at South Abydos”, *NEA* 78:2 (2015), 68-78. For more on this dynasty, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 163-166.

<sup>132</sup> Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 193.

<sup>133</sup> Assmann, “Memory and Cultural Identity”, *NGC* 65 (1995), 126.



This chapter aims at studying the reality of the various problems faced by the Thebans and Hyksos. It will begin by studying the Theban Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties, and end with an examination of the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty texts.

**Table 4.1: Textual Sources for the Second Intermediate Period**

	<b>Text</b>	<b>Text Type</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Perspective</b>	<b>Memory Maker</b>	<b>Provenance</b>
[1]	Karnak Stele of Sobekhotep VIII	Stele	Dyn 16, Sobekhotep VIII (1641 BC)	Theban, royal	Sobekhotep VIII	Karnak Temple
[2]	Karnak Stele of Ikhnofret (Neferhotep III)	Stele	Dyn 16, Ikhnofret (1629-1628 BC)	Theban, royal	Ikhnofret (Neferhotep III)	Karnak Temple
[3]	Karnak Stele of Seankhenre Montuhotpi	Stele	Dyn 16, Montuhotpi (1628-1627 BC)	Theban, royal	Seankhenre Montuhotpi and treasurer Montu-woser	Karnak Temple
[4]	Elkab Biographical Statement of Bebi	Tomb inscription	Dyn 16, Nebiryaw I (1627-1601 BC)	Theban, elite	Bebi, district official of Elkab	Elkab, <i>in situ</i> (tomb)
[5]	Stele of Rahotep	Stele	Dyn 17, Rahotep (1580-1576 BC)	Theban, royal	Rahotep	Koptos Temple
[6]	Abydos Stele of Nakht	Stele	Dyn 17, Antef VII (1571-1566 BC)	Theban, elite	Nakht	Abydos, Temple of Osiris
[7]	Offering Table of Apophis from Avaris	Offering Table	Dyn 15, Apophis (1581-1541 BC)	Hyksos, Royal	Apophis	Cairo (?) prob. Avaris
[8]	Building Inscription at Bubastis by Apophis	Architrave	Dyn 15, Apophis (1581-1541 BC)	Hyksos, Royal	Apophis	Bubastis, Temple of Bastet
[9]	Scribal Palette of ITw	Scribal Palette	Dyn 15, Apophis (1581-1541 BC)	Hyksos, Royal	Apophis	Medinet el-Fayum

## 4.1 Texts from the Sixteenth Dynasty

In Egypt, the experience of Hyksos rule was related to the crises that occurred in the Sixteenth Dynasty (1648-1582 BC).<sup>134</sup> The documents of this period provide insight into events that affected Thebes, from food shortages, flooding, to military conflict. Interestingly, the Hyksos themselves are rarely evaluated in the texts in a negative or positive manner, and the focus typically revolves around how the memory maker resolved famine or repaired flood-devastated buildings.<sup>135</sup> Here, it is the negative experiences that the Thebans faced which are of primary interest. These experiences arguably contributed to the Hyksos' association with destruction and disaster in the Egyptian tradition.

The evidence is transparent regarding the existence of famines during the Thirteenth to Fourteenth Dynasties in Egypt.<sup>136</sup> Today, these famines are attributed to the cessation of high floods towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, which had a significant impact on food production.<sup>137</sup> Over the Second Intermediate Period the Nile Flood remained irregular and continued to devastate the resources available to the Thebans, particularly during the Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>138</sup> Some intimation of the Thebans suffering is found in allusions to famine in two textual sources. The earliest source is the Karnak Stele of Ikhnofret [2], which states:<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> This deals specifically with the Theban rulers who ruled from Thebes during the Second Intermediate Period. Though there may have been an overlap between the late Dynasty 13 and early Dynasty 16, there is limited evidence of the kings of Dynasty 13. For this reason, it was only possible for this study to begin with the known sources of the Sixteenth Dynasty. This also means the texts studied in this chapter all date over twenty-years after the advent of the Hyksos dynasty. For background on the Sixteenth Dynasty, see Quirke, "Royal Power in the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty", *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 127; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 111-116; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 151-162; Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 191-192; Ilin-Tomich, "The Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16", *JEH* 7 (2014), 143-193.

<sup>135</sup> On an interesting side note, these texts indicate that ancient Egyptian temples were utilised as loci of remembrance or *lieux de mémoire*. The past was maintained and disseminated at the public space of the temple, an idea confirmed by the fact all of the Sixteenth Dynasty texts studied in this chapter, with one exception, were found at the Karnak Temple. Nora, "Les lieux de mémoire", *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24.

<sup>136</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410.

<sup>137</sup> Barbara Bell, "Climate and the History of Egypt: The Middle Kingdom", *AJA* 79:3 (1975), 260.

<sup>138</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410.

<sup>139</sup> For information on this little known king, Ikhnofret (Neferhotep III), see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 154, 160, 305-306, 388; Pascal Vernus, "La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê Neferhotep Iykhernofert et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Cairo JE 59635)", *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129-135.

<p>(4) nsw.t nxt mri.y mSa=f @r.w nfr ini Htp.w sanx [niw.t]=f sxr (5) gAwt (...)</p>	<p>(4) A Mighty King beloved of his army, good Horus, bringer of offerings, who causes his [city] to live, when it had fallen (into) (5) want (...)<sup>140</sup></p>
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That famine occurred in the reign of Ikhnofret is intimated through the use of the intransitive verb **gAwt**, meaning “lack, want”.<sup>141</sup> The use of this verb in the context of the king transporting offerings to the city is utilised as evidence to interpret this “lack” as a “lack of food”. In turn, some scholars, such as Ryholt, have translated **gAwt** as “famine”.<sup>142</sup> This idea of famine is more palpable when the prenomen of Ikhnofret is considered, namely “The-Might-of-Re who-causes-the-Two-Lands-to-Live” (%xm-Ra.w %anx-tA.wy).<sup>143</sup> The allocation of a prenomen connected with an issue of life and nourishment does suggest food and resources were a topic of importance to the people of Upper Egypt at the time. Furthermore, there is no indication that Lower Egypt felt the effects of famine, and the use of the term “Two Lands” in Ikhnofret’s prenomen must simply be a continuation of traditional Egyptian titulary, not a literal rendition of the condition of Egypt under the rule of one king.<sup>144</sup> Accordingly, these references to providing for the Two Lands probably follow the memory maker’s, namely, Ikhnofret’s, perception of himself and goals as a legitimate and able ruler.<sup>145</sup>

Furthermore, the Biography of Bebi from Elkab [4] infers famine was a catastrophe widespread in the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>146</sup> This event-based biography details the personal intervention of Bebi to assist the destitute in a time of need:

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<sup>140</sup> All translations by the author. In each of the following translations, the reader will be directed to Appendix to see full transliteration and translation of the text. For a full translation of the Stele of Ikhnofret, see Appendix A[2]. Pascal Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê Neferhotep Iykhernofret et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Cairo JE 59635)”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129-135.

<sup>141</sup> Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 288.

<sup>142</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 306 (no. 1070).

<sup>143</sup> See Appendix A[2]. Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129-135; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 306.

<sup>144</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 159.

<sup>145</sup> Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 595.

<sup>146</sup> LD IV, 52-53; Nigel Strudwick, *Texts of the Pyramid Age: Writings from the Ancient World* (Atlanta, 2005), 43.

(5) iw iri.n=i sbHw n.y Xrd.w abA.n=i n niw.t (6) m 3 hrw.w iri.n=i wr mi ktt 50 n.y t sAS n mty xt pat mty (7) SS.t mty Hr nb im=sn HqA.t bd.t 120 ht m iHw.t a.wt (8) 52 Sw.w 8 antyw rnn.wt inH mrH=s (...)	(5) I provided for the cries of the children, and I (gave) offerings to my city (6) for three days. I provided for the great like the small: 50 loaves of bread, customary sAS loaves, xt cake, exactly, and (7) Pesen SS.t-bread, for every one among them. 120 hekats of emmer were moved around with 52 cows and small cattle (8) and 8 asses and myrrh, plants, and a barrel of unguent (...) <sup>147</sup>
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Bebi in this text stresses that a lack of food was a universal occurrence at Elkab: it affected the great and the small. The resources needed were foods such as grains, breads, meat, and medical supplies including myrrh and unguents.<sup>148</sup> It is possible this personal intervention of Bebi was exaggerated, as the nature of an autobiography is to commemorate and promote specific experiences that conform to the author's belief of the self.<sup>149</sup> In the context of an Egyptian tomb, such texts were also designed to persuade visitors, or the audience, to present offerings.<sup>150</sup> This idea of exaggeration is especially valid when the profession of Bebi is taken into consideration: the text reveals that Bebi was the district governor of Elkab, a role that can be responsible for the grain silos.<sup>151</sup> If this passage is considered as part of the administrative role of Bebi it sheds a different light on the conditions experienced, namely, that the Theban government or nomarchs were able to ensure their people had food in a time of need. In sum, the content of this inscription with its emphasis on resources does infer a lack of food at Elkab, and supports the Stele of Ikhnofret [2] in indicating that the Sixteenth Dynasty did face famine. This may not have been as dire as the sources suggest, as there is a possibility the government was able to provide for its people.

<sup>147</sup> See Appendix A[4]. LD IV, 52-53; PM V, 184 (no. 8bis); Strudwick, *Texts of the Pyramid Age*, 43; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 11-12; Ludwig D. Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit* (Weisbaden, 1996), 178-179.

<sup>148</sup> Eugen Strouhal, Bretislav Vachala and Hana Vymazalova, *The Medicine of the Ancient Egyptians*, I (Cairo, 2014), 181.

<sup>149</sup> Conway, "Memory and the Self", *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 595.

<sup>150</sup> Strudwick, *Texts of the Pyramid Age*, 43.

<sup>151</sup> Fekri Hassan, "Cities", *OEA I*, 268-272.

The idea of famine however is a repercussion of a greater issue, specifically, natural disasters and flood. These floods were a result of a natural process of the Nile altering its water levels, but they affected more than just food production. Floods can have harmful effects on infrastructure, economy, industries, and health.<sup>152</sup> An inkling of the impact of these abnormal floods is present in two texts, namely, the Stele of Sobekhotep VIII [1] and the Stele of Ikhnofret [2].<sup>153</sup> The Stele of Sobekhotep VIII was found amongst the Third Pylon of Karnak, but the inscription reveals that its original location was the Chapel of Hapy.<sup>154</sup> The text describes a situation in which the king waded into the temple during a flood:

B (3) wDA Hm=f rHw.t-wsx n.t rA-pr.w pn mAA Hapi wr	B (3) His majesty went to the broad hall of this sacred temenos, and saw the great inundation.
(4) iyi.n Hm=f Hw.t-wsx n.t rA-pr.w pn mH.ti m mw	(4) When his majesty came, the broad hall of this sacred temenos was filled with water.
wn.in Hm=f Hr (5) rhn.t im=s Hna qnb.t (...)	Then his majesty (5) waded in it with the high officials (...) <sup>155</sup>

The text on this stele gives a date reinforcing the abnormality of this event, namely, to the fifth Epagomenal Day in the Egyptian Calender.<sup>156</sup> If this date refers to the date of the flood, not the date of the erecting or creation of the stele, then this particular inundation was well past the typical high point of the Nile Flood.<sup>157</sup> There is no doubt this flood would have caused some damage to the temple, and perhaps other buildings. Floods are rarely isolated in such

<sup>152</sup> Frank Messner and Volker Meyer, “Flood Damage, Vulnerability and Risk Perception – Challenges for Flood Damage Research”, in J. Schanze, E. Zeman, J. Marsalek (ed.), *Flood Risk Management: Hazards, Vulnerability and Mitigation Measures* (Ostrov, 2014), 150.

<sup>153</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410.

<sup>154</sup> Again, see Ryholt for more information on this ruler. Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 154, 305, 388; Labib Habachi, “A High Inundation in the Temple of Amenre at Karnak in the Thirteenth Dynasty”, *SAK* 1 (1974), 214; von Beckerath: *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit*, 66, 259-260.

<sup>155</sup> See Appendix A[1]. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 46-47 (no. 63); Abdul-Qader Muhammed, “Recent Finds”, *ASAE* 59 (1959), 143-155. (Plate III); Redford, “Textual Sources” *The Hyksos*, 3 (no. 5).

<sup>156</sup> Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 46-47 (no. 63).

<sup>157</sup> John Baines, “The Inundation Stela of Sobekhotep VIII”, *AcOr(B)* 36 (1974), 42.

circumstances, and it is no stretch of the imagination to infer that the flood would also have affected other towns in the Theban territory.

Furthermore, there would also be the additional pressure of relocating the population when floods occurred, and an echo of this is present in the Stele of Ikhnofret [2]:

(6) <b>swi(.w)</b> niw.t=f hrp.ti (...)	(6) who provides protection for his city when it was submerged (...) <sup>158</sup>
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Could this be an allusion to state-sponsored disaster relief? This verb **swi**, “to protect, safeguard, shelter”, evokes the many ramifications of a flood: there is not just the devastation to buildings, but to a city and its inhabitants.<sup>159</sup> In turn, there is a possible need to relocate individuals affected by the flood. These two texts of Sobekhotep VIII [1] and Ikhnofret [2] consequently bring to attention that sporadic flooding occurred during the Sixteenth Dynasty, which could have had potentially devastating effects that went beyond access to resources.

The theme that is the most tangible amongst the Sixteenth Dynasty documents, nevertheless, is military conflict. Interestingly, the earliest text that refers to a violent encounter is found on the Stele of Ikhnofret [2], dating some twenty years after the Hyksos rise to power:

(6) (...) mki(.w) sy Hna xAs.wt	(6) (...) the one who guards it along with the foreign lands,
(7) sHtp n=s xAs.wt bSt(.w)t Xr bA.w it=f lmn.w	(7) who pacifies for it [the city] the rebellious foreign lands, through the power of his father Amun, who overthrew (8) for it the enemies who rebelled against him, who commits slaughter against those who attacked (9)
sxr (8) n=s rqw.w bSt.w Hr=f wd Sa.t r pH.w	

<sup>158</sup> See Appendix A[2]. Pascal Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129.

<sup>159</sup> Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch - Deutsch (2800 - 950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz, 2009), 805.

him /// equipped with the Blue Crown  
(...) <sup>161</sup>

(9) sw /// apr.w m xprS <sup>160</sup> (...)

This text is compelling as it reveals that there are two types of “foreign lands”: one group who is a Theban ally, and another who is the enemy. The discovery of pan-grave burials of Medjay troops at Gebel Zeit, dating to the Sixteenth Dynasty, does denote that the Nubians were involved with the Egyptian army around this time, meaning that the “rebellious foreign lands” is probably a reference to the Hyksos.<sup>162</sup> Furthermore, a recent discovery of the mummy of King Seneb-kay (1650-1600 BC), believed to be a member of the Abydos Dynasty, shows sixteen cuts that penetrate the bone.<sup>163</sup> At this point it is unclear who killed this ruler, and an analysis of the cuts has not proven if the axe was Asiatic or not.<sup>164</sup> However, Ryholt’s argument that the Hyksos expanded their territory during the Theban Sixteenth Dynasty, supported by the usurpation and transportation of Egyptian monuments to Avaris, does fit well with a violent death for Seneb-kay.<sup>165</sup> Yet, the other side of the argument is that the evidence of the usurpation of Egyptian monuments only occurred under the reigns of Apophis and Khayan and they were predominantly removed from Lower and Middle Egypt, including Busiris, Mendes, Memphis, and the Fayum.<sup>166</sup> Consequently, evidence for the usurpation of monuments dates well after the reign of Ikhnofret, and cannot be used as evidence for Hyksos incursions into Theban territory during this time.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> This is the very first mention of this type of cap crown as the xprS. Though this blue crown is often associated with war in the New Kingdom, this crown protected the king whilst doing physical activities, when fighting, hunting, or offering to the gods. This in turn suggests the king himself, Ikhnofret, was directly involved in repulsing the attack of his enemies. William Vivian Davies, “The Origin of the Blue Crown”, *JEA* 68 (1982), 69; Tom Hardwick, “The Iconography of the Blue Crown in the New Kingdom”, *JEA* 89 (2003), 119-120.

<sup>161</sup> See Appendix A[2]. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 45 (no. 62); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 3 (no. 4); Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129-135.

<sup>162</sup> Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 193.

<sup>163</sup> Josef Wegner, “A Royal Necropolis at South Abydos”, *NEA* 78:2 (2015), 71, 73.

<sup>164</sup> Josef Wegner, “A Royal Necropolis at South Abydos”, *NEA* 78:2 (2015), 77.

<sup>165</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 133.

<sup>166</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 133-134 (no. 471).

<sup>167</sup> Additionally, this is not necessarily evidence of military devastation as it was a typical practice of Egyptian rulers to remove material from older monuments in their building projects. Manfred Bietak, “The Centre of Hyksos Rule”, *The Hyksos*, 114; Daphna Ben-Tor, “The Historical Implications of Middle Kingdom Scarabs”, *BASOR* 294 (1994), 9.

Despite this, there is evidence of a direct military threat to Thebes in the textual sources. This is found in a stele belonging to the successor of Ikhnofret, Montuhotpi [3].<sup>168</sup> This stele was also discovered in the foundations of the Third Pylon of the Karnak Temple.<sup>169</sup>

(7) (...) waf(.w) xAs.wt nb.wt	(7) (...) the one who drove back all the
nHm(.w) niw.t=f m nwt=f (...)	foreign lands and rescued his city with his
	might (...) <sup>170</sup>

The terms used in this text indicates the king had to drive back foreign groups, who presumably threatened Thebes.<sup>171</sup> The plural of “foreign lands” (xAs.wt nb.wt) does suggest multiple groups threatened the Theban Kingdom, which is probably an allusion to the Kingdom of Kush and the Hyksos, though it must be noted there is no term used that is even vaguely associated with the Asiatics.<sup>172</sup> It is interesting that the rulers of Thebes place emphasis on military conflict with foreigners, and it must be kept in mind that this is probably related to the formation of the self and the promotion of memories that adhere to the author’s goals, namely, to represent themselves according to the ideology of kingship.<sup>173</sup> Despite the regulated nature of these accounts, the textual sources do suggest foreign groups threatened Thebes during the Sixteenth Dynasty.

In sum, the communicative memory in the texts contemporary with the Sixteenth Dynasty indicate Upper Egypt was devastated by various catastrophes from famine, floods, to military conflict. These texts do not associate the Hyksos with the cause of their distress, with one *possible* exception: military conflict.

## 4.2 Texts of the Seventeenth Dynasty

Sometime after the death of King Sekhemra-Shedwaset (1585-1588 BC), the Theban rulers began to formulate a warrior ideology that characterised the Egyptians for generations to

<sup>168</sup> For background on Montuhotpi, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 154, 159, 160, 168, 261, 388, 410.

<sup>169</sup> Shehata Adam and Farid El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 47.

<sup>170</sup> See Appendix A[3]. Pascal Vernus, “La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi à Karnak”, *RdE* 40 (1989), 147.

<sup>171</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 57.

<sup>172</sup> Zahi Hawass, *The Mysteries of Abu Simbel: Ramesses II and the Temples of the Rising Sun* (Cairo, 2000), 12.

<sup>173</sup> Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 595.



come.<sup>174</sup> The reduction in stress caused by famines and natural disasters allowed these kings to focus on other issues that affected their kingdom including restoring dilapidated buildings, establishing a strong frontier, and consolidating their territory. Unfortunately, the textual sources dating to the Seventeenth Dynasty (1580-1549 BC) are slim, and provide two diverging frames of experience for this period, with peace on one hand, and military conflict on the other.

Initially, the concept of peace is implied from the institution of building projects throughout this period. These arose as a response to damage that occurred to temples, as evidenced in the Stele of Rahotep [5].<sup>175</sup> This fragmentary stele was found in the foundations of the Ptolemaic Temple of Min at Koptos.<sup>176</sup>

(3) (...) sbA.t=f wn.w=f wAi(.w) r (3) (...) it's (the temple's) portals and  
wAsi (...) doors have fallen into ruin (...) <sup>177</sup>

This stele specifically commemorates the restorative work of Rahotep at the Temple of Min. Like previous texts, it contains knowledge that supports the king's, namely Rahotep's, understanding of himself as a pious ruler.<sup>178</sup> This text is salient, however, as it provides explicit evidence for the dilapidation of temples. The question as to what caused this damage remains open. Ryholt has argued that Koptos was damaged during the conflicts between the Hyksos and the Thebans in the Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>179</sup> Yet, the verb **wAsi** can be translated as “be ruined,

<sup>174</sup> For more on the Seventeenth Dynasty, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 167-183, 410; Wolfram Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom* (London, 2009), 41; Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring the State”, *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 550; Detlef Franke, “An Important Family from Abydos of the Seventeenth Dynasty”, *JEA* 71 (1985), 175-176; Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 191-206; Daniel Polz, “Excavations in Dra Abu el-Naga”, *Egyptian Archaeology* 7 (1995), 6-8; Herbert E. Winlock, “The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes”, *JEA* 10 (1924), 217-277; Chris Bennet, “The Structure of the Seventeenth Dynasty”, *GM* 149 (1995), 25-32; Labib Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose and His Struggle Against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital* (Glückstadt, 1972); Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>175</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410.

<sup>176</sup> William M. Flinders Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), 12, 13, 17, pl. XII; Elke Blumenthal, “Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep (London U.C. 14327)”, *Ägypten und Kusch* 13 (Berlin, 1977), 63-80.

<sup>177</sup> See Appendix A[5]. Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. XII; Blumenthal, “Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep”, *Ägypten und Kusch* 13 (1977), 63-80; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 59-60 (no. 87); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 8 (no. 45).

<sup>178</sup> Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (1995), 596.

<sup>179</sup> For information on Rahotep, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 145-146, 168-171, 233, 309, 392-393.

decayed”, and does not suggest violent action or plundering.<sup>180</sup> On the contrary, in combination with **wAi** it alludes to neglect and passive degradation caused by natural circumstances.

This text also highlights that the dilapidation was not contemporary with Rahotep [5].

<p>(9) /// [mi] wnn=f m hAw.w it.w=k          nsw.w Sms.w @r.w n[n sp] fx tw          ix.t m hAw=i (...)</p>	<p>(9) /// [as] it was in the times of your          fathers, the kings who followed Horus.          Ne[ver were] possessions destroyed in my          time (...)<sup>181</sup></p>
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Based on this excerpt there is a situation of disrepair that occurred prior to the reign of Rahotep, most probably during the Sixteenth Dynasty.<sup>182</sup> It further suggests there must have been periods of peace that allowed the Theban kings to commence building programs during the Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>183</sup> It supports the idea the Second Intermediate Period was not an all-out brawl but had intermittent conflicts followed by periods of peace.

Egyptian commentaries of the Second Intermediate Period nevertheless are centred on military conflict. There is every reason to believe that despite the resurgence in the royal building programs, the Hyksos did continue to be a military threat to the Theban Kingdom. This is revealed by the military garrisons founded at Abydos and Koptos, as well as evidence of a standing army in the textual sources.<sup>184</sup> These allusions to the army are found in the Abydos Stele of Nakht [6] that dates to the reign of Antef VII.<sup>185</sup> This fragmentary text was found in the ruins of the Osiris temple and details Nakht’s roles as troop commander, or chief of bowmen, in the Egyptian army.<sup>186</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 55.

<sup>181</sup> See Appendix A[5]. Blumenthal, “Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep”, *Ägypten und Kusch* 13 (1977), 63-80; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 59-60 (no. 87); Petrie, *Koptos*, 12, 13, 17, pl. XII; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 8 (no. 45).

<sup>182</sup> Yet, the texts of the Sixteenth Dynasty never specifically associate destruction with the Hyksos, and are typically linked to natural disasters. See Chapter 4.1.

<sup>183</sup> Franke, “An Important Family from Abydos”, *JEA* 71 (1985), 175-176; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 172.

<sup>184</sup> Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. VIII; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 309; Franke, “An Important Family from Abydos”, *JEA* 71 (1985), 176.

<sup>185</sup> For Antef VII, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 65, 289, 204, 266, 394-395, 410, 459.

<sup>186</sup> William M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos Part I* (London, 1902), 28, 41-42, pl. LVII; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410, 459.

<p>(1) /// sA nsw.t Hr.y pD.ty Nxt wHm  anx (...) (5) (...) Hwi(=i) /// (6) ///=f wr  snD.w n=f ///</p>	<p>(1) /// The king's son, the chief of  bowmen, Nakht, repeating life (...) (5)  (...) (I) smiting /// (6) /// him. Great was  the fear of him /// (...) <sup>187</sup></p>
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The mention of smiting (**xwi**) is an extremely interesting term used in this text, but it is difficult to determine the context in which it was utilised due to the fragmentary nature of the stele. Be that as it may, this text does provide evidence for an Egyptian army, and this information would have been included in this text as it corresponds to Nakht's autobiographical knowledge that shaped how he understood himself.<sup>188</sup> It is unclear how large this military conflict may have been, but building projects that continued in the reign of Antef VII do suggest it was not extensive or of a long duration.<sup>189</sup> In sum, the threat of the Hyksos continued to ensure the Egyptians maintained appropriate military defences, though the scale of conflict is difficult to determine.

Thus, the catastrophic conditions of the Sixteenth Dynasty had abated by the reign of Rahotep. The Stele of Rahotep [5] highlights that there was a period of peace that allowed the Theban rulers to resume building projects. For most of the Seventeenth Dynasty, prior to the Hyksos Expulsion, there is no evidence for major military campaigns.

### 4.3 Texts of the Hyksos Fifteenth Dynasty

The communicative memory present in the Hyksos sources diverge significantly from that found in the Theban texts. They present an almost utopian world that is not beset by famine or natural disasters, and instead represent an era in which the land was prosperous and the gods sated. Unfortunately, the texts that do survive from a Hyksos perspective are restricted to the reign of Apophis, the second last king of the Fifteenth Dynasty.<sup>190</sup> Despite this, these Hyksos

<sup>187</sup> See Appendix A[6]. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 75-76 (no. 108); Petrie, *Abydos*, pl. LVII; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 10 (no. 55).

<sup>188</sup> Conway, "Memory and the Self", *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 594.

<sup>189</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 309.

<sup>190</sup> For a good overview of the Fifteenth Dynasty, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 118-150; Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 174-190; Booth, *The Hyksos*. For information on Apophis, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 119-121, 307-309, 385-387.

sources assist in comprehending the various events and conditions that occurred in the north of the country.

The Hyksos sources firstly demonstrate that these rulers integrated with Egyptian customs, including Egyptian religious practices. This is revealed by a building inscription by Apophis inside the Temple of Bastet at Bubastis [8].<sup>191</sup>

(2) [iri].n=f sn.wt aSA.wt aA m Hm.t  n nTr pn	(2) That he (Apophis) [made] many flagstaves and a door from copper was for this god. <sup>192</sup>
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Apophis' addition of a copper door and flagstaves to the Temple of Bastet is noteworthy, as it would have been visible to the citizens of Bubastis from outside the temple itself. His actions conform to the Egyptians understanding of the roles of the king, and consequently appears to be providing legitimacy to Apophis' rule. It is also possible that the citizens of this town would have linked these features with the Hyksos sovereigns, and recognised them as pious kings who worshipped Egyptian gods.

Furthermore, the most irrefutable evidence of the Hyksos' immersion in Egyptian religion is found in the titulary of these kings. This is evident on an offering table dedicated by Apophis, discovered near modern day Cairo, but which was probably removed from Avaris [7]:<sup>193</sup>

(a) @r.w (%Htp.w-tA.wy)  nTr nfr  (aA-qni.n-Ra.w)  anx(.w)	(a) The Horus: (The-One-who-Pacifies-the-Two-Lands)  the good god, (Aa-kenen-Re) , may he live!
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<sup>191</sup> Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, pl. 18 (no. 339); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 57 (no. 84); Edouard Naville, *Bubastis 1887-1889* (London, 1891), pl. XXXV (b/c); Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 35).

<sup>192</sup> See Appendix A[8]. Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, pl. 18 (no. 339); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 57 (no. 84); Naville, *Bubastis*, pl. XXXV (b/c); Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 35).

<sup>193</sup> Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, 61 (CG 23073); Mariette and Maspero, *Monuments divers*, pl. XXXVIII; Günther Vittmann, "Zum Verständnis der Weihformel irjnf m mnwP", *WZKM* 69 (1977), 31; Alfred Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte* (Gotha, 1884), 294.

(b) iri.tn=f m mnw=f n it=f [%tx] nb What he made as his monument for his  
 @w.t-War.t (c) rDi.t sn.wt=f iri=f father [Seth], Lord of Avaris, (c) placing  
 Di(.w) anx mi Ra.w D.t his flagstaves, he acting as one who is  
 given life like Re, forever.<sup>194</sup>

This inscription does indicate that whilst the Hyksos did worship Seth, they also deliberately linked themselves to Egyptian gods, including Re and Horus.<sup>195</sup> The names of these rulers also adhere to ideas of Egyptian kingship, specifically, that it is the gods who support the king and give him legitimisation, as aA-qni.n-Ra.w can be read literally as “The-One-who-Re-Made-Brave”.<sup>196</sup> The textual sources from the Hyksos thus provide evidence of their integration with Egyptian religious practices.

The Scribal Palette of ITw [9] further demonstrates the Hyksos’ commitment to Egyptian culture.<sup>197</sup> Discovered in the Fayum, it represents the wide dissemination of Apophis’ political and religious ideals.<sup>198</sup>

(1) gsti iri n sS nsw.t n.y Ra.w (1) A Palette made for the royal scribe of  
 sbA.n +Hw.ty Ds=f (...) (3) /// {ra.w Re, whom Thoth himself taught (...) (3)  
 nb Hr} mw.t=f WADy.t {every day upon} his mother Wadjit  
 (...) <sup>199</sup>

<sup>194</sup> See Appendix A[7]. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 55 (no. 76); Kamal, *Tables d’offrandes*, 61 (CG 23073); Mariette and Maspero, *Monuments divers*, pl. XXXVIII; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 33); Vittmann, “Zum Verständnis der Weihformel irjnf m mnwf”, *WZKM* 69 (1977), 31; Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 294.

<sup>195</sup> George Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (New York, 1986), 89, 180-181.

<sup>196</sup> John Baines, “Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation”, in D. O’Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (New York, 1994), 3.

<sup>197</sup> Hans Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu (Berlin Inv. Nr. 7798)”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 42-56.

<sup>198</sup> See Appendix A[9]. This text is extremely problematic, as not only is the palette fragmentary, but the inscriptions on the artefact are arranged in a confusing manner. This translation follows the reconstruction of the order of the text by Hans Goedicke, which improved on Helck’s earlier publication. Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 42 (note 2).

<sup>199</sup> Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 42-56; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 57-58 (no. 85); Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos*, 27; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 44).

Within this text, Apophis draws on Thoth in order to promote his dedication to the Egyptian scribal practices, whilst his association with the goddess Wadjet can be related to kingship in Lower Egypt.<sup>200</sup> As a consequence, texts composed from the Hyksos perspective shed much-needed light into the nature of the Hyksos rule. The Hyksos were not foreign rulers imposing their native religious beliefs on the Egyptian people, but kings who presented themselves as Egyptian.

In spite of this, the image of the Hyksos as an opponent is not without foundation. The Egyptian and Hyksos encounters in this period appear to have been of a volatile nature, and even underlying the Hyksos sources there is a hint of military conflict. In particular, Apophis' use of the title "The-One-who-Pacifies-the-Two-Lands" (%Htp.w-tA.wy) in both the offering table [7] and building inscription [8] implies instability.<sup>201</sup> This idea is rendered a possible option when the historical context is considered, as the majority of the reign of Apophis was characterised by military conflict, as three Egyptian kings led campaigns against him.<sup>202</sup> Furthermore, this title has been used during other periods of instability. Notable examples include Teti in the Sixth Dynasty and Amenemhat I in the Twelfth Dynasty, who was named as "The-One-who-Pacifies-the-Mind-of-the-Two-Lands" (%xtp.w-ib-tA.wy).<sup>203</sup>

Additionally, the clearest evidence of conflict is found on the Scribal Palette of ITw [9].<sup>204</sup>

(3) (...) sxm-ib hrw n.y aHA aA-rn r nsw.t nb nx.wy tA.w DrDr.w (4) Tmiw gmH sw	(3) (...) one who is stout-hearted on the day of the fighting, more famous than any king! How miserable are the flatlands and strangers (4) who do not recognise him! <sup>205</sup>
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<sup>200</sup> Goedicke, "The Scribal Palette of Athu", *CdE* 63 (1988), 42-56; Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos*, 27; Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 214, 220.

<sup>201</sup> Alan B. Lloyd, *Ancient Egypt: State and Society* (Oxford, 2014), 80.

<sup>202</sup> Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period", *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 180.

<sup>203</sup> Lloyd, *State and Society*, 80; Ronald J. Leprohon, "The Programmatic Use of the Royal Titulary in the Twelfth Dynasty", *JARCE* 33 (1996), 165-167.

<sup>204</sup> Goedicke, "The Scribal Palette of Athu", *CdE* 63 (1988), 42 (note 2).

<sup>205</sup> Goedicke, "The Scribal Palette of Athu", *CdE* 63 (1988), 42 (note 2).

The most striking feature of this narrative is hostility between the Hyksos and another group; and these adverse conditions were caused by a point of difference, specifically, not all universally recognised Apophis as king. This adheres to the known historical context of the time, namely, the beginning of intensified conflict with the Thebans. Though the Hyksos texts do not homogenously provide evidence for military engagements, there are underlying themes that do suggest it existed.

In sum, the Hyksos sources suggest that rule under the Hyksos saw the continuation of Egyptian religious practices and culture. There are no suggestions the north suffered from famines and floods like the Thebans, which must remain unproven *ex silentio*, though there are inklings of conflict.

#### **4.4 Summary**

The textual sources of the Second Intermediate Period are composed from two different perspectives and provide parallel narratives. The Thebans were beset by famine, natural disasters, and military conflict from both the north and south, which had significant impacts on resources and infrastructure. There were periods of intermittent peace during the Seventeenth Dynasty that allowed the rulers to restore dilapidated buildings. On the other side of the country, the Hyksos do not appear to have been affected by natural disasters and flood. This may be an idea restricted by the evidence available to us today, but it is clear that the Hyksos ruler Apophis promoted a polytheistic approach to religion through building projects and his titulary. Beneath all this there is an inkling of conflict simmering away beneath the surface.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Expulsion Period - A Clash of Kings**

“Was there ever a war where only one side bled?”

Caitlyn Stark in *A Clash of Kings*.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> George R. R. Martin, *A Clash of Kings* (London, 1998), 87.

The most striking common denominator of all Egyptian remembrances of the Hyksos during the Expulsion Period is military conflict.<sup>207</sup> Themes of warfare and bravery are prevalent in all texts studied from this era, which is not surprising as the Theban encounters with the Hyksos from 1559 – 1528 BC were entirely dictated by military conflict.<sup>208</sup> This involved clashes between kings from both ends of the country: the Hyksos rulers Apophis and Khamudi, and the Theban kings Seqenenre Tao, Kamose, and Ahmose.<sup>209</sup>

Unfortunately, a Theban perspective heavily dominates the available sources for the Expulsion Period, as many of the texts from the Hyksos were presumably destroyed when Avaris was plundered in the reign of Ahmose.<sup>210</sup> These Theban texts nevertheless can be viewed as evidence for increasing homogeneity in the representations of the Hyksos. These portrayals of the rulers in the north were institutionalised and mediated, and marks the point where the recollections from a Hyksos perspective began to be forgotten. The Expulsion Period as such can be understood as the transition phase from communicative memory to cultural memory, featuring a combination of communicative non-royal accounts and institutional royal texts aiming to alter perceptions of Egyptian identity.

This chapter is organised by studying each text within the framework of a specific group and period, including the Hyksos under Apophis, the Thebans under Kamose, and Ahmose.

**Table 5.1: Textual Sources of the Expulsion Period**

	Text	Text Type	Date	Perspective	Memory Maker/s	Provenance
[10]	Rhind Mathematical Papyrus	Papyrus	Dyn 15, Apophis (1548 BC) and Dyn 18, Ahmose (1538 BC)	Hyksos, royal; Theban, elite	Apophis and unknown Theban scribe	Thebes, near the Ramesseum

<sup>207</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410.

<sup>208</sup> Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 197; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; Anthony J. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom* (Oxford, 2005), 74.

<sup>209</sup> Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 197; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410.

<sup>210</sup> Manfred Bietak, “Egypt and Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age”, *BASOR* 281 (1991), 47; Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 200.



[11]	Buhen Stele of Ahmose	Stele	Dyn 17, Kamose (1554-1549 BC)	Theban, elite	Ahmose, Soldier in Kamose's army	Buhen
[12]	Carnarvon Tablet I	Writing Tablet	Dyn 17, Kamose (1554-1549 BC) (?)	Theban, royal and elite	Kamose, and the unknown scribe	Birâbi, Tomb 9 near Deir el-Bahari
[13]	First Stele of Kamose	Stele	Dyn 17, Kamose (1554-1549 BC)	Theban, royal	Kamose	Karnak Temple
[14]	Second Stele of Kamose	Stele	Dyn 17, Kamose (1554-1549 BC)	Theban, royal	Kamose, and treasurer Neshi	Karnak Temple
[15]	Storm Stele of Ahmose	Stele	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1549-1532 BC)	Theban, royal	Ahmose	Karnak Temple
[16]	Stele of Ahmose at Karnak	Stele	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1530-1524 BC)	Theban, royal	Ahmose	Karnak Temple
[17]	Inscription from a Rock Pillar at Tura	Rock Inscription	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1528-1527 BC)	Theban, royal	Ahmose and treasurer Neferperet	Tura, Quarry of Masara
[18]	Stele of Emhab from Edfu	Stele	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1549-1524 BC)	Theban, elite	Emhab, soldier in Ahmose's army	Edfu
[19]	Stele of Tjaw from Edfu	Stele	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1549-1524 BC)	Theban, elite	Tjaw, District Official of the Ruler's Table	Edfu
[20]	Biography of Ahmose son of Ibana	Tomb inscription	Dyn 18, Thutmose II (1492-1479 BC)	Theban, elite	Paheri, the grandson of Ahmose son of Ibana	Elkab, <i>in situ</i> (tomb)
[21]	Biography of Ahmose-Pennekhbet	Tomb inscription	Dyn 18, Hatshepsut (1479-1457 BC)	Theban, elite	Ahmose-Pennekhbet, soldier and tutor	Elkab, <i>in situ</i> (tomb)

### 5.1 Hyksos Texts dating to the Expulsion Period

Much of the evidence for the Hyksos during the Expulsion Period was lost with the Egyptian capture of Avaris in 1540 BC.<sup>211</sup> As a consequence, this chapter has only one Hyksos text that securely dates to the Expulsion era, namely, the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus [10].<sup>212</sup> This papyrus is a copy of a mathematical text that dates to the reign of Amenemhat III in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>213</sup>

<p>(1) rnp.t sp 33 Abd 4 Ax.t [sw /// xr Hm n.y nsw.t] bi.ty (aA-wsr-Ra.w)  Di(.w) anx</p>	<p>(1) Regnal Year 33, Fourth Month of the Inundation [day /// under the majesty of the King of Upper] and Lower Egypt, (Aa- waser-Re) , may he be given life.<sup>214</sup></p>
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Though this excerpt is only a date, it provides insight into a number of features of Apophis' rule during the Expulsion Period. First, Apophis still used traditional Egyptian titulary, and second, he sponsored the copying of a traditional Egyptian document. In turn, this source is evidence for Apophis' continued dedication to Egyptian culture, even in the face of annihilation.<sup>215</sup>

The find spot of this text is equally salient. As a text commissioned by Apophis, scholars are agreed that it was copied at Memphis or Avaris.<sup>216</sup> The papyrus however was discovered at Thebes near the Ramesseum in a cache.<sup>217</sup> It is difficult to determine how the papyrus ended up at Thebes, and it is possible it was removed as loot from Avaris, or that the original scribe travelled to Thebes as part of the new administration.<sup>218</sup> The location near the Ramesseum with other Egyptian scientific documents suggests the individual responsible for assembling and burying the texts accepted the achievements of the Hyksos. This is in stark contrast to the

<sup>211</sup> Bietak, "Egypt and Canaan", *BASOR* 281 (1991), 47; Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 200; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 188.

<sup>212</sup> Hans Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", in L. H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* (Hanover and London, 1986), 37-47; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 56 (no. 81); Thomas Eric Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, British Museum 10047 and 10058* (London, 1923), pl. A; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 43); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 187.

<sup>213</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 386; Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 3.

<sup>214</sup> See Appendix B[10]. Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 3.

<sup>215</sup> Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", *Egyptological Studies*, 37-47; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 56 (no. 81); Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, pl. A; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 43); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 187.

<sup>216</sup> Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos", *Egyptological Studies*, 40.

<sup>217</sup> Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 2; Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos", *Egyptological Studies*, 38.

<sup>218</sup> Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos", *Egyptological Studies*, 38-39.

plunder of Avaris, which provides evidence for the deliberate destruction of mementos of Hyksos rule.

In sum, the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus assists in alleviating misconceptions regarding the Hyksos and their rule. It suggests the Hyksos, right up until their expulsion from Egypt, were committed to maintaining Egyptian traditions.

## 5.2 Texts from the reign of Kamose

The reign of Kamose (1554-1549 BC) in the Expulsion Period is generally held as the solidification of the warrior king ideology that permeates the New Kingdom. The image of the soldier was a reinvention of Egyptian identity that exerted an enormous influence on the justification behind the war, and saw the development of a negative representation of the Hyksos as “vile Asiatics”.<sup>219</sup> This portrayal appears to have been a tool to identify the enemy as the Hyksos in no uncertain terms.

The most pertinent aspect of the sources dating from the reign of Kamose is the construction of a warrior ethos. The Egyptian was defined as the brave soldier who followed the courageous ruler. This is exemplified in the Buhen Stele of Ahmose [11], a soldier in the Egyptian army.<sup>220</sup>

(5) ink aHAW.ty qni n.y HqA nxt (6) (5) I was a brave warrior of the strong ruler  
([KA]-ms)| anx(.w) D.t (6) ([Ka]-mose)|, may he live forever.<sup>221</sup>

In conjunction with this, the royal accounts of Kamose provided the perfect medium to inculcate this new ideology of personal valour to the general population, including the Carnarvon Tablet I [12], First Stele [13], and Second Stele [14].<sup>222</sup> The Carnarvon Tablet [12] provides the most complete account of the First Stele:

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<sup>219</sup> This is seen in the Carnarvon Tablet I, Lines 4-5, 11. See Appendix B[12]. Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 91- 97 (no. 119); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410.

<sup>220</sup> David Randall-McIver and Charles Leonard Woolley, *Buhen* (Philadelphia, 1911), 90-91; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 12 (no. 64); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 99 (no. 121); Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 62ff; Rolf Krauss, “Zur Problematik der Nubienpolitik Kamoses sowie der Hyksosherrschaft in Oberägypten”, *OrNS* 62:2 (1993), 18-19.

<sup>221</sup> See Appendix B[11].

<sup>222</sup> See Appendix B[12], [13], [14]. Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 75.

<p>(4) (...) n xn.n si fkw m bAkw          %T.tyw tw=i r THn Hna=f sd=i X.t=f          ib=i r nHm Km.t Hwi.t (5) aAm.w          (...)</p>	<p>(4) (...) None can be at rest, being          desolated by the taxes of the Asiatics! I          will engage with him, that I may break his          body, my desire is to save Egypt (and) to          smite (5) the Asiatics (...) <sup>223</sup></p>
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In this section it is clear that Kamose was not attacking the Hyksos without cause. He ensures that he articulates the negative impact of the Hyksos on Egypt; namely, the Hyksos are exploiting (literally, *fkW/fkA* “emptying, desolating”) the Egyptians with taxes. Such an attitude is in accordance with the moral code of the Egyptians, as seen in the various “ideal” autobiographies of the Old and Middle Kingdoms.<sup>224</sup> These sources, such as the Biographies of Amenemhet and Khnumhotep at Beni Hasan, provide insight into “the existence of a basic set of moral expectations in Egypt”.<sup>225</sup> The Egyptian is expected to be humble, provide for those in need, pay taxes and not steal.<sup>226</sup> By Kamose’s intimation that the Hyksos are desolating the land through excessive taxation, he provides a justification for his military campaigns, as the Hyksos are morally suspect.

This explanation for war extended far beyond the moral sphere. It kindled a sense of nationalism, which Spalinger identifies as a concept that can instigate fervour and a sense of belonging.<sup>227</sup> The Egyptians were not working against each other in a war of north versus south, but *with each other* to annihilate Asiatics who had defied Egypt. At the head of this movement was Kamose [13]:

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<sup>223</sup> See Appendix B[12]. Alan H. Gardiner, “The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I”, *JEA* 3 (1916), 95-110; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 82-97 (no. 119); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 13-14; Francis Ll. Griffith, “The Carnarvon Tablets I and II”, *Five Years’ Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911* (London, 1912), 36-37, pl. XXXV-XXXVI; John Coleman Darnell, “Articular Km.t/Kmy and Partitive KHME”, *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 69-81.

<sup>224</sup> Strudwick, *Texts of the Pyramid Age*, 45.

<sup>225</sup> Strudwick, *Texts of the Pyramid Age*, 45; William Kelly Simpson, “Amenemhet and Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan”, in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (New Haven, <sup>3</sup>2003), 418-424.

<sup>226</sup> Simpson, “Amenemhet and Khnumhotep II”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 418-424.

<sup>227</sup> Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*, 74; David P. Silverman, “The Nature of Egyptian Kingship”, in D. O’Connor and D. P. Silverman (eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (New York, 1994), 51.

- (14) [aAm].w btnw Km.t (...) (14) the Asiatics, who defied Egypt (...)  
 (15) xbA.n=i sbty=f smA=i [rmT=f] (15) I having destroyed his walls and I  
 (...) killed [his people] (...) <sup>228</sup>  
 (...)

In this first person narrative Kamose is deliberately promoting a scenario in which he is leading by example to expel the Hyksos from Egypt. Not only is the king defeating these people, but he is also demolishing any evidence of their existence. This is metaphorically also what occurred in the Kamose texts. In Kamose's efforts to remember experiences that confirmed self-knowledge and goals, he also "forgot" memories, such as the positive deeds of the Hyksos, as they were discordant with ideas of himself as the saviour of Egypt. <sup>229</sup>

Yet, by promoting a new warrior identity Kamose needed to articulate exactly what this entailed. It was only through antithesis that Kamose could distinguish between Egyptian and Hyksos characteristics, such as the brave Egyptian warrior and the weak Asiatic. <sup>230</sup> The Second Stele of Kamose [14] in particular is well suited to this idea of a carefully constructed narrative, which correlates the enemy explicitly with the Hyksos ruler Apophis. <sup>231</sup>

- (3) (...) Di=i mAA (4) lppi A.t (3) (...) I caused (4) Apophis to see a  
 Hwr(w).t wr n.y RTnw Xs(y) a.wy miserable moment, the prince of Retenu,  
 xmt n qnw m ib=f n xpr=sn n=f (...) feeble of arms, who plans brave deeds in  
 his heart which never happen for him! (...)  
 (11) whn ib=k irf aAm.w Xs(y) (...) (11) Wicked is your heart, vile Asiatic  
 (...) <sup>232</sup>

<sup>228</sup> See Appendix B[13]. Lacau, "Une stèle du roi "Kamosis", *ASAE* (1938) 39, 245-271; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 82-90 (no. 119); Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 13-14 (no. 68).

<sup>229</sup> Conway, "Memory and the Self", *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 595.

<sup>230</sup> See Chapter 3.5. Assmann, "Collective Memory", *NGC* 65 (1995), 130.

<sup>231</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 37; Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 91- 97 (no. 119); H. S. Smith and A. Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts", *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 14-15 (no. 69); Adam and El-Shaboury, "Report on the Work of Karnak", *ASAE* 56 (1959), 43-44; M. Hammad, "Découverte d'une stèle du roi Kamose", *CdE* 30 (1955), 198-208; Simpson, "The Kamose Texts", *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 345-350.

<sup>232</sup> See Appendix B[14].

This description of weakness (**Xs(y)**) of Apophis was used by Kamose to reinforce his own superiority. Furthermore, for the Egyptian audience of the text, the slander of the Hyksos probably invigorated a sense belonging, and bonded the Egyptians together against a common foe.

The texts from the reign of Kamose also associate the war against the Hyksos with the subjugation of Nubia. It is well documented that Kamose did lead campaigns in Nubia as well as at Avaris, and his perception of himself and the Egyptians as warriors was confirmed and supported by these experiences.<sup>233</sup> This is evidenced in Second Stele of Kamose [14]:

(35) dAr rsy sAsA mH.ty (...)	(35) who subdued the South and repelled the North (...) <sup>234</sup>
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This section indicates Kamose's strength and identity as an appropriate ruler of Egypt was imbued by these two events. The term **dAr** indicates the Egyptians controlled the Nubians, whilst the Hyksos were **sAsA**, namely, repelled. This suggests the Hyksos were the larger threat, and yet Kamose was able to deal with each group appropriately.

In sum, the texts from the reign of Kamose provide insight into the beginning of what scholars have come to call the "warrior ethos" and negative image of the Hyksos. The Theban leader and Hyksos were described as irreconcilable forces, which allowed Kamose to forge an identity that would also adhere to his military program and instil ideas of unity into his Theban army.

### 5.3 Texts from the reign of Ahmose

The tradition of the Theban leader as warrior continued to have a resonating impact during the reign of Ahmose (1549-1524 BC).<sup>235</sup> With Ahmose's defeat of the Hyksos, it was no longer necessary to establish Egyptian identity by defaming the northerners. The context of peace did

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<sup>233</sup> Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period", *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 196-197; Conway, "Memory and the Self", *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 595.

<sup>234</sup> See Appendix B[14].

<sup>235</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 18-19.

not demand such retribution, and instead, participation in the war represented a personal connection to the king and the elite of Egyptian society.

It is quite clear that the expulsion of the Hyksos represented a victory of extreme magnitude to the Egyptians. It was established as an event that defined the reign of Ahmose and Egyptian history as a whole: it was the first time rulers of foreign origin had occupied the land and been defeated by the tenacity of the Egyptian people. This is intimated by the large pictorial representation of the Hyksos expulsion on the walls of the temple of Ahmose at Abydos, which today survives as fragments of chariots, Asiatics, archers, and royal ships.<sup>236</sup> According to the reconstruction of this scene by Stephen Harvey, the tableau would have presented a simplified representation of the past focusing on the deeds of the king in the war against the Hyksos.<sup>237</sup> This is significant, as decorative programs are essential for enabling, and shaping, the dissemination of information to the population.<sup>238</sup> As a consequence, texts such as this scene on the walls of Abydos would have contributed in a significant way to how this era was remembered, namely, as a period of military conflict against foreigners, which was led by a strong Egyptian king.

As a contrast to the Kamose texts, the textual sources during the reign of Ahmose give no indication that the Hyksos occupation was a devastating experience for the Egyptians. The war and expulsion of the Hyksos was cast in a positive light because it allowed soldiers in the Egyptian army to prove themselves as brave warriors. The Stele of Emhab [18] from Tell Edfu reinforces his notion:<sup>239</sup>

(3) Im-HAb dD.ntw=f &A-mrr.w (3) Emhab, called Ta-mereru, repeating  
life. He says: I was (4) one who followed  
wHm anx dD=f ink (4) Sms nb=f r

<sup>236</sup> Stephen P. Harvey, *The Cults of Ahmose at Abydos* (PhD Thesis University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 531 (fig. 78), 533 (fig. 80), 535 (fig. 82), 536 (fig. 83), 541 (fig. 88), 550 (fig. 97).

<sup>237</sup> Harvey, *The Cults of Ahmose*, 531 (fig. 78), 533 (fig. 80), 535 (fig. 82), 536 (fig. 83), 541 (fig. 88), 550 (fig. 97).

<sup>238</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 304-305, pl. XXIX, XXX; Anthony J. Spalinger, "Notes on the Reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh", in H. Goedicke (ed.), *Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh* (Baltimore, 1985), 5; G. A. Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art* (Mainz, 1976), 114; Yates, *The Art of Memory*, 76.

<sup>239</sup> Jaroslav Černý, "Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu", *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 87-92; John Baines, "The Stela of Emhab: Innovation, Tradition, Hierarchy", *JEA* 72 (1986), 41-53; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 12; David Klotz, "Emhab versus the *tmrhm*: Monomachy and the Expulsion of the Hyksos", *SAK* 39 (2010), 211-241; Alfred Grimm, "Calembour, Trommelwettstreit oder Kampf auf Leben und Tod in der autobiographischen Steleninschrift des Emhab?", *JEA* 75 (1989), 220-224; Étienne Drioton, *Le théâtre égyptien* (Cairo, 1942), 15-16.

nmt.wt=f tm Xs.t xn (...)	his lord on all his exploits, who was not cowardly at any utterance (...)
(6) aHa.n Dd.n tmrhtn(t) <sup>240</sup> iw=i r	(6) Then the <i>tmrhtn</i> said: “I will fight (7)
wd.t (7) r=f m-Aw aHa.n(=i) hd.n=i	against him to the death.” Then I defeated him with (my) fingers (8) to the extent of
sw m Dbaw(=i) (8) 7000 Aw.w (...)	7000 times (...) <sup>241</sup>

This text encapsulates ideas of the brave warrior. Though this is clearly hyperbole, namely, defeating the opponent up to 7000 times, it undoubtedly would have adhered to Emhab’s goals and self-image in the context of war.<sup>242</sup>

Furthermore, there is every reason to believe the warrior ideology was unanimous amongst soldiers who participated in the expulsion of the Hyksos. The recollection of the war is famous in accounts by warriors who lived into the New Kingdom, including Ahmose Son of Ibana [20] and Ahmose-Pennekhbet [21]. These men received personal benefits from their participation in the war, including land and wealth. This is revealed through the reward of the Gold of Honour, which Ahmose Son of Ibana consistently emphasises in his biography [20].<sup>243</sup>

(8) (...) iw Hmsi.tw Hr dmi n.y @w.t- War.t wn.xr=i Hr qn.t Hr rD.wy=i m- bAH Hm=f	(8) (...) When the town of Avaris was occupied/besieged. I showed bravery on my two feet in His Majesty’s presence. Then I was appointed (9) to “He-who-appears-in-Memphis”. Then there was fighting upon the water in the canal of Avaris.
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<sup>240</sup> Klotz has suggested that this is a loan word, and can be understood as an attempt by the Egyptians to translate the name of a warrior of Eastern origin. Emhab is not in a drumming contest, as others have suggested, but fighting. Klotz, “Emhab versus the *tmrhtn*”, *SAK* 39 (2010), 224-228.

<sup>241</sup> See Appendix B[18].

<sup>242</sup> Klotz, “Emhab versus the *tmrhtn*”, *SAK* 39 (2010), 224-228.

<sup>243</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1-10; PM V, 182 (no. 5); Gunn and Gardiner, “The Expulsion of the Hyksos”, *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 48-54; Hans Goedicke, “Some Remarks Concerning the Inscription of Ahmose, Son of Ebana”, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 31-41; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 15; Susanne Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt* (Oxford, 2008), 253; William Vivian Davies, “The Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana at Elkab Documenting the Family and Other Observations”, in W. Claes, H. de Meulenaere and S. Hendrickx (eds), *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme* (Paris, 2009), 139-174.



aHa.n=i dhn.kwi (9) r #a-m-Mn-Nfr Then I made a capture (10) there and I  
 wn.in=tw Hr aHA Hr mw m pA brought a hand. It was reported to the royal  
 Ddkw @w.t-War.t herald. Then one gave to me the Gold of  
 Honour (...) <sup>244</sup>

aHa.n xfa.n=i (10) im ini=i Dr.t  
 smi.tw n wHm-nsw wn.in=tw Hr rDi.t  
 n=i nbw n.y qn.t (...)

Ahmoose-Pennekhet [21] also divulges the importance of the captives that were made whilst on campaigns, which gave a level of prestige to the vanquisher. <sup>245</sup>

(3) (...) iw Sms.n(=i) nsw.t bi.ty Nb- (3) (...) I followed the King of Upper and  
 pH.ti-Ra.w mAa-xrw kfa=i n=f Hr Lower Egypt, Nebpehtyre (Ahmoose),  
 +Ahy (4) anx.w Drt (...) justified, I capturing for him in Djahy  
 (Southern Retenu) (4) a living prisoner  
 and a hand (...) <sup>246</sup>

Oddly, the texts commissioned by King Ahmoose never specifically identify the Hyksos as the sole enemy: a collective term is used that groups them with all foreign lands. Redford is of the opinion that there is no negative commentary on the Hyksos at this time because “everyone knew and agreed he was evil”. <sup>247</sup> Though this does seem a desirable explanation, why would the Egyptians consistently show negativity towards the serpent god Apophis if everyone knew

<sup>244</sup> See Appendix B[20].

<sup>245</sup> *Urk.* IV, 35-37; PM V, 176-177 (no. 2); Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 202-204 (no. 15); William Vivian Davies and Elisabeth R. O’Connell, “British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2011”, *BMSAES* 17 (2011), 2-3; William Vivian Davies and Elisabeth R. O’Connell, “British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2012”, *BMSAES* 18 (2012), 52-53.

<sup>246</sup> See Appendix B[21].

<sup>247</sup> Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion”, *OrNS* 39 (1971), 32.

he was evil?<sup>248</sup> Or why would Ramesses II do the same for the Hittites?<sup>249</sup> The enemy is never forgotten even if they are well known; so another reason must be found.

A possible explanation can be revealed through a study of Ahmose as a memory maker. It is very probable that Ahmose's ideas of himself diverged significantly from Kamose's.<sup>250</sup> Ahmose was not interested in subjugating just the Hyksos and Nubians, but all foreign lands, and accordingly, the events he "remembered" were selected to support this self-image.<sup>251</sup> The warrior ethos had already been clearly defined by Kamose, so there may have been no need to defame the Hyksos by Ahmose. This absence of any negativity associated with the Hyksos, however, could simply be the nature of the evidence that has survived, as there is no known text that represents Ahmose's version of events. The exceptions are the pictorial representations at Abydos, and the Stele of Ahmose at Karnak [16], which describes Ahmose's military exploits in broad strokes.<sup>252</sup>

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(9) (...) iwi n=f rs.tyw mH.tyw<br/>iAb.tyw imn.tyw iw=f mn(.w) m nb<br/>smn tA.wy=fy (...)</p>  | <p>(9) (...) to whom the southerners, the<br/>northerners, the easterners, and the<br/>westerners come. He remains as lord, who<br/>establishes his Two Lands (...)</p>  |
| <p>(12) (...) iw xAstyw m hims wa aHa<br/>r (13) arryt=f iw Sat=f m #nt-Hn-nfr<br/>hmhmt=f m tAw Fnxw snDt Hm=f<br/>m-Xnw tA pn mi (14) Mnw rnpt iyi=f<br/>ini=sn mAa.w nfr.w ATp.w m inw n<br/>nsw.t (...)</p> | <p>(12) (...) Foreigners supplicate as one,<br/>standing at (13) his gate. His terror is in<br/>Khent-hen-nefer (Nubia), his war cries are<br/>in Lebanon, the fear of his majesty is in<br/>this land as (14) Min in a year when he<br/>comes. They bring good produce, laden<br/>with gifts for the king (...)</p> |

<sup>248</sup> Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 36.

<sup>249</sup> Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 241.

<sup>250</sup> Conway, "Memory and the Self", *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 595.

<sup>251</sup> Conway, "Memory and the Self", *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 595.

<sup>252</sup> *Urk.* IV, 14-24; Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 210-214 (no. 18); Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 13-14; Pierre Lacau, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos 34001-34064. Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1926), 1-4, pl. I; Bill Manley, "Some Images of the King and Queen Together in the Stele of Ahmose I", *TrabEg* 1 (2002), 35-44.

(23) (...) waf (24) xAs.t nb.t (...) (23) (...) who subdues (24) every foreign land (...) <sup>253</sup>

The terminology used in this stele clearly indicates that Ahmose was promoting the idea that *all* foreign lands were inferior to the Egyptians, not just the Hyksos. Other texts may have failed to define the Hyksos as the sole enemy simply because they, such as Ahmose son of Ibana [20], combatted many foes.

On the other hand, the only example of a derogatory word in reference to the Hyksos is found as a brief addition on the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus [10]. This jotting dates to the eleventh regnal year of Ahmose (or possibly Khamudi), and is unrelated to the rest of the text. <sup>254</sup> Though this papyrus was originally from the Delta, this note appears to have been added by a Theban supporter during the Expulsion Period. <sup>255</sup>

(a) rnp.t sp 11 Abd 2 Sm.w (a) Regnal Year 11, Second Month of Shemu, Iunu (Heliopolis) was entered.  
aq.tw lwnw

(b) Abd 1 Ax.t sw 23 Twn kA (b) First Month of the Inundation Season, Day 23. The southern bull pushed back that one of the strangers towards Tjaru (Sile).  
Smaw pn SmAw <sup>256</sup> r \*Arw

(c) Day 25: One heard saying the entering of Tjaru (Sile). <sup>257</sup>

(c) sw 25 sDm=tw r-Dd aq  
\*Arw

<sup>253</sup> See Appendix B[16].

<sup>254</sup> Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", *Egyptological Studies*, 37-47; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 56 (no. 81); Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, pl. A; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 43); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 187.

<sup>255</sup> Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", *Egyptological Studies*, 37-47; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 56 (no. 81); Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, pl. A; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 43); Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 187.

<sup>256</sup> Reconstruction by Goedicke, Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", *Egyptological Studies*, 38.

<sup>257</sup> See Appendix B[10].

Though the Hyksos are referred to as **SmAw**, the reading of this word is far from certain. The hieratic is difficult to discern, and Goedicke concluded after a study of the grammar that the previous suggestion of **pA-n-rsi** was not viable.<sup>258</sup> Moreover, even if **SmAw** is the intended word, Goedicke's translation is unnecessarily negative, as he translates it as "aliens", whilst most agree this term means "strangers, tramps, foreign beggars".<sup>259</sup> Most significantly, the use of this word in relation to the Hyksos is unprecedented in the texts of this time. As a consequence, not only is this reading uncertain, but also the interpretative translation is unnecessarily negative. Because this is questionable, it is difficult to ascertain how the Hyksos were regarded during the reign of Ahmose.

On another point, it is worth noting that the expulsion of the Hyksos is still associated with conflict in Nubia. This is seen in the Biography of Ahmose son of Ibana [20].<sup>260</sup>

<p>(17) wn.in=f Hr xnty t r #nt-Hn-nfr r sksk iwnty-%tyw wn.in Hm=f Hr ir.t XAt aA.t im=sn (...)</p>	<p>(17) Then he sailed south to Khent-hen-nefer, in order to destroy the tribesmen of Nubia, and his majesty made a great massacre among them (...)<sup>261</sup></p>
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Ahmose Son of Ibana was a soldier that participated in the war, and consequently this source, recorded by his grandson Paheri, enumerates the conflict in Avaris and Nubia as a historical sequence.<sup>262</sup> Another text, the stele of Tjaw at Edfu [19], also displays the perception that the unification of Egypt involved both the north and south.<sup>263</sup>

<p>(4) iri mH.ty=f r @w.t-war.t rsy=f r KAS (...)</p>	<p>(4) who made his north at Avaris, and his south at Kush (...)</p>
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<sup>258</sup> Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", *Egyptological Studies*, 38.

<sup>259</sup> Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen*, 886.

<sup>260</sup> Urk. IV, 1-10; PM V, 182 (no. 5); Gunn and Gardiner, "The Expulsion of the Hyksos", *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 48-54; Goedicke, "Inscription of Ahmose", *JARCE* 11 (1974), 31-41; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 15; Binder, *The Gold of Honour*, 253; Davies, "The Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana", *Elkab and Beyond*, 139-174.

<sup>261</sup> See Appendix B[20].

<sup>262</sup> J.J. Taylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri* (London 1894), 6, pl. VII; William Vivian Davies and Renée F. Friedman, *Egypt Uncovered* (London, 1998), 120-121.

<sup>263</sup> PM V, 203; Gardiner, "The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 100; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 78 (no. 114); Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 12.

This is understood as a brief allusion to Ahmose's military campaigns, and is interpreted as establishing the new frontiers that extended the borders of Egypt. This "making" (iri) of the north at Avaris, when considered in light of other Egyptian texts from the same period (e.g. [20], [21]) must be an allusion to military combat. Consequently, in the Egyptian memory, the bravery of the Egyptian soldier was imbued through his actions against various foreign peoples, not just the Hyksos.

Many questions remain about the experiences, outside of war, during the reign of Ahmose that might provide insight into how the Hyksos were perceived in later tradition. The texts studied in Chapter 4 have clarified the presence of floods and famine in representations of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>264</sup> As a contrast to these earlier accounts, however, there appears to be a wealth of resources available to the Egyptians available in the New Kingdom, as witnessed in the Storm Stele [15].<sup>265</sup>

<p>(18) (...) saHa xA.wt smn.t pA.wt=sn qb aq.w n.w iAwty.w rdi.t tA mi tp.t- a=f (...)</p>	<p>(18) (...) to set up the offering stands, and their loaf offerings established. The rations of the office holders were doubled, and the land to be restored to what it was like before (...)<sup>266</sup></p>
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Furthermore, resources for building projects appear to have been a result of the loot that was taken on the military campaigns of Ahmose. An inscription from Tura [17] illustrates this:

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<sup>264</sup> Muhammed, "Recent Finds", *ASAE* 59 (1959), 143-155 (pl. III); Baines, "Stela of Sobekhotep VIII", *AcOr(B)* 36 (1974), 39-54; Habachi, "A High Inundation", *SAK* 1 (1974), 207-214; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 46-47 (no. 63); Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 3 (no. 5).

<sup>265</sup> PM II<sup>3</sup>, 73; Claude Vandersleyen, "Une tempête sous le règne d'Amosis", *RdE* 19 (1967), 123-159; Claude Vandersleyen, "Deux nouveaux fragments de la stèle d'Ahmosis relatant une tempête", *RdE* 20 (1968), 127-134; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 104-110 (no. 124); Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 16 (no. 72); Karen Polinger Foster, Robert K. Ritner, and Benjamin R. Foster, "Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption", *JNES* 55 (1996), 1-14; Malcolm H. Wiener and James P. Allen, "Separate Lives: The Tempest Stela of Ahmose", *JNES* 57 (1998), 1-28; Robert K. Ritner and Nadine Moeller, "The Ahmose 'Tempest Stela', Thera and Comparative Chronology", *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-19.

<sup>266</sup> See Appendix B[15].

(5) inr m kA.w ini /// /// xt tA.w fnxw (5) The stone was dragged with oxen and brought /// /// wood (from) the lands of Fenkou (Syria) (...) <sup>267</sup>

This text comments on the fact wood from Syria, presumably acquired during a military campaign, was repurposed in Egypt for the use of building projects. It thus appears that a lack of resources and famine were not concerns during the reign of Ahmose, due to the materials acquired through warfare.

Flood devastation, on the other hand, is attested in the Storm Stele of Ahmose [15]:

(6) (...) [aHa.n rDi.n] nTr.w (7) iwi.t (6) (...) [then the] gods [caused] (7) that the sky come down as a storm and p.t m Da n H[wy.t kk].w m rA-a [darkness] was in the place of the western imnt.t pt Sna.ti n wn.t [Ab.w qAi.ty heavens, and the sky being in a storm r x]rw rxyt without [stopping, louder than the voices] of the people.

(8) More powerful [than /// while the rain blowing strongly] upon the mountains, louder than the cavern which is in Elephantine. Then every house and every sanctuary that they reached ///

(8) wsr[.ti r /// khA H(w)y.t] Hr xAs.wt (9) /// [their corpses] were in the flood of water like skiffs of papyrus outside the gate of the palace audience chamber for a period of /// days. (10) /// while no candle was lit in the Two Lands. <sup>268</sup>

<sup>267</sup> See Appendix B[17]. LD I, 20-21; Urk. IV, 24-25; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II (1906), 12-13; Georges Daressy, "Inscriptions des carrières de Tourah et Mâsarah", *ASAE* 11 (1911), 262-265.

<sup>268</sup> See Appendix B[15]. PM II<sup>3</sup>, 73; Vandersleyen, "Une tempête", *RdE* 19 (1967), 123-159; Vandersleyen, "Deux nouveaux fragments", *RdE* 20 (1968), 127-134; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 104-110 (no. 124); Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 16 (no. 72); Foster, Ritner, and Foster, "Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption", *JNES* 55 (1996), 1-14; Wiener and Allen, "Separate Lives", *JNES* 57 (1998), 1-28; Ritner and Moeller, "The Ahmose 'Tempest Stela'", *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-19.

(9) /// [XA.wt=sn] Hr mH.t Hr mw mi  
smHw n.w Dy.t m rAy Hr aXnwtY  
Hn.ty r hrw (10) /// n sHD.n tkA Hr  
tA.wy

This source is contentious, as some argue that this description of a storm (Da) and associated flood (mH.t Hr mw) describes a link with the Thera eruption.<sup>269</sup> Though the connection with Thera is appealing, there are problems with this hypothesis.<sup>270</sup> Perhaps the most damning evidence however, is that new radiocarbon dates have placed the Thera eruption between 1627-1600 BC, which is much earlier than the reign of Ahmose to make the connection viable.<sup>271</sup>

In an alternative theory, Ryholt argues that the Storm Stele [15] is a metaphor for the destruction the Hyksos wrought on Egypt.<sup>272</sup> Ryholt's basis for this supposition is that the destruction described, such as water filled buildings, is too great to have been caused by a storm alone.<sup>273</sup> It is unclear why Ryholt diminishes the wrecking power of storms, as even modern floods of the Nile has destroyed thousands of homes, displaced millions of people, and killed dozens.<sup>274</sup> In Ancient Egypt, the use of mud brick in residential architecture would have been very susceptible to destruction by floods, resulting in damage of a high magnitude.<sup>275</sup> In light of these facts, Ryholt's argument needs to be reviewed. Whilst a metaphorical reading cannot be completely dismissed, it is possible to understand this text as a literal account of a devastating flood that occurred in the reign of Ahmose.

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<sup>269</sup> Foster et al, "Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption", *JNES* 55 (1996), 1-14; Wiener and Allen, "Separate Lives", *JNES* 57 (1998), 1-28; Ritner and Moeller, "The Ahmose 'Tempest Stela'", *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-19; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 144.

<sup>270</sup> Firstly, the earthquake and eruption of Thera are estimated at three months to two years apart, and yet, in this text, they are viewed as the same event. Moreover, if the storm were caused by the eruption, it would be an electrical storm, namely, a storm with lightning: whilst this text gives the impression the whole land was in darkness, and there is no mention to flashes of light. For more information on the problems of linking this event of the Thera eruption, see Wiener and Allen, "The Tempest Stela of Ahmose", *JNES* 57 (1998), 27. For more information on storms and their nature, see David E. Hogan and Jeremy Bearden "Volcanic Eruptions", in D. E. Hogan, J. L. Burstein (eds), *Disaster Medicine*<sup>2</sup> (Philadelphia, 2007), 270; Donald R. MacGorman and W. David Rust, *The Electrical Nature of Storms* (New York, 1998), 247.

<sup>271</sup> Ritner and Moeller, "The Ahmose 'Tempest Stela'", *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 15.

<sup>272</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 144.

<sup>273</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 144.

<sup>274</sup> Jeroen Warner, *Flood Planning: The Politics of Water Security* (New York, 2011), 39.

<sup>275</sup> Peter Lacovara, "Bricks and Brick Architecture", *OEA I*, 198-200.

In sum, the texts during the reign of Ahmose continued with establishing a warrior ethos. After the successful conclusions of conflict with the north, the representations of the Hyksos are not as negative as those found during the reign of Kamose. Instead, references to the Hyksos are grouped with other foreign lands, and disassociated from natural disasters.

## **5.4 Summary**

This chapter demonstrates that the memory of the Hyksos as vile Asiatics came into being during the reign of Kamose. In these texts, opposition and contrastive language was used in order to specifically identify who was Egyptian and who was not, which led to a negative image of the Hyksos. These representations are more homogenous than the Second Intermediate Period, with common themes and ideas regarding the Hyksos. This in turn provides evidence for the transition of the Hyksos legacy from a communicative memory to a cultural memory.

# **Chapter 6**



## The New Kingdom – The Empire Strikes Back

“There’s something not right here...”

Luke Skywalker in *Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back*.<sup>276</sup>

The Hyksos expulsion was an event that defined Egyptian history and foreign policy during the New Kingdom.<sup>277</sup> Ahmose’s victory over the rulers of the north marked the beginning of numerous military victories that expanded the Egyptian territory, not just during the reign of Ahmose, but also his successors.<sup>278</sup> In turn, as the Egyptians continually subdued the countries around them and formed a cosmopolitan empire, the Hyksos began to be understood as the archetypal enemy of Egypt.<sup>279</sup>

The memory of the Hyksos at this time, however, was not as relevant to the frames of experience for everyday life. Yet, it was such a defining event with associations of nationalism and Egyptian bravery that it could not be forgotten. In order to avoid this period disappearing into oblivion, the people of the New Kingdom reconstructed the memory of the Hyksos with contemporary points of reference in mind, in order to render the past more relevant.<sup>280</sup>

Since the Hyksos memory no longer permeated everyday life in the New Kingdom, there are only three texts discussed in this chapter that provide insight into the development of the Hyksos legacy. Two texts are from a royal perspective, including the Speos Artemidos Inscription and the Four Hundred Year Stele, and one from a non-royal perspective, that is, the literary tale of the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre.

### Table 6.1: Textual Sources of the New Kingdom

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<sup>276</sup> George Lucas, *Star Wars: Episode V - The Empire Strikes Back*, directed by I. Kershner (Los Angeles, Twentieth Century Fox, 1980).

<sup>277</sup> Betsy M. Bryan, “The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty before the Amarna Period (c. 1352-1069 BC)”, in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 2003), 213.

<sup>278</sup> Bryan, “The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 213.

<sup>279</sup> Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 202.

<sup>280</sup> Assmann, “Collective Memory”, *NGC 65* (1995), 130.

	Text	Text Type	Date	Perspective	Memory Maker	Location
[22]	Speos Artemidos Inscription	Rock Inscription	Dyn 18, Hatshepsut (1479-1457 BC)	Egyptian, royal	Hatshepsut	Temple of Pakhet, Speos Artemidos
[23]	The Four Hundred Year Stele	Stele	Dyn 19, Ramesses II (1245-1239 BC)	Egyptian, royal	Ramesses II	Tanis, prob. Pi-Ramesses
[24]	The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre	Papyrus	Dyn 19, Merenptah (1203 BC)	Egyptian, elite	Pentaweret, Scribe and Treasury Official	Saqqara (?)

### 6.1 The Hyksos in the reign of Hatshepsut (1473-1458 BC)

Sometime after the Hyksos expulsion, remembrances of the Hyksos were used as a political statement to aggrandise the deeds of the ruler. This is evident in the Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut [22], located at the Temple of Pakhet near Beni Hasan.<sup>281</sup> This text is famous for its passage that casts aspersions on the Hyksos, and is key for understanding how the Hyksos legacy developed after the Expulsion Period, as it features the introduction of new ideas regarding the Hyksos, and the suppression of others.<sup>282</sup>

It is imperative to investigate why the memory of the Hyksos was considered relevant in the reign of Hatshepsut, which can be revealed by a study of the memory maker. Hatshepsut was the great-granddaughter of Ahmose through her mother, and harkening back to this era justifies Hatshepsut's ancestral right to govern Egypt.<sup>283</sup> Additionally, the Hyksos expulsion was not in

<sup>281</sup> See Appendix C[22]. For more on Hatshepsut, her reign, building projects and foreign policy, see Kara Cooney, *The Woman Who Would be King: Hatshepsut's Rise to Power in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2015); David A. Warburton, *Architecture, Power and Religion: Hatshepsut, Amun and Karnak in Context* (Zürich and Berlin, 2012); Catharine H. Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus and Cathleen A. Keller (eds), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New York and London, 2005); Janusz Karkowski, *The Temple of Hatshepsut: The Solar Complex* (Warsaw, 2003); Suzanne Ratié, *La reine Hatchepsout: sources et problèmes* (Leiden, 1979); Wilfried Seipel, "Hatshepsut", *LÄ II* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 1045–1051; Booth, *The Hyksos Period*, 11; Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 228-235; Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 120; Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion", *OrNS* 36 (1970), 32; Alan H. Gardiner, "Davies's Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription", *JEA* 32 (1946), 45; Ann Macy Roth, "Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahri: Architecture as Political Statement", in C. H. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus and C. A. Keller (eds), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New York and London, 2005), 147-157.

<sup>282</sup> Booth, *The Hyksos Period*, 11.

<sup>283</sup> Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 222; Cooney, *The Hatshepsut's Rise to Power in Ancient Egypt*, 1.

the distant past during the reign of Hatshepsut. This is illustrated by Ahmose-Pennekhbet, a soldier in Ahmose's army, who later became the tutor and nurse of Hatshepsut's daughter, Neferure.<sup>284</sup> Hatshepsut would have personally known individuals who participated in the war, and her familial connections to the Hyksos expulsion assists in accounting for why Hatshepsut recalls this period.

In regards to the content, the inscription reports the negative impact of the Hyksos on Egypt:

(36) n aawy.n=i mhy srwd.n=i wn.t (36) I do not sleep as one forgets, I having  
wAs.wt established what was ruined.

iw Ts.n=i stp HA.t-a (37) Dr wn I raised up what was dismantled (at) first,  
aAm.w m qAb &A-mHw @w.t-War.t (37) since the Asiatics being in the midst  
of the "North Land" (Delta) of the region  
of Avaris.

SmA.w m qAb=sn (38) Hr sxi{n} When the wandering foreigners were in  
iri.yt their midst (38) destroying what had been  
made.

HqA.n=sn m-xmt Ra.w n iri=f m wD They ruled without Re, he not giving a  
nTr nfr.yt-r Hm.t=i divine decree until (the time of) my  
majesty.

mn.kwi (39) Hr ns.wt Ra.w I being (firmly) established (39) upon the  
thrones of Re,

sr.ntw=i r Hn.ty rnp.wt m xpr{s} I having been foretold for many years as  
the born sovereign.

iTi<=s>

iyi.kwi m @r.w Wa.tt(=i) (40) Hr nsr I have come as Horus, Watet (the uraeus)  
(40) firing against my opponents.

r xft.yw=i

<sup>284</sup> This is the same Ahmose-Pennekhbet studied in Chapter 5.3. Mark Rogers, *The Esoteric Codex: Ancient Egyptian Texts I* (Morrisville, 2014), 44; Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor, *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 97, 98.

sHr.n=i    bw.t   nTr.w   ini.n    tA    I have driven off the abomination of the  
 gods, and the land removed (the footprints  
 Tb.wt=sn (...) of) their sandals (...)<sup>285</sup>

There can be no doubt this section refers to the Hyksos rulers. This is indicated by the fact they are identified as Asiatics, as per the tradition of Kamose, and that Avaris is recognised as the region that they occupied.<sup>286</sup> Furthermore, that these nomads are the rulers of the north is denoted by the verb HqA.

The most contentious statement found in the Speos Artemidos Inscription is “they [the Hyksos] ruled without Re.” This is the first instance in which the religious affiliations of the Hyksos are negatively commented on, which obviously conflicts with the primary evidence.<sup>287</sup> Van Seters argues that Hatshepsut was commenting on the authority of the Hyksos’ rule, as Re specifically represented legitimacy for the king.<sup>288</sup> This could reflect Hatshepsut’s personal circumstances, as she is credited with utilising a number of techniques to consolidate her power, including emphasising “her close relationship to the gods and mak[ing] explicit their acceptance of her kingship.”<sup>289</sup> It is thus possible that Hatshepsut edited the memory of the Hyksos to adhere to her goals: the Hyksos’ worship of Re challenged Hatshepsut’s claims to legitimacy, and so it was “forgotten” to maintain coherence.<sup>290</sup>

Another theme of the inscription is centred on destruction across the land of Egypt.<sup>291</sup> The physical world of Egypt is portrayed in a state of devastation, defined by the verbs wAsi and

<sup>285</sup> Vladimir S. Golénischeff, “Notice sur un texte hiéroglyphique de Stabel Antar (Spéos Artemidos)”, *RecTrav* 3 (1882), 1-3; Gaston Maspero, “Découverte d’un petit temple à Karnak”, *RecTrav* 6 (1885), 20; *LD* II, 108-112; *PM* VI, 163-165; Gardiner, “Great Speos Artemidos Inscription”, *JEA* 32 (1946), 43-56, pl. VI; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 16-17; James P. Allen, “The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut”, *BES* 16 (2002), 1-17; Hans Goedicke, *The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut and Related Discussions* (Oakville, 2004).

<sup>286</sup> For evidence of the Hyksos being referred to as Asiatics (aAm.w), see Appendix B[12], [13], [14]. It is interesting to point out that during the reign of Ahmose references to the Hyksos appear to be restricted to xAs.wt which suggests Hatshepsut was more influenced by Kamose’s texts than Ahmose’s [16]. See also Chapter 7.1.

<sup>287</sup> See Chapter 4.3.

<sup>288</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 173; Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 180-181.

<sup>289</sup> Cathleen A. Keller, “The Statuary of Hatshepsut”, in C. H. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus and C. A. Keller (eds), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New York and London, 2005), 162.

<sup>290</sup> Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 597.

<sup>291</sup> Tomkins, “Notes on the Hyksos”, *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 19 (1890), 192.

stp.<sup>292</sup> The text also implies that the wandering foreigners were the cause of this destruction.

Early in the inscription, however, Hatshepsut alludes to damage caused by a storm:

(19) (...) Pxt wr.t xns.t in.wt Hr.y-	(19) (...) Pakhet the Great, the one who
iAb.tt w[pi.t]	traverses the valleys in the east, who
(20) wA.wt snm.w(t)	o[pens] the (20) rain-swept roads (...). <sup>293</sup>
(...)	

Hatshepsut divulges that roads in the eastern desert were blocked by a storm of rain and wind.<sup>294</sup> This is not impossible, as evidence from the Storm Stele of Ahmose [15], and other texts of the Second Intermediate Period (e.g. [1], [2]), have demonstrated the devastation of sporadic floods and storms on infrastructure. Yet, this description may also be a reflection of the historical context and goals of Hatshepsut as ruler. Hatshepsut's reign represents a significant increase in building projects, from restoring temples to constructing new ones.<sup>295</sup> As it seems unlikely that after seventy-years buildings remained in a state of disrepair from the Hyksos, the emphasis on raising ruins must be related to Hatshepsut's agenda as ruler.

Of particular interest to this study is the development of Egyptian identity in relation to the Hyksos. It can be observed that the identity of the brave Egyptian warrior formulated during the Expulsion Era continued into the reign of Hatshepsut.<sup>296</sup> This again adheres to the historical context, and the custom of the kings of the early Eighteenth Dynasty to expand the territory of Egypt.<sup>297</sup> Hatshepsut herself utilises this idea of the brave Egyptian warrior in the text, by stating:

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<sup>292</sup> On the other hand, the inscription is located near the frontier that existed between the Hyksos and Thebans at Cusae. Hatshepsut declares she is the first of the Eighteenth Dynasty kings to repair buildings that had been ruined in Middle Egypt, which could be evidence of physical destruction as a consequence of conflict with the Hyksos. However, the language of the text itself does cause such an interpretation to be flawed. Bryan, "The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 230; Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 55, 254.

<sup>293</sup> LD II, 108-112; Gardiner, "Speos Artemidos Inscription", *JEA* 32 (1946), 43-56, pl. VI; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 16; Allen, "The Speos Artemidos Inscription", *BES* 16 (2002), 1-17.

<sup>294</sup> Faulkner, *Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 232; Lanny Bell, Janet H. Johnson and Donald Whitcomb, "The Eastern Desert of Upper Egypt: Routes and Inscriptions", *JNES* 43:1 (1984), 27-46; Steven E. Sidebotham, "Newly Discovered Sites in the Eastern Desert", *JEA* 82 (1996), 181-192.

<sup>295</sup> Hatshepsut restored various temples, including the Temple of Karnak, and constructed new buildings, the most famous of which is her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri. Warburton, *Architecture, Power and Religion*, 23; Bryan, "The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 229; Roth, "Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple", *Hatshepsut*, 147-157.

<sup>296</sup> For examples of this, see Appendix B[11], [12], [13], [14], [16], [18], [20], [21].

<sup>297</sup> Bryan, "The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 213, 234.

(12) (...) bA.w=i Hr sksi xAs.wt iw iar.t tp.t HA.t=i Hr shri.t n(=i) tA.w nb(.w) (...)	(12) (...) that my power(s) causing the foreign land to bow (down), the uraeas upon my forehead pacifying for (me) all lands (...) <sup>298</sup>
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References in this text to causing foreign lands to bow down and pacifying them are reminiscent of earlier sources ([13], [16]), in which the brave king subdues all foreign lands. In this text however there are no references to violence, in terms of capturing or slaughtering. It is conceivable that this is a reflection of the period of peace experienced in the reign Hatshepsut, and the goals of Hatshepsut as a memory maker.<sup>299</sup> In particular, Hatshepsut did not have the same goals as her predecessors, namely, to defame the Hyksos to justify a war. It is thus possible that the historical context and memory maker accounts for both the continuation of the warrior ethos, and the diminished use of violent terms associated with it.

Finally, it is interesting to note that the link between the Hyksos expulsion and campaigns to Nubia is forgotten in this recollection. This can be attributed to the historical context and events of the early New Kingdom, as Nubia rebelled consistently against Egyptian rule and their disobedience to Egyptian authority was not unique to the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>300</sup> Moreover, events that may have triggered a remembrance of the Nubians in relation to the Hyksos occurred *after* the composition of this text.<sup>301</sup> In this case, the event that may have prompted the inclusion of the Nubian rebellion occurred with the campaigns to Nubia in years twelve to eighteen of Hatshepsut's reign, namely, some six to four years after the composition of this inscription.<sup>302</sup>

In sum, by the reign of Hatshepsut, the Egyptian rulers used the remembrances of the Hyksos as a resource to derive an understanding of themselves. This is reinforced by the ability of the memory of the Hyksos occupation and expulsion to be reconstructed, and remain relevant, in

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<sup>298</sup> Gardiner, "Speos Artemidos Inscription", *JEA* 32 (1946), pl. VI; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 16-17.

<sup>299</sup> Bryan, "The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 234.

<sup>300</sup> Including the reigns of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, and Thutmose II. Bryan, "The 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 207, 213, 223, 227.

<sup>301</sup> As Freud has established, anything that is forgotten can be triggered and recalled by a similar event. Breuer and Freud, *Studies on Hysteria*, 107.

<sup>302</sup> Goedicke, *The Speos Artemidos Inscription*, 97; Cline and O'Connor, *Thutmose III*, 79.

the reign of Hatshepsut. Furthermore, in order for the text to remain pertinent new features were introduced that related to contemporary concerns and goals of the memory maker.

## 6.2 The Hyksos in the reign of Ramesses II (1279-1213 BC)

Years later, the memory of the Hyksos was again recalled by an Egyptian ruler.<sup>303</sup> The time of the Hyksos may have been overshadowed by events during the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but by the reign of Ramesses II their contributions were to an extent, remembered. The presence of the names of the Hyksos rulers in the Turin King List indicates that their memory was not being eradicated during the reign of Ramesses II, unlike the post-Amarna erasures of Akhenaten.<sup>304</sup> Moreover, Ramesses II established his residence Pi-Ramesses near the location of the Hyksos capital Avaris.<sup>305</sup> By founding his residence near Avaris, Ramesses was tapping into the *lieu de mémoire* where the Hyksos memory endured strongest.<sup>306</sup>

The Four-Hundred Year Stele of Ramesses II [23] further illustrates the continuation of the Hyksos legacy.<sup>307</sup> The stele was discovered at Tanis and was created to honour Ramesses' father Seti I.<sup>308</sup> As Tanis was not founded until the Twenty-First Dynasty, it is generally accepted that the stele was later removed to Tanis from the cult centre of Seth at Pi-Ramesses.<sup>309</sup>

Like the Speos Artemidos Inscription, a study of the memory maker assists in accounting for the content of this text. In particular, Ramesses II's family originated from the North-Eastern

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<sup>303</sup> For more information regarding the reign of Ramesses II, including warfare, religion, and building projects, see von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 190; Alan Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960); Hans Goedicke, "Considerations on the Battle of Kadesh", *JEA* 52 (1966), 71-80; Labib Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (Glückstadt, 1969); Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Surrey, 1982); Eliot Porter and Wilma Stern, *Monuments of Egypt* (Albuquerque, 1990); Shaw and Nicholson, *Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 240-241; Jacobus van Dijk, "The Amarna Period and the Later New Kingdom (c. 1352-1069 BC)", in I. Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, 2003), 288-294.

<sup>304</sup> As an interesting contrast however, the Hyksos are completely ignored in the Abydos King List. For a comprehensive background on the Turin King list, see Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 9-33.

<sup>305</sup> Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 206.

<sup>306</sup> Nora, "Les Lieux de Mémoire", *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24.

<sup>307</sup> See Appendix C[23].

<sup>308</sup> Gaston Mariette, "Stèle de l'an 400", *RAr* 11 (1865), 169-185; Hans Goedicke, "Some Remarks on 400-Year-Stela", *CdE* 41 (1966), 23; van Dijk, "The Amarna Period", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 292; Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 282.

<sup>309</sup> Goedicke, "Some Remarks on 400-Year-Stela", *CdE* 41 (1966), 23; Mariette, "Stèle de l'an 400", *RAr* 11 (1865), 170; van Dijk, "The Amarna Period", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 292; Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 282.

Delta and had a strong affinity with the Seth cult.<sup>310</sup> It is unclear, however, why Ramesses II chose to commemorate four hundred years, which would coincide with the beginning of the Hyksos occupation of Northern Egypt.<sup>311</sup> As pointed out by Goedicke, the only clear purpose is Ramesses' confirmation as king by his predecessor.<sup>312</sup>

<p>(5) wD Hm=f iri.t aHa aA m inr n(.y) mAT Hr rn wr n.y it=f n mr.wt saHa rn n.y it it.w=f (6) ns.wt (Mn-MAa.t- Ra.w)  sA Ra.w (%tXy-mry.n-PtH)  mn wAH n D.t mi Ra.w ra.w-nb</p>	<p>(5) His majesty commanded the making of a great stele of granite, with the Great Name of his father (upon it), in order to set up the name of the father of his fathers (6) King (Menmaatre) , son of Re, (Setymerenptah) , firm and enduring forever, like Re daily.</p>
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<p>(7) rnp.t-sp 400 Abd 4 Sm.w sw 4 nsw.t bi.ty (%tX-aA-pH.ty)  sA Ra.w mr.y=f Nb.w.ty mr.y Ra.w-@r.w- Ax.ty wnn=f r nHH D.t (...)</p>	<p>(7) Year 400, 4<sup>th</sup> month of Shomu, day 4, King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Seth-aa- phety)  son of Re, whom he loves, the- Ombite, beloved of Re-harakhty, who exists forever and ever! (...)</p>
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<p>(11) /// [nD] Hr=k %tX sA Nw.t aA pH.t m wiA n.y HH.w xri(.w) xft.y</p>	<p>/// ["Hail] to you, Seth, son of Nut, great of strength in the barque of millions, who fells the enemies at the front of the barque of Re, with a great war cry (...)<sup>313</sup></p>
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<sup>310</sup> van Dijk, "The Amarna Period", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 286; Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 265.

<sup>311</sup> Habachi proposed another option that the stele commemorates the founding of the city of Pi-Ramesses, but since this stele dates to after year 34 of Ramesses II's reign, and the town was founded in the beginning of his rule, this is also an implausible option. Goedicke, "400-Year-Stela", *CdE* 41 (1966), 38-39; Labib Habachi, "The Four Hundred Year Stele Originally standing in Khatana-Qantir or Avaris Piramesse", *Actes du XXIXe congrès international des orientalistes*, Volume. I (Paris 1977), 43; Rainer Stadelmann, "Die 400-Jahr-Stele", *CdE* 40 (1965), 64.

<sup>312</sup> Goedicke, "400-Year-Stela", *CdE* 41 (1966), 39.

<sup>313</sup> Mariette, "Stèle de l'an 400", *RAr* 11 (1865), 169-185; PM IV, 23; Manfred Bietak, "Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris", *ÄgLev* 1 (1990), 9-16; Goedicke, "400-Year-Stela", *CdE* 41 (1966), 23-39; Kurt Sethe, "Der Denkstein mit dem Datum des Jahres 400 der Ära von Tanis", *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 85-89; Labib Habachi, "The Four Hundred Year Stele", *Actes du XXIXe congrès international des orientalistes*, 41-44; Rainer Stadelmann,



{n} <m> HA.t wiA n.y Ra.w aA

hmhm.t (...)

Several considerations suggest this text was referring to the Hyksos, despite no explicit mention to them. First, the Hyksos during and after their hegemony were always associated with the worship of Seth at Avaris, so an Egyptian audience would link any text that discusses the cult of Seth with the Hyksos.<sup>314</sup> Second, the representation of Seth on this stele is not in the traditional Egyptian manner with the Seth-animal head, but as “Baal with a human head” and foreign dress, and is clearly representing Seth’s link with foreigners.<sup>315</sup> Third, the chronological proximity between the dates of four hundred years of the cult of Seth with the beginning of Hyksos rule cannot be coincidence.<sup>316</sup> Though this date of “regnal year 400, 4<sup>th</sup> month of Shomu, day 4” plays around with the numerical figure “four” and is not aiming to be precise, it must have been selected to reinforce the longevity of the Seth cult in the Delta and the onset of the Hyksos rule.<sup>317</sup>

Another interesting feature of this stele is the clear association of the North-Eastern Delta as a *lieu de mémoire*.<sup>318</sup> Avaris is undeniably a visual reminder of the Hyksos rule, and would have become its own referent to the past that represented a specific era in Egyptian history.<sup>319</sup> This is arguably what Ramesses II accomplished with his Four Hundred Year Stele: he tapped into the memory at Avaris to shape his own understanding of the past, and thereby the Hyksos. By adding his own visual addition in the form of a stele to the North Eastern Delta, Ramesses II was aiming for visual memorisation and associating himself, through his ancestry, to the founding of the cult of Seth.<sup>320</sup>

Thus, during the reign of Ramesses II the negative tradition of the Hyksos was overlooked for

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“Die 400-Jahr-Stele”, *CdE* 40 (1965), 46-60; Rainer Stadelmann, “Vierhundertjahrstele”, *LÄ* VI, 1039-1043; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 18-19 (no. 75).

<sup>314</sup> Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion”, *OrNS* 36 (1970), 30.

<sup>315</sup> For an image of this depiction of Seth, see Sethe, “Der Denkstein mit dem Datum des Jahres 400”, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 87; Herman te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*, trans. G. E. van Baaren-Pape (Leiden, 1977), 124-125.

<sup>316</sup> Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion”, *OrNS* 36 (1970), 30.

<sup>317</sup> Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion”, *OrNS* 36 (1970), 30.

<sup>318</sup> Nora, “Les Lieux de Mémoire”, *Representations* 26 (1989), 7-24.

<sup>319</sup> Nora, “Between Memory and History”, *Realms of Memory*, 20.

<sup>320</sup> Nora, “General Introduction”, *Realms of Memory*, 1-4.

a time. Though the stele never mentions the individuals behind the establishment of the cult of Seth, there are intimations that this is a reference to the Hyksos. This is insinuated by the physical location near Avaris, and the depiction of Seth as a foreigner. It is thus possible to suggest that the site of Avaris and cult of Seth acted as a *lieu de mémoire* where the Hyksos memory endured.

### 6.3 The Hyksos in the Reign of Merenptah (1213-1203 BC)

A generation after the erection of the Four Hundred Year Stele [23], a Ramesside scribe elected to copy one of today's most famous accounts of the Hyksos Period, namely, the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre [24].<sup>321</sup> This literary text, found on Papyrus Sallier I, dates to the tenth regnal year of Merenptah (1203 BC), which is some five years after the attempted invasion of the Sea Peoples.<sup>322</sup> The papyrus is disorganised and features numerous mistakes, though this may be attributed to the fact that the scribe, Pentaweret, appears to have copied this text of his own volition.<sup>323</sup>

Perhaps the most compelling element of the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre is the descriptions of the state of Egypt:

(1,1) xpr sw.t wn.in tA n.y Km.t	(1,1) It came to pass that the land of Egypt
{n}<m> iAd.t	was in pestilence.
	There was no lord, (l.p.h.) <as> king.
iw nn wn nb anx(.w) wDA(.w)	
snb(.w) <m> nsw.t	A day came into being: now, as for the
	king (Seqenenre)  (l.p.h.), he was the

<sup>321</sup> See Appendix C[24]. Colleen Manassa, *Imagining the Past: Historical Fiction in New Kingdom Egypt* (New York, 2013), 32; Anthony J. Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 128-132.

<sup>322</sup> For background on the reign of Merenptah, especially military expeditions and monuments, see Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume II: New Kingdom* (Berkeley, 1976), 73-78; van Dijk, "The Amarna Period", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 294-295; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 190; Hourig Sourouzzian, *Les Monuments du roi Merenptah* (Mainz, 1989); Kenneth A. Kitchen, "The Victories of Merenptah, and the Nature of their Record", *JSOT* 28:3 (2004), 259-272.

<sup>323</sup> Gunn and Gardiner, "The Expulsion of the Hyksos", *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 40; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 30; Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Reviewed Work: 'The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative'", *JEA* 90 (2004), 44-45; Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, 128, 330; Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 41; van Dijk, "The Amarna Period", *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 294.

<sup>323</sup> Pentaweret was a treasury official in Lower Egypt, and consequently, the copying of literary tales was not part of his designated duties. Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative*, 330.

hr.w xpr isTw r=f ir nsw.t (%qnn- (ruler)| (l.p.h.), of the Southern City, and  
 Ra.w)| anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) sw plague was in the city of the <Asia>tics.  
 (...) m (HqA)| anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w)  
 n.y niw.t rs.yt iAd.t {n}<m> dmi  
 {Ra.w}<aA>m.w (...) (1,2) (...) iw xrp n=f pA tA r-Dr=f (1,2) (...) He controlled the entire land,  
 bearing their taxes in full, as well as  
 Xr.y bAk.w=sn mH m-mitt Xr xrt bearing all the good produce of the Delta.  
 nb.t nfr(.t) n.w tA-mH{y}<w> (...) (...) <sup>324</sup>

Most interestingly, the term iAd.t, often translated as “misery” or “plague”, has numerous meanings, including “dire affliction, plague, pestilence, poverty, disease, and pain”.<sup>325</sup> There is some tenuous evidence of plague in the late Eighteenth Dynasty that may account for the concept of a negative experience associated with the Hyksos. Goedicke in particular believes that the London Medical Papyrus is evidence of a visible concern for plague at the end of the Amarna Period, a plague called the “Asiatic or Canaanite Illness”.<sup>326</sup> In turn, Asiatics became associated with disease and ill health, which explains its inclusion in the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre.

A second theme in this tale is the characterisation of religious “otherness” with the Hyksos, whose religion is described with elements of monolatry.<sup>327</sup>

(1,2) (...) aHa.n nsw.t lppy anx(.w) (1,2) (...) Then King Apophis, (l.p.h.),  
 (1,3) made for himself Seth as lord. He did  
 wDA(.w) snb(.w) (1,3) Hr ir n=f not serve any other god [that was in the

<sup>324</sup> Alan Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca I (Brussels, 1932), 85-89; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 17-18 (no. 74); Hans Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* (San Antonio, 1986); Gaston Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1900), 288-294.

<sup>325</sup> For example, Edward F. Wente Jr., “The Quarrel of Apophis and Sekenenre”, in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (New Haven, 2003), 69; Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen*, 25; Leonard H. Lesko (ed.), *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, Volume I (Providence, 2002), 15.

<sup>326</sup> Hans Goedicke, “The Canaanite Illness”, *SAK* 11 (1984), 95, 102.

<sup>327</sup> This is an approach to religion that recognises the existence of others, but exclusively worships one god. Gunn and Gardiner, “The Expulsion of the Hyksos”, *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 44; Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 28.

%wtx m nb iw=f (Hr) tm bAk n nTr entire land], [except] Seth. He built a  
 nb [n.ty m pA tA r-Dr=f] [wpw] temple of fine and everlasting work,  
 %wtx iw(=f) Hr qd Hw.t-nTr m (l.p.h.).” besides the “House of the King Apophis,  
 bAk.w nfr nHH r-gs pr.w n.y [nsw.t (1,4) And he appeared /// in order to make  
 lpjpy anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) sacrifice justice /// daily to Seth, while the  
 courtiers of the [palace], (l.p.h.), carried  
 clumps of papyrus, exactly as it is done in  
 the temple of Re-Harakhty (...)<sup>328</sup>

(1,4) [i]w=f (Hr) xai /// hrw r rDi.t  
 mAa /// n mn.t n %wtx iw nA sr.w  
 [pr.w-aA] anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w)  
 Xr.y mHy.w mi iri.t <m> Hw.t-nTr  
 n.y PA-Ra.w-@r.w-Axty Hr aqA=f  
 sp 2 (...)

This idea of monolatry is explicit in this text, which claims: “he [Apophis] did not serve any other god ... [except] Seth”. Further, though Apophis worshipped Seth above other gods, he followed cultic practices found in other Egyptian temples, such as the temple of Re-Harakhty. This in turn implies that Apophis acknowledged the existence of other gods. This is similar in concept to the monotheistic Amarna religion, though the religion instated by Akhenaten was less open to the existence of other deities.<sup>329</sup>

It has been made transparent earlier in this study that the Hyksos did not exclusively worship Seth.<sup>330</sup> Why are the Hyksos then described as following a monolatry religion? Assmann has

<sup>328</sup> Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 85-89; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 17-18 (no. 74).

<sup>329</sup> Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 28; Gaston Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1900), 288-294; Gunn and Gardiner, “The Expulsion of the Hyksos”, *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 40-44; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 85-89; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 17-18 (no. 74); Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca, 2001), 198-199; Jan Assmann, “A New State Theology – The Religion of Light”, in F. Seyfried (ed.), *In the Light of Amarna: 100 Years of the Nefertiti Discovery* (Petersberg, 2012), 79-83.

<sup>330</sup> See Chapter 4.3, and Appendix A[7]-[9].

suggested the “religious otherness” implied in this text is a reaction of trauma from the Amarna Period.<sup>331</sup> He claims that the eradication of all traces of the Akhenaten’s religious ideology meant that the memory of it survived only in the form of trauma.<sup>332</sup> Freud studied this idea of repression and proved that when an individual suffers trauma the memory of the event may be forgotten, but the event still exists in the subconscious and can be reactivated by a similar event or shock.<sup>333</sup> For this reason, the Egyptians may have transferred this religious trauma to their traditional enemies, the Hyksos, when normal traditions were reinstated.<sup>334</sup> In sum, the addition of a monolatry religion as an element to the Hyksos memory appears to have been influenced by past traumatic events, namely, the Amarna Period.

Thereafter, the text presents the Theban ruler Seqenenre in an unflattering manner. In prior tradition, the Ahmose family was praised for their bravery, and this included Seqenenre as he initially led the campaign against the Hyksos.<sup>335</sup> Nonetheless, the royal family of the Nineteenth Dynasty was not descended from the Ahmose family, and respect for this dynasty appears to have diminished.

<p>(2,6) (...) wn.in pA wr n.y niw.t  {Hr}rs.yt Hr sgA m A.t aA.t iw=f  xpr.w iw bw rx=f (2,7) an [smi] n pA  wpw.ty n.y nsw.t (lppy)  anx(.w)  wDA(.w) snb(.w) (...)</p>	<p>(2,6) (...) Then, the prince of the Southern  City was silent for a long time, change  coming over him, he being unable (2,7) to  answer the messenger of King (Apophis)   (l.p.h). (...) <sup>336</sup></p>
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Seqenenre is presented as baffled and speechless, specifically, the passive victim of Apophis’ bullying.<sup>337</sup> Apophis wished to provoke Seqenenre by sending an outrageous message, which

<sup>331</sup> Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 28.

<sup>332</sup> Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 28.

<sup>333</sup> Breuer and Freud, *Studies on Hysteria*, 61, 107.

<sup>334</sup> Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 28.

<sup>335</sup> For example, in the Biography of Ahmose son of Ibana line 4: “My father was a soldier of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Seqenenre, justified”. *Urk.* IV, 1-2.

<sup>336</sup> Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 85-89; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 17-18 (no. 74).

<sup>337</sup> Xin Ma, “Who Are the Victims?”, in C. E. Sanders and G. D. Phye (eds), *Bullying: Implications for the Classroom* (London, 2004), 20.

ordered Seqenenre to remove the hippopotami near Thebes as he can hear the noise at Avaris. Such a request astounds Seqenenre, who does not know how to respond.<sup>338</sup>

The inferiority of Seqenenre is further reinforced by the inefficiency of his council.<sup>339</sup> Seqenenre's inability to answer Apophis' request is contrasted against his court who equally as dumbfounded. The significance of this tableau is made clear when taken in light of the importance of the king's council during the Ramesside Period. In this stage of Egyptian history, the council was crucial for the maintenance of the Egyptian state, from advising the king to the continuation of foreign communication and relations.<sup>340</sup>

<p>(3,1) (...) aHa.n pA wr n.y niw.t rsy.t Hr Di.t aS.ntw nAy=f sr.w aA.w m- mitt waw nb HA.ty sw.t iw=f Hr [wHm] n=sn smi nb{.t} &lt;n&gt; md.t i- hAb n=f (3,2) nsw.t (lppy)  anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) Hr rA r=sn</p>	<p>(3,1) (...) Then the prince of the Southern City caused his high officials and every foremost soldier to be summoned. Then he repeated to them every matter about (3,2) King (Apophis)  (l.p.h.) had sent to him concerning them. Then they were silent like one man, for a (3,3) great time. They not knowing how to answer him, neither good nor bad (...) <sup>341</sup></p>
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aHa.n=sn gr.w m r-wa si m iAd.t

(3,3) aA(.t) nn rx=sn Hr wSb n=f m

nfr m rA-pw bin (...)

It is unclear why this text criticises Seqenenre and his court. If, as many scholars argue, the end of the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre features the beginning of the Theban military response to expel the Hyksos, it may simply be a device to contrast the weak nature of the Theban court

<sup>338</sup> Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 85-89; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 17-18 (no. 74).

<sup>339</sup> It is interesting to note that Apophis is referred to as **nsw.t** twelve times, whilst Seqenenre is designated as king twice. Neither ruler is labelled as **nsw.t bi.ty**, which indicates the author understood the condition of Egypt as being split between two kings and states.

<sup>340</sup> Pierre Grandet, "The Ramesside State", in J. C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Boston, 2013), 867.

<sup>341</sup> Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 85-89; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 17-18 (no. 74).

against their strong army, though at this stage in the narrative the soldiers are as dumbfounded as the court.<sup>342</sup> As the ending of the text is lost, it is impossible to determine why Seqenenre was represented in this inactive manner.

Finally, the Hyksos are again presented in a negative fashion despite the brief respite during the reign of Ramesses II. This is typical for the historical context, as foreigners are described in Merenptah's Poetical Stele as "vile", "feeble", "despoilers" and "evildoers".<sup>343</sup> Such an extreme representation of the Hyksos is not present in the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre [24], but it is still implied:

<p>(1,4) (...) istw rf ir (1, 5) nsw].t (lppy)   anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) i[w] ib=f r  hAb md.w thi.w &lt;n&gt; nsw.t (%qnn-  Ra.w)  anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) pA  wr niw.t rs.yt (...)</p>	<p>(1,4) (...) Now as for (1,5) [(Kin]g  (Apophis)  (l.p.h.) his desire was to send  false words to King (Seqenenre)  (l.p.h.)  the prince, "Great One", of the Southern  City (...).<sup>344</sup></p>
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Apophis in this section is described as desiring to send false words to the king of the south. This is not just an indication of Apophis' undesirable character, but his inability to rule Egypt. The first transgression listed in the Declaration of Innocence (Book of the Dead, Spell 125), is: "I have done no falsehood".<sup>345</sup> Lying goes against the moral code of the Ancient Egyptians, Maat, a concept founded in truth and justice.<sup>346</sup> Furthermore, Maat is at the very core of the Egyptian ideologies of kingship as it was the obligation of the king to defend and uphold Maat.<sup>347</sup> In such a context, it becomes clear that Seqenenre is the preferred Egyptian king by the narrator of this literary tale. Seqenenre may be silent, but he does not associate himself with the lies of Apophis.

<sup>342</sup> Hans Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* (San Antonio, 1986), 34-35.

<sup>343</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 74-77.

<sup>344</sup> Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 85-89; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 17-18 (no. 74).

<sup>345</sup> Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, C. Andrews (ed.) (New York, 1972), 31.

<sup>346</sup> Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 166; Maulana Karenga, *Maat, The Moral Ideal in Ancient Egypt: A Study in Classical African Ethics* (London, 2004), 6, 30.

<sup>347</sup> Shaw and Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*, 166; Karenga, *Maat*, 6, 30.

It is noteworthy that the negativity surrounding Apophis as ruler is more related to behavioural characteristics than physical prowess.<sup>348</sup> This is potentially related to the memory maker of this text, as the scribe would have been more interested in intelligence than brawn. The author gives the impression that the failing of the Thebans was a personnel problem: they did not have intelligent officials to assist them.<sup>349</sup> Clearly, the warrior ethos no longer characterises Egyptian identity as a whole by the reign of Merenptah.

Thus, the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre reinforces that traumatic events and repression can significantly distort a representation of the past. Various traumatic experiences and events have retrospectively shaped the Hyksos memory, by associating these potentates with monolatry religion and plague. There is also evidence that the warrior ethos was in decline.

#### **6.4. Summary**

From the reign of Hatshepsut onwards, we find texts referring to the Hyksos. The texts draw upon various aspects of the Hyksos period, from their religious practices ([22], [23]) to the character of Apophis and approach to rule [24]. The statements made have in turn construed the Hyksos legacy in a negative light. The Hyksos' contributions to Egypt, such as the continuation of the scribal schools and building projects were forgotten, and in turn overshadowed by the negative experiences of the Second Intermediate Period and the Expulsion era. Nonetheless, with these later sources of the New Kingdom in particular, by understanding the historical context and agenda of the memory maker, it becomes clear they are mentioning the Hyksos to make a point of comparison. It is also transparent that ideas of Egyptian identity are not stagnant, but alter throughout the New Kingdom.

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<sup>348</sup> Interestingly, the warrior ethos is evident in other texts of this period, such as the Poetical Stele: "(4) (...) Who destroyed the land of the Tjemeh in his lifetime, cast abiding terror (5) in the heart of the Meshwesh. He turned back the Libyans who trod Egypt, great is dread of Egypt in their hearts." Translation in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 74.

<sup>349</sup> Evidence of a different mindset regarding Egyptian identity can be seen to culminate in later Egyptian texts such as Papyrus Lansing of the Twentieth Dynasty, who makes it clear the profession of a soldier is not desirable. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 171-172.



# Chapter 7

## The Legacy of the Hyksos

This thesis set out to explore how representations of the Hyksos developed from the Second Intermediate Period to the New Kingdom. Three main research questions were presented including: 1) How do the representations of the Hyksos in the Egyptian sources develop over time? 2) Why do these representations change? Can they be related to the historical context, motives of the composer, intended audience, and physical context? And 3) How is this linked to ideas of Egyptian culture and identity?

This chapter provides the overall findings of this study in direct reference to research questions 1)-3). It includes a reappraisal of the Hyksos legacy, and comments on how this can be related to ideas of Egyptian identity in the period covered.

### 7.1 Development of the Hyksos Legacy: Analysis of the Terminology

The main objective of this thesis was to investigate how the representations of the Hyksos developed from the Second Intermediate Period to the New Kingdom. Using a data-driven and comparative method, evidence that could delineate information regarding the Hyksos and the nature of their rule was gathered and compared against descriptions of the Thebans (Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3).

#### 7.1.1 Attributes and actions of the Hyksos

In the Second Intermediate Period, the Hyksos' acculturation was evident through the adoption of Egyptian elements including Egyptian religious practices and titulary. They were portrayed as Egyptian rulers in the Hyksos sources and descriptions of them revolved around ideas of kingship, evident by the terms *HqA xAs.wt*, *nsw.t* and *sA Ra.w* (Table 7.1). As seen in Chapter 4, the Theban texts suggest the Hyksos led attacks (*pH*) against the Egyptians at Thebes (Table 7.2). Nevertheless, representations of the northerners during this period are as kings in Egyptian terms and consequently fairly pragmatic. This image changes during the Expulsion Period, where the Thebans texts represented the Hyksos as “un-Egyptian” through

**Table 7.1: Terminology used in reference to the Hyksos and Egyptians**

	Second Intermediate Period			Expulsion Period			New Kingdom		
	Term	Translation	Text	Term	Translation	Text	Term	Translation	Text
<b>The Actors</b>									
<i>Nouns for the Hyksos</i>	rqw	Opponent	[2]	rqw	Opponent	[14]			
	xAs.wt	Foreign lands	[2] [3]	xAs.wt	Foreign lands	[16]	xAs.wt	Foreign lands	[22] [23]
	sA Ra.w	Son of Re	[8] [9]	sA Ra.w	Son of Re	[13]			
	nsw.t	King	[9]	nsw.t	King	[10]	nsw.t	King	[24]
				SmAw	Strangers, foreigners	[10]	SmA.w	Strangers, foreigners	[22]
				wr	Prince	[12] [14]	wr	Prince	[24]
				aAm.w	Asiatics	[12] - [14]	aAm.w	Asiatics	[22] [24]
				%t.tyw	Asiatics	[12]			
				HqA	Ruler	[13]			
				mH.tyw	Northerners	[14] [16] [20]			
							xfty	Enemy	[22]
<i>Nouns for the Egyptian rulers</i>	nsw.t	King	[1]- [3]; [5] [6]	nsw.t	King	[12] – [17]; [20]- [21]	nsw.t	King	[22] [23] [24]
	DrDr.w	Strangers	[9]						
	tA.w	Flat-landers	[9]						
				kA Smaw	Southern Bull	[10]			
				HqA	Ruler	[11] [12] [14]	HqA	Ruler	[24]
				wr	Prince, chief	[14]	wr	Prince, chief	[24]

the ethnonyms **aAm.w** and **%t.tyw**. The Hyksos ruler Apophis was further delineated as “vile” (**Xs(y)**), “evil” (**Hwrw**), and “wicked” (**whn-ib**) (Table 7.3).<sup>350</sup> This perception of the Hyksos further deteriorated in the New Kingdom as they became forged as the archetypal enemy (**xfty**) and were irrevocably tied to the ethnonym **aAm.w**. They were hybridised as Asiatics who selectively followed Egyptian religious practices (e.g. [24]) and described as “abominations of the gods” (**bw.t nTr.w**). Clearly, representations of the Hyksos developed from factual terms identifying them as rulers in the Second Intermediate Period to judgemental and defamatory claims in the Expulsion era, thus creating the negative image of the Hyksos. Further, this negative image continued to impact how the Hyksos were perceived in the New Kingdom.

**Table 7.2: Terminology that describes the actions of the Hyksos and Egyptians**

The Actions attributed to the Actors									
	Second Intermediate Period			Expulsion Period			New Kingdom		
	Term	Translation	Text	Term	Translation	Text	Term	Translation	Text
Actions of the Hyksos (verbs)	sHtp	to pacify	[7] [8]						
	bSt.w	to rebel	[2]						
	pH.w	to attack	[2]						
				fkW	to empty	[12]			
				btnw	to disobey, to defy	[12] [13] [16]			
				Aq	to perish	[13]			
				HD	to damage	[13]			
				bT	to forsake	[13]			
				n	to not attack	[13]			
				pH					
							shri	to make content	[22]
							sxi	to beat	[22]
							HqA	to rule	[22]
							xrp	to control	[24]
							bAk.	Taxes	[24]
							thA	to falsify	[24]
A	sanx	Nourish	[2]						

<sup>350</sup> This is seen only in the corpus studied, and terms such as **aAm.w** are found earlier during the Twelfth Dynasty to Second Intermediate Period. See Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 360.

	swi	Cause to protect	[2]	nx	to protect	[11]	xwi	to protect	[22]
	sHtp	to pacify	[2]						
	sxr	to overthrow	[2]						
	mki	to protect	[2]	mki	to protect	[12]	mki	to protect	[23]
	waf	to drive back	[3]	waf	to drive back	[16]	waf	to drive back	[23]
	HqA	to rule	[5]	HqA	to rule	[16]			
	smA	to unite	[4] [5]	smA	to unite	[12]			
	Hwi	to smite	[3] [6]	Hwi	to smite	[12]			
	nHm	to take away, rescue	[3]	nHm	to take away, rescue	[12] [14]			
				Sna	to turn back, repel	[12]			
				smA	to kill	[12] [13] [20]			
				kfa	to capture	[14] [20] [21]			
				stp	to cut up, dismantle	[14]	stp	to cut up, dismantle	[22]
				dAr	to control, subdue	[16]			
				Xdb	to kill, slaughter	[18]			
							iTi	to conquer	[22]
							sgA	to be silent	[24]

**Table 7.3 Terminology that qualifies the Hyksos and Egyptians**

The Attributes of the Actors									
	Second Intermediate Period			Expulsion Period			New Kingdom		
	Term	Translation	Text	Term	Translation	Text	Term	Translation	Text
<i>Attributes given to the Hyksos</i>	sxm-ib	Stout-hearted	[9]						
	bS.t	Rebellious	[2]						
				Hwrw	Miserable, evil	[14]			
				Xs(y)	Feeble, weak, vile	[14]			
				n qnw	(who is) not brave	[14]			
				whn ib	Wicked of heart	[14]			
				xn	Rebels	[16]			
							bw.t nTr.w	Abomination of the gods	[22]

<i>Attributes given to the Egyptian rulers</i>	nx	Miserable	[9]						
	qni	Brave	[6]	qni	Brave	[11] [12] [14] [20]	qnn	Bravery	[22]
	nxt	Mighty, strong	[3]	nxt	Mighty, Strong	[11] [12]	nxt	Mighty, strong	[23]
				mAi.w	Lions	[12]			
				mar	Fortunate, successful	[14]			

### 7.1.2 Attributes and actions of the Thebans

In contrast, the representations of the Thebans rulers in the Theban texts remained positive in the period covered. In the Second Intermediate Period, the Thebans were correlated with bravery (**qni**), which was envisioned as acts of driving back foreigners (**waf**) and rescuing (**nHm**) their people (Tables 7.1-7.3). These acts of bravery were amplified during the Expulsion Period with the solidification of a warrior ethos. Texts of this era are saturated with terms that characterise the Thebans as brave soldiers who “smite” (**Hwi**), “capture” (**kfa**), “kill” (**smA**, **Xdb**), and “subdue” (**dAr**) the Asiatics (Table 7.2). Texts that harken back to this time during the New Kingdom however are less descriptive of the actions of the Egyptians. General terms are used, including “to protect” (**xwi**) or “to drive back” (**waf**). The Egyptians are still designated as brave, suggesting the continuation of the warrior ethos, but the frequency of this word had diminished. In sum, the representations of the Thebans as brave warriors, in relation to the Hyksos, peaked during the Expulsion Period.

### 7.1.3 *Excursus*: Accounting for the conditions associated with the Hyksos rule

It was observed in Chapter 4 that the Thebans of the Sixteenth Dynasty were beset by a number of catastrophes, including flood, famine, and military conflict (Table 7.4). The contemporary texts did not connect the occupation of the Hyksos to the Egyptians sufferings, except for military conflict. Further, mentions of destruction caused by storms (**Da**, **Snam**, **snmw**) are found during later periods, notably the reign of Ahmose [15] and Hatshepsut [22], though this damage is not specifically delineated as having occurred at the time of Hyksos rule.

Despite the fact the Hyksos were clearly not responsible for many of these disasters, during the New Kingdom destruction was amalgamated with the Hyksos occupation. This is implied by the continued use of the terms “to decay” (**wAsi**) and “to ruin” (**fx**) for describing the conditions of the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty (Table. 7.4). Additionally, in the reign of Hatshepsut [22] there are explicit references to damage (**sxi**) caused by wandering foreigners (**SmA.w**). Can this change in the Hyksos legacy be accounted for? A possible explanation can be related to the location of the Sixteenth and early Eighteenth Dynasty texts, which were predominantly found in the vicinity of the Karnak Temple.<sup>351</sup> Though it is impossible to learn where these documents were originally set up in relation to each other, it is possible their proximity to one another in the temple forged their content into a cohesive narrative. Evidently, during the New Kingdom the rule of the Hyksos was linked to destruction, an idea that may have been facilitated by the location of the Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty texts at the Karnak Temple.

## 7.2 Understanding the development of the Hyksos Legacy

A second objective of this study was to understand why these representations change. Using an interpretive-theory driven method, it involved understanding the text as a communicative or cultural memory, in order to determine how coherent a memory would have been to others and to account for the content. Further, the texts were studied through categories of the

**Table 7.4 Terminology that provides insight into the conditions experienced during the Second Intermediate Period**

The Conditions at the time of Hyksos rule									
	Second Intermediate Period			Expulsion Period			New Kingdom		
	Term	Translation	Text	Term	Translation	Text	Term	Translation	Text
Flood	Hapi	Flood	[1]						
	mH.ti m mw	Filled with water	[1]	mH.t Hr mw	Flood of water	[15]			
	hrp	to be immersed	[2]						

<sup>351</sup> Namely, texts [1], [2], [3], [13], [14], [15], [16].

				Da	Storm	[15]			
				Sna	Storm-cloud	[15]			
				mHy.wt	Flood	[15]			
							snmw	Rain-swept	[22]
<i>Famine</i>	gAw	Lack, want	[2]						
	sanx	Cause to live, nourish	[2]						
<i>Distress</i>				iAdw	to be in misery, great distress, to suffer	[14]	iAd.t	Pestilence, influence, affliction	[24]
<i>Conflict</i>	mSa	Army	[2] [3]	mSa	Army	[12], [14]	mSa	Army	[22]
	sxwi	Cause to protect	[2]				xwi	to protect	[22]
	bSt	Rebellion	[2]						
	sxr	Overthrow	[2]						
	Sat	Slaughter	[2] [3]						
	pH	Attack	[2]	pH	Attack	[14]			
	Hwi	Smite, beat	[6]	Hwi	Smite	[12]			
				THn	to engage	[12] [14]			
				Sna	to repel	[12]			
				sAsA	to repel	[12] [14]			
				smA	to kill	[12] [13] [20]			
				aHA	to fight	[14] [18] [20]			
<i>Damage</i>	wAsi	to be decayed	[5]	wAsi	to be decayed	[15]	wAsi	to be decayed	[22]
	fx	to ruin	[5]				fx	to ruin	[22]
	wAi	to fall	[5]				wAi	to fall	[22]
				xbA	to destroy, lay waste	[13] [14] [15]			
				Sad	to cut down	[14]			
				wS	to be destroyed	[14]			
							sxn	to destroy	[22]

memory maker, memory consumer, and object to promote a holistic examination of a document (Table 7.5).<sup>352</sup>

### 7.2.1 The Second Intermediate Period and Communicative Memory

The terminology used throughout the texts of the Second Intermediate Period demonstrate some similarities in motifs, including floods, and accordingly, *shared knowledge* in the communications between individuals.<sup>353</sup> The sources were also shown to be unstable thematically between the Hyksos and Thebans, as well as over time. This in turn reinforces the idea that these texts can be viewed as examples of communicative memory.

The results clearly indicate that each text was shaped by the object, memory maker, and intended audience. In many cases the memory maker was an Egyptian king promoting his deeds from driving back foreigners to nourishing his people. As memory is a major component of the self, individual recollections of the past are salient for how identity is represented according to long-term goals and social structures.<sup>354</sup> Documents such as the Stele of Ikhnofret [2] can thus be understood as representing self-knowledge that adhered to Egyptian values, namely by presenting the king as a legitimate ruler who defeated chaos. This can consequently shed light as to why the texts from Theban sources placed so much emphasis on military conflict. Not only was it a reflection of the historical context, but also of how the memory maker wished to preserve and disseminate knowledge about themselves to an Egyptian audience. In sum, Chapter 4 demonstrated the effectiveness of categories of memory for analysing texts and accounting for the straightforward descriptions of the Hyksos during the Second Intermediate Period.

### 7.2.2 The Expulsion Period and the transition from Communicative to Cultural Memory

The descriptions found in texts of the Expulsion Period established the Hyksos explicitly as the opponent of the Egyptians. Such an idea of the Hyksos as the “other” expresses the growing

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<sup>352</sup> As it is impossible to provide details of these features for every single text due to word constraints, this section illustrates the benefits of this approach through an in-depth application to one text. For a summary of the memory maker, consumer, and object for the whole corpus studied, see Table 7.5.

<sup>353</sup> Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 1-3.

<sup>354</sup> Conway, “Memory and the Self”, *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 597.



homogeneity of representations of the northerners amongst the Theban texts, and can be viewed as the transition phase of the Hyksos legacy from a communicative to a cultural memory.<sup>355</sup>

This understanding of the development of the Hyksos legacy is also improved by a consideration of the role the memory maker. Whilst representations of Apophis as an Egyptian provided legitimacy to his rule, defamation of Apophis by the Egyptians assisted in justifying military conflict. This is exemplified in the Kamose texts ([12], [13], [14]), which are the most negative renditions of the Hyksos from the Expulsion Period. This appears to be related to the motivations of the memory maker, Kamose, and his goals to recall acts that present himself as a brave warrior. Furthermore, in texts that aim to enforce ideas of identity, it is typically determined through sharp contrasts between those who belong and those who do not.<sup>356</sup> In turn, descriptions of the feeble Asiatic and strong Egyptian allowed Kamose to instil a sense of nationalism in his army by bonding the Egyptians together against a common foe.<sup>357</sup> Such an idea enables the formulation of a warrior ethos to be connected to, account for, the negative representation of the Hyksos from the Expulsion Period onwards.

### 7.2.3 The New Kingdom and Cultural Memory

By the New Kingdom, remembrances of the Hyksos were reconstructed in new contexts and were shaped by contemporary concerns. As these new renditions of the past were created, they were often communicated through an institution. This implies that the memory of the Hyksos represented critical cultural knowledge to the Egyptians that may have contributed to ideas of collective identity.<sup>358</sup>

The texts of the New Kingdom that recall the Hyksos occupation no longer represent first-hand autobiographical knowledge. Further, these sources have been reconstructed to comply with new goals and contexts, as encapsulated by Hatshepsut's Speos Artemidos Inscription [22].<sup>359</sup> Hatshepsut did not have the same goals as her predecessors in defaming the Hyksos to promote a warrior ethos and justify a war. Instead, she appears to have used the recollections of the Hyksos to establish herself as a legitimate ruler for an Egyptian audience. By editing the

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<sup>355</sup> Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 129.

<sup>356</sup> Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 130.

<sup>357</sup> Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 131.

<sup>358</sup> Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *NGC* 65 (1995), 132.

<sup>359</sup> Conway, "Memory and the Self", *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 597.

content, aspects of the initial communicative memory were forgotten that would have challenged her goals. For example, the fact the Hyksos did worship Re, as evidenced by their titulary, challenged Hatshepsut's claims to legitimacy and so it was "forgotten" to maintain the coherence of her memory of the Hyksos as foreigners.<sup>360</sup> Clearly, as the New Kingdom texts that harken back to Hyksos Period are reconstructed, they can be identified as examples of cultural memory, and not historical documents. This understanding further demonstrates that the legacy of the Hyksos in later periods was retrospectively manipulated and affected by the historical context, goals of the memory maker, and intended audience.

### **7.3 How the past can shape ideas of Cultural Memory and Identity**

A final line of enquiry was to understand if the development of the Hyksos legacy was shaped or impacted by ideas of Egyptian cultural identity. This was determined through perceiving the texts through Assmann's criteria of cultural memory.

#### **7.3.1 The Second Intermediate Period and Identity**

As concluded, texts of the Second Intermediate Period are best understood as examples of communicative memory. Because these texts are individual-based and unstable, there is little indication of how collective identity was construed in this era. The shared themes suggested by the terminology, however, do insinuate that on some level the collective consciousness of the Theban Kingdom did associate themselves with courageous acts and bravery (Table 7.2 and 7.3). Despite this, it is not clear if such an idea of cultural identity is applicable to all Egyptians at this time, and how it may have shaped representations of the Hyksos.

#### **7.3.2 The Expulsion Period and Identity**

It is during the Expulsion Period that we can find the most conclusive evidence of using the past to establish a sense of identity. Kamose in particular shaped ideas of Egyptian identity by defining himself as the brave warrior through contrast against descriptions of the feeble Hyksos ruler. This had an enormous influence on how the war and the role of the king were perceived, as concepts of kingship and Egyptian identity became ingrained with deeds on the battlefield.

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<sup>360</sup> Conway, "Memory and the Self", *Journal of Memory and Language* 53 (2005), 597.

The emphasis in these texts of the Hyksos as **aAm.w** further suggests ethnicity was a tool to articulate why the Hyksos were removed from Egyptian culture, and did not belong as rulers. However, as these representations of the Hyksos were not necessarily being “reconstructed” in new contexts, it indicates that the recollections of the Hyksos had not entirely become forged into a cultural memory, and was not something all Egyptians would have identified with.

### **7.3.3 The New Kingdom and Identity**

By the New Kingdom, the memory of the Hyksos had the capacity to bond the Egyptians together through shared cultural knowledge, values and experiences. As the Hyksos rule represented the first occupation of Egypt by a foreign people, this period became a defining moment in Egyptian history. Harkening back to the Hyksos Expulsion appears to have given prestige to Egyptians of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and during the reign of Hatshepsut at least, the cultural identity forged in the Expulsion Period continued to influence how the Egyptians perceived themselves. Though Hatshepsut [22] did identify herself with brave deeds including expelling the Hyksos, the utilisation of less violent terminology and the diminished use of the adjective **qni** suggests ideas of the brave warrior no longer encapsulated Egyptian identity as a whole. This continued into the reign of Merenptah, evidenced by the deprecating perception of the soldier in the Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre [24]. Thus, at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Hyksos occupation was forged as a cultural memory, though it was no longer used as a source for transmitting and inculcating ideas of Egyptian identity.

## **7.4 Summary**

In sum, the results emphasise the growing negativity towards the Hyksos from the Second Intermediate Period until the New Kingdom. Firstly, the close analysis of the texts through a philological method demonstrated a shift in phraseology towards the Hyksos. Consequently, from being accepted as sovereigns during the Second Intermediate Period, over time the Hyksos became “vile Asiatics” who had exploited Egypt. Secondly, understanding these texts as manifestations of memory demonstrated that this view of the Hyksos as the “other” was evidently not an accurate historical reflection, but was swayed by socio-political circumstances and the motives of the memory maker. The Egyptians’ defamation of these rulers was a mechanism to justify warfare, though it also had the consequence of formulating a sense of

Egyptian identity in relation to a warrior ethos. In later periods the Egyptian rulers remembered the time of the Hyksos with contemporary circumstances, and goals, in mind, because the Hyksos expulsion encapsulated the role of the king as the one who expels chaos. Thus, the recollections of the Hyksos were irrevocably shaped by the context, including features of repression and trauma, and by the goals of the memory maker.

**Table 7.5 Summary of Memory Analysis**

<b>Text</b>	<b>Memory Maker/s</b>	<b>Memory Consumer</b>	<b>Object</b>	<b>Original Location</b>	<b>Historical Context</b>
[1]	Sobekhotep VIII	Citizens of the Theban state, religious audience	Stele	Karnak Temple	Sixteenth Dynasty, Egypt divided
[2]	Ikhnofret	Citizens of the Theban state, religious audience	Stele	Karnak Temple	Sixteenth Dynasty, Egypt divided
[3]	Seankhenre Montuhotpi and treasurer Montu-woser	Citizens of the Theban state, religious audience	Stele	Karnak Temple	Sixteenth Dynasty, Egypt divided
[4]	Bebi, District Official	Funerary and public audience. Elkab and descendants of Bebi	Tomb Inscription	Elkab, <i>in situ</i>	Sixteenth Dynasty, Egypt divided. Issues of famine
[5]	Rahotep	Citizens of the Theban state, religious audience	Stele	Koptos Temple	Seventeenth Dynasty, peace and conflict
[6]	Nakht	Public and religious audience	Stele	Osiris Temple at Abydos	Seventeenth Dynasty, peace and conflict
[7]	Apophis	Citizens of the Hyksos state, religious audience	Offering Table	Avaris (?)	Fifteenth Dynasty, rule under a king of foreign origin
[8]	Apophis	Citizens of the Hyksos state, religious audience at Bubastis	Architrave	Temple of Bastet, Bubastis	Fifteenth Dynasty, rule under a king of foreign origin
[9]	Apophis	The scribe ITw, and possibly other officials in Hyksos court	Palette	Medinet el-Fayum	Fifteenth Dynasty, rule under a king of foreign origin
[10]	Apophis, scribe Ahmose, and unknown Theban	Egyptians, particularly those interested in science and mathematics	Papyrus	Thebes, near Ramesseum	Expulsion Period
[11]	The soldier Ahmose	Funerary and public audience	Stele	Buhen	Expulsion Period

[12]	Unknown Scribe and Kamose	Copy was likely for scribe himself	Tablet	Birâbi	Expulsion Period
[13]	Kamose	Citizens of the Theban state, religious audience	Stele	Karnak Temple	Expulsion Period
[14]	Kamose and treasurer Neshi	Citizens of the Theban state, religious audience	Stele	Karnak Temple	Expulsion Period
[15]	Ahmosé	Citizens of the Egypt, religious audience	Stele	Karnak	Expulsion Period (?)
[16]	Ahmosé	Citizens of the Egypt, religious audience	Stele	Karnak Temple	Expulsion Period (?)
[17]	Ahmosé and treasurer Neferperet	Public audience, workers and visitors to Tura	Rock Inscription	Tura, Quarry of Masara	Beginning of Eighteenth Dynasty, a few years after Hyksos Expulsion
[18]	Emhab	Funerary and public audience	Stele	Edfu	Expulsion Period
[19]	Tjaw	Funerary and public audience	Stele	Edfu	Expulsion Period
[20]	Ahmosé Son of Ibana, and his grandson, Paheri	Funerary and public audience	Tomb Inscription	Elkab	Beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, post the Expulsion of the Hyksos
[21]	Ahmosé-Pennekhbet	Funerary and public audience	Tomb Inscription	Elkab	Beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, post the Expulsion of the Hyksos
[22]	Hatshepsut	Citizens of the Egypt, religious audience	Rock Inscription	Temple of Pakhet, Speos Artemidos	Reign of Hatshepsut, period of peace and consolidation
[23]	Ramesses II and vizier Sety	Citizens of the Egypt, esp. those around the Delta, religious audience	Stele	Tanis, prob. Pi-Ramesses	Reign of Ramesses II, period of great expansion, in terms of military and buildings
[24]	The scribe Pentaweret	Pentaweret (?)	Papyrus	Saqqara (?)	Reign of Merenptah, after the attempted invasion of the Sea-Peoples

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

“And now the measure of my work is done:  
the work has reached its end.”

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Book XV.<sup>361</sup>

#### 8.1 An Overview of the Research

This thesis has argued that the legacy of the Hyksos, as evidenced in the Egyptian textual sources, is a product of Egyptian cultural memory and identity. This was explored through three research questions:

- 1) How do the representations of the Hyksos in the Egyptian sources develop over time?
- 2) Why do these representations change? Can they be related to the historical context, motives of the composer, intended audience, and physical context?
- 3) How is this linked to ideas of Egyptian culture and identity?

The results firmly showed the Hyksos during the Second Intermediate Period had acculturated to Egyptian customs and were represented in pragmatic terms by the Thebans. This image changed during the Expulsion Period, as Kamose defamed the northerners to justify his war against the Hyksos, and to promote a warrior ethos. Bravery, strength and valour were understood as defining characteristics of being “Egyptian”, and the use of antithesis and ethnonyms allowed Kamose to concrete a sense of identity that specifically excluded the Hyksos. This negative rendition of the rulers of foreign lands continued into the New Kingdom, though new features were added to the Hyksos legacy, such as comments on their religious affiliations and approach to rule. Later associations with the Hyksos and destruction were likely influenced by the Theban texts of the Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom. It was further

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<sup>361</sup> Ovid, *The Metamorphoses*, trans. H. Gregory (Harmondsworth, 1960), 441.

argued these alterations could be linked to motives of the memory maker and historical context. On the whole, the examined evidence suggests that the negative image of the Hyksos was initially forged by the Egyptian rulers to justify warfare and construe a bonding Egyptian identity.

## **8.2 Significance**

The findings of this thesis show the usefulness of a holistic approach to the textual sources. The method used to inform the thesis, namely, memory studies, proved to be well suited in determining the role of the author, object, audience, and historical context on the formation of Egyptian texts. It offered significant insight into the development of the Hyksos legacy, and how Egyptian identity was construed in relation to this. Tracing the variant portrayals of the Hyksos revealed that they could shed much light on shifting ideas of Egyptian cultural identity. Consequently, by understanding the Hyksos legacy as a product of memory, it provided an explanation for the discrepancies that exist between the archaeological material and Egyptian textual sources. The textual sources were not aiming to record the past accurately, but were actively shaped by the memory maker, context, and intended audience.

Overall, memory studies have significantly enhanced understandings of the Hyksos. It challenges us to review more texts, opinions, and evaluations of not just the Hyksos, but other groups and personalities. If the legacy of the Hyksos can be distorted through memory, it is equally possible this same issue is present in other phases of ancient history. These problems however can to an extent be overcome by the methodology of memory studies, which highlights the intricate web of features that contribute to how meaning is constructed in a text.

## **8.3 Research Limitations and Prospective Areas of Research**

The introduction articulated that this study does have some serious limitations regarding scope and sources, as it does not closely integrate archaeological evidence, visual representations, or the oral tradition. While the thesis did rely on Theban and Egyptian textual material, the selection of evidence for future research would be enhanced by the examination of more recent archaeological work from the Delta and Thebes, unprovenanced and non-contemporaneous material, and artistic representations. An analysis of these sources within the framework of cultural memory would be useful to understand the various dynamics of memory in Ancient



Egypt, though a further differentiation would need to be made to determine how memory differs between visual and textual material. Such a study of the various representations of the Hyksos deserves attention for the simple fact the frames of experience in everyday life were shaped by encounters with foreigners. Foreigners were the medium through which the Egyptians could understand and transmit ideas of cultural identity, and the Hyksos were no exception.

#### **8.4 Summary**

In sum, the data gathered on the Hyksos legacy in this study provides evidence to show that the Egyptians were influenced by the historical context and personal motives in the recording of their past. The Egyptians were not creating an objective history, but documenting the past with deliberate purpose. All the factors that contribute to the creation of a text need to be discussed in relation to the content, otherwise we risk telling a story that denies the agency of the Hyksos and is instead entrenched in an Egyptian perspective.

# Appendix

## Textual Sources - Translations and Commentary

**Table A.1: List of Textual Sources**

	Text	Monument/ Artefact	Date	Perspective	Memory Maker	Provenance
<b>A) Textual Sources dating from the Second Intermediate Period</b>						
[1]	Karnak Stele of Sobekhotep VIII	Stele	Dyn 16, Sobekhotep VIII (1641 BC)	Theban, royal	Sobekhotep VIII	Karnak Temple
[2]	Karnak Stele of Ikhnofret (Neferhotep III)	Stele	Dyn 16, Ikhnofret (1629-1628 BC)	Theban, royal	Neferhotep III	Karnak Temple
[3]	Karnak Stele of Seankhenre Montuhotpi	Stele	Dyn 16, Montuhotpi (1628-1627 BC)	Theban, royal	Seankhenre Montuhotpi, and treasurer Montu-woser	Karnak Temple
[4]	Elkab Biographical Statement of Bebi	Tomb inscription	Dyn 16, Nebiryraw I (1627-1601 BC)	Theban, elite	Bebi, district official of Elkab	Elkab, <i>in situ</i> (tomb)
[5]	Stele of Rahotep	Stele	Dyn 17, Rahotep (1580-1576 BC)	Theban, royal	Rahotep	Koptos Temple
[6]	Abydos Stele of Nakht	Stele	Dyn 17, Antef VII (1571-1566 BC)	Theban, elite	Nakht	Abydos, Temple of Osiris
[7]	Offering Table of Apophis from Avaris	Offering table	Dyn 15, Apophis (1581-1541 BC)	Hyksos, royal	Apophis	Cairo (?) prob. Avaris
[8]	Building Inscription at Bubastis by Apophis	Architrave	Dyn 15, Apophis (1581-1541 BC)	Hyksos, royal	Apophis	Bubastis, Temple of Bastet
[9]	Scribal Palette of ITw	Scribal palette	Dyn 15, Apophis (1581-1541 BC)	Hyksos, royal	Apophis	Medinet el-Fayum
<b>B) Textual sources dating from the Expulsion Period</b>						

[10]	Rhind Mathematica I Papyrus	Papyrus	Dyn 15, Apophis (1548 BC) and Dyn 18, Ahmose (1538 BC)	Hyksos, royal; Theban, elite	Apophis and unknown Theban scribe	Thebes, near the Ramesseu m
[11]	Buhen Stele of Ahmose	Stele	Dyn 17, Kamose (1554-1549 BC)	Theban, elite	Ahmose, soldier	Buhen
[12]	Carnarvon Tablet I	Writing tablet	Dyn 17, Kamose (1554-1549 BC) (?)	Theban, royal and elite	Kamose, and the unknown scribe	Birâbi, Tomb 9 near Deir el-Bahari
[13]	First Stele of Kamose	Stele	Dyn 17, Kamose (1554-1549 BC)	Theban, royal	Kamose	Karnak Temple
[14]	Second Stele of Kamose	Stele	Dyn 17, Kamose (1554-1549 BC)	Theban, royal	Kamose, and scribe Neshi	Karnak Temple
[15]	Storm Stele of Ahmose	Stele	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1549-1532 BC)	Theban, royal	Ahmose	Karnak Temple
[16]	Stele of Ahmose at Karnak	Stele	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1530-1524 BC)	Theban, royal	Ahmose	Karnak Temple
[17]	Inscription from a Rock Pillar at Tura	Rock inscription	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1528-1527 BC)	Theban, royal	Ahmose; treasurer Neferperet	Tura, Quarry of Masara
[18]	Stele of Emhab from Edfu	Stele	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1549-1524 BC)	Theban, elite	Emhab, soldier in Ahmose's army	Edfu
[19]	Stele of Tjaw from Edfu	Stele	Dyn 18, Ahmose (1549-1524 BC)	Theban, elite	Tjaw, District Official of the Ruler's Table	Edfu
[20]	Biography of Ahmose son of Ibana	Tomb inscription	Dyn 18, Thutmose II (1492-1479 BC)	Theban, elite	Paheri, the grandson of Ahmose son of Ibana	Elkab, <i>in situ</i> (tomb)
[21]	Biography of Ahmose- Pennekhbet	Tomb inscription	Dyn 18, Hatshepsut (1479-1457 BC)	Theban, elite	Ahmose- Pennekhbet, soldier and tutor	Elkab, <i>in situ</i> (tomb)
<b>C) Textual Sources dating from the New Kingdom</b>						
[22]	Speos Artemidos Inscription	Rock Inscription	Dyn 18, Hatshepsut (1479-1457 BC)	Egyptian, royal	Hatshepsut	Temple of Pakhet, Speos Artemidos
[23]	The Four Hundred Year Stele	Stele	Dyn 19, Ramesses II (1245-1239 BC)	Egyptian, royal	Ramesses II and the vizier Sety	Tanis, prob. Pi- Ramesses

[24]	The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre	Papyrus	Dyn 19, Merenptah (1203 BC)	Egyptian, elite	Pentaweret, scribe and treasury official	Saqqara (?)
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## A) Textual Sources dating from the Second Intermediate Period

### [1] *Karnak Stele of Sobekhotep VIII*

#### Bibliographic Details:

Muhammed, "Recent Finds", *ASAE* 59 (1959), 143-155, pl. III.

Baines, "The Inundation Stela of Sobekhotep VIII", *AcOr(B)* 36 (1974), 39-54.

Habachi, "A High Inundation in the Temple of Amenre at Karnak in the Thirteenth Dynasty", *SAK* 1 (1974), 207-214.

Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 46-47 (no. 63).

Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 3 (no. 5).

#### Object Details:

*Object:* Stele; Limestone, H. 63cm, W. 56cm, Th. 16cm.<sup>362</sup>

*Date:* Reign of Sobekhotep VIII. Dyn 16, 1641 BC (Ryholt); Dyn 13 (von Beckerath); Dyn 16, 1638 BC (Franke).<sup>363</sup>

*Provenance:* Karnak, Third Pylon.<sup>364</sup>

*Current Location:* Unknown.

#### Memory:

*Memory Maker:* King Sobekhotep VIII.

*Memory Consumer:* Residents of Thebes, in the context of a state temple.

*Original Physical Context:* Chapel of Hapy near Temple of Amun at Karnak.<sup>365</sup>

#### Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 46-47 (no. 63).

*Translation:* Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 3 (no. 5).

#### Transliteration

#### Translation

Side A: Vignette

(1) rnp.t sp 4 Abd 4 Sm.w 5

[Hr.w-rnp.t xr Hm n.y nTr pn<sup>l</sup> anx  
D.t]

(2) wai m nn hrw [xpr(.w) wn.in

Hm=f Hr wDA.w r pr.w] (3) n.y

lmn.w

(1) Year 4, fourth month of summer, fifth  
[epogomenal day, under the majesty of this  
god, may he live for.]

(2) One of these days [it happened that his  
majesty went to the house] (3) of Amun.

<sup>362</sup> Habachi, "A High Inundation", *SAK* 1 (1974), 208.

<sup>363</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 138; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>364</sup> Habachi, "A High Inundation", *SAK* 1 (1974), 208.

<sup>365</sup> Habachi, "A High Inundation", *SAK* 1 (1974), 214.

(3) gmi.n Hm=f Hapi wr iyi.n  
[Hm=f r mAA Hapi wr] (4) n.ty m  
Hw.t-wsx n.t Hw.t-nTr n.t rA-pr.w  
pn

(4) wn.in [Hm=f Hr rhn.t] (5) Xnw  
Hw.t-wsx n.t Hw.t-nTr Hna [smr.w]  
/// /// (6) [=]sn /// /// ///

Side B:

(1) (anh sA Ra.w %bk-Htp mri.y  
Hapi aA Di(.w) anx D.t)|

(2) rnp.t sp 4 Abd 4 Sm.w 5  
Hr.w-rnp.t xr Hm n.y nTr pn anx  
D.t

(3) wDA Hm=f r Hw.t-wsx n.t rA-  
pr.w pn (r) mAA Hapi wr

(4) iyi.n Hm=f Hw.t-wsx n.t rA-  
pr.w pn mH.ti m mw

wn.in Hm=f Hr (5) rhn.t im=s Hna  
qnb.t

Dd.in Hm n.y nsw.t (6) [bi.ty] /// ///  
/// /// rn wr n.y Hm=i anx.w wDA.w  
snb.w

iyi.n (7) /// /// Hapi aA iyi.n Hm=i  
anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) (8) /// ///  
sDm wD.t /// /// ///

# Commentary:

- <sup>1</sup> Redford reconstructs this section as “the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekhemre Sewoder Towy, Son of Re, Sobekhotep.” In Helck’s transcription of this stele, however, there is no room for this appellation. Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 3 (no. 5); Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 46.

(3) His majesty found a great inundation, and  
his majesty came [to see the great inundation]  
(4) which was in the broad hall of the temple  
of this sacred temenos.

(4) Then [his majesty waded] (5) inside the  
broad hall of the temple together with  
[companions] /// /// (6) them /// /// ///

(1) (Live the Son of Re Sobek-hotep, beloved  
of the Great Hapy, may he be given life  
forever)|

(2) Year 4, fourth month of summer, fifth  
epogomenal day, under the majesty of this  
god, may he live for eternity.

(3) His majesty went to the broad hall of  
this sacred temenos, and saw the great  
inundation.

(4) When his majesty came, the broad hall  
of this sacred temenos was filled with  
water.

Then his majesty (5) waded in it with the  
high officials.

Then the majesty of the King of Upper and

(6) [Lower Egypt] said /// ///

“/// /// great name of my majesty (l.p.h.).

When came (7) /// /// great flood. When my  
majesty (l.p.h.) came (8) /// /// to hear the  
command /// /// ///

## [2] *Karnak Stele of Ikhnofret*

### **Bibliographic Details:**

Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê Neferhotep Iykhnofert et la domination Hyksôs (Stèle Cairo JE 59635)”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129-135.

Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 45 (no. 62).

Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 3 (no. 4).

### **Object Details:**

*Object:* Stele, Limestone: H. 85.6cm, W. 53.5cm.<sup>366</sup>

*Date:* Reign of Neferhotep III. Dyn 16, 1629-1628 BC (Ryholt); Dyn 13 (von Beckerath); Dyn 16, 1625 BC (Franke).<sup>367</sup>

*Provenance:* Karnak Temple, Third Pylon.<sup>368</sup>

*Current Location:* Cairo JE 59635.<sup>369</sup>

### **Memory:**

*Memory Maker:* King Neferhotep III.

*Memory Consumer:* Citizens of Thebes, in the context of a state temple.

*Original Physical Context:* Vicinity of the Karnak Temple (?).

### **Translation:**

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 45 (no. 62).

*Translation:* Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 3 (no. 4).

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<sup>366</sup> Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129.

<sup>367</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 138; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>368</sup> Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129.

<sup>369</sup> Vernus, “La stèle du roi Sekhemsankhtaouyrê”, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 129.

*Transliteration*

(1) anx @r.w wAD xa.w Nb.ty aA  
pH.ty @r.w nbw [mn mr.wt] nsw.t  
bi.ty (%xm-Ra.w %anx-tA.wy)| sA  
Ra.w (Nfr-Htp)| Di(.w) anx (2)  
Imn.w-Ra.w mri.y nb ns.wt tA.wy

inD-Hr=k (%xm-Ra.w %anx[-tA.wy)|  
di(.w) anx] D.t nHH (lyi-Xr-nfr.t)|  
Di(.w) anx D.t (3) mri.y Imn.w  
aq r niw.t Hw Xr HA.t=f smAy n  
hr.w-nfr

(4) nsw.t nxt mri.y mSa=f  
@r.w nfr ini(.w) Htp.w sanx  
[niw.t]=f sxr (5) gAw  
sSm n.y WAs.t ntt nTr nfr  
mri.y Ra.w sA Imn.w nsw.t (6)  
nTr.w

(6) sxwi niw.t=f hrp.ti  
mki sy Hna xAs.wt  
(7) sHtp n=s xAs.wt bSt(.w)t Xr  
bA.w it=f Imn.w

sxr (8) n=s rqw.w bSt.w Hr=f  
wd Sa.t r pH.w (9) sw /// ///  
apr.w m xprS tw.t anx n.y Ra.w  
nb /// ///

*Translation*

(1) Live Horus: Fresh of Diadems, the Two  
Ladies: great of strength, Golden Horus  
[established of love], King of Upper and  
Lower Egypt, (Sekhemre Sankh-Towy)|, son  
of Re, (Neferhotep)|, may he be given life,  
(2) beloved of Amun-Re, Lord of the  
Thrones of the Two Lands.

Hail to you, (Sekhemre Sankh-Towy)|, may  
he be given life forever and ever,  
(Ikhnofret)|, may he be given life forever,  
(3) beloved of Amun!

One who entered the city, (with) food before  
him, one who made a happy day.

(4) A Mighty King beloved of his army,  
perfect Horus, bringer of offerings, who  
causes his [city] to live when it had fallen  
[into] (5) want.

The leader of Mighty Thebes, the Perfect  
God, beloved of Re, son of Amun, king of  
the gods.

(6) (the one) who provides protection for  
his city when it had been submerged, who  
guards it (along) with the foreign lands.  
(7) who pacifies for it the rebellious foreign  
lands, through the power of his father  
Amun,  
who overthrew (8) for it, the enemies who  
rebelled against him, who commits  
slaughter against those who attacked (9)  
him /// ///

Equipped with Blue Crown, living image of  
Re, lord of /// ///

### [3] *Karnak Stele of Seankhenre Montuhotpi*

#### **Bibliographic details:**

Adam and El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 47.

Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume II: *Theban Temples* (Oxford, <sup>2</sup>1972), 47, 73.

Vernus, “La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi à Karnak”, *RdE* 40 (1989), 145-161.

Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 9 (no. 50).

#### **Object Details:**

*Object:* Stele, Limestone. Unknown dimensions (?).

*Date:* Reign of Montuhotpi. Dyn 16, 1628-1627 BC (Ryholt); Dyn 13 (von Beckerath); Dyn 16, 1624 BC (Franke).<sup>370</sup>

*Provenance:* Karnak, Third Pylon.<sup>371</sup>

*Current Location:* As of 1989 it was held a magazine of the Karnak Temple called “Sheikh Labib”.<sup>372</sup>

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<sup>370</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 138; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>371</sup> Vernus, “La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi”, *RdE* 40 (1989), 145.

<sup>372</sup> Vernus, “La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi”, *RdE* 40 (1989), 145.



## Memory:

*Memory Maker:* King Montuhotpi, and treasurer Montu-woser.

*Memory Consumer:* Citizens of Thebes, context of a state temple.

*Original Physical Context:* Vicinity of Karnak Temple.

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Vernus, “La stèle du pharaon Mntw-htpi”, *RdE* 40 (1989), 147, pls 6-7.

*Translation:* Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 9 (no. 50).

### Transliteration

(1) [anx @r.w] /// /// [nsw.t bi.ty  
(%anx.n-ra.w)| /// /// (2) (MnTw-  
Htpi)] Di(.w) anx  
iri nsw.t /// lmn.w m ini.n MnTw ///  
/// /// (3) Ha.tw Hr nhm r HA.t=f  
pri m pr.w=f ib=f /// Ssp.n [tp  
wA.t] /// /// (4) {mi} ltn  
@r.w mry mSa=f xrp=f wr anx.w  
m sxr.w=[n] iri nsw.t /// ///  
(5) WAs.t nxt ink nsw.t n.y Xn  
WAs.t niw.t=i tn nb.t tA Dr=f dmi  
nxtw /// /// (6) dmi nb  
nTr aA mitt Ra.w nn wHm.wty=f(y)  
D.t THHw n=i Hr nb rmT /// ///  
(7) n.w nTr.w  
**waf(.w) xAs.wt nb.wt nHm(.w)**  
**niw.t=f m nxt=f nn [Hwi] rmT m**  
**iri /// (8) xt idb.wy mi %xm.t rnp.t**  
**idw=s**

snD.w n hh=f wA sxr tkkw /// (9)  
[tA?]=f /// mAi.w mw swri xtm.w=f  
mi kA.w /// (10) TAmf msH  
AHw(?) pri mSa=[f] xtm.w=f mi pri  
xt /// TAw qAi ///

### Translation

(1) [Live Horus] /// [King of Upper and  
Lower Egypt, (Seankhenre)] /// (2)  
(Montuhotpi)], may he be given life!

One who functions as a king /// Amun, as one  
brought by Montu /// (3) with exultation  
and joy before him.

One who comes forth from his house, his  
heart /// having made [a good beginning] ///  
/// (4) like the sun-disc!

A Horus beloved of his army, his powers  
being great, the plans on which [we] live, one  
who acts as king ///

(5) victorious Thebes! I am a king of inside  
Thebes! This city of mine, mistress of the  
entire land, city of triumph /// (6) every  
town.

The great god, with the likeness of Re, with  
none to be like him forever! It is upon me  
that everyone exults /// (7) of the gods.

**The one who drove back all the foreign  
lands and rescued his city in his might,**  
there being no /// [smiting] people, as one  
who acts /// (8) throughout the Two Banks  
like Sekhmet, in the year of her pestilence.

One whose flame is feared from afar, who  
felled those who had attacked /// (9) is  
[land?] /// lions. The drinking water of his  
fortress, like cattle /// (10) his battlements  
(as) crocodiles and enemies(?), [his] army  
comes forth, as comes forth fire /// when the  
wind is high ///

(11) nn wn aHa m Hsy=sn iw  
 l[mn.w] r HA.t mSa=f drp a.w[=f]  
 /// /// ///

(12) xAs.wt nb.wt [MnTw] m MAdw  
 [sSm=f n=f mSa=f iy=sn] /// wDAw  
 /// /// /// (13) nfr.w nsw.t [pr.w-a] /// ///  
 ///

(14) imm iAw n nsw.t [wr ms.t]  
 (MnTw-Htpi) Di(.w) anx /// ///

(15) [wSb]w pD.t[=f] rDi.n=f /// ///  
 [mdw] r sp xpr.w Dd m rA=f ir m  
 xpS=f

(16) sxry Hr pri m X.t /// [sA  
 lmn.w] Hr.y-tp tA.wy iwaw MnTw  
 m MAdw wDAw (17) snb.w /// ///  
 iwi WA.st nxt /// /// wAD.wy Sms tw

wD Hm=i (18) sDAw.ty nsw.t bi.ty  
 /// MnTw-wsr imm /// nxt ka Hr wD  
 Sr Htp (19) st=f m WA.st n.t lp.t  
 mn r nHH D.t Dd=f xft Hm=f ir  
 MnTw (20) mdw.n=k

(11) There was none that stood up to them  
 when A[mun] is at the front of his army, who  
 offers his hand/support /// /// ///

(12) All foreign lands, Montu in Medamud,  
 [he led to his army, they return] /// hale /// ///  
 /// (13) perfection, an [active] king /// /// ///

(14) Give praises to the King, Great of Births  
 (Montuhotpi), may he be given life! /// ///

(15) Whose bow [responds] when he has  
 placed /// /// one who [speaks] in accordance  
 with the deed which has taken place, one who  
 speaks with his mouth and acts with his  
 overpowering arm.

(16) The advisor who comes out of the womb  
 /// [son of Amun] as Chief of the Two Lands,  
 heir of Montu of Medamud, hale (17) and  
 healthy /// ///

Who came to victorious Thebes /// /// How  
 happy is one in your service!  
 My majesty commanded (18) the treasurer of  
 the king [of Lower Egypt] /// Montu-woser,  
 let /// victory /// upon a stela to be set (19) in  
 the place of Thebes of Karnak, to remain  
 forever and ever! He said this before His  
 Majesty: May Montu do (20) what you have  
 said!

#### [4] *Elkab Biographical Statement of Bebi*

##### **Bibliographic Details:**

Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, IV (Leipzig, 1901), 52-53.  
Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Painting*. Volume V: *Upper Egypt: Sites* (Oxford, 1937), 184.  
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Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit* (Weisbaden, 1996), 178-179.  
Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 11-12 (no. 60).  
Davies and O'Connell, "The British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2009", *BMSAES* 14 (2009), 51-72.  
Davies and O'Connell, "British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2010", *BMSAES* 16 (2010), 101-32.

##### **Object Details:**

*Object*: Rock Inscription. Dimensions unknown.  
*Date*: Contemporary with Nebiryrw I. Dyn 16, 1627-1601 BC (Ryholt); Dyn 17, 1626-1606 BC (von Beckerath); Dyn 16, 1625-1600 BC (Franke).<sup>373</sup>  
*Provenance*: In situ, Tomb 8<sup>bis</sup> at Elkab.<sup>374</sup>

##### **Memory:**

*Memory Maker*: Bebi, the District Official at Elkab.  
*Memory Consumer*: The decedents of Bebi and visitors to his tomb.  
*Original Physical Context*: In situ, Elkab (Tomb).

##### **Translation:**

*Hieroglyphic Transcription*: Heinrich Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum Altägyptische Inschriften* (Graz, 1968), 1527-1535 (no. 1470).  
*Translation*: Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 11-12 (no. 60).

##### *Transliteration*

(1) wartw n.y HqA Tt<sup>375</sup> Bby wHm  
anx Dd=f ink mry it=f Hsy n.y  
mw.t mrr.w (2) sn.w=f sn.wt=f  
pri.n=i m prw=i nfr.w m ib=(i)  
aHa=i m qb (3) nfr DbAw.t=i

##### *Translation*

(1) District Official of the Ruler's Table,  
Bebi, repeating life, he says: I am beloved of  
his father, praised of his mother, beloved of  
(2) his brothers and his sisters.  
  
I went forth from my house with good in my  
heart. I stood with quietude (3) and good was  
my reward.

<sup>373</sup> Davies and O'Connell, "Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2009", *BMSAES* 14 (2009), 52; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 139; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>374</sup> LD IV, 52-53; Davies and O'Connell, "Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2009", *BMSAES* 14 (2009), 52.

<sup>375</sup> Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia, 2006), 223-224 (no. 774).

smA=i m hr.w-nfr ink wAH-ib Sw  
m pri.t-ib

iw (4) nTr.w Hr rDi.t n=i wAH tp  
tA niw.t(=i) Hr nHt.ty n=i snb anx  
(5) n qbb sp 2

iw iri.n=i sbH.w n.y Xrd.w  
abA.n=i n niw.t (6) m 3 hrw.w  
iri.n=iwr mi ktt 50 n.y t sAS n  
mty xt pat mty (7) SS.t mty Hr nb  
im=sn

HqA.t bd.t 120 ht m iHw.t a.wt  
(8) 52 Sw.w 8 antyw rnn.wt inH.t  
mrH.t=s

ib=s DAw Dd=i (9) r iry ab pw Hs  
mnT.w Dd=i m MAa.t iw iri.n(=i)  
nn (10) m-Xn.w pr.w(=i)  
rDi.n=i srm.t rm Xr Hq.t r wHm m  
(11) HAY Hr Hs.wt ink iri(.w) iti  
mry Npr rs-tp m pr.t rnp.t

I united with holiday. I am patient, lacking  
from going forth from the heart.  
While (4) the gods gave to me longevity on  
earth, and (my) city prayed for health for me  
and a life (5) of quiet x2.

**I provided for the cries of the children and  
I (gave) offerings to the city (6) for three  
days.**

**I provided for the great like the small: 50  
loaves of bread, customary sAS loaves, xt  
cake, exactly, and (7) Pesen SS.t-bread,  
for every one among them.  
120 hekats of emmer were moved around  
with 52 cows and small cattle (8) and 8  
asses and myrrh, and plants, and a barrel  
of its unguent.**

Its heart was happy, I said (9) this, it is food  
that which Montu praises. I have spoken  
truly; I did this (10) from within my house.

I placed srm.t in (?), beer in vats (11) in  
excess of what was in the jars. I was one who  
produced the grain, one beloved of Nepre,  
vigilant in growing time.

## [5] *Stele of Rahotep*

### Bibliographic Details:

Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), 12, 13, 17, pl. XII.

Blumenthal, “Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep (London U.C. 14327)”, *Ägypten und Kusch* 13 (Berlin, 1977), 63-80.

Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 59-60 (no. 87).

Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 8 (no. 45).

### Object Details:

*Object*: Stele, Limestone. Three fragments: F1: L. 48.2cm, W. 50cm; F2: L. 44.5cm, W. 43cm; F3: L. 31.3cm, W. 12cm.<sup>376</sup>

*Date*: Reign of Rahotep. Dyn 17, 1580-1576 BC (Ryholt); Dyn 13 or 17 (von Beckerath); Dyn 16, 1647 (?) (Franke).<sup>377</sup>

*Provenance*: Foundations of the Ptolemaic Temple at Koptos.<sup>378</sup>

*Current Location*: London U.C. 14327.

### Memory:

*Memory Maker*: King Rahotep.

*Memory Consumer*: Court of Rahotep, and citizens of Koptos.

*Original Physical Location*: Temple of Min at Koptos (?).

### Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription*: Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 59-60 (no. 87).

*Translation*: Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 8 (no. 45).

#### Transliteration

(1) [rnp.t-sp /// /// xr] Hm=n @r.w  
wAH-anx.w nb.ty wsr-rnpt.w @r.w  
nbw wAD [nsw.t bi.ty (%xm-Ra.w  
wAH-xa.w)| sA] Ra.w (Ra.w-Htp)|  
Di(.w) anx (2) [mi Ra.w D.t]

#### Translation

(1) [Regnal year /// /// under] the majesty of  
Horus enduring of life, the Two Ladies,  
mighty of years, Horus of Gold, the King of  
Upper and Lower Egypt, (Sekhemre  
Wadjkhau)|, son of Re, (Rahotep)|, may he be  
given life (2) [like Re forever].

<sup>376</sup> Blumenthal, “Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep”, *Ägypten und Kusch* 13, 64.

<sup>377</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 139; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>378</sup> Petrie, *Koptos*, 12.

[Dd.in] Hm(=f) n saH.w smr.w  
wnn.w m-xt=f  
iw m=k n=i [nTr.w] rA.w-pr.ww n.y  
tA i /// gm.n Hm(=f) it(=i) (3) [Mn.w  
m] HA.t nTr.w nb.w  
**sbA.(w)t=f wn.w=f wAi(.w) r wAsi**  
wn=sn Hr [X.wt=sn] m[-bAH] Hm=f  
Dd.n=sn [wD.wt] kA=k (4)  
xpr.tw=sn iti.y nb=n @w is pw nty  
m rA=k %iA [is pw] n[ty m ib=k ///  
[Pt]H-%kr m [mrt=f]

(5) msi.n tw nTr.w [Di].n=sn iri=k  
n=sn r grg rA.w-pr.ww=sn /// /// nA  
/// m nsw[.t] ///

(6) smA.n=k Sma mHw Aw-ib=k  
Hr s.t @r.w n.t anx.w Di=sn  
[xrp=k] /// m /// HqA=k [Snn.t] itn ///

(7) sAw nfr n.y rxyt ibw n bw nb  
[m] grH /// /// anf m qdd /// m T ///

(8) nTr.w Hr HHy Axt n tA pn  
rDi.n Tw Ra.w [m] Xn.ty=f [r] Sd.t  
/// n.t bA<sup>1</sup> /// /// (9) /// [mi] wnn=f m  
**hAw.w it.w=k nsw.w Sms.w @r.w**  
**n[n sp] fx=tw ix.t m hAw=i** (10) ///  
/// [wn.t m]-bAH iri.n=i mn.w n  
nTr.w m [bi(A)w] in.w m wD=sn  
iw ///

(11) /// /// /// ib /// rmT /// tiw(?) /// nfr  
mdw (12) /// /// /// im=f iw=i m Hmst  
Sd.t /// (13) /// /// /// m /// wn(m) r ///

**Commentary:**

[Then] his majesty [said] to his nobles and  
his courtiers who were in his following:  
“I have exempted(?) the [gods] in the temples  
of the /// (His) majesty found [my] father, (3)  
Min, as] the foremost of all the gods.

**Its (temple’s) portals and doors have fallen  
into ruin.** They were on [their bellies before]  
his majesty, and they said: “What your ka  
[commands] (4) is what comes to pass, O  
Sovereign, our lord! Hu is that which is in  
your mouth, Sia [is that which is in your  
heart] /// [Pt]ah-Soker is in [your desire?]

(5) The gods were born there, they have  
[caused] that you might make for them in  
founding their temples /// /// the /// in the king  
///

(6) You united Upper and Lower Egypt, your  
heart happy upon the throne of Horus of the  
living, they gave [you control] /// You rule  
that which the sun [encircles] /// ///

(7) O good guardian of the common folk,  
shelter for everyone [at] night /// /// in sleep  
in /// ///

(8) The gods are seeking what is beneficial  
for this land! Re has placed you [as] his  
statue [in order] to rescue /// power /// /// (9)  
/// [as] **it was in the times of your fathers,**  
**the kings who followed Horus.**

**Ne[ver were] possessions destroyed in my  
time** (10) /// /// what existed before. I made  
monuments [for] the gods as [wonders],  
brought at their command ///

(11) /// /// /// heart /// people /// perfect speech  
(12) /// /// /// therein. I was sitting /// (13) ///  
/// /// in /// eat for ///

- <sup>1</sup> Blumenthal has suggested this could be a rendition of Geb, but the fragmentary nature of the stele makes this unclear, and nor does it seem to fit the context. See Elke Blumenthal, “Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep (London U.C. 14327)”, *Ägypten und Kusch* 13 (Berlin, 1977), 73

## [6] *Abydos Stele of Nakht*

### **Bibliographic Details:**

Petrie, *Abydos Part I* (London, 1902), 28, 41-42, pl. LVII.  
Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 75-76 (no. 108).  
Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 10 (no. 55).

### **Object Details:**

*Object:* Stele, Limestone. H. 107.4 cm, W. 55.4 cm, D. 9.3 cm.<sup>379</sup>  
*Date:* Reign of Antef VII. Dyn 17, 1571-1566 BC (Ryholt); Dyn 17, 1580 BC (von Beckerath); Dyn 17, 1580 BC (Franke).<sup>380</sup>  
*Provenance:* Abydos, the square temple ruins of the Osiris Temple.<sup>381</sup>  
*Current Location:* Chicago Oriental Institute E7176.<sup>382</sup>

### **Memory:**

*Memory Maker:* Troop Commander Nakht, a relative of Antef VII.  
*Memory Consumer:* Descendants of Nakht, and visitors to the Osiris Temple at Abydos.  
*Original Physical Location:* Osiris Temple at Abydos.

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<sup>379</sup> These dimensions were kindly provided by the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago.

<sup>380</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 139; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>381</sup> Petrie, *Abydos*, 28.

<sup>382</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 271.

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 75-76 (no. 108).

*Translation:* Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 10 (no. 55).

### Transliteration

(1) /// /// /// **sA nsw.t Hr.y pD.ty Nxt**  
**wHm anx** (2) /// /// /// hr nfr s.t Ini-  
it=f Hw.t m AbDw m Sms n.y (3)  
[sA nsw.t] n.y HqA nxt (Ini-it=f) | ///  
Hr[.y] pD.ty Nxt Dd=f

ink [imy-ib] (4) Hr ib Hm=i rx  
mnx=i Hr ib=f iri.n=i w /// [m] HA.t  
[mSa]=f saA=f wi m [nb=i n.y] (5)  
iX.wt n.t it=i mw.t=i

**Hwi(=i) /// /// /// (6) ///=f wr snD.w**  
**n=f /// (7) Hry-ib**  
iri wp.t=f r smnx smi /// /// /// (8)  
Dam.w nDs qni n.y /// /// /// (9)  
mr.tw

sA nsw.t Hr.y pD.ty Nxt Dd=f i ///  
/// Hm-nTr (10) wab nTr.t Xr(y.)-Hb  
nb n.y rA-pr.w pn mr=tn /// /// ///  
(11) r AbDw  
Di=sn pr.t-xrw kA.w Apd.w ix.t nb.t  
nfr.t wab.t /// /// /// (12) hAw m Xr.t-  
nTr anx prr.t m hrw.w /// /// ///

### Translation

(1) /// /// /// **the king's son, chief of bowmen,**  
**Nakht, repeating life** (2) /// /// /// the  
beautiful place of the Antef Temple in  
Abydos, in the following of the (3) king's  
son, of the mighty ruler, (Antef) | /// the chief  
of bowmen, Nakht, he says:

"I am one who was valued in (4) the heart of  
my majesty, known to be potent in his heart. I  
made /// [in] the presence of his [army], and  
he exalted me as [for all] (5) of my fathers  
and my mothers property.

**(I) smiting /// /// /// (6) /// him. Great was**  
**the fear of him /// (7) in the midst,**

one who does his business efficiently, and  
makes report /// /// /// (8) the young men. A  
brave commoner of /// /// /// (9) beloved.

The king's son, the chief of bowmen, Nakht,  
he says: "O /// /// priest (10) wab priest, lector  
priest, of all things in this temple, your  
beloved /// /// /// (11) to Abydos.

May they give an innovation offering of  
oxen, fowl, and every good and pure thing ///  
/// /// (12) time in the necropolis, to come  
forth living daily /// /// ///



## **[7] *Offering Table from Avaris***

### **Bibliographic Details:**

Mariette and Maspero, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie (Tables)* (Paris, 1872), pl. XXXVIII.

Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte* (Gotha, 1884), 294.

Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes: Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1909), 61 (CG 23073).

Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz* (New York, 1936).

Vittmann, "Zum Verständnis der Weihformel *irjnf m mnwf*", *WZKM* 69 (1977), 31.

Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 55 (no. 76).

Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 7 (no. 33).

### **Object Details:**

*Object:* Offering Table, Black Granite. L. 48cm, W. 67cm, B. 34cm.<sup>383</sup>

*Date:* Reign of Apophis. Dyn 15, 1581-1541 BC (Ryholt); 1586-1546 BC (Franke).<sup>384</sup>

*Provenance:* Cairo.<sup>385</sup>

*Current Location:* Cairo JE 39605 (CG 23073).<sup>386</sup>

## Memory:

*Memory Maker:* King Apophis.

*Memory Consumer:* Egyptian audience residing in Delta, context of state temple (?).

*Original Physical Context:* Temple of Seth at Avaris (?) or tomb.

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 55 (no. 76).

*Translation:* Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 33).

### Transliteration

(a) @r.w (%Htp.w-tA.wy)| nTr nfr  
(aA-qni.n-Ra.w)| anx(.w)<sup>1</sup>  
(b) iri.tn=f m mnw=f n it=f [%tx]  
nb @w.t-War.t  
(c) rDi.t sn.wt=f iri=f Di(.w) anx  
mi Ra.w D.t  
(d) @r.w %Htp.w-tA.wy nTr nfr  
(aA-qnn-ra.w)| anx(.w)  
(e) iri.tn=f m mn.w=f n it=f [%tx]  
nb @w.t-War.t (f) rDi=f tA.w nb.w  
Xr Tb.ty=f

### Translation

(a) The Horus: (The-One-who-Pacifies-the-Two-Lands)|, the good god, (Aa-kenen-Re)|, may he live!

(b) What he made as his monument for his father [Seth], Lord of Avaris, (c) placing his flagstaves, he acting as one who is given life like Re, forever.

(d) The Horus: The-One-who-Pacifies-the-Two-Lands, the good god, (Aa-kenen-Re)|, may he live!

(e) What he made as his monument for his father [Seth], Lord of Avaris, (f) he placing all the lands under the soles of his feet.

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> The ankh-sign is missing from Kamal's reproduction of the text, but is included in Helck's transcription. A comparison with a photograph of the artefact in Mariette also shows the presence of the ankh-sign. See Helck, *Historisch-Biographische*, 55 (no. 76); Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, 61 (CG 23073); Mariette and Maspero, *Monuments divers*, pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>383</sup> Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, 61-62.

<sup>384</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>385</sup> The artefact was found in Cairo, but it is not clear where the original location was. Mariette and Maspero, *Monuments divers*, 10; Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte* (Gotha, 1884), 294.

<sup>386</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 386.

## **[8] *Building Inscription***

### **Bibliographic Details:**

Naville, *Bubastis 1887-1889* (London, 1891), pl. XXXV (b/c).

Budge, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae &c., in the British Museum*, Part V (London, 1914), pl. 18 (no. 339).

Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 57 (no. 84).

Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 35).

### **Object Details:**

*Object:* Architrave, Red Granite. H. 114cm, L. 84cm.

*Date:* Reign of Apophis. Dyn 15, 1581-1541 BC (Ryholt); 1586-1546 BC (Franke).<sup>387</sup>

*Provenance:* Bubastis, Temple of Bastet.<sup>388</sup>

*Current Location:* British Museum EA 1101.

### Memory:

*Memory Maker:* King Apophis.

*Memory Consumer:* Citizens of Bubastis and Personnel of the Temple of Bastet.

*Original Physical Location:* Second hall to the Hypostyle in the Temple of Bastet.

### Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 57 (no. 84); Edouard Naville, *Bubastis 1887-1889* (London, 1891), pl. XXXV (b/c).

*Translation:* Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 35).

#### Transliteration

(1) @r.w %Htp(.w)-[tA.wy] /// /// sA  
Ra.w (Ippi)| Di(.w) anx  
(2) /// /// [iri].n=f sn.wt aSA.wt aA  
m Hm.t n nTr pn

#### Translation

(1) The Horus: The-One-who-Pacifies-[the  
Two Lands] /// /// son of Re (Ippi)|, may he  
be given life!  
(2) /// /// That he [made] many flag-staves  
and a door from copper was for this god.

### [9] Scribal Palette of ITw

#### Bibliographic Details:

Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz* (New York, 1936), 27.

Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 57-58 (no. 85).

Goedicke, "The Scribal Palette of Athu (Berlin Inv. Nr. 7798)", *CdE* 63 (1988), 42-56.

Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 7 (no. 44).

#### Object Details:

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<sup>387</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>388</sup> Naville, *Bubastis*, 22-23.

*Object:* Scribal Palette, Ebony. L. 42cm.

*Date:* Reign of Apophis. Dyn 15, 1581-1541 BC (Ryholt); 1586-1546 BC (Franke).<sup>389</sup>

*Provenance:* Medinet el-Fayum.<sup>390</sup>

*Current Location:* Berlin 7798.

## Memory:

*Memory Maker:* The Scribe ITw and King Apophis.

*Memory Consumer:* ITw (?), possibly Apophis and members of the elite.<sup>391</sup>

*Original Physical Location:* Lower Egypt, brought from Avaris to Fayum (?).

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription and Translation:* Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 43-45.

### Transliteration

(1) **gsti iri n sS nsw.t n.y Ra.w**  
**sbA.n +Hw.ty Ds=f**  
pgs n /// /// ntt nb.t aS.wA sp.w  
hrw n isfr<sup>1</sup> nSn<sup>2</sup> nb n sS.w mi HH  
Hapi (2) /// /// wHm.w n.y sbA=f  
sDm rxy.t mAa.t pw  
nn grg im nn r=f sn.ti=f m tA.w  
nb.w  
(3) /// /// {ra.w nb Hr} mw.t=f  
**WADy.t**  
**sxm-ib sw n.y aHA aA-rn r nsw.t**  
**nb**

**nx.wy tA.w DrDr.w (4) Tmiw gmH**  
**sw**

(4) tw.ty anx n.y Ra.w tp-tA r  
w[Ha Tss.t n.y mr]<sup>3</sup>.wt

### Translation

(1) **A palette made for the royal scribe of Re, whom Thoth himself taught.**

Who spits at /// /// all there is; on numerous occasions, on the day of pouring away all error (?) from the writings like the flow of the Nile (2) /// /// as herald of his teachings.

Listen common folk! It is the truth!  
There are no lies therein! There is no counterpart of his in any land!

(3) /// /// {every day upon(?)} his mother **Wadjit.**

**One who is stout-hearted on the day of the fighting, more famous than any king!**  
**How miserable are the flat-lands and strangers (4) who do not recognise him.**

Living image of Re on earth in order [to solve the problems of the servants].

<sup>389</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>390</sup> This palette was acquired by the Berlin Museum sometime before 1880. The exact provenance of this palette is unknown, and Fayum is generally understood to be the general area in which it was found. Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 42 (note 2).

<sup>391</sup> Goedicke argues that a number of similar palettes were made and given to members of the elite in Apophis’ court. This means the audience of the text is potentially wider than the individual who received the object. Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 53.

<p>nsw.t bi.ty (aA-wsr-Ra.w)  sA Ra.w          (Ippy)  Di(.w) anx D.t mi Ra.w          ra.w-nb          (5) /// /// /// [sA Ra.w] n.y X.t=f          mr=f (Ippy)  Di(.w) anx          gsti Di.n nsw.t n sS ITw</p>	<p>The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Aa-weser-re) , son of Re (Ippy) , may he be given life eternally like Re, daily.</p> <p>/// /// /// [Son of Re] of his body, his beloved, (Ippy) , may he be given life.          Palette given by the king to the scribe Itw.</p>
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**Commentary:**

- <sup>1</sup> This term is obscure and unusual. Goedicke has suggested it be seen as the verb **sfr** prefixed with a prophetic i. Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 48.
- <sup>2</sup> The reading of this sign has been proposed by Goedicke to not be **sStA** as previous proposed by Helck, but rather **sSn** or **nSn** as **sStA** is not attested at this time, and only occurs in such an orthography in religious texts of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Furthermore, as this term is also unknown, Goedicke has suggested a hesitant translation of “error”. Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 43, 48.
- <sup>3</sup> Reconstruction proposed by Goedicke. Goedicke, “The Scribal Palette of Athu”, *CdE* 63 (1988), 43.

## B) Textual sources dating from the Expulsion Period

### [10] *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*

#### Bibliographic Details:

Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, British Museum 10057 and 10058* (London, 1923).  
Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", in Leonard H. Lesko (ed.), *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker* (Hanover and London, 1986), 37-47.  
Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 56 (no. 81).  
Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 7 (no. 43).  
Ryholt, *The Second Intermediate Period* (1997), 187.

#### Object Details:

*Object Type:* Papyrus, L. 206cm, W. 33cm.  
*Date:* Regnal Year 33 of Apophis. Dyn 15, 1548 BC (Ryholt); 1553 BC (Franke).<sup>392</sup>  
*Provenance:* Luxor, near Ramesseum (?).<sup>393</sup>  
*Current Location:* BM EA 10057 and 10058.

#### Memory:

*Memory Maker:* The Scribe Ahmose, Apophis, and unknown Theban (?) scribe.  
*Memory Consumer:* Apophis and literate Egyptians interested in mathematics.  
*Original Physical Location:* Avaris (?).

#### Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, pl. A.  
*Translation:* Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", *Egyptological Studies*, 38; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 187.

#### Transliteration

*Title of Papyrus:*

**rnp.t sp 33 Abd 4 Ax.t [sw /// xr  
Hm n.y nsw.t] bi.ty (aA-wsr-  
Ra.w)| Di(.w) anx**

#### Translation

**Regnal Year 33, Fourth Month of the  
Inundation [day /// under the majesty of  
the King of Upper] and Lower Egypt, (Aa-  
waser-Re)|, may he be given life.**

*Verso of 10057:*

Right jotting

<sup>392</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>393</sup> The papyrus was purchased by Alexander Henry Rhind in 1858 in Luxor, and allegedly this papyrus was found, in elicited digging, in a chamber near the Ramesseum. Moreover, it is also claimed this papyrus was found with the Edwin Smith Medical Papyrus, and a scrap that dates to the reign of Thutmose I. It thus appears the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus was removed from Avaris, and stored in a cache after or during the reign of Thutmose I. Peet, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 2.

(a) rnp.t sp 11 Abd 2 Sm.w aq.tw  
lwnw

Middle jotting:

(b) Abd 1 Ax.t sw 23 Twn kA  
Smaw pn SmAw<sup>1</sup> r \*Arw

(c) sw 25 sDm=tw r-Dd aq \*Arw

Left jotting:

(d) rnp.t sp 11 Abd 1 Axt msw.t  
%tX rDi.tw hrw in Hm n.t nTr pn  
(e) msw.t As.t iri.t p.t Hyt

#### Commentary:

<sup>1</sup> Reconstruction by Goedicke, who argues that the traditional reading, pA-n-rsi, does not agree with the hieratic. Goedicke, "The End of the Hyksos in Egypt", *Egyptological Studies*, 38.

(a) Regnal Year 11, Second Month of Shemu, Iunu (Heliopolis) was entered.  
(b) First Month of the Inundation Season, Day 23. The southern bull pushed back that one of the strangers towards Tjaru (Sile).  
(c) Day 25: One heard saying the entering of Tjaru (Sile).

(d) Regnal Year 11, First Month of the Inundation Season, birth of Seth. A cry was given by the majesty of this god. (e) Birth of Isis; who made the sky rain.



## [11] *Buhen Stele of Ahmose*

### Bibliographic Details:

Randall-McIver and Woolley, *Buhen* (Philadelphia, 1911), 90-91.  
Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Brussels, 1971), 62ff.  
Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 99 (no. 121).  
Krauss, "Zur Problematik der Nubienpolitik Kamoses sowie der Hyksosherrschaft in Oberägypten", *OrNS* 62:2 (1993), 18-19.  
Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 12 (no. 64).

### Object Details:

*Object Type:* Stele, Limestone. Dimensions unknown.  
*Date:* Reign of Kamose (?).<sup>394</sup> Dyn 17, 1554-1549 BC (Ryholt); 1560-1555 BC (von Beckerath); 1555-1550 BC (Franke).<sup>395</sup>  
*Provenance:* Room C, The Northern Temple of Amenhotep II, Buhen.<sup>396</sup>  
*Current Location:* Unknown.

### Memory:

*Memory Maker:* Ahmose the soldier.  
*Memory Consumer:* Visitors to the Temple at Buhen.  
*Original Physical Location:* Temple of Ahmose at Buhen.

### Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 99 (no. 121).  
*Translation:* Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 12 (no. 64).

#### Transliteration

(1) Htp Di nsw.t Wsir [nb +d.w nTr  
aA nb AbDw Inpw xnty sH-nTr  
imy w.t]

#### Translation

(1) An offering which the king gives and  
Osiris gives, lord of Busiris, the great god,  
lord of Abydos, and Anubis, foremost of the  
god's shrine, residing in the sepulcher].

<sup>394</sup> Only *ms* is left of the ruler's name (line 6), and as pointed out by Krauss, the space before it could easily fit both the names of Kamose and Ahmose. Krauss, "Zur Problematik der Nubienpolitik Kamoses", *OrNS* 62:2 (1993), 18-19.

<sup>395</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 139; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>396</sup> Randall-McIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, 90.

(2) nb tA-Dsr @r.w nb Bhn Di=sn  
pr.t-xrw [t Hnq.t kA.w Apd.w (i)xt  
nb.t nfr.t anx.t nTr im]=sn (3) DD.t  
p.t qmA.t tA inn(t) Hapy [m Htp=f  
nfr]

(2) Lord of the sacred land, and Horus, lord  
of Buhen, that they may give an invocation  
offering of [bread, beer, oxen, fowl, and all  
the fine things which the god lives], (3) that  
which the heaven produces, earth creates, and  
the Nile brings [with his perfect offerings].

(4) Ax m p.t wsr m tA mAa-[xrw m  
drA.t n kA n.y] /// [laH-ms Dd=f]

(4) Glorious in heaven, power on earth,  
justification [in the Netherworld to the Ka of]  
/// [Ahmose, he says]

(5) ink aHAW.ty qni n.y HqA nxt

**(5) I was a brave warrior of the strong  
ruler (6) ([Ka]-mose), may he live forever.**

(6) ([KA]1-ms)| anx D.t

I acquired 46 people. I follow the ruler, may  
he be given life.

in.n=i tp rmT 46 iw=i Hr Sms

HqA Di(.w) anx

(7) /// /// @r.w nb Bhn nx=i

/// /// Horus, lord of Buhen. I protecting my  
townsfolk, and I did not have any one else  
sent (8) /// /// bread.

niw.tyw=i n DD=i hAb ky si (8) ///

/// n=i t

iw=i nt=f mnT Hs sn=f Wsir (9) ///

I besprinkled (?) one praised of his brother  
Osiris (9) /// /// Ahmose, son of the scribe ///

/// laH-ms sA sS /// ///

# **Commentary:**

- <sup>1</sup> This could fit the names of Kamose or Ahmose, this is still disputed, and has caused numerous problems in attempts to date this text. Krauss, "Zur Problematik der Nubienpolitik Kamoses", *OrNS* 62:2 (1993), 18-19.

## [12] Carnarvon Tablet I, Seventeenth Dynasty

### Bibliographic Details:

Griffith, "The Carnarvon Tablets I and II", *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes: A Record of Work Done 1907-1911* (London, 1912), 36-37, pl. XXXV-XXXVI.  
Gardiner, "The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 95-110.  
Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 82-91 (no. 119).  
Darnell, "Articular Km.t/Kmy and Partitive KHME", *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 69-81.  
Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 13-14 (no. 68).

### Object Details:

*Object Type:* Writing board, wood with stucco plaster. Unknown dimensions.  
*Date:* Reign of Kamose.<sup>397</sup> Dyn 17, 1554-1549 BC (Ryholt); 1560-1555 BC (von Beckerath); 1555-1550 BC (Franke).<sup>398</sup>  
*Provenance:* Birâbi, at the entrance of tomb 9 near Deir el-Bahari.<sup>399</sup>  
*Current Location:* Cairo JE 41790.<sup>400</sup>

### Memory:

*Memory Maker:* Unknown Theban scribe, and Kamose.  
*Memory Consumer:* This copy was possibly created for the scribe himself.  
*Original Physical Location:* Tomb of the scribe (?).

### Translation:

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<sup>397</sup> Gardiner, "The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 109.

<sup>398</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 139; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>399</sup> Gardiner, "The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 95; Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, 4.

<sup>400</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 399 (no. 21).

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 82-91 (no. 119).

*Translation:* Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 13-14 (no. 68); William Kelly Simpson, "The Kamose Texts", in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (Yale University, 2003), 345-350.

#### *Transliteration*

(1) rnp.t 3 @r.w xa Hr nst=f Nb.ty  
wHm mn.w @r.w nbw shr tA.wy  
nsw.t bi.ty [(WAD-#pr-Ra.w)] sA  
Ra.w] (KA-ms)| Di(.w) anx lmn.w-  
Ra.w nb ns.wt tA.wy mry mi Ra.w  
D.t nHH

(2) nsw.t nxt m Xn.w Was.t (KA-  
Ms)| Di(.w) anx D.t m<sup>1</sup> nsw.t mnx  
in R[a.w] [rDi] sw m nsw.t Ds=f  
swAD.n n=f nxt r wn mAa

iw mdw.n Hm=f m aH=f n DADA.t  
nty (3) m-xt=f

siA[=i] sw r ix pAy=i nxt wr m  
@w.t-war.t ky m KAS Hmsi.kwi  
smA.kwi<sup>7</sup> m aAm.w nHsy si nb Xr  
fdq=f af m tA Km.t psS tA Hna=i

(4) nn sni sw SAa r @w.t-KA-PtH  
mw n.y Km.t m=k sw Xr #mnw n  
xn.n si fkw m bAk.w %t.tyw tw=i  
r THn Hna=f sD=i X.t=f ib=i r  
nHm Km.t Hwi.t (5) aAm.w<sup>2</sup>

iw mdw.n wrw n.y DADA.t=f m=k  
mw pw n.y aAm.w SAa r Qsy  
itH.n=sn ns=sn m qi wa tw=n  
qbb=n Xr tA n.y Km.t nxt Abw (6)  
Hry-ib Hna=n SA r Qsy

#### *Translation*

(1) Year 3 of Horus, Appearing-upon-his-  
throne, The Two Ladies, Repeating-  
Monuments, Horus of Gold, who pacifies the  
Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt,  
[(Wadkheperre)], son of Re] (Kamose)|, may  
he be given life! Beloved of Amun-Re, Lord  
of Thrones of the Two Lands (Karnak), like  
Re, forever and ever!

(2) A mighty king within Thebes, (Kamose)|,  
may he be given life forever as (an) excellent  
king! Re [made] him king himself, and  
granted for him victory in very truth!  
His majesty spoke in his palace to the council  
who were (3) in his following.

"Let me recognise it, in order to know my  
own strength. One prince is in Avaris, and  
another in Kush, while I sit united with an  
Asiatic and a Nubian! Every man has his  
portion therein in the land of Egypt, sharing  
the land is partitioned with me!

**(4) None can pass through it as far as  
Memphis, the water of Egypt! Behold, he  
possesses Hermopolis! None can be at rest,  
being desolated by the taxes of the  
Asiatics! I will engage with him, that I may  
break his body, my desire is to save Egypt  
(and) to smite (5) the Asiatics!**

Then spoke the great men of his council  
"Behold, as far as Cusae, it is Asiatic water,  
and they have drawn out their tongues all  
together. We are assured in our possession of  
the land of Egypt: Elephantine is strong (6)  
and the interior is with us as far as Cusae.

skA.tw n=n naa n.y AH.t=sn  
 mnmnt=n Hr mni.w m idHw it hAb  
 r rrt=n n iTi.t mnmnt=n n dp (7)  
 [r] /// it Hr=s

Their smooth fields are cultivated for us. Our cattle are herded in the Delta Marshes, and corn is sent for our pigs. Our cattle have not been seized, have not been tasted (7) /// upon it.

sw Xr tA n.y aAm.w tw=[n] X[r]  
 Km.t kA iyi nt[y Hr iri] /// k[A] iri=n  
 r=f

He possesses the land of the Asiatics, and we possess the Black Land. Then, when someone comes who acts (against us) /// then we act against him.

But, they pained the heart of his majesty. As for your counsel (8) /// these Asiatics who (9) /// [I will sail north to engage with] the Asiatics, and success will occur. If he intends to be at ease /// [who] will weep and the entire land ///

wn.in=sn mr Hr ib n.y Hm=f ir  
 pA=tn sxr.w (8) /// nA n.y  
 aAm.w nty (9) /// [Hdi=i r  
 THn Hn]a aAm.w xpr wAD.w ir  
 kA=f r nDm m /// [ir.ty=]fy m  
 rmw tA mi-qd=f ///

(10) /// [nsw.t nxt m-]xnw wAs.t  
 (KA-ms)| mki Km.t xdi.n=i n nxt=i r  
 sAsA aAm.w m wDw lmn.w mty  
 sxr.w mSa=i qn (11) r HA.t=i mi  
 hh n.y xt pD.t n.t MDA.w Hr.t  
 TAr.t=n r HHy %ttyw r dr s.wt=sn  
 iAb.tt imn.tt Xr aD iry

(10) /// The mighty ruler in Thebes, (Kamose)|, who protects Egypt. I sailed (north) in my might to repel the Asiatics through the command of Amun, exact of council, my brave army (11) before me like blast of fire, and archers of the Medjay atop our entrenched camp on the lookout for Asiatics, in order to subdue their places. East and West, possessing their supplies.

(12) mSA=i Hr DfA.w m-x.t m st  
 nb.t sbi.n=i pD.t nextt n.t MDA.w  
 iw=i m wrSyt /// [Xr wA]Hyt r aany  
 n /// (13) ti pA sA Ppi m-Xn.w  
 Nfrwsy

My army was provisioned from every place. I sent the mighty troops of the Medjay, while I spending the day in /// endured cooped up in /// (13) Teti, the son of Pepi, in the midst of Neferusi.

nn Di=i wxi=f Sna.n=i aAm.w  
 btnw Km.t iri=f Nfr[ws]y mH sSy  
 aAm.w sxA.n=i (14) m dp.t=i ib=i  
 nfr

I did not let him escape. I repelled the Asiatics, who defied Egypt, so that he made Neferusi a nest for Asiatics. I spent the night (14) in my ship, my heart being satisfied.

HD.n tA iw=i Hr=f mi wn bik xpr.n

When the day dawned, I was upon him like a falcon. When the time of the breakfast came, I repelled him, and I having destroyed his

nw sty-rA sAsA=i sw xBA.n=i  
 sbty=f smA=i rmT=f Di=i hAi  
 Hm.t=f (15) r mry.t

walls and I killed his people, and I caused his  
 wife to descend (15) to the riverbank  
 (harbour).

mSa=i mi wn mAi.w Xr HAq.t=sn  
 Xr mrw.t mnmn.t DdA bi.t Hr psS  
 ix.t=sn ib.w=sn Aw[-ib] /// w n.y  
 Nfr[wsy] (16) m hAi nn=n wr.t r  
 aany.ty bA=s pA /// Pr.w-SAq HHy  
 spr=i r=f Htr.w=sn (Hr) war.t r-  
 Xnw pA pXr.t /// /// xAwy.w (17) hr  
 in.t ixt=sn sw /// ///

My army were like lions under with plunder:  
 servants, cattle, fat, honey: sharing their  
 things, their hearts joyful. /// the district of  
 Nefer[usy] (16) descended; it was no great  
 thing for us to confine its power. The ///  
 Pershak was deserted, when I approached it.  
 Their span animals had fled inside, and the  
 border patrol /// /// those who had spent the  
 night (17) in the valley, their possessions ///  
 ///

# Commentary:

- <sup>1</sup> This m has been translated a number of ways in various translations. Gardiner translated it as “was beneficent king”, Redford as “even a good king”. It is possible it is simply an m used in the sense of the Aorist sDm=f in the position of a noun, meaning it can be translated as “as, truly as”. Ockinga, *Middle Egyptian*, §35; 70.2c; Gardiner, “The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I”, *JEA* 3 (1916), 98; Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 13 (no. 68).
- <sup>2</sup> This line has caused quite a bit of contention among academia. It was first translated, rather hesitantly, by Gardiner (1916) as: “My desire is to deliver Egypt and to smite (?) the A’amu” (p. 102). Simpson (2003) also followed Gardiner, translating it as “For my intention is to save Egypt, striking the Asiatics” (p. 346). However, Redford’s 1997 translation diverges in a significant manner: “(for) my desire is rescue Egypt, which the Asiatics have destroyed” (p. 13). This translation is problematic. Redford has taken Hwi.t as a feminine perfective relative form, namely, a mA.tn=f form (Ockinga, §107). Nevertheless, there is no “n” in the hieratic, and Gardiner describes the “t” itself as “fortuitous” (pl. XII, p. 102). Redford has evidently taken the Asiatics as the subject, when previous translations have taken them as the object. In light of the context of this sentence, which follows a series of clauses with future meaning, it is probable that it should be read as an r + infinitive, indicating purpose and future, rather than as a past tense (Ockinga, §85). The previous clause, ib=i r nHm Km.t, takes Egypt as the object of the infinitive, which further gives precedence for taking Aamu as the object of Hwi.t. As a consequence, the most logical reading is “My desire is to save Egypt (and) to smite the Asiatics”.

### [13] *First Stele of Kamose, Seventeenth Dynasty*

#### **Bibliographic Details:**

Lacau, “Une stèle du roi Kamosis”, *ASAE* (1938) 39, 245-271.  
Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (Glückstadt, 1972), 45-56.  
Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume II: *Theban Temples* (Oxford, <sup>2</sup>1972), 73.  
Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts”, *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76.  
Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 82-90 (no. 119).  
Darnell, “Articular Km.t/Kmy and Partitive KHME”, *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 69-81.  
Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 13-14 (no. 68).

#### **Object Details:**

*Object*: Stele, Limestone. Two fragments: F1: H. 104cm, W. 56cm. F2: H. 134cm, W. 30cm.<sup>401</sup>  
*Date*: Reign of Kamose. Dyn 17, 1554-1549 BC (Ryholt); 1560-1555 BC (von Beckerath); 1555-1550 BC (Franke).<sup>402</sup>  
*Provenance*: Beneath the Third Pylon of the Karnak Temple.<sup>403</sup>  
*Current Location*: Cairo TN 11.1.35.1.<sup>404</sup>

#### **Memory:**

*Memory Maker*: Kamose.  
*Memory Consumer*: Citizens of Thebes, context of a state temple.  
*Original Physical Location*: Temple of Karnak.

#### **Translation:**

*Hieroglyphic Transcription*: Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 82-90 (no. 119).  
*Translation*: Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 13-14 (no. 68).

*Transliteration*

*Translation*

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<sup>401</sup> Pierre Lacau, “Une stèle du roi “Kamosis”, *ASAE* 39, 248-249.

<sup>402</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 139; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>403</sup> Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 47.

<sup>404</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 399 (no. 6).

(1) rnp.t 3 @r.w xa Hr nst=f /// /// ///  
 (2) nsw.t nxt m Xn.w Was.t (WAD-[xpr]-Ra.w)|<sup>1</sup> /// /// ///

(3) [DAD]A.t nty m-xt=f siA=i sw  
 /// /// /// (4) af m tA Km.t psS tA  
 Hna[=i] /// /// ///

(5) bAkw [sttym] tw=i r THn Hna=f  
 /// /// /// (6) [itH.n]=sn ns=sn mdw=sn  
 m (pA) qi /// /// /// (7) [na]a n.y  
 AH.t=sn mnmnt=n Hr mni(.w) /// ///  
 ///  
 (8) tA n.y aAm.w tw=n Xr Km.t kA  
 /// /// /// (9) [aq]A=i nn tA n=i psS  
 Hna=i tA /// /// ///

(10) y ma=f tw=i r xdi r ir.t s[ky.t]  
 /// /// ///

(11) [H]qA nxt m-Xnw Was.t (KA-  
 ms)| /// /// /// (12) [pD.t] n.t MDA.w  
 Hr.t TA[r.t=n] /// /// /// (13) pD.t ntxt  
 n.t MDA.w iw=i /// /// ///

(14) [aAm].w btnw Km.t iri=f  
 Nfrwsy mH sSy /// /// /// (15) xbA.n=i  
 sbt=f smAA=i<sup>2</sup> /// /// ///

#### Commentary:

- <sup>1</sup> A variation of the name of Kamose, which differs from the Carnarvon Tablet, which uses KA-ms. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische*, 82 (no. 119).
- <sup>2</sup> Interestingly, this version of the Kamose Stele uses an Aorist of smA whilst in the Carnarvon tablet it appears to be a continuation of the Perfective Tense. Helck, *Historisch-Biographische*, 90 (no. 119).

(1) Year 3 of Horus, Appearing-upon-his-throne /// /// /// (2) A mighty king within Thebes, (Wadj[kheper]re)| /// /// ///

(3) [counc]il who were after him, “I should like /// /// /// (4) therein in this Egypt, and so the land is partitioned with me! /// /// ///  
 (5) taxes of the [Asiatics]! I will engage with him /// /// /// (6) [and] they [have drawn] out their tongues and spoken in this fashion /// ///  
 /// (7) the smoothest (of our) fields are cultivated by them, our cattle are herded /// ///  
 /// (8) the land of the Asiatics, and we possess the Black Land. Then /// /// /// (9) [opposi]te me. One who partitions the land with me will never respect me /// /// ///  
 (10) with him. I will sail north in order to d[estroy] /// /// ///

(11) The mighty [rul]er in Thebes, (Kamose)|  
 /// /// /// (12) archers of the Medjay atop our entrenched camp /// /// /// (13) archers of the Medjay, while I /// /// ///  
 (14) **the Asiatics, who had defied Egypt**, so that he made Neferusi a nest /// /// /// (15) **I having destroyed his walls and I killed** ///  
 /// ///



## [14] *Second Stele of Kamose, Seventeenth Dynasty*

### **Bibliographic Details:**

Hammad, “Découverte d'une stèle du roi Kamose”, *CdE* 30 (1955), 198-208;  
Adam and El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak During the Season 1954-55 and 1955-56”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 43-44.  
Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (1972).  
Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume II: *Theban Temples* (Oxford, <sup>2</sup>1972), 37.  
Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts”, *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 48-76.  
Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 91-97 (no. 119).  
Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 14-15 (no. 69).  
Simpson (ed.), “The Kamose Texts”, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (2003), 345-350.

### **Object Details:**

*Object*: Stele, Limestone. H. 235cm, W. 112.5cm, D. 28cm.<sup>405</sup>  
*Date*: Reign of Kamose. Dyn 17, 1554-1549 BC (Ryholt); 1560-1555 BC (von Beckerath); 1555-1550 BC (Franke).<sup>406</sup>  
*Provenance*: Karnak Temple, Second Pylon.<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Hammad, “Découverte d'une stèle du roi Kamose”, *CdE* 30 (1955), 201.

<sup>406</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 139; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>407</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 37; Adam and El-Shaboury, “Report on the Work of Karnak”, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 43-44.

Current Location: Luxor J. 43.

## Memory:

Memory Maker: Kamose, and scribe Neshi.

Memory Consumer: Citizens of Thebes, context of a state temple.

Original Physical Location: Temple of Karnak.

## Translation:

Hieroglyphic Transcription: Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 91-97 (no. 119).

Translation: Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 14-15 (no. 69); Simpson (ed.), "The Kamose Texts", *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 345-350.

### Transliteration

(1) smi Xsi m Xnw dmi=k tw=k  
tf.ti r-gs mSa=k rA=k Hns m iri=k  
wi m wr iw=k m HqA r dbH (2)  
n=k tA nm.t xr.t=k n=s mA sA=k  
bin mSa=i m sA=k

nn iwr Hmwt @w.t-War.t nn sn  
ib.w=sn (3) m-Xnw X.t=sn sDm.t(w)  
hmhmt n.t pAy=i mSa

iw=i mni.kwi r Pr-Dd-qn ib=i  
Aw(.w) Di=i mAA (4) lppi A.t  
Hwr(w).t wr n.y RTnw Xs(y) a.wy  
xmt n qnw m ib=f n xpr=sn n=f

spr.kwi r lnyt-nt-xnt (5) tw=i DA.kwi  
n=sn r wSd st  
iri.n=i aHa.w sab wa m sA wa  
Di=i HA.t Hr Hmw m nAy=i (6) n  
qny.t Hr aX.t Hr itr.w mi wn bik  
imw=i n.y nbw r HA.t iry iw=i mi  
bik iry r HA.t=sn

(7) Di=i pA mk qn Hr xAa(t) r aD  
tA wDat m sA=f mi wnn +rtyw Hr

### Translation

(1) A bad report is in your town; you are driven back/expelled along with your army, your speech (i.e. authority) is restricted, as you have made me a chieftain, while you are ruler! So you ask (2) for it, that which is wrongly seized, through it you will fall. Look behind you! My army is a threat at your back.

The women of Avaris will not conceive, for their hearts will not open (3) inside their bodies, when the battle cry of my army is heard!

I was moored at Pr-Dd-qn, my heart happy, as **I caused (4) Apophis to see a miserable moment, the prince of Retenu, feeble of arms, who plans brave deeds in his heart, which never happen for him!**

I arrived at lnyt-nt-xnt (5) and I crossed over in order to interrogate them.

I made the equipped fleet, one behind the other, placing the front/prow at the steering oar, with my (6) braves flying over the river as does a falcon. My ship of gold at their head of them, I was like the falcon at their head.

(7) I caused the mighty transport boat to beach at the edge of the cultivation, with the fleet behind it, as the sparrow-hawk plucks (plants) upon the papyrus marsh of (8) Avaris.

X.tt Hr Da.t @w.t- (8) War.t

gmH.n=i Hm.wt=f Hr tp Hw.t=f Hr  
nwA m sSdw=sn r mry.t nn sn  
Xw.t=sn mA=sn (9) wi nwA=sn m  
Srw.t iry Hr inb.w=sn mi TAw n.y  
inHw m-Xnw bAbAw=sn m Dd Hn  
(10) pw

m=k wi iyi.kwi mar=i spyt ma=i  
mnx sp=i wAH lmn.w qn nn  
wAH=i tw nn Di=i dgs=k (11) AH.T  
iw nn wi Hr=k

**whn ib=k irf aAm.w Xs(y) mk**  
swri=i m irp n.y kAnw=k (12) m  
atx n=i aAm.w n HAq=i

xbA=i s.t=k Hmsi.t Sad=i mnw=k  
grm.n=i Hm.wt=k r wnDwt  
(13) nHm=i tA nt-Htri /// nn wAH=i  
px Xr bAw 100w n aS wAD  
mH(.w) m nbw xsbD HD mfkAt  
(14) Hsmn minb nn Tn(w)t st Hrw-r  
bAk snTr aD bit itwrn ssnDm  
spny xt=sn (15) nb Spsi in.w nb  
nfr n.y RTnw

ifw.n=i st r Aw n wAH=i nkt  
@w.t-War.t n Sw=s aAm.w Aq  
(16) whm ib=k irf aAm.w Xs(y) wn  
Hr Dd ink nb nn snn.w=i SAa r  
#mnw (r) Pr.w-@w.t-@tHr  
Hr(=i) xrp r @w.t-War.t m (17) irrw  
2 wAH=i st m wS nn r(m)T im

I espied his women atop of his roof, peering  
from their windows towards the harbor. Their  
bodies do not stir as they saw (9) me, as they  
look with noses upon their walls, like the  
young of the inHw animal (?) in their holes,  
saying: "it (10) is swift!"

Behold, I have come! I am successful! What  
remains is in my possession, my situation is  
excellent. As the mighty Amun endures, I  
will not leave you. I will not let you to tread  
(11) the field, without being upon you.

**Wicked is your heart, vile Asiatic!** Behold,  
I drink the wine of your vineyard, (12) which  
the Asiatics press for me, whom I captured.

I lay waste your dwelling place. I cut down  
your trees. I have removed your women to  
the ship holds.

(13) I took away the chariotry /// I did not  
leave a single plank to the hundreds of ships  
of fresh cedar, which were filled with gold,  
lapis lazuli, silver, turquoise (14) bronze  
battle axes without number, apart from  
Moringa-Oil, incense, fat, honey, itrn-wood,  
ssnDm-wood, spny-wood (15) and all the  
fine wood of theirs, and all the good produce  
of Retenu.  
I have taken all of it! I have not overlooked a  
scrap of Avaris without being empty. The  
Asiatic has fallen!

(16) Wicked is your heart, vile Asiatic, you  
who has said: "I am the lord, there is not my  
peer as far as Hermopolis to the Temple of  
Hathor."  
(My intention (?)) is to control Avaris on (17)  
the Two Rivers. I (will) leave them in  
desolation without people there.

xb(A).n=i niww.t=sn wbd=i swt=sn  
ir(y) m iAw.t dSrwt (18) n D.t Hr  
pA HD.t iri=sn m-Xnw tA Km.t  
Di.w st Hr sDm iAaS n aAm.w  
bT.n=sn Km.t Hm.t=sn

I laid waste to their cities, and I burnt their places, which were made as red mounds (18) for eternity because of the damage, which they did in Egypt – they who caused them to serve the Asiatics, when they overran Egypt, their mistress.

kfa.n=i (19) wp(w).t=f m Hr.t WHAT  
Hr xnty r KSi Hr Sa.t sSw gm.n=i  
Hr=s m DD m sS m Dr.t HqA n.y  
@w.t-War.t

I captured (19) his messenger beyond the Oasis, travelling southward to Kush in a written document. I found on it the following in writing by the hand of the ruler of Avaris:

(20) (aA-wsr-Ra.w)| sA Ra.w (lppi)|  
Hr nD-xrt n.t sA=i HqA n.y KSi Hr  
m=k aHa=k m HqA nn rDi.t rx=i  
in iw (21) gmH=k iri.tn Km.t r=i  
HqA n.ty m-Xnw=s (KA-ms)| Di(.w)  
anx Hr thm (w)i Hr i(w)Tn=i n  
pH=i sw mi qi n ir.tn=f (22) nb.t  
r=k stp=f pA tA.wy r iAdw=s  
pAy=i tA hna pAy=k xb(A).n=f st  
mi xdi m Aa

(20) “(Aaweserre)|, son of Re, (Apophis)|, greets my son, the ruler of Kush. Why have you arisen as a ruler without letting me know? Do you see (21) what Egypt has done against me? The ruler who is in it, (Kamose)|, may he be given life, is attacking me upon my soil! But I am not attacking him in this way (22) to all he has done to you. He has cut up the two lands to punish them, my land together with yours, and he has ravaged them. Come, travel downstream, do not be afraid!

(23) m=k sw aA m=i nn nt[y  
a]Ha(.w) n=k Hr tA Km.t m=k nn  
Di=i n=f wA.t r spr.t=k kA psS=n  
(24) nA m dmi.w n tA Km.t wn  
[@n.t-Hn-]nfr<sup>1</sup> Xr rSw.t WAD-xpr-  
Ra.w Di anx dAir spw

(23) Behold, he is here with me. There is none who will be waiting for you in this Egypt. I will not give to him a road (out) until you have arrived. Then we shall divide (24) the towns of this Egypt. The land of [Khent]-hen-nefer shall be in joy. Wadj-kheper-re, given life, who controls events.

(25) Di.n=i xAswt HA.t-tA Xr=i irr.w  
m mitt n gm.n=tw wA.t n.t msnb=i  
n bAg.n=i Hr mSa=i n iTi.t (w)

(25) I have put the deserts, and the Beginning of the Land under me, and the rivers likewise. The way for my downfall was not found, since I was not slack concerning my army.

(26) Hr mH snD.n=f n=i iw=i m  
xdi n aHA.t=n n spr.t=i r=f  
mAA.n=f hh=i hbhb.n=f SAa-r KSi

(26) The face of the Northerner was not averted from me. He feared me whilst I was sailing northwards, before we had fought, before I had reached him! When he saw my flame, he traversed as far as Kush (27) to

(27) r wxA nx=f kfa.n=i sy Hr wA.t  
n Di=i spr=s

seek his support, but I captured it upon the road and it did not allow it to arrive.

aHa.n Di=i iTi.tw=s n=f ann.ti wAH  
sy Hr (i)Ab.tt (28) r &p-ihw  
aq nxt=i m ib=f xb(A) Ha.w=f  
sDd.n=f wpw.ty=f nA ir.tn=i r pA  
w tA n.y lnpwtt (?) wn m (29)  
xw.t=f

Then I caused it that it be taken to him, it being returned left in the East (28) at Atfih.

My victory penetrated his heart, and his flesh was ravaged, when his messenger told him what I had done to the district/ of the Two Dogs (?) which used to be in (29) his possession.

sbi.n=i pD.t nxt ntt Hr.ty r xb(A)  
DsDs iw=i m %A-KA r tm rDi wn  
rqw (30) HA(y)=i

I sent forth a strong troop which was on the land to ravage the Baharia Oasis, while I was in Sako to prevent enemy forces being (30) behind me.

xnt.n=i m wsr-ib ib-Aw ski rqw=i  
nb nty Hr.t WA.t xy pA xnt nfr n.y  
pA (31) HqA anx(.w) wDA(.w)  
snb(.w) Xr mSa=f r HA.t=f

I sailed south in confidence and happiness, I destroyed every opponent that was on the way. What a fine journey upstream of the (31) ruler, (l.p.h.), with his army in front of him!

nn nhw=sn n Sni si iry=f n rm  
ib=sn mnmn=i r %Atw Niw.t tri  
(32) Ax.t

They suffered no loss, no man inquired after his companion, and their hearts did not weep! I moved slowly to the District of Thebes in the season of (32) Inundation. Every face was bright, the land was in game, the riverbank was excited, and Thebes was in festival. Women and men came to gaze (33) upon me. Every woman embraced her companion, and there was no face in tears.

iw Hr nb HD(.w) tA m rsfi mry.t  
abab.ti WAst m HAb Hm.wt TAww  
iwi.w(i) r mA (33) n=i s.t nb.t  
Hp.t(i) snn.w=s nn Hr Xr rmy.t  
snTr n [lmn.w] r Xnw-pr sp 2 r  
bw Dd.tw (34) imm Ssp bw-nfr mi  
Di=f xpS sA lmn.w anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w) nsw.t wAH  
(WAD-xpr-ra.w)| sA Ra.w (KA-ms)|  
Di(.w) anx.w (35) dAr rsy sAsA  
mH.ty iTi pA tA m nxt<sup>2</sup> Di(.w) anx  
Dd wAs Aw ib=f Hna kA=f mi

I (burnt) incense to [Amun] inside the temple, at the place where is it said (34) "Receive good things!", as he have the scimitar to the son of Amun, (l.p.h.) the king who endures, (Wadj-kheper-re)|, son of Re, (Kamose)|, may he be given life (35) **who subdued the South and repelled the North**, who seized the land by force, may he be given life, stability, and dominion, whose heart is glad with his Ka like Re forever and ever.

Ra.w D.t nHH

(36) wD Hm=f n (i)r(y)-pa.t HA.ty-a  
Hr.y sStA pr.w-nsw.t Hry-tp n.y tA  
r-Dr=f xtmt(y)-bity sbA-tA.wy HAty  
imy-rA smr.w (37) imy-rA xtmt(y)  
Wsr-NSi

(36) His majesty commanded the hereditary noble and count, the one who is over the secrets of the king's house and the chief of the entire land, the seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, the star of the two lands, the overseer of the courtiers, (37) overseer of the seal, User-neshi:

imm ir.tw ir.tn nb.t Hm=i m nxt Hr  
wD Htp st=f m lp.t-iswt m (38)  
WAst nHH Hna D.t

“Let everything that my majesty has done in war be put upon a stele, that will rest in its place in Karnak (38) in the Theban nome, forever and ever.”

Dd.in=f xft Hm=f irr=i wpw.t nb.t r  
Hs.t n.t xr nsw.t (39) imy-rA  
xtmt(y) NSi

Then he said to his majesty: “I will do everything in accordance with all that is commanded, to the satisfaction of the king”, (39) the Overseer of the Seal, Neshi.

#### Commentary:

- <sup>1</sup> Restoration proposed by Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 40.
- <sup>2</sup> This is probably a reference to Kamose's actions, not the Hyksos. This is reinforced by the use of the verb *nxt* in relation to those who seized the land. This verb is never found to describe the Hyksos or their deeds, and in fact is commonly used to describe the Thebans. See Chapter 7 and Tables 7.1, 7.2, 7.3.

### [15] *Storm Stele of Ahmose*

#### Bibliographic Details:

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Foster, Ritner, and Foster, “Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption”, *JNES* 55 (1996), 1-14.

Wiener, and Allen, “Separate Lives: The Tempest Stela of Ahmose”, *JNES* 57 (1998), 1-28.

Ritner and Moeller, “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela’, Thera and Comparative Chronology”, *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-19.

### Object Details:

*Object:* Stele, Calcite. H. 180cm.<sup>408</sup>

*Date:* Reign of Ahmose. Dyn 18, 1549-1524 BC (Ryholt); 1550-1525 BC (von Beckerath); 1550-1525 (Franke).<sup>409</sup>

*Provenance:* Foundations of the Third Pylon at Karnak.<sup>410</sup>

*Current Location:* Unknown.

### Memory:

*Memory Maker:* King Ahmose.

*Memory Consumer:* Citizens of Thebes, context of a state temple.

*Original Physical Location:* Karnak Temple.

### Translation:<sup>411</sup>

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte*, 104-110 (no. 124); Wiener and Allen, “Separate Lives: The Tempest Stela of Ahmose”, *JNES* 57 (1998), 4 (fig. 1a).

*Translation:* Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 16 (no. 72); Ritner and Moeller, “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela’”, *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 3-11.

#### Transliteration

(1) [anx.w @r.w aA xpr.w Nb.ty]  
&wt-ms.wt @r.w-nbw \*s-tA.wy  
nsw.t bi.ty (Nb-pH.ty-Ra.w)| sA  
Ra.w (laH-ms)| anx D.t

[sT] r=f iw.t Hm=f /// /// (2) ///

[dhn].n sw Ra.w r nsw.t Ds=f  
ist gr.t Hms.n Hm=f m dmi n.y  
%Dfa-&A.wy [m ww n tp] n.t rs.t  
lwn.t (3) [isT r=f l[mn.w nb ns.wt  
tA.wy] m lwn.w ^maw

in Hm=f xn.t r [rdi.t n=f t Hnqt  
(i)x.t nb(.t) nfr.t] wab(.t) xr m-x.t tA

#### Translation

(1) [Live Horus, Great of Forms, the Two]  
Ladies, Fair of Birth, Horus of Gold, Who-  
Bind-the-Two-Lands, the King of Upper and  
Lower Egypt, (Nebpehtyre)|, son of Re,  
(Ahmose)| living forever!  
Now, His Majesty came /// /// (2) /// Re  
himself had appointed him to be king  
himself.

His majesty dwelled in the town of “Who  
provisions the Two Lands” in the district to  
the south of Dendera, (3) while A[mun, Lord  
of Thrones and the Two Lands], was in  
southern Heliopolis [Thebes].

Then His Majesty travelled southward in  
order to [give to him bread, beer, and  
everything good and] pure. Now, after the  
offer[ings] /// (4) /// /// them.

<sup>408</sup> Ritner and Moeller, “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela’”, *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-3.

<sup>409</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>410</sup> PM II<sup>3</sup>, 73; Ritner and Moeller, “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela’”, *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 1-3.

<sup>411</sup> This translation is based on face (recto) of the stele, and lines are organised accordingly.

aA[b.t] /// (4) /// /// [s]n

[xr Di.tw Hr m /// [w]w pn ist grt  
sS[mw n.y nTr pn] /// (5) ///  
Ha.w=f Xnm m rA-pr.w pn a.wt=f  
[X]r rSw[.t]

(6) /// [ist grt nTr] pn aA Hr Aby.t  
///w Hm=f /// nTr.w Hr Sn.t  
H[D]n.w=sn

[aHa.n rDi.n] nTr.w (7) iwi.t p.t m  
Da n H[wy.t kk].w m rA-a imnt.t  
pt Sna.ti n wn.t [Ab.w qAi.ty r  
x]rw rxyt

(8) wsr[.ti r /// khA H(w)y.t] Hr  
xAs.wt r xrw qr.t im.yt Abw<sup>1</sup>  
wn.in pr.w nb iwy.t nb.t spr.t=sn  
/// (9) /// [XA.wt=sn] Hr mH.t Hr  
mw mi smH.w n.w mHy.t m rAy  
Hr aXnwty Hn.ty r hrw (10) /// n  
sHD.n tkA Hr tA.wy

Dd.in Hm=f wr.wy nA r bA.w n  
nTr aA [r s]xr.w nTr.w

hA.t pw iri.n Hm=f r im.w=f (11)  
qnb.t m-xt=f mSa[=f Hr] iAb.t imnt.t  
Hr HAp.w nn Hbs.w Hr=s m-xt  
xpr bA.w (12) nTr

spr pw iri.n Hm=f r Xn WAs.t  
nbw Hs m nbw sSm(w) pn Ssp=f  
Ab.n=f

wn.in Hm=f (13) Hr smn.t tA.wy Hr  
sSm.t mHy.wt n H[D]=f Hr snm.t

Then attention was given in /// this  
[dis]trict. Then, moreover, the im[age of this  
god] /// (5) /// his body was united in  
this temple, and his limbs [were under] joy

(6) /// [Now, indeed] this great g[od] desired  
/// His Majesty /// the gods were vexed, they  
were a[ngry]

**Then the] gods [caused] (7) that the sky  
come down as a storm and [darkness], in  
the place of the western heavens, the sky  
being in a storm without [stopping, louder  
than the voices] of the people.**

(8) More powerful [than /// the rain was  
blowing more strongly] upon the  
mountains, than the voice of the cavern  
which is in Elephantine. Then every house  
and every sanctuary that they reached ///  
/// (9) /// [Their corpses] were in the flood  
in the water like skiffs of papyrus outside  
the gate of the palace audience chamber  
for a period of /// days, (10) /// while no  
torch was shining on the Two Lands

Then his majesty said: "This is much greater  
than the god's might, greater than the god's  
judgment!"

It was a descending that his majesty made to  
his barque (11) with his council in his  
following. His army was on the East and  
West in secret, having no clothes upon them  
as a result of the power of the (12) god.

His majesty then reached the interior of  
Thebes, with gold facing gold of this cult  
image, so that he received what he desired.  
Then His Majesty (13) restored the Two  
Lands, in (their) condition of flood-  
devastation. He did not l[ack] in supplying  
them with silver, with gold, with copper, (14)  
with oil and cloth for every need as desired.



st m HD m nbw m Hm.t (14) m  
mrH.t Hbs.w m gAw.w(t) nb n  
Abw snDm

pw ir.n Hm=f m Xnw pr.w-aA  
anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) wn.in.tw  
Hr sxA.t (15) Hm=f aq spA.wt whn  
isy.w xba Hw.wt wa(A) mr.w iry.t  
tmm.t (16) iri

aHa.n wD.n Hm=f srwd rA.w-  
pr.ww nty.w wAsi r Dam m tA pn  
r Dr=f smnx mnw.w n.w nTr.w  
Ts.t (17) snb.wt=sn rDi.t Dsr.w m  
a.t pr.w Sps.t HAp s.t StA.wt saq.t  
sSm.w r kAr.w=sn wnn.w (18) m  
ptx r tA sS ax.w saHa xA.wt  
smn.t pA.wt=sn qb aq.w n  
iAwty.w rdi.t tA mi tp.t-a=f

His Majesty then placed himself inside the palace (l.p.h.). Then one reminded (15) His Majesty of the destruction of the nomes, the collapse of buildings, the demolition of the temples, and felling of the pyramids. “What has never been done before has been (16) done!”

Then his majesty commanded to restore the temples, which had fallen into ruin throughout the entire land, to establish the monuments of the gods, to erect (17) their walls, to place the sacred (objects) in the Secret Chamber, to conceal the place of the mysteries, to reintroduce the images into the shrines which were **(18) cast to the ground, to set up the brazier, to set up the offering stands, and their loaf offerings established.** The rations of the office holders were doubled, and the land to be restored to what it was like before. And then one acted in accordance with everything his majesty commanded.

ir.in=tw mi wDt.n nb.t Hm=f

#### Commentary:

<sup>1</sup> As pointed out by Ritner, Redford incorrectly read this as **Abdw** (Abydos). See Ritner and Moeller, “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela’”, *JNES* 73:1 (2014), 6 (note 42); Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 16 (no. 72).

## [16] *Stele of Ahmose at Karnak*

### Bibliographic Details:

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Manley, “Some Images of the King and Queen Together in the Stele of Ahmose I’, *TrabEg* 1 (2002), 35-44.

Barbotin, *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Paris, 2008), 210-214 (no. 18).

### Object Details:

*Object:* Stele, Limestone.<sup>412</sup> H. 236cm, L. 105cm, W. 24cm.<sup>413</sup>

*Date:* Reign of Ahmose. Dyn 18, 1529-1524 BC (Ryholt); 1530-1525 BC (von Beckerath); 1530-1525 (Franke).<sup>414</sup>

*Provenance:* Found against the south face of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak.<sup>415</sup>

*Current Location:* Cairo JE 34001.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>412</sup> Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 211.

<sup>413</sup> Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 211.

<sup>414</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13; Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 203-204.

<sup>415</sup> Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 211; Lacau, *Catalogue général*, 1.

<sup>416</sup> Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 211.

## Memory:

*Memory Maker:* King Ahmose.

*Memory Consumer:* Citizens of Thebes, context of a state temple.

*Original Physical Location:* Temple of Amun at Karnak.

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Sethe, *Urk.* IV 1, 14-24.

*Translation:* James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Volume II (Chicago, 1906), 13-14; Christophe Barbotin, *Âhmosis et le début de la XVIIIe dynastie* (Paris, 2008), 210-214 (no. 18).

### Transliteration

(1) @r.w aA-xpr.w nbty twt-mswt  
@r.w-nbw Ts-tAwy nsw.t bi.ty nb  
tAwy (Nb-pHty-Ra.w)| sA rA.w  
mr=f (laH-ms)| anx(.w) D.t sA  
lmn.w-Ra.w n.y X.t=f mry=f iwa=f  
(2) rDi n=f nst=f nTr nfr n wn-mAa  
TmA-aw nn grg im=f

sxm-iri=f mitt Ra.w sA.ty Gbb  
iwaw=f Hkn(.w) m Aw.t-ib mstyw  
(3) Ra.w qmA.n=f nD.ty rDi.n=f tp  
tA sHD nsw.t nb Aw.t-ib DD TA.w  
r fnDw Hmwt wsr pHty dAr xni ///  
DD anx (4) smn mAa.t nsw.t nsyw  
m tA.w nb.w iti.y anx.w wDA.w  
snb.w waf idbwy wr qfAt sxm.w  
xaw m /// m ksy

(5) nTr=sn Xr anx wAs wa m pt  
snnw m tA sxpr imAw=f HDDwt  
mrwyty n.y lmn.w smn iAw t mi nfr  
(6) Hr nb rnpwt mi Hm n.y Ra.w  
rDi rx nTr iwnn=f Hbyt n.t nTr nb  
nsw.t m P HqA m &A-mri sAw  
n.y pt Hmw n.y tA

### Translation

(1) Horus, great of appearances, Two Lades, Perfect of Birth, Gold Horus who unites the Two Lands. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, (Nebpehtyre)|, son of Re, his beloved, (Ahmose)| may he live for eternity. Son of Amun-Re, of his body, his beloved, his heir, (2) to he whose throne was given, a truly good god, mighty of arms, in whom there is no falsehood.

A ruler equal of Re, the two children of Geb, his heir, who cheers in joy, offspring (3) of Re, which he created, a protector whom he put on earth, who makes kingship shine, lord of joy, who gives breath to the noses of women, powerful of strength, who subjugates the rebels /// who gives life (4), who establishes truth, king of kings in all lands, sovereign, (l.p.h.) who subdues the Two Banks, great of fame, powerful of appearances in /// bowing

(5) Their gods bringing life and happiness, the first in heaven, the second on earth, whose radiance creates light, beloved of Amun, who establishes offices like the beautiful (6) of face, lord of years like the majesty of Re, who lets the god know his sanctuary and the festival hall of every god, king of Buto, ruler of Egypt, beam of heaven, steering oar of the earth.

(7) HqA.n=f Snt.n itn HD.t dSr.t  
mn.ti m tp=f psSwt @r.w %tx Xr  
st-Hr=f xa irw m nxnw=f biAty (8)  
Tnw wnwtf r wrt qA Swty sxm.n  
wAdty n-Hr=f mi @r.w HqA.n=f  
tAwy=fy ity anx.w wDA.w (9)  
snb.w.

iTi xaw m Ax-bit nb ax @r.w wAH  
mrt iwi n=f rs.t(y)w mH.tyw  
iAb.tyw imn.tyw iw=f mn(.w) m  
nb smn tA.wy=fy iTi.n=f iwa.t wtT  
(10) sw

tA.wy-tm Hm.w n=f Di.n n=f st it=f  
Spsi iw xfa.n=f Hnmmt Amm.n=f  
rxyt (11) iw pat Di=sn n=f iAw Hr-  
nb Hr nb=n pw Haw-nbwt Hr  
Sms=n im=f tAw Hr wnn=n n=f  
nsw.t pw (12) sHqA.n Ra saA.n  
Imn.w

Di=sn n=f idbw tAw m sp wa  
psD.tn ra Hr=s iw xAs.tyw m  
hims wa aHa r (13) arryt=f

iw Sat=f m #nt-Hn-nfr hmhm.t=f  
m tA.w Fnxw snDt Hm=f m-Xnw  
tA pn mi (14) Mnw rnp.t iyi=f

ini=sn mAa.w nfr.w ATp.w m inw  
n nsw.t prr=f ///=f Hr gs=fy mi  
(15) IAH m Hry-ib sbAw nfr a r  
Smt hr nmmt mn rdwy mds Tbt

Dsrw Ra.w xn.w Hr=f Imn.w m  
sA=f (16) it=f Spsi mrr sw Hr ir.t

(7) He rules that which the sun revolves around, the white crown and the red crown remain on his head, the shares of Horus and Seth are under his supervision, shining of form in his youth, a miraculous one (8) each of his hours for the crown, with high plumes, the two serpent-goddesses are powerful before him, like before Horus, as he rules his two lands, sovereign, (l.p.h.).

(9) Who took the crowns in Chemmis, lord of the crown, Horus, enduring of love, **to whom the southerners, the northerners, the easterners, and the westerners come, he enduring as the lord, who establishes his Two Lands**, he having seized the inheritance of the one who begat (10) him.

The people retreat from him. His noble father gave them to him. He grasped mankind, he grabbed common folk, (11) patricians give to him praise, everyone under him, who is our lord. The islanders say: "The one we follow is in him". The lands say: "We belong to him". He is a king (12) who Re made as a ruler, who Amun caused to be great.

They gave him the shores and the lands in a single moment, and that on which the sun shines. **Those of foreign lands supplicate as one, standing at (13) his gate.**

**Fear of him is in Khent-hen-nefer [Nubia], his war cry is in Lebanon, the fear of his majesty is in this land as (14) Min in a year when he comes.**

**They bring good produce, laden with gifts for the king.** He goes out while his /// is at his side like (15) Iah among the stars, with a beautiful state/bearing while walking, with peaceful strides, firm steps, and forceful soles.

The sancticity of Re has descended upon him, Amun is his protection, (16) His noble

n=f mTn

idbwy HA{q} mA.n=n sw Xt nb.t  
mH.ty m mrt=f

irty (17) m gAgAwt Hr nsw.t pn  
HAtw Hr ftft n=f dgg.tw=f mi Ra.w  
wbn=f mi psDw itn mi xa #pri (18)  
m irty

stwt=f m Hrw mi ltm.w m iAbt pt  
niw Hr ibA m inwt mi psD iAxw  
m (19) Hry-ib hwr Ddft nbt Smm.ti

nsw.t wa sbA.n %pdw Hsy.n %Sat  
Sfyt +Hwty (20) Hr gs=fy Di=f n=f  
rx-ixt iw=f sSm=f r tp-Hsb Wr-  
HqAw pw nb mrwt r nsyw nb

@r.w Ra.w mry (21) Di=f Di n=f  
HAtw iaw ibw Hqnw m Xwt  
sDm.w pat Hnmmt rxyt Hr-nb  
Smsw (22) nsw.t pn r nmтт=f imi  
bAw=f n kt-xt wab Hr rn=f twr Hr  
anx=f

mTn nTr pw (23) m tA immw n=f  
iAw mi Ra.w dwAw sw mi laH  
nsw.t bi.ty (Nb-pHty-Ra.w)| anx(.w)  
D.t waf (24) xAs.wt nb.(w)t

imm hnw n nb.t tA Hnt idbw Haw-  
nb(w)t qAt rn Hr xAst nb.t ir.t sxr  
aSAAt Hm.t-nsw.t snt (25) ity anx.w  
wDA.w snb.w sAt-nsw.t mwt-nsw.t  
Spst rxt-ixt nwt Km.t awA.n=s  
mnfyт=s nbnb.n=s sy

(26) nw.n=s wtxw=s inq=s tSw=s

father, who loves him, is making a way for him.

The Two Banks (say) "Would that we might see him!" Everybody is filled with his love.

Eyes (17) are amazed by this king, hearts leap up for him. He is beheld like Re when he rises, like the shining of the sun, like Khepri appearing (18) in the eyes.

His rays are on the faces like Atum in the east of the sky, when the ostrich dances in the valleys, like radiance shines at (19) noon, when all snakes become hot.

Sole king raised by Sodpu, praised by Seshat. The respect of Thoth (20) is by his side, he gives him knowledge, he guides the scribes to correctness, he is one great of magic, lord of love, more than all other kings. Horus, beloved of Re (21) makes the hearts give him reverence, and the hearts praise in the bodies.

Listen, patricians, people, common folk, everyone, who follows (22) this king in his strides, put his fame in others, purify yourself in his name, cleanse yourself by his oath.

Look, he is a god on (23) the earth, give him praise like Re! Praise him like Iah, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Nebpehtyre), may he live, forever, **the one who subdues (24) every foreign land.**

Give praise to the lady of the land, mistress of the Aegean shores, with noble name in all foreign lands, who made the plan for the masses, queen and sister (25) of the sovereign (l.p.h.), daughter of a king and mother of a king, noblewoman, learned woman, who takes care of Egypt. She recruited its infantry, she secured it.

(26) She took care of its refugees, she gathered its deserters, she calmed Upper

sgrH.n=s ^maw dr=s btnw=s Hmt-  
nsw.t (laH-Htp)| anx.ti

Egypt, she drove out its rebels, Queen  
(Ahhotep)| may she live!

(27) iw gr.t wD.n Hm=f ir.t mnw n  
it=f Imn.w-Ra.w mAHw aAw n.y  
nbw {m} SASAw nt xsbD mAa  
wDAw nw nbw Hst (28) aAt nt  
nbw nmswt Hswt m HD qbHw m  
nbw dbHt-Htp m nbw Hr HD  
mniwt m nbw Hr HD Sbn(.w) m  
xsbD (29) Hr mfkAt TAb-n-kA m  
nbw agn=f m HD tAb-n-kA m HD  
inH.w m nbw agn=f (30) m HD  
Tniw m HD nmswt nt mAT  
mH(.w) m mDt wSm.w aA n HD  
inH.w m nbw /// (31) iry m HD bnt  
m hbny m nbw Hr HD Sspw m  
HD spt m nbw

(27) His majesty ordered the creation of  
monuments for his father Amen-Re, large  
wreathes of gold, necklaces of real lapis  
lazuli, amulets of gold, a large jar (28) of  
gold, vessels and jars of silver, a libation vase  
of gold, an altar of gold and silver, necklaces  
of gold and silver, with lapis lazuli (29) and  
turquoise, a vessel of gold with a pedestal of  
silver, a vessel of silver with a golden rim,  
and a pedestal (30) of silver, a bowl of silver,  
vessels of granite filled with ointment, large  
vessels of silver with a golden rim and a ///  
(31) of silver, a harp of ebony with gold and  
silver, sphinxes of silver, an incense jar of  
gold.

iw wD.n Hm[=i irt wiA aA n-] (32)  
tp itrw Wsr-Hat-Imn.w rn=f m aS  
mA n tp-xtiw r irt Xnt[=f nfrt nt  
tp=nrpt] /// /// (33) aHa.n=i wxAw m  
as kApw sAT m-mitt rDi.n=i /// ///  
///

[My] majesty ordered [the creation of the  
large bark on] (32) he river, called Userhat-  
Amun, from fresh cedar from Lebanon, to  
make [its] beautiful trip [at the beginning of  
the year] /// /// (33) I erected columns of  
cedar, the roof and floor likewise. I let /// ///  
///

### [17] *Inscription from a Rock Pillar at Tura*

#### **Bibliographic Details:**

Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, I (Leipzig, 1897), 20-21.

Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II (1906), 12-13.

Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Leipzig, 1906–1909), 24-25.

Daressy, “Inscriptions des Carrières de Tourah et Mâsarah”, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 262-265.

#### **Object Details:**

*Object:* Inscription, Limestone.

*Date:* Reign of Ahmose, Dyn 18. 1527 BC (Ryholt); 1528 BC (von Beckerath); 1528 (Franke).<sup>417</sup>

*Provenance:* Masara at Tura.<sup>418</sup>

*Current Location:* In situ.

#### **Memory:**

*Memory Maker:* Chief Treasurer Neferperet.

*Memory Consumer:* Visitors and workers at the quarry.

*Original Physical Location:* Masara at Tura.

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<sup>417</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13; Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period”, *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, 203-204.

<sup>418</sup> Daressy, “Inscriptions des carrières de Tourah et Mâsarah”, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 262-265.

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Sethe, *Urk.* IV 1, 24-25 (no. 6).

*Translation:* Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, 12-13.

### *Transliteration*

### *Translation*

#### *A: The Pediment of the Stele*

(1) *nsw.t bi.ty (Nb-pHty-Ra.w)|*  
*Di(.w) anx.w (2) lmn.w mry nb*  
*lwnw (3) PtH mry rsw.t inb=f nb*  
*mAa.t*  
  
(4) *(laH-ms-nfrr-iry)| anx.ti D.t (5)*  
*Hm.t-nTr.t Hm.t-nsw.t wr.t nb.t*  
*tA.wy (6) sA.t nsw.t sn.t nsw.t*  
*mw.t nsw.t wsx.t tA.wy tm (7) Hm.t*  
*nsw.t wr.t mw.t nsw.t nb.t tA.wy*  
(8) *sA.t nsw.t sn.t nsw.t &iy*

A(1) The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Nebpehtyre)| may he be given life! (2) Beloved of Amun, lord of Heliopolis, (3) Beloved of Ptah, south of his wall, lord of Maat, (4) (Ahmosenefetary)|, may she live forever! (5) Priestess, great king's wife, mistress of the two lands, (6) king's daughter, king's sister, king's mother, to the width of the two lands, (7) great king's wife, king's mother, mistress of the two lands, (8) the king's daughter, king's sister, Tiy.

#### *B: The Main Inscription*

(1) *rnp.t-sp 22 xr Hm n.y nsw.t*  
*bi.ty sA Ra.w (laH-ms)| Di(.w) anx*  
*wn (2) Hw.tt m [mAw]t Sd.t inr-HD*  
*nfr (3) n anw r Hw.wt=f nt HH.w m*  
*rnp.wt /// Hw.t PtH Hw.t nTr nfr*  
(4) *lmn.w m ip.t rst /// Hw.t m*  
*mn.w nb iri.n=f Hm=f itH,tw*  
(5) *inr m kA.w ini /// /// xt tA.w*  
*fnxw*  
(6) *iri Xr(y)-a n.y iry-pa.t HA.ty-[a*  
*nb=f] mry /// /// (7) /// n nb tA.wy m*  
*smnx mn.w n nH[H] /// wr.t mH-ib*  
(8) *n.y nTr nfr xtmty bity smr*  
*wa.ty imy-rA xtm.t nfr-pr.t*

B(1) Year 22, under the majesty of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the son of Re, (Ahmose)| may he be given life!  
(2) The (quarry) chambers/temples were opened anew and good limestone was taken out (3) from Aanu for his temples of millions in years /// temple of Ptah, the temple of the good god Amun, in southern Opet /// temple, and all the monuments which his majesty made for him.

**(5) The stone was dragged with oxen and brought /// /// wood (from) the lands of Fenkou (Syria).**

(6) Made by the assistant to the hereditary prince and major, beloved of his lord /// ///  
(7) /// of the lord of the two lands, in embellishing the monuments for eternity /// great confidant (8) of the good god, the seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole companion, overseer of the seal, Neferperet.



**[18] *Stele of Emhab from Edfu***

**Bibliographic Details:**

Drioton, *Le théâtre égyptien* (Cairo, 1942), 15-16.

Černý, “Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu”, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 87-92.

Baines, “The Stela of Emhab: Innovation, Tradition, Hierarchy”, *JEA* 72 (1986), 41-53.

Grimm, “Calembour, Trommelwettstreit oder Kampf auf Leben und Tod in der autobiographischen Steleninschrift des Emhab?”, *JEA* 75 (1989), 220-224.

Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 12 (no. 61).

Klotz, “Emhab versus the *tmrhtn*: Monomachy and the Expulsion of the Hyksos”, *SAK* 39 (2010), 211-241.

**Object details:**

*Object:* Stele, Sandstone.<sup>419</sup> H. 73cm, W. 37.5cm.<sup>420</sup>

*Date:* Reign of Ahmose. Dyn 18, 1549-1524 BC (Ryholt); 1550-1525 BC (von Beckerath); 1550-1525 (Franke).<sup>421</sup>

*Provenance:* Tell Edfu.<sup>422</sup>

*Current Location:* Cairo JE 49566.<sup>423</sup>

## Memory:

*Memory Maker:* Member of the elite and Chief Steward, Emhab.

*Memory Consumer:* Public audience, probably a funerary or religious context.

*Original Physical Location:* Tomb or temple (?).

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* John Baines, “The Stela of Emhab”, *JEA* 72 (1986), pl. VIII; David Klotz, “Emhab versus the *tmrhtn*”, *SAK* 39 (2010), taf. 20-22.

*Translation:* Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 12 (no. 61); Klotz, “Emhab versus the *tmrhtn*”, *SAK* 39 (2010), 218-240.

### Transliteration

(1) Htp Di nsw.t Wsir nb Dd.w nTr  
aA nb AbDw Di=f (2) pr.t-xrw t  
Hnqt kA.w Apd.w n kA n iri-pat  
HAty-a.w ni-mr.w (3) Im-HAb  
dD.ntw=f &A-mrr.w wHm anx dD=f

ink (4) Sms nb=f r nmt.wt=f tm  
Xs.t xn (5) Dd=f

aHa.n rDi n=i rwD.w nb krf(.w) m  
Drty(=sn)

(6) aHa.n Dd.n tmrhtn(t)<sup>1</sup> iw=i r  
wd.t (7) r=f m-Aw aHa.n(=i) hd.n=i  
sw m Dbaw(=i) (8) 7000 Aw.w  
iri=i rnp.wt 3 iw=i sxt (9) kmkm

### Translation

(1) An offering which the king gives and  
Osiris gives, lord of Busiris, great god, lord  
of Abydos, he gives (2) an invocation  
offering of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, to the Ka  
of the hereditary prince and beloved major  
(3) **Emhab, called Ta-mereru, repeating  
life. He says:**

**I am (4) one who followed his lord on all  
his exploits, who was not cowardly at any  
utterance (5) he saying:**

Then all the agents gave to me that which  
was bound up in their hands.

(6) **Then the *tmrhtn* (?) said: “I will fight  
(7) against him to the death.” Then I  
defeated him with (my) fingers (8) to the  
extent of 7000 times (?).**

That I passed three years was beating (9) the  
drum every day.

<sup>419</sup> Černý, “Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu”, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 87.

<sup>420</sup> Klotz, “Emhab versus the *tmrhtn*”, *SAK* 39 (2010), 214.

<sup>421</sup> The date of this stele is not known and some in the past have dated this stele to the third year of the reign of Kamose, because both this stele and the Kamose Stele mention three years. However, as Ryholt and Grimm have pointed out, it does not refer to three regnal years, but three years spent drumming. As it is believed Kamose did not reach further than Cynopolis in his third regnal year, the reign of Ahmose is more logical in which to date this stele. Marcel Marée, “Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The Monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw”, *BMSAEK* 12 (2009), 59; Grimm, “Calembour”, *JEA* 75 (1989), 222-223; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 82-183, 410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>422</sup> Černý, “Stela of Emhab”, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 87.

<sup>423</sup> Baines, “The Stela of Emhab”, *JEA* 72 (1986), 41.

ra.w-nb

stwt=i (10) r pAy=i nb m xn=f nb  
(11) sw m nTr iw=i m HqA wnn=f  
Hr (12) Xdb

In all his commands did I live up to (10) my lord. (11) He is as a god, while I am a ruler. It is with me sustaining that he (12) slaughters.

iw=i Hr sanx pH.n=i Miw (13) nn  
ip xAs.t nb iw=i Hr Sms=f (14) m  
grH m hr.w

I reached Miw [area in Nubia] (13) without any concern for any foreign land, I following him (14) night and day.

pH.n=i @w.t-war.t aHa.n (15) Ssp.n  
pAy=i nb aHA ax=f (16) /// nw  
mH=i m tp /// /// ///

I reached Avaris. Then (15) Then my lord began to fight. And he flew (16) /// of and I filled the top /// /// ///

**Commentary:**

- <sup>1</sup> See note C) on page 224 of Klotz, “Emhab versus the *tmrhtn*”, *SAK* 39 (2010), 224.

## Bibliographic Details:

Gardiner, "The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 100.  
Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume V: *Upper Egypt: Sites* (Oxford, 1937), 203.  
Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 78 (no. 114).  
Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 12.

## Object Details:

*Object*: Stele, Limestone. H. 15cm, W. 22.5cm, Th. 6.5cm.<sup>424</sup>  
*Date*: Reign of Ahmose. Dyn 18, 1549-1524 BC (Ryholt); 1550-1525 BC (von Beckerath); 1550-1525 (Franke).<sup>425</sup>  
*Provenance*: Tell Edfu, purchased in Luxor.<sup>426</sup>  
*Current Location*: Ex Gardiner Collection, now in the Ashmolean Museum 1971.5.<sup>427</sup>

## Memory:

*Memory Maker*: Tjaw, a member of the Egyptian elite.  
*Memory Consumer*: Citizens of Edfu, descendants of Tjaw.  
*Original Physical Location*: Tomb or temple at Edfu (?).

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription*: Alan H. Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 100; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte* (1983), 78 (no. 114).  
*Translation*: Gardiner, "The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 100; Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 12 (no. 62).

### Transliteration

(1) n H/// /// /// (2) DAi m-Hnw=f skA  
m Htr=f  
(3) pis m aA.w=f nh y m mnw.w=f  
(4) iri mH.ty=f r @w.t-war.t rs.y=f  
r KAS m Hs.t @r.w BHd.ty  
(5) war.tw n.y HqA Tt<sup>428</sup> \*Aw wHm  
anx iri.nwab @r.w-Aw-ib (6) /// /// ///

### Translation

(1) /// /// /// (2) One who crossed in his  
ferryboats, who ploughed with his ox,  
(3) one who crossed in his ferryboats and  
who ploughed with his ox. (4) **One who  
made his north at Avaris, and his south at  
Kush**, by the favour of Horus Behedety.  
(5) District official of the Ruler's table, Tjaw,  
repeating life, who was made by [i.e. Son of]  
the Priest Hor-aw-yeb. (6) /// /// ///

## [20] Biography of Ahmose son of Ibana

<sup>424</sup> This information was kindly provided by Liam McNamara of the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology.

<sup>425</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 82-183,410; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189; Franke, *Egyptian Stelae*, 13.

<sup>426</sup> This information was confirmed by the records housed in Griffith Institute and Ashmolean Museum. Gardiner, "The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I", *JEA* 3 (1916), 100.

<sup>427</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Francisco Bosch-Puche of the Griffith Institute who searched for this stele and the details provided here. Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 183, no. 659.

<sup>428</sup> Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Titles*, 223-224 (no. 774).

### Bibliographic Details:

Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV* (Leipzig, 1906–1909), 1-10.  
Gunn and Gardiner, “The Expulsion of the Hyksos”, *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 48-54.  
Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume V: *Upper Egypt: Sites* (Oxford, 1937), 182.  
Goedicke, “Some Remarks Concerning the Inscription of Ahmose, Son of Ebana”, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 31-41.  
Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 15 (no. 70).  
Davies, “The Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana at Elkab Documenting the Family and Other Observations”, in W. Claes, He. de Meulenaere and S. Hendrickx (eds), *Elkab and Beyond: Studies in Honour of Luc Limme* (Paris, 2009), 139-174.

### Object Details:

*Object Type*: Biographical inscription in a rock tomb.<sup>429</sup>  
*Date*: Early Dyn 18 (Thutmosis II-III, ca. 1492-1425 BC).<sup>430</sup>  
*Provenance*: Tomb 5 at Elkab, across the East and South Walls.<sup>431</sup>  
*Current Location*: In situ.

### Memory:

*Memory Maker*: Paheri, the grandson of Ahmose son of Ibana.<sup>432</sup>  
*Memory Consumer*: Descendants of Ahmose, and visitors to his tomb.  
*Original Physical Location*: Tomb 5 at Elkab.

### Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription*: Sethe, *Urk.* IV 1, 1-10.  
*Translation*: Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 15 (no. 70).

#### Transliteration

(1) Hry-Xn.yt IaH-ms sA IbAnA  
mAa-xrw (2) Dd=f Dd=i n=tn rmT  
nb.t Di=i rx=tn Hs.t xpr.t n=i  
iwa.kwi m nbw sp 7 xft-Hr (3) n.y  
TA r-Dr=f Hm.w Hm.wt r-mitt-iry  
sAH.kwi m AH.wt aSA wr.t

iw rn n.y qn m iri.tn=f nn Htm (4)  
m tA pn D.t

#### Translation

(1) The Captain of Soldiers, Ahmose, son of Ibana, justified (2) says: “I say to you, all people. Let me inform you of the favors that were granted to me. I was rewarded with gold seven times, in front (3) of the land to its limit with male and female servants likewise, (and) I was endowed with very many fields. (For) the name of a brave man is in that which he has done, and there is no perishing (of it) (4) in this land forever!

<sup>429</sup> PM V, 182.

<sup>430</sup> PM V, 182; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189.

<sup>431</sup> PM V, 182; Davies, “The Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ibana at Elkab”, *Elkab and Beyond*, 144-145.

<sup>432</sup> J.J. Taylor and F.L. Griffith, *Tomb of Paheri* (London 1894), 6, pl. VII; William Vivian Davies and Renée F. Friedman, *Egypt Uncovered* (London, 1998), 120-121.

Dd=f r-ntt iri.n=i xpr.w=i dmi n.y  
 Nxb iw it=i m waw n.y nsw.t-bi.ty  
 (%qni.n-Ra.w)| mAa-xrw BAbA (5)  
 sA RA-int rn=f

He says to you: I had my upbringing in the town of Nekheb. My father was a soldier of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Sequenre)|, justified. Baba, (5) son of Ra-int, was his name.

aHa.n=i Hr ir.t waw r DbA=f m pA  
 dp.t n.y PA-smA m hAw nb tA.wy  
 (Nb-pH.ty-Ra.w)| mAa-xrw (6) iw=i  
 m Sri n ir.t=i Hmt iw sDr=i m smt  
 Snw

Then I became a soldier in his stead on the ship of “The Wild Bull”, in the time of the Lord of the Two Lands, (Nebpehtyre)|, justified, (6) when I was a young man, before I had taken a wife and I slept in a net hammock.

xr m-xt grg.n=i pr.w aHa.n=i  
 iTi.kwi (7) r pA dpt Mhti Hr qnn=i  
 wn.xr=i Hr Sms ity anx.w wDA.w  
 snb.w Hr rd.wy=i m-xt swtw=f Hr  
 (8) wrr.yt=f

Then, after I established a household, I was taken (7) to the ship, “The Northern”, upon my bravery. Then I followed the sovereign (l.p.h.) on my two feet, after him, travelling upon (8) his chariot.

iw Hms.tw Hr dmi n.y @w.t-War.t  
 wn.xr=i Hr qn.t Hr rD.wy=i m-  
 bAH Hm=f aHa.n=i dhn.kwi (9) r  
 #a-m-Mn-Nfr wn.in=tw Hr aHA Hr  
 mw m pA +d.kw n(.y) @w.t-War.t

**When the town of Avaris was occupied. I showed bravery on my two feet in His Majesty’s presence. Then I was appointed (9) to “He-who-appears-in-Memphis”. Then there was fighting upon the water in the +d-kw canal of Avaris. Then I made a capture (10) and I brought a hand, which was reported to the royal herald. Then one gave to me the gold of bravery. Then fighting was repeated in that place, and I repeated a capturing (11) there and I brought a hand. Then one gave to me the gold of bravery again. Then one fought in the Black Land south of this town.**

aHa.n xfa.n=i<sup>1</sup> (10) ini.n=i Dr.t  
 smi.t n wHm-nsw.t wn.in=tw Hr  
 rDi.tn=i nbw n qn.t<sup>2</sup> aHa.n  
 wHm.w aHA m s.t tn wn.in=i Hr  
 wHm xfa (11) im ini.n=t dr.t  
 wn.in=tw Hr rDi.t n=i nbw n qn.t  
 m wHm-a wn.in=tw Hr aHA m tA  
 Km.t rs.yt n(.t) dmi pn

(12) Then I brought a living captive, 1 man. I having gone down into the water. Behold, he was taken as a capture upon the road of the (13) town. I crossed the water under him (i.e. carrying him). It was reported to the royal herald. Then I was rewarded with gold again.

(12) aHa.n ini.n=i sqr-anx si 1  
 hAi.n=i r pA mw mk ini.tw=f m  
 mH Hr tA wA.t pA (13) dmi  
 DAi.n=i Xr=f Hr mw smi.w n  
 wHm-nsw.t aHa.n=tw{mk}<Hr>

iwa=i m nbw Hr-sn-nw-sy

wn.in=tw Hr (14) HAq @w.t-War.t  
wn.in=i Hr ini.t HAq.t im si 1 s.t-  
Hm.t 3 dmD r tp 4 wn.in Hm=f Hr  
rDi.t st n=i r Hm.w

wn.in=tw (15) Hr Hmsi.t Hr ^rHn  
m rnp.wt 3 (?) wn.in Hm=f Hr  
HAq=s aHa.n ini.n=i HAq.t im st-  
Hm.t 2 Dr.t 1

wn(16).in=tw Hr rDi.t n=i nbw n  
qn.t mk rDi=t(w) n=i HAq.t r Hm.w  
**xr m-xt smA.n Hm=f mntiw-%Tt**  
**(17) wn.in=f Hr xnty r #nt-Hn-nfr r**  
**sksk iwnty-%tyw wn.in Hm=f Hr**  
**ir.t XAt aA.t im=sn**

(18) aHa.n ini.n=i HAq.t im si anx  
2 Dr.t 3 wn.in=tw Hr iwa=i m nbw  
Hr-sn-nw-sy mk rDi.t(w) n=i Hm.t  
2 na.t (19) m xdi in Hm=f ib=f  
Aw(.w) m qn.t nxt iTi.n=f rsyw  
mHtyw

aHa.n AAtA iw(.w) n rsy (20) stkn  
SAw=f mw.t=f nTr.w Sma.w Hr  
Am=f gm.t(w)=f in Hm=f m &nt-tA-  
a wn.in Hm=f Hr in.t(w)=f (21) m  
sqr-anx rmT=f nb m is-HAq aHa.n  
ini.n=i mgA 2 m mH m pA dpt  
n.y AAtA

wn.in=tw (22) Hr rDi.t n=i tp 5 Hr  
dniw AH.t sTAt 5 m niw.t=i ir.w n  
tA Xnyt r Aw=s m-mitt

Then (14) Avaris was captured, and I brought off booty from there. One man, and three women, total: 4 heads. Then his majesty granted them to me as slaves.

Then (15) Sharahen was besieged for three (?) years, and his majesty captured it. Then I brought booty from there: two women and a hand.

(16) Then I was given the gold of bravery, and I was granted the captives for slaves, **after his majesty had killed the Bedouin tribes of Asia. (17) Then he sailed south to Khent-hen-nefer, in order to destroy the tribesmen of Nubia. Then his majesty made a great massacre among them.**

(18) Then I brought booty from there: two living men and three hands, and I was awarded with gold once more, and two female slaves were given to me. 19) His majesty sailed northward, his heart wide in strength and victory, having captured the southerners and northerners.

Then Aata (a Nubian Chieftain) came to the south (20) and his fate brought his death when the gods of Upper Egypt grasped him. He was found by his majesty at Tent-ta-o, and his majesty brought him as (21) captive, and all his people as (easy) prey. Then I brought two warriors as captives from the ship of Aata.

Then (22) I was given 5 heads and 5 arourae/portions of arable land in my town, and it was done likewise for the whole crew.

(Text continues detailing information of Ahmose's military campaigns under Amenhotep and Thutmose I).

### Commentary

- <sup>1</sup> **xAfa** and **xfa** are variants of the same word. See Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt* (Oxford, 2008), 146, no. 601.
- <sup>2</sup> See Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt* (Oxford, 2008).

### [21] *Biography of Ahmose-Pennekhbet*

#### Bibliographic Details:

Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV* (Leipzig, 1906–1909), 35-37.  
Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*. Volume V: *Upper Egypt: Sites* (1937), 176-177.  
Barbotin, *Âhmosis* (2008), 202-204 (no. 15).  
Binder, *Gold of Honour* (2008), 148ff.  
Davies and O'Connell, "British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2011", *BMSAES* 17 (2011), 2-3.  
Davies and O'Connell, "British Museum Expedition to Elkab and Hagr Edfu, 2012", *BMSAES* 18 (2012), 52-53.



## Object Details:

*Object:* Biographical inscription in rock cut tomb, plus versions on two statues.<sup>433</sup>

*Date:* Early Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Hatshepsut (ca. 1479-1425 BC).<sup>434</sup>

*Provenance:* Elkab, Tomb 2 (doorway); Seated Statues – Edinburgh 1948.486 and Louvre C 49.<sup>435</sup>

*Current Location:* In situ.

## Memory:

*Memory Maker:* The soldier Ahmose-Pennekhet.

*Memory Consumer:* Descendants of Ahmose-Pennekhet and visitors to his tomb.

*Original Physical Location:* Tomb 2 at Elkab.

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Sethe, *Urk.* IV 1, 35-37 (no. 9 C and D): a synopsis of all three versions.

*Translation:* Barbotin, *Âhmosis* (2008), 202-204 (no. 15).

### Transliteration

(1) ir.y-pa(.t) HA.ty-a.w Xtmw bity  
smr wa.ty /// /// /// (2) imy-rA xtm.t  
wHm.w kfaw laH-ms dD.{t}w n=f  
Pn-Nxht mAa-xrw (3) Dd=f

iw Sms.n(=i) nsw.t bi.ty (Nb-  
pH.ty-Ra.w)| mAa-xrw kfa=i n=f  
Hr +Ahy (4) anx.w Dr.t

iw Sms.n(=i) nsw.t bi.ty +sr-kA-  
Ra.w mAa-xrw kfa=i n=f m KAS  
(5) anx [...]

(Text continues with military campaigns under Amenophis I, Thutmose I and Thutmose II.)

### Translation

(1) Hereditary noble, count, seal bearer of  
Lower Egypt, sole companion /// /// /// (2)  
Overseer of the seal, herald and warrior,  
Ahmose, he is called Pen-nekhet, justified.  
(3) He says:

**“I followed the King of Upper and Lower  
Egypt (Nebpehtyre)|, justified, I capturing  
for him in Djahy (Southern Retenu) (4) a  
living prisoner and a hand.**

I followed the King of Upper and Lower  
Egypt. Djeserkare (Amenophis I), justified. I  
captured for him in Kush (5) a living  
prisoner. [...]

## C) Textual Sources dating from the New Kingdom

### [22] *Hatshepsut's Speos Artemidos Inscription*

#### Bibliographic Details:

Golénischeff, “Notice sur un texte hiéroglyphique de Stabel Antar (Spéos Artemidos)”, *RecTrav* 3 (1882), 1-3.

<sup>433</sup> Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 148.

<sup>434</sup> Barbotin, *Âhmosis*, 202; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189.

<sup>435</sup> PM V, 176; Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 148.

Maspero, “Découverte d'un petit temple à Karnak”, *RecTrav* 6 (1885), 20.  
 Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, II (Leipzig, 1904), 108-112.  
 Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume IV: *Lower and Middle Egypt* (Oxford, 1934), 163-165.  
 Gardiner, “Davies’ Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription”, *JEA* 32 (1946), 43-56.  
 Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 16-17.  
 Allen, “The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut”, *BES* 16 (2002), 1-17.  
 Goedicke, *The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut and Related Discussions* (Oakville, 2004).

## Object Details:

*Object*: Inscription.

*Date*: Reign of Hatshepsut, Dyn 18, 1479/1473-1458/57 BC.<sup>436</sup>

*Provenance*: Speos Artemidos Temple of Pakhet, located on the exterior architrave.<sup>437</sup>

*Current Location*: In situ.

## Memory:

*Memory Maker*: King Hatshepsut.

*Memory Consumer*: Public audience, context of a temple.

*Original Physical Location*: Temple of Pakhet at Speos Artemidos.

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription*: Alan H. Gardiner, “Davies’ Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription”, *JEA* 32 (1946), pl. VI.

*Translation*: Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 16-17; Gardiner, “Speos Artemidos Inscription”, *JEA* 32 (1946), 43-56.

### Transliteration

(1) /// /// /// rnpw.t @r.w nb.w nTr  
 xa.w nTr nfr nb tA[.wy (MAa.t-KA-  
 Ra.w)| sA Ra.w [@A.t-Spswt] /// ///  
 /// [iri.n=s m mn.w smn] (2)  
 wAH[.t] n=s mnt rn=s wr mi p.t  
 smnx=s gnw.t qnn=s Hr wdr.t nt  
 tp.t-Dw r wbnw (3) nb [itn] /// Hr  
 mrw nbi.w=f Hr-sA sp.ty sS ax.w  
 sw xmw (4) st-ib nTr.w nb.w wa  
 nb Hr iwnn mr.n=f kA=f Htp.w Hr  
 ns.wt=f

### Translation

(1) /// /// /// of years, Horus of Gold, with  
 divine diadems, the perfect god, ruler of the  
 [Two] Lands, [(Maatkare)], son of Re,  
 [Hatshepsut] /// /// /// [she made it as her  
 enduring monument], (2) she whose titulary  
 has been set and remains like the sky, and the  
 annals of her bravery published upon the cliff  
 of “She who is upon the mountain”, as far as  
 the (3) sun disc shines /// upon the desert, his  
 flames spread out upon the back of the desert,  
 the braziers set up, and the sanctuaries  
 enlarged, (4) the favourite place of all the  
 gods, each one having the sanctuary he  
 desires, his ka satisfied upon his thrones.

<sup>436</sup> von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 189.

<sup>437</sup> PM IV, 163.

nxb.n=i (5) rxwt xntS=[s]n ///ww  
 iwnyt=sn saHa.n(=i) imn.t Xn.w  
 pr.w s.t ini.t rd (6) [nTr] nb msw m  
 D.t=f Dam aAm.w Hb.w=sn DD m-  
 rA-dmDyt (7) Hbyt r tr=s m nDr.t  
 tp-rd n ir.w=i srwD nt-a nt Ts=s  
 ir.tn=f m pAw (8) n tpyw

I was assigned (5) to know of their  
 enjoyment /// their pillar halls, I erected the  
 Secret Place within the house at the place of  
 “Bringing-of-the-foot.” (6) Each [god] being  
 sculptured in his bodily form out of electrum  
 of Aamu; their festivals were fixed in the  
 calendar. (7) Each feast being at its season, in  
 the observance of the instructions that I  
 made, the ritual of it’s ordering were  
 restored, which he had made in the primeval  
 time (8) to the chiefs.

ib=i nTr.t Hr Dar.n m-xt HA.ty bity  
 #mt n=f nHH Hr.y-tp rA wp iSd  
 imn.w (9) nb HH saA.n=i mAw.t  
 mr.tn=f iw rx.n(=i) anx=f im=s t=i  
 pw sam idt=s wn.kwi (10) m Ha.w  
 wa Hna=f sxpr.n=f wi r rD.t wsr  
 qfA.t=f m tA pn ink /// tm (11) mr  
 /// xpri ir n.tt SA.n Ra.w m snT=f  
 tA.wy dmD X.t s.t-Hr=i Km.t dS[r.t]  
 /// Xr.yt Hr.yt n=i ///

My divine heart searching for the future, the  
 heart of the King of Lower Egypt takes  
 thought for eternity, at the utterance of him  
 that inaugurated the *ished*-tree, Amun, (9)  
 Lord of Millions. I magnified the truth, which  
 he loves, for I know he lives on it. It is my  
 bread, and I swallow down its fragrance. I am  
 (10) one flesh with him. He created me in  
 order to cause his fame to be powerful in this  
 land. I am /// Atum (11) the /// one whom Re  
 has fated as established for him. Re, when he  
 founded the two lands, ordained that  
 everything should be under my supervision,  
 the Black Land and the Red [Land] /// in  
 dread of me ///

(12) bA.w=i Hr sks xAs.wt iw iar.t  
 tp.t HA.t=i Hr shri.t n(=i) tA.w  
 nb(.w)

(12) That my power(s) causing the foreign  
 lands to bow down, the uraeas upon my  
 forehead pacifying for (me) all lands. (13)  
 Ra-shower and Iww have not been hidden  
 from my Majesty, Pwenet (will) overflow for  
 me upon the fields (14) whose its trees bear  
 fresh myrrh. The roads that were blocked up  
 upon all sides will not be trodded again.

(13) RA-SA.wt lww n sdgA=sn r  
 Hm=i pwn.t [wbn].ty n=i Hr AH.wt  
 (14) Nhwt=s Xr antyw wAD mTnw  
 wn.w Sri Hr wA.wyt Hwi

(15) My army, which was unequipped, have  
 now (become) possessed with the finest  
 things, since I rose as king.

(15) mSa=i wn.t nn st apr Xr Spsi  
 Dr xa.t=i m nsw.t

The Temple of the “Mistress of Cusae”,  
 which had (16) fallen into ruin, the land had  
 swallowed its noble shrine, and children  
 jumped around upon its roof.

Hw.t-nTr nb.t Qis wn.t (16) wA.ti r  
 fx am.n tA xm=s Sps xbb  
 HaA.w=i Hr tp-Hw.t=s

(17) The cavern serpent would cause no  
 respect, as dishonourable people were  
 accounting the damage dishonestly, there was

(17) nn qrHt Di snrw Hwrw Hr ip  
 DaDa m nwd n-ms sww (18) sxaw

sDsr.n=i sy qd.ti mA.wt ms=i  
 sSmw=s m nbw (19) r xwi niwt=s  
 m wiA Xn.t tA Pxt wr.t xns.t in.wt  
**Hr.y-ib.t iAb.tt w[pi.t] ///** (20) **wA.wt**  
**snmw** nn ibHw ir xnp mw ir.n=i  
 Hw.t=s m SA[t=n nTrt tn]<sup>2</sup> /// (21)  
 n psD.t=s

aA m Snd.t ndbw m Hm.t m[r]y.t  
 wn[=sn im=s Hbyt=s r trw]<sup>3</sup> /// (22)  
 r-tr iw wabw. Hr rx nw.s @r-wr  
 Wn.w ^[-aA] ///

Di.n[=i] DfAw (23) snTr.n=i rA.w-  
 pr.w niw.t=sn grg m pri hAi=f im.w  
 /// /// /// Snw.t (24) m dbH imm  
 +Hw.ty wr pri m Ra.w swbA=f ///  
 ///=f wdHw m (25) HD nbw hnw  
 mnxt Hn.w nb mn Hr s.t=f xm st  
 aq iri iri sSmw (26) psD.t nTr.w  
 tmwn.t SsA m pr.w=f

it.w-nTr m tp-Sw /// iri m-a it (27)  
 Hr Hm=i Di=f spd-Hr n rmn.w nTr  
 qd.n=i Hw.t-nTr=f wr.t m inr-HD  
 anw sbAw=s (28) m Sst n.y @w.t-  
 nbw aA.w m Hm.t %Tt Xpw iry m  
 Damw Dsr Xr QA-Swty ///

[mA]a.n=i (29) Hm n.y ntr pn m  
 Hbyw /// NHbw-KA.w Hb +Hw.ty  
 wAH.n=i n=f m mA.wt (30) iw=w m  
 rA-dmDyt nn m tp-trw Dr wa sSm  
 Hb qAb.n=i n=f Htp-nTr Axw (31)  
 Hr wn.t m-bAH m iri=i n xmnyw n

indeed no date of (18) appearances. I  
 consecrated it when it was built anew. I  
 fashioned her cult image in gold (19) in order  
 to protect her city in the sacred bark of the  
 water procession of the land. **Pakhet the**  
**Great, who traverses the valleys in the**  
**east, who opens the ///** (20) **rain-swept**  
**roads**, there being no libator to pour the  
 water. I made her a temple as [what this  
 goddess] intende[d] /// (21) for her Ennead.

The doors were of Acacia wood with bands  
 in copper, in order that [they] might be [in it,  
 her register of festival offerings] /// (22) at  
 the season, as the priests knew its time.  
 Horwer, Wenu, and Sha-aa ///

I gave food (23) and I consecrated the  
 temples, and their towns were settled with  
 “the one who came may he go down”, those  
 who were in /// /// /// granary (24) while  
 begging give! Thoth, the Great, who came  
 forth from Ra, may he instruct /// /// offering  
 table of (25) silver and gold, chests of fabric,  
 and each jar established in its place. The one  
 who enters eye to eye with the leader (26) of  
 the Ennead of gods, was ignorant – there was  
 no (one) skilled in his house.

The god’s fathers were in destitution /// made  
 through the father (27) for my majesty, that  
 he might make the god’s bearers alert-ness. I  
 built his great temple in limestone of Tura, its  
 gates (28) in alabaster of Hatnub, the doors of  
 Asiatic copper and the inlays their of fine  
 gold, sanctified with “the one of high  
 plumes”. ///

I [presented] (29) the majesty of this god at  
 the festival /// of Neheb-Kau and the festival  
 of Thoth, which I had established for him a  
 new (30) that they are in the calendar and not  
 as seasonal ones, since the festival director  
 was only a single person? I more than  
 doubled the god’s profits (31) beyond what  
 had been done before, through what I did for  
 the Ogdoad, for Khnum, for Khnum in his  
 forms, for Heket, for Renenut (32) Meskhent,

\$nmw m ir.w=f n @qA.t Rnnt (32)  
 Msxnt dmDy r qd X.t=i NHmt-  
 awAy NHbt-KA=i Dd.t iw n=s (33)  
 p.t tA [Sms].w @r.w Hbnw niw.wt  
 iry m Hb mtr n=i m n rx sp 2

who came together to form my body, and  
 Nehmet-away, my Nekhbet-ka, (of whom) it  
 is said "Hers are (33) heaven and earth.  
 [Followers] of Horus in Hebnew, their cities  
 are in festival of witnessing to me with  
 "Unknown, Unknown."

wrmwt (34) m snTt(=i) grg.n=i st  
 [s]Hb.n=i st Di=i pr.w n nb(=sn)  
 [nTr] nb Dd=f [r]=f i iri.ty=fy (n)HH  
 (35) sxa.n lmn.w m nsw.t D.t Hr  
 s.t-@r.w

The enclosure (34) is in my plan. After I  
 established it I adorned it. I have houses to  
 their lords. Every [god] says to himself: "One  
 who will achieve eternal eternity has come,  
 (35) is the one whom Amun let appear as  
 eternal king on the throne of Horus!"

sDm=w ir=f tn pa.t nb.t rxy.t mi  
 aSA=s ir.n(=i)ixt nn m kt-ib=i

Listen to him, you, namely, all patricians and  
 common folk in multitude! I did these things  
 by the design of my heart

(36) n aawy.n=i mhy srwd.n=i wn.t  
 wAs.w iw Ts.n=i stp HA.t-a (37)  
 Dr wn aAm.w m qAb &A-mHw  
 @w.t-war.t

(36) I did not sleep as one who forgets, I  
 having established what was ruined. I  
 raised up what was dismantled (at first)  
 (37) since the Asiatics being in the midst of  
 the "North Land" (Delta) of the region of  
 Avaris.  
 When the wandering foreigners were in  
 their midst (38) destroying what had been  
 made.

SmA.w m qAb=sn (38) Hr sxn  
 iry.t

HqA.n=sn m-xmt Ra.w n iri=f m  
 wD nTr nfr.yt-r Hm.t=i

They ruled without Re, he not giving a  
 divine decree until (the time of) my  
 majesty.

mn.kwi (39) Hr ns.wt Ra.w  
 sr.ntw=i r Hn.ty rnp.wt m xpr={s}  
 iTi<=s> iyi.kwi m @r.w Wa.tt(=i)  
 (40) Hr nsw.t xft.yw=i sHr.n=i bw.t  
 nTr.w ini.n tA Tb.wt=sn

I being (firmly) established (39) upon the  
 thrones of Re, I having been foretold for  
 many years as the born conqueror. I have  
 come as Horus, Watet (the uraeas) (40)  
 firing against my opponents. I have driven  
 off the abomination of the gods, and the  
 land removed (the footprints of) their  
 sandals.

This was at the instruction of the father (41)  
 of the father /// who came at his time on one  
 day.

tp-rd pw it (41) it /// iww r sww=f  
 hrw

As the destruction of a command of Amun  
 will not happen, my stele will endure like  
 mountains. (42) As the sun-disc shines, he  
 will shed his rays upon the titulary of my  
 majesty. High will be my falcon upon the  
 throne forever and ever!

nn xpr HD.t wD.n lmn mn wD=i  
mi Dww psd (42) iTn sS=f stwt Hr  
nxbt Hm=i qA bik=i Hr-tp srx n  
D.t D.t

**Commentary:**

- <sup>1</sup> Davies' proposed restoration. See Gardiner, "Speos Artemidos Inscription", *JEA* 32 (1946), 48.
- <sup>2</sup> Reconstruction by Allen, "The Speos Artemidos Inscription", *BES* 16 (2002), 9.
- <sup>3</sup> Reconstruction by Allen, "The Speos Artemidos Inscription", *BES* 16 (2002), 9.

**[23] *The Four Hundred Year Stele of Ramesses II***

**Bibliographic Details:**

Mariette, "Stèle de l'an 400", *RAr* 11 (1865), 169-185.

Sethe, “Der Denkstein mit dem Datum des Jahres 400 der Ära von Tanis”, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 85-89.  
 Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume IV: *Lower and Middle Egypt* (Oxford, 1934), 23.  
 Stadelmann, “Die 400-Jahr-Stele”, *CdE* 40 (1965), 46-60.  
 Goedicke, “Some Remarks on 400-Year-Stela”, *CdE* 41 (1966), 23-39.  
 Habachi, “The Four Hundred Year Stele Originally standing in Khatana-Qantir or Avaris Piramesse”, *Actes du XXIXe congrès international des orientalistes*, I (Paris 1977), 41-44.  
 Stadelmann, “Vierhundertjahrstele”, *LÄ* IV (1986), 1039-1043.  
 Bietak, “Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris”, *ÄgLev* 1 (1990), 9-16.  
 Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos* (1997), 18-19 (no. 75).

## Object Details:

*Object*: Stele, Granite.<sup>438</sup> H. 220cm.<sup>439</sup>  
*Date*: Reign of Ramesses II, Dyn 19, 1245-1239 BC.<sup>440</sup>  
*Provenance*: Great Temple at Tanis.<sup>441</sup>  
*Current Location*: Cairo JE 60539.<sup>442</sup>

## Memory:

*Memory Maker*: Ramesses II and his Vizier, Sety.  
*Memory Consumer*: General public, citizens of Pi-Ramesses with access to Temple of Seth (?).  
*Original Physical Location*: Pi-Ramesses.

## Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription*: Sethe, “Der Denkstein”, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 87.  
*Translation*: Redford, “Textual Sources”, *The Hyksos*, 18-19 (no. 75).

### Transliteration

(1) anx @r.w kA-nxt mri.y MAa.t  
 nb Hb.w-sd mi it=f PtH-&A-&nn  
 nsw.t bi.ty (Wsr-mAa.t-Ra.w stp.n-  
 Ra.w)| sA Ra.w (Ra.w-msi-sw-mri-  
 Imn.w)| Di(.w) anx

(2) nb.ty mki Km.t waf xAs.wt  
 Ra.w msi nTr.w grg tA.wy @r.w  
 nbw wsr rnpw.t aA nxt.w (3) nsw.t  
 bi.ty (Wsr-mAa.t-Ra.w %tp.n-Ra.w)|  
 sA Ra.w (Ra.w-msi-sw-mri-Imn.w)|

### Translation

(1) Live Horus, mighty bull beloved of  
 Ma'at, lord of jubilees, like his father,  
 Ptahtatenen, King of Upper and Lower  
 Egypt, (Usermaatre Setepenre)|, son of Re,  
 (Ramesses Maiamun)|, may he be given life!  
 (2) The Two Ladies, protecting Egypt and  
 curbing the foreign lands, Re who fashions  
 the gods and founds the Two Lands, Horus of  
 Gold, mighty of years, with great victories,  
 (3) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt  
 (Usermare Setepenre)|, son of Re, (Ramesses  
 Maiamun)|, the sovereign who establishes  
 the Two Lands with monuments with his  
 name (4) for love of whom the sun shines  
 above, King of Upper and Lower Egypt,  
 (Usermare Setepenre)|, son of Re, (Ramesses  
 Maiamun)|.

<sup>438</sup> Gaston Mariette, “Stèle de l'an 400”, *RAr* 11 (1865), 170.

<sup>439</sup> Izak Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500-1000BCE)* (Fribourg, 1994), 147.

<sup>440</sup> Goedicke, “Some Remarks on 400-Year-Stela”, *CdE* 41 (1966), 30, 38; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 190.

<sup>441</sup> Gaston Mariette, “Stèle de l'an 400”, *RAr* 11 (1865), 170.

<sup>442</sup> Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods*, 147.

iti.y grg tA.wy m mn.w Hr rn=f (4)  
 wbn ra.w m Hr.t n mrr.t=f nsw.t  
 bi.ty (Wsr-mAa.t-Ra.w %tp.n-Ra.w)|  
 sA Ra.w (Ra.w-msi-sw-mri-lmn.w)|

(5) wD Hm=f iri.t aHa aA m inr  
 n(.y) mAT Hr rn wr n.y it=f n  
 mr.wt saHa rn n.y it it.w=f (6)  
 ns.wt (Mn-MAa.t-Ra.w)| sA Ra.w  
 (%tXy-mry.n-PtH)| mn wAH n D.t  
 mi Ra.w ra.w-nb

(7) rnp.t-sp 400 Abd 4 Sm.w sw  
 4 nsw.t bi.ty (%tx-aA-pH.ty)| sA  
 Ra.w mr.y=f Nb.w.ty mr.y (%tx-  
 Nbt(y))| Ra.w-@r.w-Ax.ty wnn=f r  
 nHH D.t

(8) iwi.tw pw iri.n rpa(.t) imy-rA  
 niw.t TA.ty Sw.t Hr nsw.t wnm.y  
 Hr.y pD.wt Hr.y pD.wt imy-rA  
 xAs.wt imy-rA xtmt n.y \*Arw wr  
 n.y mDA.y sS nsw.t imy-rA ssm.w  
 (9) km Hb n.y bA nb +dwt Hm-nTr  
 n.y tp n.y %tx Xr.y Hb.t WAD.yt  
 wp.t tA.wy imy-rA Hm.w-nTr.w n.y  
 nb.w nTr.w %txy mAa-xrw sA  
 rpa(.t) im.y-rA niw.t TA.ty (10) Hr.y  
 pD.wt imy-rA xAs.wt im.y-rA xtmt  
 n.y \*Arw sS nsw.t im.y-rA ssm.w  
 PA-Ra.w-Mss mAa-xrw ms n.y  
 nb.t pr.w Smayt n.y PA-Ra.w &iA  
 mAa.t-xr.w

(5) His majesty commanded the making of  
 a great stele of granite, with the Great  
 Name of his father (upon it), (in order) to  
 set up the name of the father of his fathers  
 (6) King (Menmaatre)|, the son of Re,  
 (Setymerenptah)|, firm and enduring  
 forever, like Re daily.

(7) Year 400, 4th month of Shemu, Day 4,  
 King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Seth-aa-  
 phety)|, son of Re, whom he loves, (Seth-  
 the-Ombite)|, beloved of Re-harakhty, who  
 exists forever and ever!

(8) Then came the hereditary prince, overseer  
 of the city and vizier, fan-bearer of the king  
 on the right, battalion commander, battalion  
 commanding, the overseer of foreign lands,  
 overseer of the fortress of Sile, chief of  
 Medjay, king's scribe, overseer of horses (9)  
 Festival duty of the Buck, lord of Mendes,  
 the first prophet of Seth, lector priest of  
 Wadjet, who judges the Two Lands, the  
 overseer of all prophets of all the gods, Sety,  
 justified, son of the hereditary prince,  
 overseer of the city, vizier, (10) battalion  
 commanding overseer of the foreign lands,  
 overseer of the fortress of Tjara (Sile), king's  
 scribe, overseer of horses, Piramesse,  
 justified, born of the lady of the house, the  
 chantress of Pre, Tiya, justified.



Dd=f (11) /// [nD] Hr=k %tX sA  
 Nw.t aA pH.t m wiA n.y HH.w  
 xri(.w) xft.y {n}<m> HA.t wiA n.y  
 Ra.w aA hmhm.t /// /// (12) /// ///  
 aHa.w nfr Hr Sms kA=k iw=i mn  
 m /// /// ///

He says: (11) /// ["Hail] to you, Seth, son of  
 Nut, great of strength in the barque of  
 millions, who fells the enemies at the front  
 of the barque of Re, with a great war cry  
 /// /// (12) /// /// good lifetime in the  
 following of your Ka, while I remain in ///  
 /// ///

## [24] *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*

### Bibliographic Details:

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 Hans Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre* (San Antonio, 1986).  
 Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos* (1997), 17-18 (no. 74).

### Object Details:

*Object:* Papyrus.  
*Date:* Reign of Merenptah, Dyn 19, 1203 BC.<sup>443</sup>  
*Provenance:* Unknown; Theban Temple School Fill or Saqqara (?).<sup>444</sup>  
*Current Location:* BM 10185.

### Memory:

<sup>443</sup> Maspero, *Les contes populaires*, 288; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 32; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 190.

<sup>444</sup> Gunn and Gardiner, "Expulsion of the Hyksos", *JEA* 5:1 (1918), 40.

*Memory Maker:* Storyteller: Unknown. Scribe: Pentaweret.

*Memory Consumer:* Pentaweret appears to have copied this text for himself.

*Original Physical Location:* Lower Egypt, Memphis or Piramesse (?).

### Translation:

*Hieroglyphic Transcription:* Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (1932), 85-89.

*Translation:* Redford, "Textual Sources", *The Hyksos*, 17-18 (no. 74); Edward F. Wente, Jr., "The Quarrel of Apophis and Sekenenre", in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (New Haven, <sup>3</sup>2003), 69-71.

#### Transliteration

(1,1) xpr sw.t wn.in tA n.y Km.t  
{n}<m> iAd.t iw nn wn nb  
anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) <m>  
nsw.t  
hr.w xpr isTw r=f ir nsw.t (%qnn-  
Ra.w)| anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w)  
sw m (HqA)| anx(.w) wDA(.w)  
snb(.w) n.y niwt rs.yt iAd.t  
{n}<m> dmi {Ra.w}<aA>m.w <sup>1</sup> iw  
wr (1,2) (lppy)| anx(.w) wDA(.w)  
snb(.w) m @w.t-War.t iw xrp.n=f  
pA tA r-Dr=f Xr.y bAk.w=sn mH  
m-mitt Xr.y xrt nb.t nfr(.t) n.w  
&A-mH{y}<w>

aHa.n nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w) (1,3) Hr iri n=f  
%wtX m nb iw=f (Hr) tm bAk n  
nTr nb [n.ty m pA tA r-Dr=f]  
[wpw] %wtX iw(=f) Hr qd Hw.t-  
nTr m bAk.w nfr nHH r-gs pr.w  
n.y [nsw.t (lp)py]| anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w)

#### Translation

(1,1) It came to pass that the land of Egypt was in pestilence/affliction. There was no lord, (l.p.h.) <as> king. A day came into being: now, as for the king, (Seqenenre)| (l.p.h.), he was the (ruler)| (l.p.h.), of the Southern City, (and) pestilence was in the city of the <Asia>tics. The prince (1,2) (Apophis)| (l.p.h.), was in Avaris. He controlled the entire land, bearing their taxes in full, as well as bearing all the good produce of the North-Land (Delta).

Then King (Apophis)|, (l.p.h.), (1,3) made for himself Seth as lord. He did not serve any other god [that was in the entire land], [except] Seth. He built a temple of fine and everlasting work, beside the "House of the King (Apophis)| (l.p.h.)."

(1,4) [i]w=f (Hr) xai /// hrw r rDi.t  
 mAa /// /// n mn.t n %wtX iw  
 nA sr.w [pr.w-aA] anx(.w)  
 wDA(.w) snb(.w) Xry mHy.w mi  
 iri.t <m> Hw.t-nTr n.y PA-Ra.w-  
 @r.w-Axty Hr aqA=f sp 2  
 istw r=f ir (1,5) [nsw].t (lppy)|  
 anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) i[w] ib=f  
 r hAb md.w thA.w <n> nsw.t  
 (%qnn-Ra.w)| anx(.w) wDA(.w)  
 snb(.w) pA wr n(.y) niw.t rs.yt  
 xr ir [m-xt] hrw.w qnw Hr sA nn  
 wn.in nsw.t r (1,6) [(lppy)| anx(.w)  
 wDA(.w) snb(.w)] Hr Di.t aS.tw n  
 /// /// st hAb /// /// smi n mdw  
 (1,7) /// /// itr.w /// /// sS.w rx.w-  
 Ax.wt /// sr.w /// ///  
 ([i]ty)| anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w)  
 (1,8) nb=n /// /// Hn(.t) db[w] [n.ty  
 m pA wbn n.y niw.t rsy.t] b[n] st  
 Hr Di.t [iw.t n=n tA qd m hrw m  
 gr]H iw [xrw=w] <m> [msDr] (1,9)  
 niw.t=n /// ///

[wn.i]n pA wr n.y [niw.t rsy.t] ///  
 /// (1,10) /// /// (2,1) Hna=f m nby

nn hn=f [sw] n nTr nb nty m pA  
 [tA-r-Dr]=f wpw lmn.w-Ra.w nsw.t  
 nTr.w

xr ir m-xt hrw.w qn.w swA Hr-  
 sA{wt} wn.in nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w)  
 wDA(.w) snb(.w) Hr hAb n pA wr  
 n.y niw.t {Hr} rsy.t <Hr> pA smi-n-  
 md.t i:dD n=f nAy=f sS rx.w-Ax.wt

(1,4) He appeared /// in order to make the  
 sacrifice justice /// /// daily to Seth, while  
 the officials of the [palace] (l.p.h.) carried  
 clumps of papyrus, exactly as it is done in  
 the temple of Re-Harakhty.

Now as for (1,5) [Kin]g (Apophis)|, (l.p.h.),  
 his desire was to send false words to King  
 (Seqenenre)| (l.p.h.) the prince, “Great  
 One”, of the Southern City.

Now, after many days had passed, (1,6) King  
 [(Apophis)| (l.p.h.)] had summoned the ///  
 /// to send /// /// a verbal report (1,7) ///  
 /// river /// /// scribes and savants ///  
 officials ///

“(Sovereign)| (l.p.h.), (1,8) our lord ///  
 hippopotamus pool [which is on the east of  
 the Southern City], they do not let [sleep  
 come to us by the day or the night]. Their  
 noise is in the ear of (1,9) our city ///

[The]n the prince of the [Southern City] ///  
 /// (1,10) /// (2,1) with him as  
 protector.

He will not descend/submit [himself] to any  
 god which is in [the land to its entirety],  
 except for Amun-Re, king of the gods.  
 Now, after many days had passed, King  
 (Apophis)|, (l.p.h.), sent to the Prince of the  
 southern city a verbal message, which his  
 scribes and savants had said to him.

{r}

(2,2) wn.in nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w) Hr hAb n pA wr  
n.y niw.t {Hr} rsy.t <Hr> pA smi-n-  
md.t i:dD n=f nAy=f sS rx.w-Ax.wt  
{r}

(2,3) xr ir pA wpw.ty n.y nsw.t  
(lppy)| anx(.w) wDA(.w) snb(.w) Hr  
spr [r] pA wr n.y niw.t {hr} rsy.t  
wn.in=tw [Hr] iTA=f m-bAH pA wr  
n.y niw.t {Hr} rsyt

(2,4) wn.in=tw Hr Dd n pA  
wpw.ty n.y nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w) [h]Ab=k <r> ix r  
niw.t rsy.t pH.wy=k wi <m> nA  
mSa Hr ix  
wn.in pA wpw.ty Hr (2,5) Dd n=f m  
nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w) wDA(.w)  
snb(.w) [r hAb n=k] r Dd imi tw  
r[wi].tw Hr tA Hn(.t) db.wy nty m  
pA wbn n.y niw.t pA-wn bn st  
<Hr> Di (2,6) iw.t n=i tA qd m hrw  
m grH iw xrw <m> m[s]Dr niw.t=f  
wn.in pA wr n.y niw.t {Hr}rs.yt Hr  
sgA m A.t aA.t iw=f xpr.w iw bw  
rx=f (2,7) an [smi] n pA wpw.ty  
n.y nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w) wDA(.w)  
snb(.w)

wn.in pA wr n.y niw.t rs.yt Hr Dd  
n=f isTw i:iri pAy=k nb anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w) {Hr} sDm m[d.t]  
Hr (2,8) /// /// /// [db.w nty m] pA  
w[b]n n.y niw.t m pAy

(2,2) King (Apophis)|, (l.p.h.), sent to the Prince of the southern city a verbal message/accusation, which his scribes and savants had said to him.

(2,3) Now, when the messenger of King (Apophis)|, (l.p.h.), reached the Prince of the Southern City, he was taken before the Chief of the Southern City.

(2,4) Then one said to the messenger of King (Apophis)|, (l.p.h.), “Why have you been send to the Southern City? Why have you reached me on this expedition?”  
Then the messenger (2,5) said to him: “It is King (Apophis)|, (l.p.h.), who sends to you, saying: “Cause there to be a removal from the hippopotamus, which is on the East of the City, because they do not allow (2,6) sleep to come to me by day or night, the noise being <in> the ear of his city.”

**Then, the prince of the Southern City was silent for a long time, change coming over time, he being unable (2,7) to answer the messenger of King (Apophis)| (l.p.h.).**

Then the Prince of the Southern City said to him: “Now, it is the case that your lord, (l.p.h.) has heard an account of (2,8) /// /// /// the hippopotami which are in the east of the city[?]”

wn[.in pA wpw.ty Dd n=f ] /// nA  
md.wt i:hAb=f {n} wi Hr=sn  
(2,9) [wn.in pA wr n.y niw.t {Hr}  
rs.yt Hr Di ir.ytw] xr.wt n pA  
[wpw.ty n.y nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w) m (i)x.t <nb> nfr  
iwf Saw.t /// (2,10) /// =k ir  
pA nty nb iw=k Hr Dd n=f iw=i  
iri=f kA=k n=f  
(2,11) /// [wn.in pA wpw.ty n.y  
nsw.t] (lppy)| anx(.w) wDA(.w)  
snb(.w) Hr=f fAy=f r mSa r pA nty  
(3,1) [pAy]=f nb anx(.w) wDA(.w)  
snb(.w) im  
aHa.n pA wr n.y niw.t rsy.t Hr  
Di.t aS.ntw nAy=f sr.w aA.w m-  
mitt waw nb HA.ty sw.t iw=f Hr  
[wHm] n=sn smi nb{.t} md.t i-hAb  
n=f (3,2) nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w) Hr rA r=sn  
aHa.n=sn gr.w m r-wa si m iAd.t  
(3,3) aA(.t) nn rx=sn Hr wSb n=f  
m nfr m rA-pw bin

wn.i[n] nsw.t (lppy)| anx(.w)  
wDA(.w) snb(.w) Hr hAb n

Then the messenger said to him: /// "the words [concerning which he sent me]."

(2,9) Then the prince of the Southern City caused] that fine provisions be assigned to the [messenger of King (Apophis)], (l.p.h.), of <every> good thing, meat and cake. /// (2,10) /// you. As for everything that you have said to him, I will do it. Thus you will

(2,11) /// [Then the messenger of King] (Apophis)], (l.p.h.), raised himself in order to travel to the place where (3,1) his lord, life (l.p.h.), was

Then the prince of the Southern City caused his high officials, and likewise every foremost soldier to be summoned. Then he repeated to them every matter about (3,2) King (Apophis)] (l.p.h.), had sent to him concerning them.

Then they were silent like one man, for a (3,3) great time. They not knowing how to answer him, neither good nor bad. Then King (Apophis)], (l.p.h.), sent to

(Text breaks off)

#### Commentary:

<sup>1</sup> Emendation proposed by Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 85a, note 1,1 g-h.

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