

The king and his office at the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period

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The Second Intermediate Period SIP; is a period that extends from about 1700-1550 BC and includes the periods from the Thirteenth to the Seventeenth Dynasty. This period, the period of Egyptian history which were times of relative confusion and unclear; the end of the Dynasty Twelfth and the beginning of SIP is ambiguous; particularly the relationship between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties is vague. The beginning of the SIP in ancient Egypt is still unclear; the King-lists; Turin, Sakkara, Abydos and Manetho, skipped names of some kings of this period and wrote the other, as a result the name of a king can be find in one list and omitted in the other. Moreover in the king list at Abydos, it has skipped the last queen of Twelfth Dynasty and all the rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty and the SIP, and start with Ahmose of the Eighteenth Dynasty as the king who ruled directly after Amenemhet IV.¹ Other lists, which gave the names of the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty to the end of the SIP, are fragmentary; thus the true chronology of this dynasty is difficult to be identified as there are few monuments dating from this period.² Many of the king's names are only known from a fragmentary inscription or from scarabs.

Scholars studying this period emphasized the differences in fortune between the Twelfth and Thirteenth dynasties. Gardiner stated that the relatively long lengths of reigns in Twelfth Dynasty were indicative of the prosperity of the Egyptian polity, while in Thirteenth Dynasty, "the land was in a state of dire havoc and confusion, its rulers murdering and

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¹A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. (New York, 1961), p.147; J. von Beckerath., *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*. ÄF 23.(New York, 1964). p.1442.

² W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Ancient Egypt I* (London, 1894), p.200; von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, pp.26-27,70; D.B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day-Books*. SSEA 4. (Mississauga,1986). pp. 29-34; K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie/ bearb.und übersetzt von Kurt Sethe*, IV (Leipzig,1914), pp.

608-610; R. Weill, *La Fin du Moyen Empire*,(Paris, 1918) p.4; H.E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York,1947), pp.93-94.

replacing one another with extreme rapidity".³ By the end of the reign of Amenemhet II administration changes occurred. A decline in the average number of titles, tomb size, and provincial administrators may indicate either for economic decline, or more likely, for a planned reduction of provincial administrators.⁴ The fact is that the beginning of the second Intermediate Period i.e. Thirteenth Dynasty remains one of the most obscure periods of Egyptian history. This situation caused that kings of this dynasty may have implemented or innovated new methods for achieving their legitimacy and to overcome this turbulent Period for kingship and settle his relationships with their officials.

Many studies have addressed the titles held by the administrative officials to reconstruct the hierarchical structure of the offices. Rarely have these studies examined questions related to the officials themselves, and their relation with the king. This study examines the careers of officials and their family connections with the king and other officials in order to know how these men acquired their offices during the beginning of the SIP, thus testing office transmission and acquisition practices. In order to understand the fall of Thirteenth Dynasty, a study of the backgrounds of the kings of this period and his office; viziers, and treasurers should provide important insights. This paper will explore the background of status of the king and the top officials of the country; the methods that the kings adopted to legitimate their rule over the country, will be explored as the nature of succession changed from the beginning, the middle to the end of the Dynasty. The symptoms of the loss of power of kings will also be evaluated.

Innovated forms of legitimization

If one imagines the time of the beginning of the SIP which extended about 150 years and having over 50 kings in such a limited time, this situation must have created crises related to legitimization and succession to the throne. The short reign of the kings, which lasted, in some instances, less than a year, are probably symptoms of challenges. So studying the royal legitimization in the beginning of SIP with their innovations which

³ A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (New York, 1961), p.149; J.A. Wilson, *The Culture of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago,1956), pp. 154-165;Gardiner calls the entire Second Intermediate Period as a "dark age" see Gardner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, p. 66. also, Fakhry referred to the Thirteenth Dynasty as "dark period" see A. Fakhry, *The Pyramids* (Chicago, 1961), p. 233; B. Bell, "Climate and the History of Egypt: The Middle Kingdom," *AJA* 79 (1975), p. 260, called this period "Little Dark Age".

⁴ N. Sinclair, *The development and decline of provincial rule from the Old to the Middle Kingdom: an analysis of the tombs and titles of the senior officials of Upper Egypt*, MA Macquarie University, Department of Ancient History 2013, p. 205

date to this period will be beneficial, also the analysis of the probable and new methods of succession to the throne for the beginning of SIP and evaluate its outcomes in light of the evidence available at this time.

Festivals

Festivals, served also as a form of legitimization. The most important festivals for a monarch included the accession and coronation of the kings. The accession ideally occurred at sunrise on the day after that on which the previous king died, while the coronation was planned on the date of the New Year or on the first day of the season.⁵ Leprohon states: These occasions were crucial because it was during them that the divine essence of the sacral office was transferred to the king and the fusion of the pharaoh's human and divine natures occurred.⁶

The Sed Festival

The Sed festival is an important event for the legitimization of the kings. Traditionally this ceremony occurred after 30 years of accession to the throne, but just how long this period was, can differ from one king to the other.⁷ The roots of this festival dates back to the reigns of the earliest Egyptian kings, this festival contains ceremonies and athletic rituals activities. Nevertheless, the primary purpose of the Sed festival seems to have been to renew the strength of the king through his contact with the gods, and renewal of his coronation.⁸ In the Thirteenth Dynasty Sekhemrekhutawy Amenemhet Sobekhotep I may have celebrated the

⁵R.J. Leprohon, "Royal Ideology and State Administration in Pharaonic Egypt." In J.M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. I. Peabody, MA, 1995, pp.273-287 especially pp: 276-277. For more details of the accession and coronation, see C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal*, Studies in the History of Religions 13 (Leiden, 1967), pp. 95-96; M.A. Bonheme and A. Forgeau, *Pharaon:Les Secrets du Pouvoir* (Paris, 1988), pp. 245-246; 247-248; Fairman, "Kingship Rituals," pp. 78-80, 81-83, 96-97, 104.

⁶ Leprohon, "Royal Ideology," p. 276; D.P. Silverman, "The Nature of Egyptian Kingship." in D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, (New York, 1995), p. 69.

⁷C.J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, pp. 96-123; Bonheme and Forgeau, *Les Secrets*, pp. 287-306; H.W. Fairman, "The Kingship Rituals of Egypt." in S.H. Hooke, ed., *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship*, (Oxford, 1958), pp.74-104. pp. 83-85; D. Lorton "Towards a Constitutional Approach to Ancient Egyptian Kingship." *JAOS* 99 (1979), pp. 460-465. p. 461.

⁸ Leprohon, "Royal Ideology," p. 281; E. Teeter, "Kingship." in K. A. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. (New York, 1999), pp. 411-414. " p. 412.

Sed festival, as depicted on the relief that found at Medamud.⁹ It seems that this celebration is just to legitimate his coronation because of his relatively short reign, presumably indicating problems occurred by the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty i.e the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period, that he needs legitimization his coronation. However, it appears that the Sed festival scenes of this king were imitating to those of Senwosret III, and it is may indicate that his participation in Sed festival was symbolic,¹⁰ to connect these kings with kings of Twelfth Dynasty who were represented the traditional kingship. Moreover they used the royal symbols and regalia of the kings of Twelfth Dynasty which may have indicate that they need to legalize their accession to the throne. However, later in the Thirteenth Dynasty, Merhotepre Sobekhotep VI is depicted in a statue wearing a Sed festival robe, possibly commemorating his celebration.¹¹

Divine Birth

In ancient Egypt, the ruler was a human representation of the divine office of kingship.¹² The development of the concept of divine birth began in Dynasty IV with the use of the terms *s3-Rc* "son of Re" in the titular along with the king's nomen.¹³ The first reference to divine birth known so far

⁹ C. Sambin, "Medamud, " in D. B. Redford, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 2 (Oxford, 2001). Bisson de la Roque, *Medamoud* 1928, pp. 3, 4, 58-72, 115-123, Pl. 114; J. Revez, "Medamud," in K. A. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1999), p. 476;F. Bisson de la Roque and J.J Clere, *Fouilles de Medamoud* 1927. FIFAO 5.Cairo, 1928, pp. 89-92, 99-100, 103, 105, 117-118, 131-137, Pl. 104; *Medamoud* 1929, pp. 78, 89-93, Pl. 75.

¹⁰ Statuettes of an unknown ruler of the Thirteenth Dynasty dressed in a sed robe, were found at Semna see J. Vercoutter, "Le Roi Ougaf et la XIII e Dynastie sur la Ilme Cataracte." *RdE* 27 (1975), pp. 222-234. pp. 227-228.

¹¹ W. V. Davies, *Royal Statue Reattributed* (London, 1981), no. 31.

¹² Leprohon, "Royal Ideology", p.275; G. Posener, *De la Divinite du Pharaon*, Cahiers de la Societe Asiatique 15 (Paris, 1960), pp.145-163; D.P. Silverman, "Unity and Power .The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period ,in Z. Hawass, *Tutankhamun. The Golden King and the Great Pharaohs*, (Washington, 2008), pp.35-45. p.45; "The Nature of Egyptian Kingship," in D. O'Connor and D. P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, pp.51-61; Lorton, "Towards a Constitutional", p.460.

¹³ This part of the titular emerged at the beginning of the reign of Djedefre. see E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: the One and the Many* (Ithaca, NY, 1982), p.142; "The Pharaoh," in S. Donadoni, ed., *The Egyptians* (Chicago, 1997), p.286; .Tobin believes that the king as the son of the sun god was already in existence from the beginning with the connection between the ruler and the solar Horus, see V.A. Tobin, *Theological Principles of Egyptian Religion* (New York, 1989), pp.93-94.; Teeter dates this titular to Nefer ir kare of Dynasty V, see E. Teeter, "Kingship," in K. A. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1999), pp. 411-412; this title is found also during the Reign of Khafre see J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der*

is in the Westcar Papyrus, which is found in a copy dated to Dynasty XV/XVII.¹⁴ The composition of this text may date to the beginning of the SIP, though its precise date is uncertain.¹⁵ This tale does have some interesting elements, for the three kings of Thirteenth Dynasty (Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Sobekhotep IV) as it explains the divine well and kingship principles, it shows that there is no authority on earth, which can change the divine well. Berlev considers that it is another way in which kings could refer to divine birth was to show that their parents were

Ägyptisches Königsnamen. (Mainz, 1999), p. 54, n.1; P. Kaplony, "Königstitulatur," *LÄ*, 3 1979, pp.641-661; B.J. Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period c.2686-1552." In B.G. Trigger, et al., eds., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, (Cambridge, 1983), pp.71-182 pp. 71-72; W. Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs. Ritus und Sakralkönigtum in Altägypten nach Zeugnissen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien herausgegeben von Hans Wolfgang Müller 32 (München-Berlin, 1975), pp.32-40; H.W. Fairman, "Kingship Rituals of Egypt," in S. H. Hooke, ed., *Myth, Ritual, and Kingship* (Oxford, 1958), p. 77; G. Robins, "Legitimation." In D.B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 2. (Oxford, 2001), pp.286-289 p.287; J. Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs* (New York, 2002) p.119.

¹⁴ R. Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New York, 2002), p. 295.

¹⁵ Assmann, *the Mind of Egypt*, pp. 146,185; C. Bennett, "The Structure of The Seventeenth Dynasty," *GM* 149 (1995), p. 31; O.D. Berlev, "The Eleventh Dynasty in the Dynastic History of Egypt." in D.W. Young, ed., *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*. East Glouster, (MA, 1981), pp. 361-377. pp. 368-369; H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 203-206; B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), p. 197; L. H. Lesko, "Textual Sources, Middle Kingdom," In K. A. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1999), p.796; Lorton, "Towards a Constitutional Approach;" pp. 460-461, 463; R. Parkinson, "Papyrus Westcar," in D. B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 3 (Oxford, 2001), p.24; Silverman, "Nature," p. 71; S. Quirke, "Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty." In S. Quirke, ed., *Middle Kingdom Studies*. (Whitstable, 1991), pp.123-139. p. 130; "Narrative Literature," in A. Loprieno, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (New York, 1995), p. 271; Some scholars attribute it to Dynasty XV; Bietak said that the papyrus was from Avaris see M. 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), pp. 87-139. p. 115; G. Posener, *Litterature et Politique dans l' Egypte de la XIIe Dynastie*, Bibliotheque de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes 307 (Paris, 1956), p. 12; Goedicke prefers dating the text to the end of Dynasty XVII, see H. Goedicke, "Thoughts about the Papyrus Westcar," *ZÄS* 11 (1993), pp. 23-36. The transcription of the papyrus, see A. M. Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians: Transcribed from Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin Papyrus 3033 Reading, (England, 1988). Translations of the Text see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1, (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 215-222; W.K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (.New Haven, 1973)., pp. 15-30.

not royal.¹⁶ Thus, in certain reigns in ancient Egyptian history, the non-royal parent of a king was referred to as the "god's father" (*it ntr*).¹⁷ In the beginning of SIP, a group of kings, including the three kings who linked to the Westcar Papyrus, used such terminology to refer to their own fathers. The three kings; Neferhotep I, Sahathor and Sobekhotep IV; state that they were born to non-royal family, Haankhef and Kemi, also king Sobekhotep III refers to his parents as "god's father" Mentuhotep and king's mother" Iwhetibu.¹⁸ Another king's mother Iwhetibu and a god's father Dedusobek are the parents of an unknown ruler.¹⁹

Innovated forms of successions

Inheritance

Despite the dangers associated with succession in ancient Egypt, the rapid turnover of kings during the Thirteenth Dynasty impact the instability of the royal office itself.²⁰ Examining the means, through which the selection of a king occurred, is one of the most important issues in

¹⁶ Berlev, "The Eleventh Dynasty," p.365.

¹⁷ Berlev, "Eleventh Dynasty," pp.363,366; A. Gardiner, "The First King Menthotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty," *MDAIK* 14(1956), p. 46; E. Graefe, "Die Vermeintliche Unterägyptische Herkunft des Ibi, Obermajordomus der Nitokris," *SAK* 1 (1974), p. 203, n. 215. This title may have also been used by some priests. In the Thirteenth Dynasty, when "god's father" is used in conjunction with king's mother, it emphasis is upon the fact that the parents are not from the royal family. See E. Blumenthal, "Die 'Gottesväter' des Alten und Mittleren Reiches," *ZÄS* 114 (1987), pp. 25-28,31; D. Franke, "Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich." Dissertation (Universität Hamburg, 1983)., "pp. 309-310.

¹⁸ L. Habachi, "A Score of Important Officials Serving the Neferhotep Family as Revealed from Three Objects in the Heqaib Sanctuary." *Serapis* 6(1980), pp. 47-56. pp. 80-81; Quirke, "Royal Power," pp. 130-131; K.S.B. Ryholt, *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C. (Copenhagen, 1997)*, p. 285.

¹⁹ D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich.*(Wiesbaden, 1984). p. 439; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp. 246-248; A. E. P. Weigall, "Tomb and Cemetery of Senusert III," in E. R. Ayrton, et al., *Abydos, Part III* (London, 1904), p. 48, PL. XIII.

²⁰ V.G. Callender, "The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (c.2055-1650 BC), in I. Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. Oxford University Press, 2000, pp.148-183. p.171; A.R. David, *The Pyramid Builders of Ancient Egypt*. (London, 1996), p. 197; N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge, 1992., p. 171; W.W. Hallo and W.K. Simpson, *the Ancient Near East*, (New York, 1971) p. 249; W. Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten. Handbuch der Orientalistik I*. Leiden, 1968., p. 117; G.P.F. van den Boom, *The Duties of the Vizier* (New York, 1988), p. 346; M. Verner, *The Pyramids: The Mystery, Culture, and Science of Egypt's Great Monuments*. New York, 2001, p. 434; M. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*. Cambridge, 1988. p.5.

studying of the Thirteenth Dynasty.²¹ Many suggestions have been made for the procedure of succession, but none of them is to be satisfied, it seems that many innovations may have been developed as different situation is appeared.

The Memphite Theology of Osiris and Horus,²² Which was mentioned in the Pyramid Texts, may reflect the pattern and the actual prototype of royal succession in ancient Egyptian kingship.²³ Inheritance usually formed the normal way to ascend the throne. By the end of the Twelfth Dynasty, queen Nefrusobek ascended the throne as heir of her father Amenemhet III.²⁴ Two royal women's titles found on scarab seals suggest that they were two cases of normal inheritance to ascend the throne in the beginning of the SIP. Both of which are women possessed the titles "queen" and "king's mother."²⁵ The first one is Nebhotepti, Ryholt places her to the reign of Awibre Hor, based on her seal type.²⁶ He assigns the second queen, Aahotepti, prior to the reign of Sobekhotep III.²⁷ However, from their titles it seems that their mothers were the spouses of kings. Another example for inheritance of succession was Ameny Qemau and his possible successor Hotepibre Saharnedjeritef. Ryholt has also proposed that double names represent inheritance in successions. It is notable that this type of succession occurs in the first part of the Thirteenth Dynasty, probably because these kings were still legal descendent of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty.

²¹ S. Quirke, "Thirteenth Dynasty." In D.B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 3. Oxford, 2001, pp. 394-398 p. 396.

²² Fairman, "Kingship Rituals," pp. 81-83; Kemp, *Social History*," p. 72; K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen* (Leipzig, 1928). H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*. (Chicago, 1948)., pp. 25-30.

²³ Leprohon, "Royal Ideology," p. 274. ; Allen also points out that Horus achieved his position through the death of his father, Osiris, see J. P. Allen, *Genesis in Egypt* (New Haven, 1988), p. 33-34; L. Lesko, "Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology," in B. Schafer, ed., *Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 92-93.

²⁴ W. Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*. (London, 2006)., pp. 61-63.

²⁵ Quirke, "Royal Power," p. 129.

²⁶ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp. 38-39, 218, for the seal see 238-239, n.101. Fragments of a statuette of Queen and King's Mother Nebhotepti were found in room LVII of the Semna Fort, D. Dunham and J. Janssen, *Semna, Kumma, Second Cataract Forts I*. (Boston, 1960). p. 28, pl. 87A21, A22; O. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals*. II. Warminster, 1984. Pl. 64, nos. 3535-3536.

²⁷ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp. 39, n. 104; 242-243.

Co regency

At the beginning of Second Intermediate Period, Amenemhet I may have founded the practice of coregency.²⁸ Though some scholars do not believe that this method of succession existed for some of the Dynasty XII kings,²⁹ Others refer this innovation to the reason for why these twelve nomarchs were able to rule for over 200 years.³⁰ Generally, coregency used to prevent the would-be coups from taking place.³¹

There are two possibilities for coregency; the first is that the king might choose an appropriate heir as coregent. This heir might be placed in a second position but with enough power to take the throne easily when the king died. Accordingly this heir was not given full royal titular nor did he

²⁸ D. Franke, *The Middle Kingdom in Egypt*. "in J.M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. 2. (Peabody, MA, 1995), pp.735-748. p. 738; H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature*. (Chicago, 1948), p. 101; W.W. Hallo and W.K. Simpson, *Ancient Near East: A History*.(New York, 1971), p. 245; R.J. Leprohon, "Middle Kingdom, Overview." In K..A. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. (New York, 1999), pp.47-53. p. 48; W. K. Simpson, "The Single-Dated Monuments of Sesostri I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty," *JNES* 15 (1956), p. 216;D.P. Silverman, "Unity and Power. The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, in Z. Hawass, *Tutankhamun. The Golden King and the Great Pharaohs*. (Washington, 2008), pp.35-45. pp. 35-37, 40; evidence of coregencies in Dynasty XII , see W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40(Chicago,1977), pp. 1-24; M. Valloggia, "Amenmhet IV et sa Coregence avec Amenemhet III." *RdE* 21(1969), pp. 107-133. pp. 113-133; J. Wegner, "The Nature and Chronology of the Senwosret III- Amenemhet III Regnal Succession. Some Considerations based on New Evidence from the Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos," *JNES* 55(1996), pp. 266-279.

²⁹E.P. Uphill, "The Question of Pharaonic Co-Regency," *DE* 49 (2001), p. 82; M. Eaton-Krauss, "Middle Kingdom Coregencies and the Turin Canon," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 12 (1982), pp. 17-20; W. J. Murnane, "Coregency," in D. B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 1 (Oxford, 2001), pp. 307-311; Franke, "Middle Kingdom," p. 398; C. Obsomer, *Sesostris I er:Etude Chronologique et Historique du Regne*, *Connaissance de l'Egypte Ancienne* 5, (Bruxelles, 1995), pp. 35-161; C. Obsomer, "La Date de Nesou-Montou (Louvre CI), " *RdE* 44 (1993), pp. 103-140. For the impact of coregency upon the art style in this period, See C. Aldred, *Middle Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1969), p.24.

³⁰ Quirke, "Royal Power." 138; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* .I .(New York,1953)., p. 172; Leprohon, "Middle Kingdom, Overview; W.K. Simpson "The Single -Dated Monuments of Sesostri I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty." *JNES* 15 (1956), pp.214-219. p. 214.

³¹ Such system was used in ancient time in order to prevent usurpation see H. J. M. Claessen, "The Balance of Power in Primitive States, "in S. L. Seaton and H. Claessen, eds., *Political Anthropology: The State of the Art* (New York, 1979), p. 189.

have any true royal power. However, he did gain certain titles and was often sent to perform military duties away from the capital, both for his protection and to ensure the sole power of the reigned king.³² The second possible version for coregency, it has been suggested that the heir ruler played the chief role of king while the older one functioned possibly the ritual acts in religious monarchy.³³ Some scholars, depending on the literary masterpieces of the Instructions of Amenmhat I to his Son and the story of Sinuhe,³⁴ suggested that coregency known from the twelfth Dynasty,³⁵ other believe that these texts do not support the existence of a coregency during the reigns of these kings.³⁶ An alternative to coregency was for the king to appoint the heir as vizier or to allow him to take part in administrative duties and military activities without actually crowning him as a ruler.³⁷ Uphill sees this option as a good alternative for the interpretation of the early Twelfth Dynasty evidence found in texts such as Sinuhe and the Instructions of Amenemhet I to his Son.³⁸

Kings of Thirteenth Dynasty, like those of the Twelfth Dynasty, may have been characterized by coregencies. Murnane sees that the occurrence of two royal names on one artifact is an evidence for a coregency.³⁹ The first possible coregency is that of Khabaw and Awibre Hor, whose names are found on a lime stone block, originally from an architrave.⁴⁰ Ryholt

³² D. Lorton, "Terms of Coregency in the Middle Kingdom," *VA* 2 (1986), pp. 113-120; Leprohon, "Royal Ideology," p. 281; Murnane, "Coregency," p. 308.

³³ Simpson, "The Single-Dated Monuments of Sesostris I," pp. 214-219; Wegner, "The Nature and Chronology of the Senwosret III", pp. 274-275.

³⁴ R. Parkinson, "Sinuhe," in D.B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 3 (Oxford, 2001), p. 292; Obsomer, "Sinouhe l'Egyptien et les Raisons de son Exil." *Le Museon* 112 (1999), pp. 207-271. J. Baines, "Interpreting Sinuhe," *JEA* 68 (1982), pp. 31-44. Baines sees that work is a propaganda, against him argued Bellion see M. Bellion, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Hieroglyphiques et Hieratiques et des Dessins, sur Papyrus, Cuir ou Tissu, Publies ou Signales*. Paris, 1987., pp. 351-353.

³⁵ K. Jansen-Winkel, "Das Attentat auf Amenemhet I. Und die erste Ägyptische Koregentschaft, *SAK* 18 (1991), pp.241-264;., "Zu den Koregenzen der 12. Dynastie, "SAK 24 (1997), pp. 115-135.

³⁶C. Obsomer, *Sesostris Ier: Etude Chronologique et Historique du Regne*. *Connaissance de l'Egypte Ancienne 5*. Bruxelles, 1995., pp. 112-133

³⁷ E.P. Uphill, "The Question of Pharaonic Co-Regency. *DE* 49 (2001), pp. 81-94. p. 81.

³⁸ *Ibid* p. 82.

³⁹ Murnane, *Egyptian Coregencies*, pp. 24-26. Callender argues that it is impossible to determine whether double dates refer to two kings ruling at the same time or consecutive kings, under which an official served see V.G. Callender, "The Middle Kingdom Renaissance (c.2055-1650BC). "in I. Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*. (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.148-183. p. 149.

⁴⁰P. Montet, *La Necropole Royale de Tanis*. III. Paris, 1960. pp. 71-72, Pl. XXVIII; Murnane, *Egyptian Coregencies*, p. 25.

places Khabaw after Awibre Hor, presuming that this inscription indicates coregency or a chronological link between them. A statue base from Medamud displays the names of Sedjefakare Kay Amenemhet and Khutawyre Wegaf.⁴¹ Several scholars have suggested that there was coregency between Neferhotep I and Sahathor.⁴² Habachi has argued that the Wadi Hammamat Inscription (the Debono Stela), which shows Neferhotep I's names after those of Sahathor and Sobekhotep IV, may indicate a coregency.⁴³ It seems that with the reigns of kings being so short, it may be the case that some rulers of the beginning of SIP may have served as regents for child rulers. In this way a type of co regency may have existed. Some of them may have been not of the proper royal family and may have usurped the position from the previous royal family.

Brother-to-brother Succession

Brother-to-brother or Fratrilineal succession is a system that ancient Egyptian royalty may have developed during the Second Intermediate Period in order to prevent young children from inheriting the throne while maintaining the royal power of the royal family.⁴⁴ Instead, a king might choose a brother, nephew, or another relative to take the throne upon his death. With this sort of succession, the lines of kingship would have been stable, though individual reigns of the successors may have been relatively shorter, in compare to those of father-to-son succession because heirs were of the same generation. During Dynasty XIII, at least one instance of fratriarchy occurred the Neferhotep/Sahathor/Sobekhotep family.⁴⁵ Bennett suggests that rulers of Thirteenth Dynasty chose the fratrilineal succession to create stability in the office of kingship.⁴⁶ Thus, the Thirteenth Dynasty kings may have invented these methods as a necessary action than a deliberate modification of kingship itself. Some scholars have suggested that Sahathor, who ruled for days or months, served as a coregent to Neferhotep without ever having occupied the

⁴¹ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp. 219-220.

⁴² M. Dewachter, "Le Roi Sahathor et la famille de Neferhotep I. " *Rd'E* 28 (1976), pp.66-73. p. 66; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp. 192, 216, n. 745.

⁴³ L. Habachi, "New Light on the Neferhotep I Family, as Revealed by Their Inscriptions in the Cataract Area." In W.K. Simpson and W.M. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of his 90th Birthday*, June 1, 1980. Boston, 1981, pp.77-81. p. 80.

⁴⁴ Bennett, "The Structure of the Seventeenth Dynasty." *GM* 149 (1995), pp.25-32. pp. 29-30.

⁴⁵ S. Quirke, "An Investigation into Problems of Thirteenth Dynasty Kingship with Special Reference to Papyrus Bulaq 18." dissertation .(Christ's College, 1986). p. 230; Quirke, "Royal Power," p. 130.

⁴⁶ C. Bennett, "The Structure of the Seventeenth Dynasty." *GM* 149 (1995), pp.25-32.

throne alone.⁴⁷ However, there is no clear evidence of coregency, and it is likely that this king died due to his age, inheriting kingship from his brother after over eleven years. After the reign of the next sibling ruler, Sobekhotep IV, his possible nephew, Khahotepre Sobekhotep V became king, a sequence one would expect at the end of the generational line in the pattern of fratrilineal succession. Bennett believes that this line continued to rule through the reign of Merneferre Ay, due to the relatively long reign-lengths of these kings from 26 to 65 years.⁴⁸ Another possible example of fratrilineal succession is Sekhemrekhutawy Sobekhotep I and Sekhemkare Senebefas both of these rulers have double nomens with Amenemhet.⁴⁹ Finally, an example of collateral succession, in which a nephew followed his uncle on the throne may have occurred during Dynasty XIII. According to Ryholt, Sankhibre Ameny Intef Amenemhet took the throne after his grandfather, Sekhemkare Amenemhet V; his uncle, Ameny Qemau; his cousin, Qemau Saharnedjeritef; and another possible relative, Iwefni.⁵⁰

Fratrilineal kingship at least in some imited circumstances, it would seem that the brother rulers Neferhotep I and family had to go to great lengths to legitimize their reigns. As with other kings of non-royal birth, Neferhotep gave his parents royal titles; "god's father" and "king's mother" after he was in office.

Usurpation

It is likely that usurpation occurred during Thirteenth Dynasty, since the normal succession lines may have been insufficient, and conditions within Egypt may have been encouraging.⁵¹ There are some indications that high officials and military leaders may have become kings during this time.⁵² Usurpations occurred during the reigns of ineffective kings and shortly after the death of others. It seems that any usurpation action takeover must have been supported by at least a sector of the elite or the military in

⁴⁷ Dewachter, "Le Roi Sahathor", p. 66; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp. 192,216, n.745; Murnane does not consider this coregency W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*. SAOC 40. (Chicago, 1977). p. 25.

⁴⁸ Bennett, "Structure," p.30.

⁴⁹ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p. 209.

⁵⁰ K.S. Ryholt, A Reconsideration of Some Royal Names of the Thirteenth Dynasty." *GM* 119 (1990), pp. 101-113. p. 107; *Political Situation*, pp. 214-215. Bennett expresses some doubt in Ryholt's reconstruction (C. Bennett, "Thutmosis I and Ahmes-Sapair," *GM* 141 (1994), p.35, n.34).

⁵¹ J.H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1912), p. 214.

⁵² J. Von Beckerath, "Zwischenzeit ‚Zweite.“ *LÄ*. VI. 1986, pp.1442-1448. P. 1443; *Untersuchungen*, pp. 87-91.

order to have been successful. Another means of usurpation was through the support of a powerful cult.⁵³ It can be noticed at the beginning of Twelfth Dynasty, the cult of Amun took superiority over that of Montu, indicating that the priests of the Amun supported the ascent of Amenemhet I to the throne.

Elective Kingship

Egyptology scholars' proposed "elective kingship" as an explanation for the seemingly chaotic situation in Thirteenth Dynasty kingship, Junker suggested the existence of such system; each new king was selected through what may have been some form of election. Moreover, recently, Lorton has suggested that such a system may have existed in the Old Kingdom and beyond with a king coming from a group eligible for the office. This person was then chosen or approved by the military, religious group or some other powerful institution.⁵⁴

Selective Kingship

Hayes conducted a detailed study of Brooklyn Museum Papyrus; accordingly he developed his hypothesis concerning the mechanics of succession in Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵⁵ It seemed to him that the vizierate office was more powerful than the royal throne, since all of the kings appeared to be unrelated while the viziers passed their office through members of the family. Thus, the succession of viziers seems to have been more stable than that of kings and he suggests that the vizier or a group of high-ranking officials selected a man to serve as king for a specified time. This person would carry the titles of king and wear royal regalia, but would possess no real power.⁵⁶

⁵³ Lorton, "Towards a Constitutional Approach," pp. 463-464.

⁵⁴ H. Junker and L. Delaporte, *Die Volker des Antiken Orients* (Freiburg, 1933), pp. 103-104. See also von

Beckerath, "Zweite Zwischenzeit," p. 1443. Bietak suggested that the Hyksos kings followed a similar theory see M. 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, pp.87-139. p. 113.

⁵⁵ W.C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1955), pp. 144-149. See also W.C. Hayes, "Egypt: From the Death of Ammenemes III to Seqenenre II." in I.E.S. Edwards, et al., eds., *Cambridge Ancient History*. II (1). (Cambridge, 1973), pp.42-76; Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt*, pp. 127-149. W. Helck, *Historische-Biographische Text der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18.Dynastie. KÄT. Wiesbaden, 1975*. pp. 11-12, no.16-17.

⁵⁶W.C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*. (Brooklyn, 1955). pp. 144-149.

The governmental Structure at the beginning of SIP

Around the Twelfth Dynasty, the power of both the King and his vizier were strengthened, at times, particularly during SIP where the king's rule was weak, it was the viziers who often held the power of Egypt's administration system, and they often held their office during the reign of more than one king, particularly within a single dynasty. In fact, viziers could even be elevated to kings. The increased use of titles during the beginning of the SIP provides considerable information as to the operation of the government and the progression of the careers of the officials. Quirke sees that titles from the beginning of the SIP are related to four spheres including national court administration, local government on behalf of the king, temple positions, and those related to the wealthy estates.⁵⁷ In some cases, the monuments of these officials or their associates allows for the precise dating of their careers. Unfortunately, after the reign of Sobekhotep IV, it is difficult to place the officials into specific reigns.⁵⁸

Thus the evaluation of the offices of the kings, viziers and treasurers of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and the relationships between these offices as well as that of their counterparts in the Second Intermediate Period will be addressed in order to come to a greater understanding of the nature of kingship during the Thirteenth Dynasty.

The King

The role of Middle Kingdom rulers was described in the Hymns to Senwosret III⁵⁹, As well as in Merikare, teaching of Amenemhet, and the Stela of Sehotepibre at Abydos.⁶⁰ According to these textual sources, the ruler was at the peak of the administrative system of government, the military, the court, the treasury, and the religious institution.⁶¹ Though the

⁵⁷ S. Quirke, *Titles and Bureau of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*.(London,2004). p.16.

⁵⁸ W. Grajetzki, *Die Hochsten Beamten der Agyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*. (Berlin,2000), p.261; *Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom*. BAR International Series 1007.(Oxford, 2001), p.37.

⁵⁹D. Franke, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt. "in J.M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. 2. Peabody,(MA, 1995), pp.735-748, p. 743.

⁶⁰ Callender,"Renaissance,"p.176

⁶¹ Leprohon,"Royal Ideology,"p.273; D. Lorton, "Legal and Social Institutions of Pharaonic Egypt." In J.M. Sasson,ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* I. Peabody,(MA, 1995), pp.345-362,"p.354; D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman, "Introduction. "in D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*. Probleme der Agyptologie 9 .New York, 1995, pp.XVI-XXVII. p.XIX; G. Robins, "Legitimation," in D.B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 2. Oxford, 2001, pp.286-289. p.286;E. Teeter, "Kingship." In K.A. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. (New York,1999), pp.411-414.

king was responsible for all the aspects of the operation of the state, in reality, he distributed power amongst judicial and local elite⁶². Through these assignments, many activities were undertaken such as collecting the tax, mining, military activities, monumental construction, quarrying, domestic affairs, judicial procedures, and religious ceremonies.⁶³

The identity and nature of the power of the officials varied through time. Important players could include sections of the Egyptian routine system such as royal family members, the vizier and other state officials, the military, religious estates, local mayors, and the administrative units.⁶⁴ The shifts in the power between such groups and the ruler define the status of the institution of kingship through time.

The Background of the Kings

Apparently, Thirteenth Dynasty was constituted of many groups of kings or individual rulers who may or may not be related to one another. When the office of kingship was passed from father to son, the traditional principles of the office would have kept the line of succession. However, with the potential of having multiple non-royal kings within the Dynasty, it is interesting to chase the backgrounds of these men in order to determine which branches of the government may have profited from the loss in power of kingship, allowing members of their order to become rulers.

From the available information about the kings, whose non-royal origins attested, the evidence points out toward military offices. Franke has suggested that Wegaf was previously the chief military commander "imy-r mšꜥ wr" because of the same name found in a seal. Probably, this king was of foreign origin,⁶⁵ since his name may be derived from a

pp.412-413;E. Hornung, "Ancient Egyptian Religious Iconography," in J. M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East 3*,(Peabody, MA,1995),p.1725; S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*. (New York,1992) p.81.

⁶² Leprohon, "Royal Ideology,"p.273; H. te Velde, "Theology, Priests, and Worship in Ancient Egypt," in

J. M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East 3*(Peabody, MA, 1995), p.1731.

⁶³J. Baines, "Practical Religion and Piety." *JEA* 73 (1987), pp.79-98. p.80; "Kingship Definition of Culture and Legitimation." in D. O'Connor and D.P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (.New York,1995), pp.3-47. p.13; Bonheme and Forgeau, *Les Secrets*, p.131; Leprohon, "Royal Ideology," p.278;B. E. Schafer, "Temples, Priests, and Rituals: an Overview," in B. E. Schafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca, 1997), p.9.

⁶⁴E. Cruz-Uribe, "A Model for the Political Structure of Ancient Egypt." In D.P. Silverman, ed., *for His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*. SAOC 55. Chicago, 1994, pp.45-53.

⁶⁵ D. Franke, "Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches. Teil II: Die sogenannte "Zweite Zwischenzeit" Ägyptens." *Orientalia* 57(1988), pp.245-274.p.249; G.T. Martin,

foreign Semitic word *wkf*, a military title, which make it possible that he ascended to the throne from a military background. Another foreign name suggested by Quirke that of Woserkare Khendjer may have been a foreigner, whose rise to power came also through the military.⁶⁶

Ward refers to the meaning of the name "swine" in Semitic tongues (*hndr*) and points to its Ugaritic and Canaanite parallels.⁶⁷ Another king, who may have risen to power through the military, is Imyremeshaw Semenkare, (*imy-r mšꜥ*) "overseer of the troops" or "the general."⁶⁸ Although some scholar argue that the name may represent a "family tradition" rather than a connection to the military,⁶⁹ and that we should not translate it or consider it literally,⁷⁰ it is likely that this name links this king or his family with the military. King Sobekhotep III before achieving the office of kingship, he may have been the "officer of the ruler's crew" Sobekhotep, son of Montuhotep who bore the same titles.⁷¹ Sobekhotep III's grandfather "Dedusobek" was of ordinary background as his title may indicate; also his first wife Senebhenas may have been the daughter of the vizier Senebhenaf.⁷² Thus, this king with a probable military background may have married a woman from a family with direct connections to the office of the vizier. It is possible that he seeks the support for his reign from both offices military and the vizierate.

Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.(Oxford,1971), p.39, no. 439;PI. XIX, number 36; C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmaler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* IV (Leipzig,1901), p.54; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.341.

⁶⁶S. Quirke, "Thirteenth Dynasty." In D.B. Redford, ed., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*. 3.(Oxford, 2001), pp.394-398, p.396; "Royal Power,"pp.131-132.

⁶⁷W.A.Ward, "Comparative Studies in Egyptian and Ugaritic." *JNES* 20 (1961), pp.31-40. pp.34-35. See also Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.220-221.

⁶⁸E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Egypte*, (Pris, 1975) p.285;W.M.F. Petrie, *A History of Ancient Egypt*. I. (London, 1894), p. 209; H. Stock, *Studien zur Geschichte und Archäologie der 13.bis 17. Dynastie Ägyptens*.(New York, 1942). pp.50, 51; A.E.P. Weigall, *A History of the Pharaohs*. 2. (New York, 1927), pp.151-152; Quirke, "Investigation," pp.231,n. 272.according to this name, some scholars believe that military usurpations occurred during Dynasty XIII see von Beckerath, "Zwischenzeit, Zweite,"p.1443.Von Beckerath has also suggested that Imyremeshaw May have been referred to by his former title because he was of foreign origin, and his name could not be Pronounced by Egyptians von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, p.52.

⁶⁹ Quirke,"Royal Power,"p.131.

⁷⁰ S. Quirke, "Review of P. Vernus Le Surnom au Moyen Empire," *DE* 8(1987), p.109.

⁷¹ Ryholt, *Political Situation*, p.222. This relationship is visible on seals see Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, pp.49-50, numbers 575-588

⁷²D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich*.(Weisbaden, 1984). p.439, Doss.761. For the ranking of this title, see Quirke, "Investigation," p. 69.

Likewise, the grandfather of the three kings Neferhotep I, Sahathor and Sobekhotep IV was a commoner with the same title like that of the grandfather of Sobekhotep III; “*ḥnḥ n niwt*” possibly with military links.⁷³ King Wahibre Ibiaw may have also had a military background, several scholars have linked Ibiaw with an “*imy-r mš*”.⁷⁴

Thus the possible military kings occur from the reign of Wegaf to that of Wahibre Ibiaw the title *imy-r mš* which held by some of the kings, is a high-ranking title in the government and military as well.⁷⁵ Thus, this situation may indicate that these officials were usurpers in a time when external factors threatened the state, making their claim to power and ruled over the land. The lack of related Kings may have been effect the system, in which powerful families shared in the inheritance of the throne.⁷⁶

The Vizier

Officials of the Middle Kingdom may have acquired their offices by various means. The biographical, legal, and other types of texts, scholars examined allow for a direct understanding of the role of these officials in the ancient Egyptian state during the beginning of the SIP.⁷⁷ One of the most famous viziers is Ankhu, The Vizier Ankhu was in office during the reign of king Khendjer. He was still in office during the reign of Khendjer’s successors because he is mentioned in the famous Papyrus “Boulaq 18,” which was written after the reign of Khendjer and before

⁷³O.D. Berlev, "Les Pretendus 'Citadins' au Moyen Empire." *RdE* 23 (1971), pp.23-48; Ward, *Essays*, p.48; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers* ,p.30; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.225-226; Franke, "Zur Chronologie," p.246; Quirke, "Royal Power," p.130.

⁷⁴L. Habachi, "The Family of the Vizier Ibi' and His Place among the Viziers of the Thirteenth Dynasty." *SAK* 11(1984), pp.113-126. p.126.

⁷⁵ S. Quirke, "An Investigation into Problems of Thirteenth Dynasty Kingship with Special Reference to Papyrus Bulaq 18," dissertation, (Christ's College, 1986). pp.41,49. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence connecting any Dynasty XIII king with the combination of these two titles.

⁷⁶ Quirke, "Royal Power," p.138.

⁷⁷D.M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*. (Boston, 1997). p.175; Grajetzki, *Höchsten Beamten*, p.38; W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs. Register .Zum 60.Geburtstag*

Des Verfassers zusammengestellt von den Mitarbeitern der Ägyptologischen Abteilung an der Universität Hamburg. (Leiden, 1958). p.2,n.1 ,29-43;B. Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period c.2686-1552." In B.G. Trigger, et al., eds., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*. (Cambridge,1983), pp.71-182. p.84; E. Martin-Pardey, "Administrative Bureaucracy," in K. A. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (New York,1999), p. 116; Von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, p.95;O.D. Berlev, "The Date of the Eloquent Peasant," in J. Osing and G. Dreyer, eds., *Form und Mass* (Wiesbaden, 1987),pp.82-83.

that of Sobekhotep III. After Ankhu, his two sons Ressenep and Iimeru became Vizier.⁷⁸ One of the prominent features of this period is that the fact that the viziers and other high officials had the same or similar names, perhaps that is the reason which leads scholars to assume that they held their position for longer than the kings they served.⁷⁹

Von Beckerath identifies at least three viziers named Aymeru;⁸⁰ one of them is the son of the vizier Ankhu while another was the son of the *hrp-wsht* (director of the broad court), Aymeru,⁸¹ the third Aymeru was the son of the vizier Ay who had previously been the governor of El Kab.⁸² Thus, there are at least three viziers of the name Aymeru: Aymeru son of the vizier Ankhu, Aymeru (-Neferkare) son of the controller of the hall Aymeru and Aymeru son of the vizier Ay. It may be also noticed that there were several viziers with the name Ankhu though none of them was connected by filiation.⁸³ The stela of a Wepwawetotep, indicates that Ankhu, and two sons, Resuseneb and Aymeru had held the office of vizier.⁸⁴ von Beckerath believes that Ankhu or one of the Ankhu was likely the son of another vizier since Cairo Statue 42034 refers to his mother "vizier's wife" as well as "vizier's mother."⁸⁵

The Vizier and his duties

The vizier was to confer with the king and the treasurer to discuss matters of the state. He received reports concerning the opening and sealing of treasury, the condition of fortresses, items entering and departing the royal palace as well as the court and territory. The vizier acted as Judge and mediator of disputes and requests He also sent envoys, district councilors, and expeditions. The vizier appointed officials in Upper and

⁷⁸ Franke, *Personendaten*, Dossier nos. 24 and 398

⁷⁹ Stock, *13. bis 17. Dynastie Agyptens*, p. 54.

⁸⁰ Von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 98-99. See also E. Delange, *Musee du Louvre: Statues Egyptiennes du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1987), pp. 66-68.

⁸¹ W. Helck, *Historische-Biographische Text der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie. KÄT.* (Weisbaden, 1975). pp. 37-38, no. 48. Stela Cairo CG 20690 and Turin Statuette 1220- Heidelberg Statue 274.

⁸² F.T. Mioso, *A Reading Book of Second Intermediate Period Texts .The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Publications 9.*(Toronto, 1981). p. 21, line 25. Cairo Stela JE 52453

⁸³ J. Von Beckerath, "Notes on the Viziers' Ankhu and Iymeru in the Thirteenth Egyptian Dynasty." *JNES* 17 (1958), pp.263-268. pp. 263-264.

⁸⁴ Franke, *Personendaten*, p. 154, Doss.207; Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, p. 257. Cairo Stela CG 20690; For the evidence of the relationship between Ankhu and Resuseneb see S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom.* (Whitstable, 1990). pp. 147-149.

⁸⁵ Von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, p. 99.

Lower Egypt, the Head of the South and the Abydos district and heard reports concerning these areas every four months. He sent military expeditions and was in charge of payments. He also received accounting information in order to establish and collect taxes. Thus, the office of the vizier handled administrative actions on behalf of the king.⁸⁶ Some information concerning the backgrounds of the vizier can be discerned.⁸⁷ Two studies of the viziers by Grajetzki⁸⁸ and his bureaus by Quirke,⁸⁹ It would seem that the viziers were chosen from the lower ranks of offices under the authority of this position. The viziers, whose previous positions are known, occupied offices related to the Palace, the bureau of the vizier, the bureau for labor force, or local administration. Thus, presumably that some of the occupiers of this high office had shown exceptional ability as they performed their jobs, then they succeed their fathers. It seems that they have first occupied lower ranks.

<i>N^cme of the vizier</i>	<i>Previous titles</i>	<i>Translation of titles</i>
<i>'Iy</i>	<i>'Imy-r gs-pr, h3ty-^c</i>	Overseer of the half dominion, governor
<i>'Iy-mrw</i>	<i>h3ty-^c</i>	Governor
<i>'Ib-i^cw</i>	<i>'Imy-r hnrt⁹⁰ qr hrp wsh^t</i>	Overseer of the court, director of the broad court
<i>'Imnw m -h^ct</i>	<i>šmsw h3yt, wr ndw šm^cw</i>	Elder of the portal chief of the tens of Upper Egypt
<i>Mnw-h^tp</i>	<i>hrp wsh^t</i>	Director of the broad court
<i>Rsw-snb</i>	<i>sš wr n t^cty</i>	Secretary of the vizier
<i>šbk-^c3 bbi</i>	<i>'Imy-r hnrt</i>	Overseer of the court
<i>šnb-hn^c.f</i>	<i>'Imy-r hnrt</i>	Overseer of the <i>hnrt</i>
<i>dd-pt^h</i>	<i>Wr mdw šn^cw</i>	Chief of the tens of Upper Egypt

Fig. 1: Viziers of the Thirteenth Dynasty, of whom a previous titles known.

⁸⁶ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, pp.51-64.

⁸⁷ Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, pp.9-42; Quirke, "Investigation," pp. 189-196; "Royal Power," pp.132-133. For seals of Djedptah Dedutseneb and Ay, see Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 136, nos.1775,1778,PI1716.1772,1720.1733; Newberry, *Scarabs*, p.125, PI.111.121-122.

⁸⁸ Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, pp.9-42. See also von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen*, pp.97-100.

⁸⁹ Quirke, "Investigation," p.187

⁹⁰ For the term *hnrt* or *hnrt wrt* has variously been interpreted as "court house" and "penal compound"; perhaps it was a mixture of both, see G. van den Boorn, *Wd^c-ryt* and justice at the gate. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44, pp. 6-10, 12-13; J. Quaegebeur, La justice à la porte des temples et le toponyme Premit. In *Individu, société et spiritualité: Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodorides*, ed. Christian Cannuyer, and Jean-Marie Kruchten, pp. 201 - 220. Brussels and Mons: Association Montoise d'Égyptologie. 1993, p. 201.

From this analysis, it is clear that the vizier was either chosen after serving some other places within the lower ranks of this office or was placed within the structure in order to gain experience. (Fig. 1)

The autobiographical text of vizier Ankhu of the Thirteenth Dynasty refers to other family members who served as vizier, and indicates that the office was passed from father to son. The vizier Ankhu was in office during the reign of king Khendjer, and successors, the viziers Aymeru and Resuseneb were the sons of the vizier Ankhu,⁹¹ and that Ankhu's father Simontu, may also have been a vizier.⁹² Like Ankhu that of Ay and his son Aymeru were governors of El-Kab, prior to becoming viziers.⁹³ However, he was the last southern vizier of the Dynasty. Later, a member of his family sold the office of governor to another group.⁹⁴ The second high official's title which held by the high officials is *htm-w-bity* the treasurer. Three of the viziers; Ibiaw, Sobekaabebi, and Senebhenaf, held the office of the treasurer "*htm-w-bity*", before holding that of the viziers, indicating a close relationship to the court.⁹⁵

The Treasurer

The office of the treasury was concerned with the economic activity of the king both inside and outside the palace.⁹⁶ According to the duties of the vizier, the treasurer was to report to the king and to meet with the vizier concerning that which has been relayed to him. The office of the treasury was in charge of food production at the palace (*šn-w*) and possibly also with expeditions.⁹⁷ There appear to have been three or four levels of

⁹¹D. Franke, The Late Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties): the Chronological Framework, in: *JEH* 1.2, pp. 267-287, p. 271; Franke, *Personendaten*, p.254, Doss.398; Quirke, "Royal Power," pp.132, 133.

⁹² Habachi, "Vizier Ibi'," pp.122-123; Quirke, "Investigation," p.192.

⁹³C. Bennett, "A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty. *JARCE* 39 (2002), pp. 123-155. pp.128-9

⁹⁴ Bennett, "Genealogical Chronology," p.124.

⁹⁵ For the ranking of officials within Papyrus Bulaq 18 and other sources, see Quirke, "Investigation," pp. 41-71.

⁹⁶ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*; Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, pp. 77-88; Quirke, *Titles and Bureau*, pp. 19, 48-60; Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, p. 261; Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt*, p. 68, n. 16.

⁹⁷ For a study of the pr Sna of the Old Kingdom temples, see H. Papazian, "Domain of Pharaoh: The Structure and Components of the Economy of Old Kingdom Egypt" dissertation, University of Chicago, 2005. "Domain of Pharaoh" pp.119-189.

Officials under the treasurer within this bureau, including the *rh-nswt*, the *imy-r st*, and the *iry ʕt wdpw*.⁹⁸ (Fig. 2)

Analyzing the titles of the treasurers of the beginning of SIP is less productive than that of the viziers due to the lack of information concerning the previous positions of these officials⁹⁹. However, three of the four treasurers with known backgrounds came from the office of the treasury, while one had worked in the temple administration.

Senebsumai, who dates prior to the reign of Neferhotep I, was a high steward (*imy-r pr wr*) before he became treasurer.¹⁰⁰ This office was high-ranking associated with honorific title *xmw-bity* and was associated with the administration of non-royal estates.¹⁰¹ Senebsumai's parents were not of high status but had ties to the military.¹⁰²

Senebi held the rank title, *rh-nswt*, "one who is known to the king," prior to becoming a treasurer.¹⁰³ This title was connected to the office of the treasury.¹⁰⁴ The father of a treasurer Senebi, named Nebpewptah had previously held the same title as King Neferhotep's grandfather (*ʕnh-n-niwt*).¹⁰⁵

Descriptions of appointment to office become more popular in biographical texts during the Middle kingdom, as part of the general trend favoring long biographical inscriptions also contained an emphasis on the king.¹⁰⁶ Despite texts recording directly or indirectly that officials received appointments or promotions because of their merit and for

⁹⁸ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, pp.75-76, 78. *rh-nswt* as a rank title, see D. Franke, "Probleme der Arbeit mit altägyptischen Titeln des Mittleren Reiches." *GM* 83, (1984), pp. 106-107.

⁹⁹ For a list of the treasurers and their titles, see Grajetzki, *Höchsten Beamten*, pp.43-78; Quirke, *Titles and Bureau*, pp.48-84.

¹⁰⁰ Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, pp.57-59,a,b,f-n; *Two Treasurers*, pp.5,21,41.

¹⁰¹ Quirke, *Titles and Bureau*, p.61; Quirke, "Investigation," pp.47, 149.

¹⁰² Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, p.260

¹⁰³ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, p.26; Franke, "Probleme," pp. 106-107.

¹⁰⁴ Quirke, *Titles and Bureau*, p.60

¹⁰⁵ This title reflects a low-level local position with possible ties to the military. See Berlev, "Les Pretendus' Citadins," pp.23-48; Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, pp.6,30; *Hochsten Beamten*, pp.78,233; Quirke, "Royal Power," p.130; Franke, "Zur Chronologie," p.246; "Thirteenth Dynasty," p.396; *Titles and Bureau*, p.100; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.225-226; W.A. Ward, *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects.*(Beirut, 1986). p.48

¹⁰⁶ Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 217-224

carrying out their duties well, evidence also exists that suggests that one's family background also played a role in many cases.¹⁰⁷

Name	Previous titles	Translation of the title
<i>Imny</i>	<i>ḥry-sšt3 ḥwt-ntr</i> <i>šm^cw</i>	Master of the secrets of the temple of upper Egypt
<i>snb</i>	<i>sš n pr-ḥd</i>	Secretary of the treasury
<i>snbi</i>	<i>rḥ-nswt</i>	One who is known to the king
<i>snb-sw-m^c</i>	<i>imy-r pr-wr</i>	High steward

Fig. 2: Treasurers of the Thirteenth Dynasty, of whom a previous title is known.

The relationship among the three highest administration offices

The king held the highest office followed by the vizier. Other high officials, including the treasurer, had the title "seal bearer of the king" (*ḥtmw-bity*), indicating that they were in the national government.¹⁰⁸

Treasurers represented the state when they had this title and "sole Companion" (*smr-w^cty*) which differentiated them from their local counterparts as well as other officials in their seals.¹⁰⁹ The treasurer was the third most powerful person in the Administration at this time.¹¹⁰ Some scholars have suggested that the treasurer may have sometimes held as much power as the vizier during the beginning of the SIP.¹¹¹ It should be noted that no direct evidence exists to prove that Thirteenth Dynasty kings served as treasurers or viziers prior to taking the throne. Instead non-royal rulers were from military backgrounds or lower offices. It may be the case that viziers and treasurers were too close to the previous king to be involved in usurpations. Though some of the viziers appear to have served during multiple reigns, it is unclear what happened to the others.

¹⁰⁷ Richards, "Modified Order, Responsive Legitimacy, Redistributed Wealth: Egypt, 2260-1650BC." in J.E. Richards and M. Van Buren, eds., *Order, Legitimacy, and Wealth in Ancient States*. (Cambridge, 2000), pp.36-45.

¹⁰⁸ Quirke, "Investigation," pp.34,39-43; *Titles and Bureau*, pp.12,16; Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, pp.1-2, 220,224,256.

¹⁰⁹ Franke, "Probleme," p.108; Quirke, "Investigation," pp.40,149; Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, pp.67,224-225.

¹¹⁰ Helck, *Zur Verwaltung*, pp.77-88; Grajetzki, *Hochsten Beamten*, pp.42-78,265; *Two Treasurers*, p.2.

¹¹¹ Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, p.51; E. Martin-Pardey "Administrative Bureaucracy." In K.A. Bard, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. (New York, 1999), pp.115-118. "p.118.

Since the treasurer represented the economic wing of the office of kingship, Grajetzki concludes that, with the down fall in the financial power of the ruler, this office disappears from the record. The majority of the monuments of the high officials are found in Thebes with only a few exceptions.¹¹² Adding another dimension to the importance of the high officials, Franke suggests that these powerful officials of Thirteenth Dynasty may have come to disagree with the policies of the kings, establishing their own rule based upon these disputes.¹¹³

Marriage between Royal Family and Officials

At least during some parts of Dynasty XIII, kings arranged for marriages between their daughters and important officials of the land.¹¹⁴

In fact, towards the end of the dynasty, powerful families were located in Edfu, El Kab and Thebes, the region where a new dynasty would soon emerge.¹¹⁵ It is likely that the kings between Sobekhotep III and Merneferre Ay strengthened their hold on the state by incorporating important local Families into the-national government through appointment and marriage¹¹⁶. Interestingly, just like Thirteenth Dynasty, the Sixteenth Dynasty kings were connected to the families of El Kab and Edfu through marriage.¹¹⁷ Some scholars believe that the Thirteenth Dynasty king, Wahibre Ibiaw was married to Nebkhas, whose father (Dedusobek) and uncle (Nubankh) were important officials during the reign of Sobekhotep IV.¹¹⁸ In turn, Nebkhas has born a princess, Khonsu, who married the vizier Ay. The eldest son of Ay, Sobekmose, succeeded his father to the office of Governor of El-Kab. However, this son died

¹¹² Grajetzki, *Two Treasurers*, pp.36-38

¹¹³ D.Franke, "Erste und Zweite Zwischenzeit-Ein Vergleich," ZÄS 117 (1990), p.121.

¹¹⁴ Franke, "Zur Chronologie," p.246.

¹¹⁵ D. Franke, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt." In J.M. Sasson, ed., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. 2. Peabody, MA, 1995, p. 747.

¹¹⁶ For examples the officials from other areas who may have been married to Dynasty XIII princesses, see

Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp.249,250; J. Wegner, "Social and Historical Implications of Sealings of the

King's Daughter Reniseneb and other Women at the Town of Wah-Sut" in M. Bietak and E.Czerny, eds.,

Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and

Historical Implications (Vienna, 2001), pp. 221-240.

¹¹⁷ Bennett, "Genealogical Chronology," p.151.

¹¹⁸ C. Bennett, "The King's Daughter Reditenes." *GM* 151(1996), pp.19-22; "Genealogical Chronology," pp.134-139; .Kemp, "Social History," p. 112.

before his father, who then had children with a second wife, Reditenes, whose father was likely the king, Merneferre Ay.¹¹⁹ (Fig. 3)

If we accept the contemporary of the Thirteenth Dynasty with that of XVI/XVII Dynasties in the south, the marriage between the courts of Thirteenth Dynasties and high officials of XVI /XVII Dynasties existed regardless of the specific relationships between the various groups. Interestingly, Djehuty's (Dynasty XVI/XVII) wife, Mentuhotep was the daughter of the vizier Senebhenaf, the likely son of Ibiaw, who held the same office under the king Wahibre Ibiaw¹²⁰. The beneficial relationship of such marital arrangements would have affected both the king and his subject, maintaining important ties, creating support for the ruler, as well as occupational security for the local families.¹²¹ It seems that similar arrangements were made with other high officials throughout the country,¹²² and, in some cases that such links may have led to centers of power, which broke away from the core of kingship. In fact, it has been noted that many of the El-Kab officials with connections to the royal family, had military titles.¹²³ Interestingly, there are no examples of any of these families producing a king on the throne. Where these kings came from is still unclear.

Conclusion

The analysis of the relationship between the kings and his office reveals that the political nature of Thirteenth Dynasty changed over time. In the beginning, kings were actually symbolically connected to their predecessors, while viziers and treasurers were promoted with in their offices. Some of the viziers may have inherited their vital positions from their fathers after having served within the office. However, it seems that

¹¹⁹ Bennett, "King's Daughter," pp.21-22; "Genealogical Chronology," p.138.

¹²⁰ D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine, Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtum im Mittleren Reich. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altgyptens*

9. Heidelberg, 1994, pp. 79-80; Bennett, "Genealogical Chronology," pp.126-128; Habachi, "Vizier

Ibi'," pp. 119,125; M.F.L. Macadam, "A Royal Family of the Thirteenth Dynasty." *JEA* 37 (1951), pp.20-28. pp. 24-25; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, pp. 77,259,306;

Franke, *Personendaten*, pp. 387, Doss. 660;388, Doss. 661.

¹²¹ A. Spalinger, "Remarks on the Family of Queenh *h^c.s- nbw* and the Problem of Kingship in Dynasty XIII. *Rd'E* 32(1980), pp.112-115. About the marriages between officials and princesses see J.D. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals*.(Cambridge, 1988). p.66.

¹²² For example, the High Steward Nebankh's (Sobekhotep IV) niece married a successor of Sobekhotep

¹²³ Spalinger, "Remarks," p.103.

they served in succession. Later on, some of the kings may have had military backgrounds with no connection to the royal blood line. Likewise, viziers began to come from local offices, high officials such as viziers worked in lower offices within their departments in order to gain experience prior to taking their positions.

Changes occurred with royal succession and the selection of viziers; kings began to form alliances by marrying their daughters to local officials throughout Egypt. Some of these families, such as that at El-Kab with its military connections, became particularly powerful during the reigns of the last successful kings (Fig.3)

The rapid succession of kings in Thirteenth Dynasty gives rise to questions as to the means which the kings innovate to keep and legitimate their power, as well as methods of succession. Kingship was a divine, eternal office;¹²⁴ it is likely that the kings of Thirteenth Dynasty intentionally associated themselves with the successful rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty, perhaps to legitimize their reigns. Eight kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty used the nomen of Amenemhet I and III, in six of them; it was used as components of their double names. In one case king Shotepeibre, has the same prenomen as Amenemhet I.

They used idea of divine birth to legalize the reigns as they possibly did by reproduce the older narrative of Westcar Papyrus.¹²⁵ Also, real and fictitious historical precedents also may have been used to validate alternative means of succession as well as to connect kings to the more prosperous kings of Twelfth Dynasty relief as traditional rulers, wearing royal regalia and taking part in festivals, as well as building monuments.¹²⁶

Evidences indicate that there is a relationship between the individuals' titles and family power; one may assume the royal or high-official involvement when officials obtained their offices without any clear reason behind their progression. Such situations may have involved promotion through friendship ties to the king or high officials rather than their family ties. Unfortunately, the lack of texts that refers to the appointment of

¹²⁴ Leprohon, "Royal Ideology," p. 275; D. Lorton, "Towards a Constitutional Approach," p. 460; Quirke, "Thirteenth Dynasty," p.397.

¹²⁵ Quirke, "Thirteenth Dynasty," p.397.

¹²⁶ Baines, "Definition," p.7; Quirke, "Royal Power," p.137; W.K. Simpson "Egyptian Sculpture and Two-Dimensional Representation as Propaganda." *JEA* 68(1982), pp. 266-271. p. 266.

officials in their offices does not allow us to draw clear conclusions on how the king appointed officials.

It was believed that the kings of Thirteenth Dynasty were unable to handle the problems, resulting from the fall of the political and economic power of those kings; however, it is now clear that there were many factors that contributed to this situation. As Franke states:

“Thirteenth Dynasty is no longer viewed as a period of decline, but as a period that had to accommodate many problems: more than a single royal family, foreign intrusions, cultural diversity, a large bureaucratic devices, and growing, martial and military influence”.¹²⁷

The true chronology of the Thirteenth Dynasty is rather unclear since there are few surviving monuments from this period. From these monuments one can divide the dynasty into three groups of kings or three phases of period; (Fig. 4)

-The first phase is a group of kings seems to have its actual or symbolic connection to the Twelfth Dynasty who legitimized their reigns through suggesting connection and using of the names of kings of the Twelfth Dynasty.

-The second phase includes a group of rulers who clearly expressed their non-royal descendant and those are group of kings with possible military backgrounds who took over the throne or may have come from families with ties to the military.

-The third phase is the ephemeral kings, who lost large portions of their north and south territories to the rival Dynasties; Fourteenth Dynasty in Delta and Sixteenth Dynasty in Thebes. Eventually, they formed ties to influential local families through marriages and political appointments.

Beside the above mentioned reasons and the increased power of officials and foreigners, the loss of territory may form the main reasons for the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Thus the internal chronology for the Thirteenth dynasty and their possible overlaps are much more difficult to determine.

Thirteenth Dynasty is to be divided into three parts of different length: the first part is kings seems to have its actual or symbolic connection to the Twelfth Dynasty, only one vizier was known from this period, second

¹²⁷ Franke, "Middle Kingdom," p. 399; Franke, "Zur Chronologie," p. 247.

part marks the zenith of the period with high officials domination the ratio of viziers to rulers 5:5. Moreover, the viziers may have been ruled, while the end of the third part witnesses the lost of large portions of land between the North and the South.

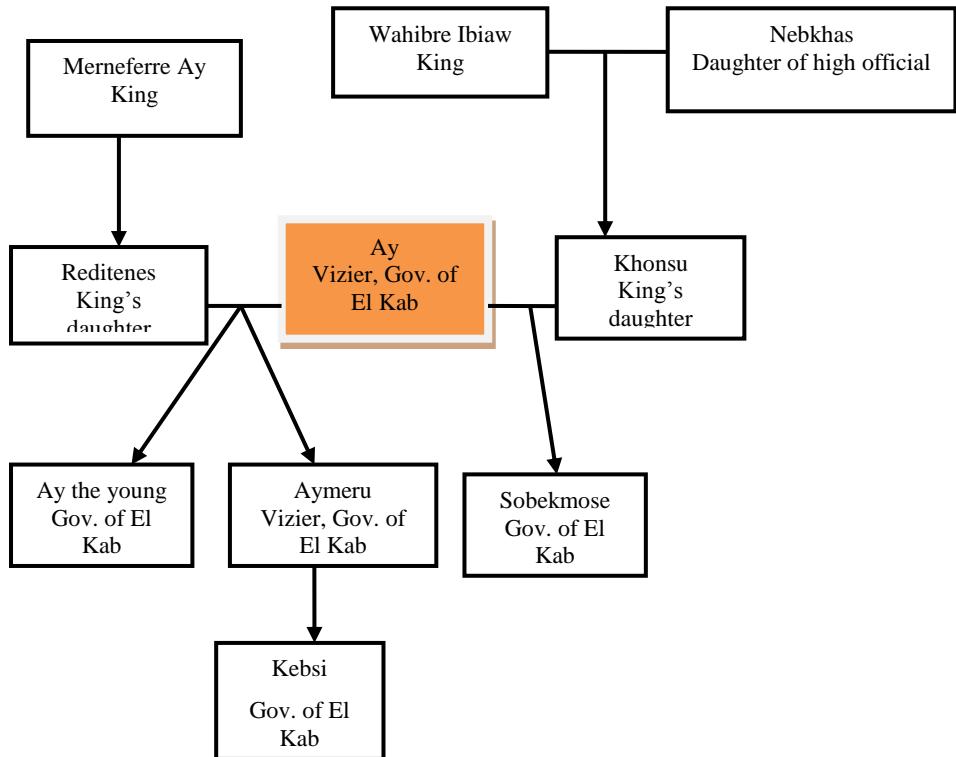


Fig. 3: Genealogy of the family of the vizier Ay

Sekhemra-Khutawy Amenemhat Sobekhotep I (from P. Turin king-list, col. 7/19; c. 4 years)

Sekhemkara Amenemhat Senbef (7/6; probably identical with Sekhemkare

Amenemhat V; c. 1790)

Lacuna of 6 years: Nerikara?

Amenemhat{ra} (Qemau?) (7/7)

Hotepibra Qemau Sa-Hornedjheritief (7/8)

Iuefni (7/9)

Seankhibra Amenemhat VI (7/10)

Semenkara Nebnenu (7/11)

Sehotepibra, Horus Sewesekhtawy (7/12)

Sewadjkara (7/13)

Nedjemibra (7/14)

Khaankhra Sobekhotep II (7/15)

(Amenemhat) Renseneb (7/16)

Aubra Hor (7/17; c. 1780/1770)

Sedjefakara Kay Amenemhat VII (7/18)

Khutawyra Wegaf (from 7/5; c. 1770)

Woserkara Khendjer (7/20; c. 1765)

Semenekhkara Imyrameshau (7/21)

Sehotepkara Antef IV (7/22) P. Boulaq 18

Meribra Seth (7/23)

Sekhemra-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep III

(7/24; about 4 years, c. 1750–1745)

Khasekhemra Neferhotep I

(7/25; about 11 years, c. 1745–1735)

{Menwadjra?} Sahathor (7/26; less than 1 year)

Khaneferra Sobekhotep IV (7/27; c. 1735–1725)

Merhoteptra Sobekhotep V (name lost in 7/28)

Third part (3 kings, about 40 years, c. 1720–1680 BC)

Khahoteptra Sobekhotep VI (8/1; c. 5 years)

Wahibra Ibiau (8/2; c. 11 years, c. 1715–1705)

Mernefera Aya (8/3; c. 24 years, c. 1705–1680)

1

2

Merhotepra Ani (8/4)
(mentioned in the “Stèle juridique”)
Merkaura Sobekhotep VII (8/8; 2 years, c. 1665)
Six names in col. 8/9–14 completely lost
Sewedjara Montuhotep (IV) (8/20)
[Djedneferra?] [Dedu]mose (8/21; Cairo CG 20533, c. 1650)
[Sehe]qaenra (? Ptahseankhi? 8/25)
Including perhaps: Menkhaura Senaib (Cairo CG 20517),
Mershepsesra Ini (Ryholt file 13/a),
Mersekhemra Neferhotep II (Ryholt file 13/b), Djedankhra
Montuemsaf
(Ryholt file 16/c), Merankhra Montuhotep (V) (Ryholt file 16/d),
Sewahenra
Senebmiiu (BM EA 24898).

3

Fig. 4: The chronology of the kings after: Franke, D., The Late Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties): the Chronological Framework, in: *JEH* 12, pp. 285-286

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