

‘THE KINGS WHO WERE AFTER THE CHILDREN OF SEHOTEPIDRE’:
THE EARLY THIRTEENTH DYNASTY AND AMENEMHAT III

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For Mum and Dad

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ABSTRACT

The Thirteenth Dynasty is identified in the Turin king-list as ‘the kings [who were] after the [children] of Sehotepibre’ (Ryholt 2004, 142; Allen 2010, 1), indicating that by the Ramessid period, the dynasty was already being defined by its relationship to the Twelfth. Previous studies of the Thirteenth Dynasty have identified specific examples where their monumental display seemingly recalls that of Amenemhat III (e.g. McCormack 2010b; Fay 1988), all of which can be attributed to its first nineteen kings. This thesis aims to demonstrate that this emulation of and association with Amenemhat III is not limited to isolated examples, but is found across the attestations of this early group of Thirteenth Dynasty kings, and is integral to their royal display.

In Part One, chapter one establishes the chronological parameters of the thesis, and demonstrates that the first nineteen kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty share common onomastic, architectural, and iconographic features which allow them to be identified as a distinct group within the overall dynasty. Previous studies of Thirteenth Dynasty kingship, which have focussed on questions of chronology and succession are also discussed. In the following chapters, two case studies of rock inscriptions from the mid- and early Thirteenth Dynasty set the foundation for Part Two by demonstrating that kings across this dynasty consistently engaged with existing traditions of the preceding Twelfth Dynasty to articulate their own identity. Part Two demonstrates that while the early Thirteenth Dynasty situated themselves broadly within the traditions of the Twelfth Dynasty, they emulated specific elements from Amenemhat III, which can be seen across aspects of monumental display and self-presentation, including their titularies, mortuary architecture, and figural representations of the king in both statuary and relief. The final chapter considers the significance of this use of the past in royal self-presentation and the focus on Amenemhat III. Overall the data suggests a picture of a dynasty that cultivated an association not only with the Twelfth Dynasty, ‘the house of Sehotepibre’, but specifically and programmatically, with Amenemhat III.

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PART ONE

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Egypt's Thirteenth Dynasty is the large number of kings attributed to it, particularly in contrast with the preceding Twelfth Dynasty. The section of the Turin king-list which identifies the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty contains 51 entries, in which 42 names are preserved (Ryholt 1997b, 69–73; 2004, 142; Schneider 2006, 175; Allen 2010, 1–2, 7–8), while the synoptic account of Manetho attributes some 60 kings to the Thirteenth Dynasty but without naming any specifically (Waddell 1940, 72–5). Many of these kings have few extant contemporaneous attestations, or are known only from the Turin king-list (see the catalogues of Ryholt 1997b, 336–59; Siesse 2019, 371–96). Many of these kings also reigned only a short time, on average two or three years as indicated by their highest dated attestations or the Turin king-list (table 1.4). These two factors are presumably linked, with their short reigns contributing to their limited monumental output as these kings would have only a brief time to access resources for construction and for the construction itself (Quirke 1991, 139; Theis 2009b, 338). In addition, the large number and short reigns of many Thirteenth Dynasty kings raise questions about the nature and function of royal succession in this period.

Accordingly, studies of the Thirteenth Dynasty have primarily focussed on reconstructing the often complicated sequence of its many kings (e.g. Beckerath 1964, 29–70; Quirke 1986a, 200–20; Ryholt 1997b, 69–75, 191–7; Schneider 2006, 175–81; Franke 2008, 270–3, 285–6; Siesse 2019, 38, 55–99), and on identifying a model for succession in the dynasty (e.g. Hayes 1972, 144–8; Ryholt 1990, 104–12; 1997b, 207–9, 282–3; Quirke 1991, 129–39; McCormack 2008, 112–51). This work has been essential, as ‘a sound chronological framework is the backbone of all history writing ... The answer to the question *when* is the first prerequisite to raise questions about *how* and *why*’ (Höflmayer 2022, 1). Caution is needed when drawing analysis from such a sparse corpus, since accidents of preservation may easily distort the already limited material, but the work of McCormack (2008, 152–410; 2010b, 69–81) on royal ideology as

expressed in the funerary architecture of the Thirteenth Dynasty demonstrates that even within the limitations of the evidence, it is possible to go beyond the questions of *when* and *how* with regard to the Thirteenth Dynasty, and to examine the ideological framework which underpins their kingship. In particular, McCormack has demonstrated that the known pyramids of the Thirteenth Dynasty were specifically modelled on the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III (2010b, 69–78), articulating a particular association with Amenemhat III through architecture in the early Thirteenth Dynasty (2010a, 376–7). The aim of this thesis, then, is to argue that this emulation of and association with Amenemhat III is also evident in other aspects of early Thirteenth Dynasty self-presentation and monumental display, and is a programmatic, integral element of early Thirteenth Dynasty kingship.

The thesis is divided into two parts. The following two chapters of Part One use two case studies of monumental graffiti programmes—the First Cataract graffiti of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty king Neferhotep I, and the Second Cataract flood records of the first three kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty—to demonstrate that the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty consistently engaged with existing traditions of the Twelfth Dynasty and used them to negotiate their own identity, with different targets for their emulation and with different nuances. In Part Two, three aspects of early Thirteenth Dynasty self-presentation and monumental display—namely, titulary, funerary monuments, and figural representations of the king in statuary and relief—are examined. In each aspect, the early Thirteenth Dynasty are situated broadly within the traditions of the Twelfth Dynasty, but also emulate specific onomastic, architectural, and iconographic elements of the monumental display of Amenemhat III, emphasising a particularly close relationship with this king. The final concluding chapter considers the significance of Amenemhat III as the target of this particular and programmatic emulation in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. However, the chronology of this period is still complex and informs the analysis of the following chapters. As such, this first chapter serves as a literature review of existing scholarship on Thirteenth Dynasty chronology and succession, but also provides a

necessary foundation for the following chapters. It considers whether a distinct group of ‘early’ Thirteenth Dynasty kings can be identified, the number and sequence of kings in this group, the potential overlap of the Thirteenth Dynasty with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties, as well as discussing various proposed models for succession in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, including elective kingship, hereditary succession, and coregency, and the use of the past as a means of legitimation.

1.1 Defining the early Thirteenth Dynasty

Periodization and the subdivision of Egyptian history into discrete units such as dynasties, kingdoms, and intermediate periods has sometimes been rejected by scholars who argue these divisions do not necessarily reflect the experience or understanding of the people who lived during these times (e.g. Redford 2003, 4; Schneider 2008, 181–3; Willems 2022, 656). One objection raised is that there is no absolute modern consensus on the boundaries of these periods. In the case of the Thirteenth Dynasty, for example, some scholars attribute this dynasty in its entirety to the Middle Kingdom (e.g. Oppenheim 2015, 1; Siesse 2019, 13). In particular, it has been noted that there is no significant change in material culture or administration between the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties (Bourriau 1981, 27; Quirke 1991, 123; Franke 1995, 746), which may support their inclusion in the Middle Kingdom on the basis of cultural continuity (e.g. McCormack 2008, 9–23). However, the concept of chronology in Egypt is fundamentally political, with individual years dated according to the regnal year of the king and larger periods of time in documents like the Turin king-list structured by the sequence of kings, ‘and is therefore, a priori, independent of the development of material culture in Egypt’ (Höflmayer 2022, 6–7). As such, other studies have included the Thirteenth Dynasty in the Second Intermediate Period on political grounds, due to the significant difference in the number and longevity of kings between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties (e.g. Marée 2010). Intermediate periods are typically defined by factionalism and the rise of competing states (e.g.

Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 43; Richards 2000, 37–8). On this basis, other scholars attribute the Thirteenth Dynasty partially to both the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, arguing that the transition between the two occurs during this dynasty with the emergence of competing dynasties and the loss of unified rule (e.g. Franke 2008, 269; Cahail 2022, 15). The point of transition is sometimes said to have occurred around the reign of Merneferre Ay on the basis that no subsequent Thirteenth Dynasty king is attested further north of Thebes from that point (e.g. Bourriau 2000, 172; Callender 2000, 159–61; Grajetzki 2006, 64–75). However, although there are no contemporary attestations of the late Thirteenth Dynasty kings further north than Thebes, this may only reflect the scarcity of evidence for these kings as a whole, as the majority of late Thirteenth Dynasty kings have no contemporaneous attestations at all (Ryholt 1997b, 356–8). In addition, the stela of Horemkhauef records the bringing of the cult image of Horus of Nekhen from Itjtawy to Hierakonpolis, and specifically mentions an unnamed king in this region (MMA 35.7.55, line 9: Hayes 1947, 4, pl. 2). As an official of the Sixteenth Dynasty, this stela suggests that there was an overlap to some extent between the Sixteenth Dynasty and the late Thirteenth Dynasty, but also that the Thirteenth Dynasty maintained control over Itjtawy until its conclusion (Ryholt 1997b, 79; Davies 2010, 225; Wegner and Cahail 2021, 368). As such, the exact timing of the emergence of competing dynasties cannot be securely identified at the reign of Merneferre Ay, and may have occurred gradually (Franke 2008, 268–74; Marée 2010, xi; Cahail 2022, 3–8). Without clearly identifiable boundaries, these divisions may appear as artificial impositions of modern scholarship.

Willems dismisses periodization as ‘undeniably an etic approach’ (2022, 656), but the framework for these divisions was established by emic ancient sources such as the Turin, Abydos, and Saqqara king-lists (Baines 2019, 109; Höflmayer 2022, 5–6). In particular, the headings and summary lines of the Turin king-list clearly identify dynastic divisions that are largely compatible with those used in modern scholarship (Tait 2003, 6–7; Baines 2019, 119). Larger periods such as the Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period are not explicitly expressed in ancient

sources, but ‘the idea is evident in the different amounts of attention and detail given for different phases’ in the ancient sources (Baines 2019, 119). Dynasties now typically attributed to intermediate periods, including the Thirteenth, were often omitted from sources such as the Abydos king-lists of Seti I and Ramesses II (PM VI, 25, 35; Kitchen 1975, 176–9; 1979, 539–41; Redford 1986, 18–21), or the Saqqara king-list from the tomb of Tjuneroy (JE11335: PM III/2, 666; Redford 1986, 21–4), and described summarily in Manetho (Waddell 1940, 57–65, 73–5). Although the ancient terms used to identify these periods are unknown, or if they even existed, an ancient Egyptian concept of periodization itself may be recognised in these sources (Baines 2019, 109).

The kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty are recorded in columns 7 and 8 of the Turin king-list (Fig. 1.1; corresponding to columns VI and VII in Gardiner 1959, pl. 3), beginning with a fragmentary heading in 7.4 which reads ‘*nswt [...ḥr]-s3 [...shṯ]p-ib-rꜥ ḥnw wd3w snbw*’, ‘the kings ... after ... Sehotepibre, L.P.H.’. In the initial lacuna, Ryholt has proposed reading ‘the kings [who followed] after’ (1997b, 69) or ‘the kings [who were] after’ (2004, 142), while Allen favours ‘the kings [who are] after’ (2010, 1). Although they differ in semantics, the sense of these various restorations is the same. The second lacuna, however, is more difficult. Redford has previously suggested restoring ‘*nswt [...ḥr]-s3 [iṯ-t3wy-shṯ]p-ib-rꜥ*’ (1986, 12), although Ryholt responded that this restoration is too large for the size of the lacuna, and does not fit with the trace hieratic signs either (1997b, 69 n. 203). Instead, Ryholt suggests restoring *hrdw* (Ryholt 2004, 142 n. 38), while Allen proposes *msw* (Allen 2010, 1 n. 6), both of which may be translated as ‘the kings ... after [the children] of Sehotepibre’. This heading indicates that at least by the time of the composition of the list, a dynastic break was identified between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, but simultaneously, defines the Thirteenth Dynasty by their relationship to the Twelfth and implies a connection between them (Allen 2010, 1), which may support the attribution of the Thirteenth Dynasty to the Middle Kingdom. Equally, however, the exclusion of the Thirteenth Dynasty from other king-lists such as the Abydos king-list, where the Twelfth

Dynasty kings were included, may suggest that the Thirteenth Dynasty were regarded differently from their predecessors in later periods and support their attribution to the Second Intermediate Period. Together, they highlight that the Thirteenth Dynasty was a period of transition that may not fall neatly into either grouping.

Later sources such as the Turin king-list and Manetho's synoptic history identify the Thirteenth Dynasty as a whole. Scholarship, however, has often further subdivided the dynasty into three or four groups, with broad agreement on both the earliest and latest divisions. Studies typically identify the first part of the Thirteenth Dynasty as the kings up to and including Meribre Seth (Quirke 1986a, 219; 1991, 139; Ryholt 1997b, 296–7; Grajetzki 2006, 66–8; Franke 2008, 270–1; McCormack 2008, 95). These kings have short reigns, with none having an attested regnal year greater than Year 5 (Ryholt 1997b, 192–7). They have few extant monuments, although most are also known from at least one contemporaneous attestation (catalogues in Ryholt 1997b, 336–44; Siese 2019, 371–81). The final part of the Thirteenth Dynasty is also consistently identified as the group of particularly ephemeral kings beginning with Merhotepre Ini, who are often only known from the Turin king-list and who reigned only a year on average (Quirke 1986a, 220; 1991, 139; Ryholt 1997b, 196, 298; Grajetzki 2006, 74–5; Franke 2008, 272–3; McCormack 2008, 96).

Between these two groups are eight kings, including the longest-reigning and historically best-attested kings of the dynasty such as Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep, Khasekhemre Neferhotep, Khaneferre Sobekhotep, and Merneferre Ay. There is some disagreement on how these kings are best divided. Some scholars group all eight together as a single group, regarding them as a period of relative stability and prosperity with the largest monumental output of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke 1986a, 219–20; 1991, 139; Grajetzki 2006, 73; McCormack 2008, 95–6). However, Ryholt (1997b, 297–8) and Franke (2008, 272) instead identify them as two distinct groups: the first comprises Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep and the three brother kings, Khasekhemre Neferhotep, Sahathor, and Khaneferre Sobekhotep, whose scarab seals

incorporate a genealogical expression; while the second group comprises the subsequent kings from Khahotepre Sobekhotep to Ay, whose seals include only titular elements (for these seals, see: Ryholt 1997b, 35–6). This division based on seals is not entirely clearly defined, however, as both seal types with and without the genealogical expression are attested from the reign of Khaneferre Sobekhotep (e.g. Tufnell 1984, pl. 54 [3131]).

Table 1.1 Traditional subdivisions of the Thirteenth Dynasty

	Quirke (1986)	Ryholt (1997b)	Franke (2008)
Early Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke) First Part (Ryholt, Franke)	Khutawyre Wegaf	Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat- Sobekhotep I	Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat- Sobekhotep I
	Sekhemkare Amenemhat- Senebef	Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef	Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef V
		Nerikare	Nerikare
	Amenemhat	Sekhemkare Amenemhat V	
		Ameny-Qemaw	Ameny-Qemaw
	Hotepibra Qemaw- Sahornedjheritief	Hotepibra Qemaw- Sahornedjheritief	Hotepibra Qemaw- Sahornedjheritief
	Iwefni	Iwefni	Iwefni
	Sankhibra Ameny- Intef-Amenemhat	Sankhibra Ameny- Intef-Amenemhat VI	Sankhibra Ameny- Intef-Amenemhat VI
	Semenkare Nebnun	Semenkare Nebnun	Semenkare Nebnun
	Sewadjenre	Sewadjenre	Sewadjenre
	Sehotepibre	Sehotepibre	Sehotepibre
	Sewadjkare	Sewadjkare	Sewadjkare
	Nedjemibre	Nedjemibre	Nedjemibre
	Khaankhre Sobekhotep	Khaankhre Sobekhotep II	Khaankhre Sobekhotep II
	Amenemhat- Renseneb	Amenemhat- Renseneb	Amenemhat- Renseneb
	Awibre Hor	Awibre Hor	Awibre Hor
		(Horus) Khabaw	
		(Horus) Djedkheperew	
		Seb	
		Seb-Kay	
Sedjefakare Kay-	Sedjefakare Kay-	Sedjefakare Kay-	

		Amenemhat	Amenemhat VII	Amenemhat VII	
		Sekhemre-Khutawy	Khutawyre Wegaf	Khutawyre Wegaf	
		Amenemhat-Sobekhotep			
		Woserkare Khendjer	Woserkare Khendjer	Woserkare Khendjer	
		Semenkhkare	Semenkhkare	Semenkhkare	
		Imyramesha	Imyramesha	Imyramesha	
		Sehotepkare Intef	Sehotepkare Intef V	Sehotepkare Intef IV	
		Meribre Seth	Meribre Seth	Meribre Seth	
Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke)	Second Part (Ryholt, Franke)	Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy	Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy	Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy	
		Sobekhotep	Sobekhotep III	Sobekhotep III	
		Khasekhemre	Khasekhemre	Khasekhemre	
		Neferhotep	Neferhotep I	Neferhotep I	
		Sahathor	Sahathor	Sahathor	
		Khaneferre Sobekhotep	Khaneferre Sobekhotep IV	Khaneferre Sobekhotep IV	
		Merhotepre Sobekhotep V	Merhotepre Sobekhotep V		
		Third Part (Ryholt, Franke)	Khahotepre Sobekhotep	Khahotepre Sobekhotep VI	Khahotepre Sobekhotep VI
			Wahibre Ibiaw	Wahibre Ibiaw	Wahibre Ibiaw
		Merneferre Ay	Merneferre Ay	Merneferre Ay	
		Merhotepre Ini	Merhotepre Ini	Merhotepre Ini	
		Sankhenre Sewadjtew	Sankhenre Sewadjtew	lost entries	
		Mersekhemre Ined	Mersekhemre Ined		
		Sewadjkare Hori	Sewadjkare Hori		
Late Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke)			Merkawre Sobekhotep VII	Merkawre Sobekhotep VII	
			7 entries lost	lost entries	
			Mer[...]re		
		Merkheperre	Merkheperre		
		Merkare	Merkare		
		lost entries	1 entry lost		
			Sewadjare	Sewadjare	
			Montuhotep V	Montuhotep IV	
			[...]mose	[...]mose	
			Ibi [...]maatre	lost entries	
			Hor[...] [...]webenre		
			Se[...]kare		
			Seheqenre	Seheqenre	
			Sankhptahi	Sankhptahi	

In a recent study of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Siesse proposes substantially different subdivisions (2019, 13; table 1.2). Although he also subdivides the kings into three groups, his first group is composed of the kings up to and including Kay-Amenemhat, as a period in which double-barrelled nomina were used. He defines a second group as the kings from Wegaf to Khahotepre Sobekhotep, which he distinguishes by the mass production of non-royal and royal scarabs during this period. His final third group comprises the kings from Ibiaw onwards, a period when royal scarabs are no longer produced. However, the usage of scarab production as a criterion is problematic. The beginning of non-royal scarab mass production is typically attributed to the late Twelfth Dynasty, and may be associated with the administrative changes attested in the reign of Senwosret III (Ben-Tor 2007, 11; Wegner 2018, 239). While non-royal scarabs are produced abundantly during the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, they are often not able to be dated any more specifically than the late Middle Kingdom by either archaeological context or typology (Ben-Tor 2004, 21; 2007, 11), and so no particular changes can be securely attributable to the reign of Wegaf specifically.

Royal name scarabs are rare prior to the reign of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep, as Siesse acknowledges (2019, 41): of the preceding kings, only five have any extant scarabs at all, and four of these kings by only one or two scarabs each (see Siesse 2019, 41 table 11). The only possible exception to this scarcity of scarabs is Sehotepibre: with the identification of his prenomen, Sewadjenre, on a stela from Gebel el-Zeit (JE 98137: Marée 2009, 153), a series of 20 royal name scarabs that were previously attributed to Sewadjenre Nebiryaw may perhaps now instead be attributed to Sehotepibre (Quirke 2004, 176–7; Marée 2009, 153–4; Siesse 2019, 43). In contrast, the kings including and following Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep are consistently attested by substantial numbers of royal-name scarabs, with 19 known examples of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep, 57 of Khasekhemre Neferhotep, and 71 of Khaneferre Sobekhotep

(see Siesse 2019, 42 table 12). Moreover, their specific genealogical style of scarabs is only known from this restricted timespan in the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Ryholt 1997b, 34–7). The increase in production quantity and introduction of a new style indicate a distinctive phase in the production of royal-name scarabs in the Thirteenth Dynasty which begins in the reign of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep. As such, any justification for the subdivision of the early and mid-Thirteenth Dynasty at the reign of Wegaf based on scarab typology is not evident in either private or royal scarabs. Although Siesse advocates this different subdivision of the Thirteenth Dynasty, he does also acknowledge that the traditional division, with the reign of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep marking the beginning of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, is supported by other factors such as changes in titulary patterns and so he also groups these kings together as the ‘first half’ of the Thirteenth Dynasty (2015, 76–9; 2019, 13).

Table 1.2 Subdivisions of the Thirteenth Dynasty after Siesse (2019, 13, 99).

Le premier tiers	Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep	La première moitié
	Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef	
	Ameny-Qemaw	
	Hotepibra Qemaw-Sahornedjheritief	
	Sankhibra Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat	
	Semenkare Nebnun	
	Sewadjenre Sehotepibre	
	Amenemhat-Renseneb	
	Awibre Hor	
	Sedjefakare Kay-Amenemhat	
Le deuxième tiers	Khutawyre Wegaf	
	Woserkare Khendjer	
	Semenkhkare Imyremesha	
	Sehotepkare Intef IV	
	Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep	
	Khasekhemre Neferhotep I	
	Sahathor	

	Khaneferre Sobekhotep	La seconde moitié
	Khaankhre Sobekhotep	
	Khahotepre Sobekhotep	
Le troisième tiers	Wahibre Ibiaw	
	Merneferre Ay	
	Merhotepre Ini/Sobekhotep	
	Mersekhemre Ined/Neferhotep II	
	Merkawre Sobekhotep	

Another point of difference between the various proposed sequences of Thirteenth Dynasty kings is the assignment of regnal numbers, especially in relation to the kings who include the element Amenemhat in their nomina, and the kings with the nomen Sobekhotep. Traditionally, the kings with two nomina are included in the regnal sequence of their second-written name, so that Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep is included among the sequence of Sobekhotep kings and is referred to as Sobekhotep I, while Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat and Kay-Amenemhat are identified as Amenemhat VI and VII respectively (e.g. Ryholt 1997, Franke 2008). However, given that contemporaneous attestations of the kings with double nomina predominantly use both names (§4.3), more recent studies do not include these kings in the regnal sequence of either individual name (e.g. Siesse 2019). This approach has been adopted here (see table 1.4). In addition, a recent argument has placed Khaankhre Sobekhotep in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, and raised issues in the numbering of the Sobekhotep kings (Siesse and Connor 2015, 227–37; §1.2). The first king to bear Sobekhotep as their sole nomen is Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep, traditionally identified as Sobekhotep III but here regarded as Sobekhotep I, while Khaneferre Sobekhotep, traditionally Sobekhotep IV, may be identified as Sobekhotep II.¹ The exact ordering of the subsequent kings with the nomen Sobekhotep is uncertain.

¹ For clarity, the Sobekhotep kings will be identified by prenominal, nomen, and ordinal number at their first mention in any paragraph, and then by nomen and ordinal number alone.

Although there are many uncertainties in Thirteenth Dynasty chronology, there is a general consensus about the identification of a distinct early phase in the dynasty. Scholars may differ about the exact number and order of kings included, but all group the kings prior to Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I together as this early phase of the Thirteenth Dynasty (see tables 1.1, 1.2). The modern boundaries of the subdivisions of the Thirteenth Dynasty are often drawn with reference to average reign lengths and the number of attestations (e.g. Quirke 1991, 139; McCormack 2008, 95–6). As already discussed, there is a distinct pattern in these aspects across the dynasty, with short-reigning and somewhat poorly attested kings until Meribre Seth, followed by a period of longer-reigning and better attested kings from Sobekhotep I to Merneferre Ay, before a series of particularly ephemeral and very poorly attested kings from Merhotepre Ini onward. This pattern may have resulted from periods of different relative stability across the dynasty. However, it is a pattern that can only be seen with the benefit of hindsight once the dynasty had concluded, in an example of what Assmann called ‘covert history’: patterns that ‘only reveal themselves to the analytic gaze of the historian’ (2002, 3). Such a pattern could not have been evident to those living through it, and so does not necessarily support subdivisions within the Thirteenth Dynasty that would have been recognised contemporaneously.

In contrast, Ryholt (1997b, 297–8) and Franke (2008, 270–2) justify their subdivisions by changes in material and textual culture, such as the introduction of the genealogical motif in scarabs and other monuments, marking the start of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. Changes such as these may provide contemporaneous support for the different phases of the Thirteenth Dynasty, suggesting that these are not artificial boundaries created by later scholarship but represent genuine phases within the dynasty. In particular, the kings preceding Sekhemkare-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I had common features in their self-presentation and monumental display which are attested across the period: they used the same prenomina paradigms, X-*ib-r* and X-*k3-r*, consistently up to the final two kings of this group, Schotepkare Intef and Meribre

Seth (§4.2); all their known funerary monuments up to and including the pyramid of Khendjer were constructed with similar architectural features in the Memphite pyramid fields, from South Saqqara to Dahshur (§5.1.1); and there are consistent personal and iconographic features in royal statuary, attested from Amenemhat-Senebef to Imyremesha (§6.1.12–15).

A division in the Thirteenth Dynasty at the reign of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I is also supported by a change in titulary patterns, with the titularies of Sobekhotep I and his successors favouring prenomina of the paradigm *hꜥi-X-rꜥ* and the nomen Sobekhotep, unlike their predecessors (Siesse 2015, 76–9; §4.1). Similarly, a division is also embodied in the location of the royal necropolis, as the necropolis was seemingly moved to South Abydos during the reign of Neferhotep I (Wegner and Cahail 2015, 128–61; Wegner 2020, 1666–79). There is also a distinction in the features of royal statuary, which became increasingly stylised and geometric under Neferhotep I and his successors (Connor 2009, 41–4; 2020, 47). These changes all occurred in the successive reigns of Sobekhotep I and Neferhotep I, suggesting a significant political shift at this point in the Thirteenth Dynasty. In addition, the only known examples of kings recutting the names of their predecessors and adopting their monuments as their own in the Thirteenth Dynasty also occurred during the reigns of Sobekhotep I and Neferhotep I (Ryholt 1997b, 285): Sobekhotep I recut a number of architectural elements at Medamud that were perhaps originally constructed under Meribre Seth (Ryholt 1997b, 285 n. 1031; Eder 2002, 104), while Neferhotep I recut a boundary stela from Abydos thought to have been originally carved under Wegaf (JE 35256: Leahy 1989, 46–9). Ryholt suggests that these cases of re-use indicate an anathematization of the memory of their predecessors which, alongside the introduction of the genealogical motif proclaiming their non-royal origins, was intended to deliberately distance themselves from the earlier kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty and mark the start of a new phase (1997b, 285–6, 297–8).

Although later ancient historiographical sources such as the Turin king-list and Manetho's synoptic history do not make any explicit distinction between the many kings of the

Thirteenth Dynasty, the subdivisions of the dynasty are reflected in the contemporaneous material record. In particular, the first kings of the Thirteenth dynasty have common onomastic, architectural, and iconographic features which not only allow them to be grouped together but also, as will be explored in later chapters, served to link them with their Twelfth Dynasty predecessors and particularly, Amenemhat III. In addition, these features contrast with those of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty kings from the reign of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I onwards, and this provides a clear end point for the first phase of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

1.2 Sequence of early Thirteenth Dynasty kings

Although the boundaries of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, as visible in the changes in self-presentation and monumental display, are widely agreed on by scholars (§1.1), there are still several questions surrounding the number and order of the kings included within this period. The sequence of kings as recorded in the Turin king-list shapes most reconstructions of Thirteenth Dynasty chronology (e.g. Ryholt 1997b, 69–75; Schneider 2006, 175–81; Franke 2008, 270–3, 285–6), since it is not possible to establish their order from contemporaneous material alone (Ryholt 1997b, 3). After the initial heading ‘the kings [who were] after [the children] of Sehotepibre’ (§1.1), the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty are listed in column 7, with nineteen names and one *wꜣf*-entry given over nineteen lines (P. Turin 1874, 7.5–23: fig. 1.2). This section is well-preserved, and there are only minor differences between the reconstructions of Gardiner (1959, pl. 3 [VI]) and Ryholt (1997b, 22–3, 71 fig. 10). The *wꜣf*-entry, found at the end of 7.6, is understood as a scribal notation indicating information ‘missing’ on the earlier manuscript from which the list was copied (Ryholt 1997b, 10–11; 2004, 147–9; §1.2.3). There is considerable variation in how the kings are recorded: of these nineteen entries, eight are recorded by prenomen alone, five by nomen alone, and six by both (table 1.3). There appears to be a preference for writing both names of each king towards the end of this early Thirteenth Dynasty group, a trend which continues to the end of column 7 with the mid-Thirteenth

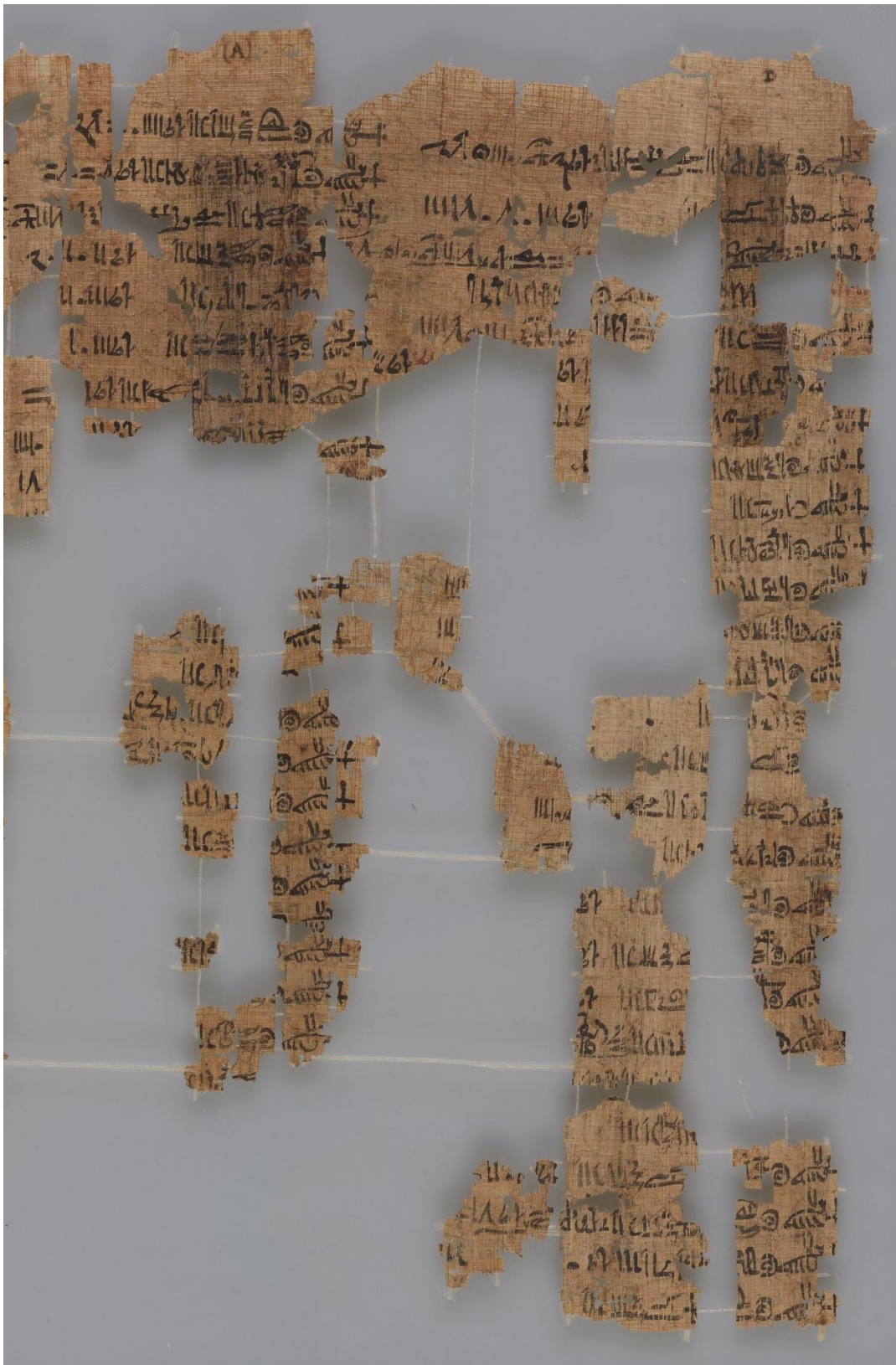


Figure 1.1 Turin king-list columns 7 and 8, P. Turin 1874, (Museo Egizio 2020, https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/it-IT/material/Cat_1874), CC0 1.0.

Image redacted

Figure 1.2 Turin king-list columns 7 and 8 (reconstruction after Ryholt 1997b, 71 fig. 10; with fragment numbers added by Siesse 2019, 26 fig. 1).

Dynasty kings but becomes variable again at the start of column 8 (fig. 1.1–2). Among those recorded with both names, there is further variation: both names may be written in a single cartouche, or with the prenomen in the cartouche alone followed by the nomen outside it. The reasons for these variations remain unknown (Ryholt 1997b, 27–8; 2004, 143–4).

Table 1.3 The early Thirteenth Dynasty in the Turin king-list

line number	name		reign length
7.5	<i>ḥw-t3.wy-rꜥ</i>	prenomen	2 years, 3 months, 24 days
7.6	<i>šḥm-k3-rꜥ i[mn-m-ḥ3t snb]:f</i>	prenomen and nomen	[...]
	<i>wsf</i>		6 years
7.7	<i>[i]mn-m-ḥ3t-{rꜥ}</i>	nomen	3[–4] years [...]
7.8	<i>šḥtp-ib-rꜥ</i>	prenomen	1[–4] years [...]
7.9	<i>iw:f-n(y):i</i>	nomen	[...]
7.10	<i>sꜥnh-ib-rꜥ</i>	prenomen	[...] 23 days
7.11	<i>smn-k3-rꜥ</i>	prenomen	[...] 22 days
7.12	<i>šḥtp-ib-rꜥ</i>	nomen	[...] 1[–4] months, 27 days
7.13	<i>sw3ḏ-k3-rꜥ</i>	prenomen	[...] 11–14 days
7.14	<i>ndm-ib-rꜥ</i>	prenomen	0 years, 7 months [...]
7.15	<i>sbk-[ḥt]p-rꜥ</i>	nomen	[...]
7.16	<i>rn-[s]nb</i>	nomen	(0 years), 4 months, (0 days)
7.17	<i>3w{t}-ib-rꜥ.w</i>	prenomen	[...] x+7 days
7.18	<i>sḏf[3]-k3-rꜥ</i>	prenomen	[...]
7.19	<i>šḥm-rꜥ-ḥw-t3wy sbk-ḥtp</i>	prenomen and nomen	[...]
7.20	<i>wsr-[k3]-rꜥ ḥ1ndr</i>	prenomen and nomen	[...]
7.21	<i>[smnh]-k3-rꜥ imy-r3-mš3</i>	prenomen and nomen	[...] x+4 days
7.22	<i>[šḥtp]-k3-[rꜥ] in-it:f</i>	prenomen and nomen	[...] x+3 days
7.23	<i>[mr]-ib-[rꜥ] stḥ</i>	prenomen and nomen	[...] 6 days

Siesse (2019, 25–32) has questioned the reliability of the king-list, citing its poor state of preservation, the lack of published photographs to verify its reconstruction, and the distance between its composition and the period of the Thirteenth Dynasty kings it records. Although the papyrus overall is in a fragmentary state (Ryholt 2004, 136), this section is one of its best-preserved (Allen 2010, 1; Siesse 2019, 29). The fragments are relatively large, and their reconstruction is supported both orthographically and through fibre matching (Ryholt 1997b, 22). Although many of the reign lengths have been damaged or lost, the names are all nearly or entirely preserved. In addition, new high-quality photographs of the papyrus are now available on the Museo Egizio catalogue online (fig. 1.1). However, the date of the papyrus in the Nineteenth Dynasty, which is based on a tax-list from the reign of Ramesses II on the recto (Ryholt 2004, 138), is still a significant factor. As Siesse notes, the reign lengths recorded for the Twelfth Dynasty kings are difficult to reconcile with the regnal years that are attested archaeologically, suggesting that the list is not always accurate (2019, 29–30; see also Franke 1988a, 113–21; Ryholt 2004, 150; Schneider 2006, 171–4). If the king-list is not reliable for a comparatively well-documented period like the Twelfth Dynasty, then ‘les données fournies pour les dynasties moins bien attestées de la fin du Moyen Empire et de la Deuxième Période intermédiaire doivent être davantage remises en question’ (Siesse 2019, 30).

However, much of the king-list’s account of the Thirteenth Dynasty can be supported by archaeological material. The existence of many of the early Thirteenth Dynasty rulers recorded in the king-list can be verified through contemporaneous attestations, such as Semenkare Nebnun, known from a stela from Gebel el-Zeit (JE 98137: Marée 2009, 149–51); Seankhibre Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat, attested on an offering table discovered in the court of the Sixth Pylon at Karnak (CG 23040: Kamal 1909, 31–7); or Imyremesha, known from a pair of colossal statues (JE 37466–7: Connor 2020, pl. 38 fig. 2.8.2a–b). Other known figures may be recognised in the list but with minor errors, such as Awibre Hor, whose prenomen was recorded in 7.17 with a superfluous *t*, and Khendjer, where the initial *h* was confused with the sun-disk (Beckerath

1964, 44–9; Ryholt 1997b, 74; Siesse 2019, 30). Of the nineteen kings recorded in this section of the list, only three have no clear extant contemporaneous attestations, namely, Iwefni, Sewadjkare, and Nedjemibre. In addition, other material may also lend support to the order of kings as given in the list. For example, stelae of Nebnun and Sehotepibre were both found at Gebel el-Zeit and are the only evidence of Thirteenth Dynasty activity at this site (JE 98137, Bonn L. 1628: Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 9–11, 15–18; Marée 2009, 149–54; §6.2.2), which may support their placement in successive entries of the king-list (Ryholt 1997a, 99–100).

The preserved copy of the Turin king-list is the end result of a process of long transmission, which may have introduced copying errors and redactional changes along the way (Ryholt 1997b, 3, 31–3; 2004, 148; Siesse 2019, 28). Some of these errors are minor scribal slips, such as the incorrect spellings in Hor and Khendjer's records. Two kings recorded by nomen in this section, Amenemhat (7.7) and Sobekhotep (7.15), also had an intrusive sun-disk added at the start of the name. This error was presumably introduced due to the frequency of this sign in prenomina leading a scribe to include it automatically, and also occurs in the earlier entry for Sobekneferew (Ryholt 1997b, 27; 2004, 149–50). The intrusive disk in the entry for Amenemhat is quite faint, perhaps indicating that the scribe attempted to erase it (Ryholt 1997b, 27 n. 67). In turn, this would suggest that the preserved list was not simply a blind copy, but prepared by a scribe with the necessary knowledge and awareness to recognise the error and correct it, which may in turn support the reliability of the list.

Other possible discrepancies, however, are more significant. The entries for Khutawyre Wegaf (7.5) and Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Senebef (7.19), for example, were most likely interchanged (§1.2.1). In addition, the figure of Sobekhotep in 7.15 is problematic. He is only recorded in the papyrus by this nomen which is common in the Thirteenth Dynasty, and so cannot be uniquely identified with one of the kings of this nomen attested archaeologically on this basis alone. However, all other kings with this nomen are recorded in the list by their prenomen (7.19, 7.24, 7.27, 8.1, 8.8, 11.2: Allen 2010, 7–9), and so the Sobekhotep of 7.15 may

be identified as the only remaining king of this nomen, Khaankhre Sobekhotep, who is known from several monuments including a bark-stand (Leiden AM 109: Soliman 2012, 108 fig. 6a–b) and chapel (Louvre C 9–10: Bresciani 1979, 13 fig. 10; Franke 2003, 120), both from Abydos. Although the Turin king-list places Khaankhre Sobekhotep among the early Thirteenth Dynasty, it has been persuasively argued that he should instead be attributed to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Siesse and Connor 2015, 227–37; Siesse 2019, 81–3). Onomastically, the use of the *ḥꜥi-X-rꜥ* prenomen paradigm and of the nomen Sobekhotep are both consistent with mid-Thirteenth Dynasty naming practices (Siesse and Connor 2015, 235–6). He is also attested alongside kings of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty such as Khasekhemre Neferhotep I and Khaneferre Sobekhotep II both in the chamber of ancestors at Karnak from the reign of Tuthmosis III (Delange 2015, 36–7 fig. 11, 86–94; Siesse and Connor 2015, 235), and in an inscription from Elephantine that also includes famous earlier kings such as Pepy II, Intef II, and Amenemhat I (Seidlmayer 2003, 444; Siesse 2019, 82). Other attestations of Khaankhre Sobekhotep such as architectural blocks and statuary have stylistic and orthographic similarities to those of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep II as well (Siesse and Connor 2015, 230–4). His exact position in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty is difficult to determine, but the absence of any known genealogical inscriptions for this king would suggest he belonged to the latter part, perhaps after Sobekhotep II or Khahotepre Sobekhotep III when the genealogical motif is no longer attested. All of these factors suggest that Khaankhre Sobekhotep was incorrectly located in the Turin king-list in 7.15, and should instead be attributed to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Siesse and Connor 2015, 227–37; Siesse 2019, 81–3).

Despite these apparent errors, the Turin king-list remains a vitally important document as it provides the only known comprehensive record of Egyptian kings up to the Seventeenth Dynasty (Malek 1982, 93; Redford 1986, 1–2; Ryholt 2004, 135; Müller 2018, 209), especially since the kings of the Thirteenth and subsequent dynasties of the Second Intermediate Period were often omitted in other sources (§1.1). A general methodological principle adopted by

scholars has been to accept the king-list as reliable when there is no evidence in support or opposition, but to prioritise contemporaneous material and emend the king-list where the two contradict (e.g. Ryholt 1997b, 19; Allen 2010, 1). Siesse's study, however, has taken this further: he excludes any king only known from the king-list, and amalgamates a number of entries previously considered distinct individuals (2019, 38; see fig. 1.3), which results in a radically reduced and simplified version of Thirteenth Dynasty chronology. These changes largely affect the late Thirteenth Dynasty, but Siesse's chronology also excludes four early Thirteenth Dynasty kings: Iwefni, Sewadjkare, Nedjemibre, and Seth. Siesse's new chronology has been accepted uncritically in one recent publication (Willems 2022, 712). However, his approach dismisses the impact of accidents of preservation, which is particularly relevant for the short-reigning kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty who had limited time to leave a significant monumental record, so that even an individual loss could eliminate all evidence for a king. Moreover, the boundaries between what Siesse considers sufficient or insufficient contemporaneous evidence to warrant inclusion in his chronology are not well justified, as seen in the contrasting examples of Seth and Amenemhat-Renseneb. Seth has no secure contemporaneous attestations, although Ryholt suggests that traces of his prenomen, Meribre, can be read on a lintel from Medamud re-used by Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I (JE 44944: 1997b, 285 n. 1031). Since there are no published images of this lintel to verify the reading, Siesse dismisses it and excludes Seth from his chronology (2019, 38 n. 74), although the lintel was independently examined by Franke, who confirmed that Ryholt's reading was consistent with the traces (2008, 271 n. 14). In contrast, Siesse includes Amenemhat-Renseneb (2019, 99), on the basis of a bead from an antiquities shop in Cairo which was only recorded in the unpublished notebooks of Newberry in 1929 and has never been seen since (Ryholt 1997a, 95). Despite the similarly limited contemporaneous evidence for both Seth and Amenemhat-Renseneb, one is excluded from Siesse's chronology while the other is not.

Image redacted

Figure 1.3 Comparative chronologies of Ryholt and Siesse, reproduced from Siesse (2019, 99 fig. 18).

At least eight tombs belonging to the kings of the Abydos Dynasty have now been discovered at South Abydos (Wegner 2015b, 68–78; Wegner and Cahail 2021, 338–60). The existence of this dynasty had previously only been hypothesised, on the basis of at least sixteen highly fragmentary entries at the end of column 11 of the Turin king-list, which may have continued into another column that has since been lost after the papyrus was cut in antiquity (Franke 1988b, 258–9; Ryholt 1997b, 163–6). None of these kings had any extant contemporaneous attestations, although three small stelae from Abydos of kings whose names are not recognisable among the Turin king-list fragments may also have supported the notion of a separate dynasty at Abydos (Franke 1988b, 259; Ryholt 1997b, 163), namely, the stelae of Wepwawemsaf (BM EA 969: Bourriau 1988, 72–3 fig. 58), Pantjeny (BM EA 630: Petrie, Ayrton et al. 1903 II, pl. 32 [2]), and Senaib (CG 20517: Lange and Schäfer 1908, 111–12). Of the eight Abydos tombs, only one contained material that allowed its king to be identified by name, that of Woseribre Senebkay (Wegner and Cahail 2021, 4, 240–1), who may be identified with one of the two kings recorded in this section of Turin king-list with partial prenomina *wsr*-[...] -*r* (11.16–7: Allen 2010, 10), or with any of the completely broken entries for the Abydos dynasty in the list (Wegner and Cahail 2021, 343). The discovery of these tombs confirms the existence of this dynasty, even though many of its kings still cannot even be identified by name, and provides a cautionary example against the wholesale dismissal of even ephemeral kings who are apparently not securely attested. Furthermore, despite his reservations about the reliability of the Turin king-list, and his criticism of Ryholt and Allen’s methodology, Siesse himself admits that his proposed chronology also ‘s’eloigne finalement peu de celle enregistrée dans le *Papyrus de Turin*’ (2019, 38).

The Turin king-list already gives a significant number of early Thirteenth Dynasty kings, but there are also several kings known from contemporaneous material that may be attributed to this period, and who are not immediately evident in the king-list. These include Nerikare, known from an unprovenanced stela fragment (LD II.4: 150 [f]) and a flood-level inscription from Semna (Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 152 [FSN 510]); Ameny-Qemaw, known from his Dahshur

pyramid (Swelim and Dodson 1998, 319–30); and the kings Khabaw and Djedkheperew, identified only by their Horus names on a series of sealings from Uronarti and Mirgissa (Dunham 1967, 38, 40, 57–8, 64, 160; Gratién 1986, 89). The identification and placement of these figures, as well as other specific disputed points of early Thirteenth Dynasty chronology necessary for the following chapters will be discussed in detail below.

1.2.1 Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep

Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep is one of the best attested kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Despite this, or perhaps because of it, he has been the subject of extensive debate, which centres around two questions: was he the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and was he the same individual as a king with the Horus name Khabaw, whose prenomen is also attested as Sekhemre-Khutawy on an architrave from Bubastis (BM EA 1100: Naville 1891, pl. 33 [G–I]; Eder 2002, 133–4), and a cylinder seal (UC 11527: Petrie 1917, pl. 18.15.1; Quirke 2006, 268).

The Turin king-list identifies the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty as Khutawyre Wegaf (7.5), and lists Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep fourteen entries later (7.19). However, it is generally well accepted that these two kings were at some point transposed in the list, so that Amenemhat-Sobekhotep should be understood as the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Weill 1918, 279–307; Stock 1942, 49; Ryholt 1997b, 315–20; Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; Franke 2008, 270 n. 8; McCormack 2008, 64–7; Siesse 2016, 161–77; 2019, 67–78). In support of this transposition are several contemporaneous attestations which place a king with the prenomen Sekhemre-Khutawy early in the Thirteenth Dynasty. The first of these is a household census from Lahun of the lector priest Senefrew-Khakawre (P. UC 32166: Collier and Quirke 2004, 116–17). The papyrus is dated to Year 1 of Sekhemre-Khutawy, and records the death of Senefrew-Khakawre's wife, Senet, in Year 40 of an unnamed king, but who by the high regnal year can only be Amenemhat III. The papyrus also names two children of Senefrew-

Khakawre and Senet: a son, Senwosret-Seneb, and a daughter, Senet, who must have been born prior to the death of their mother in Amenemhat III's fortieth regnal year, indicating that by this time, Senefrew-Khakaure was at least a mature adult able to father children. That he was still alive in Year 1 of Sekhemre-Khutawy implies that this king reigned within the span of a single generation from Amenemhat III. The period from Year 40 of Amenemhat III to the end of the reigns of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew totals approximately twenty years, suggesting that the reign of Sekhemre-Khutawy should be placed among the earliest kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty in order to plausibly fit within the lifespan of Senefrew-Khakawre (Ryholt 1997b, 315; Siesse 2019, 75–6).

Also relevant are a series of rock inscriptions from the Second Cataract forts of Semna and Kumma, recording annual flood records from Years 2 to 4 of a Sekhemre-Khutawy (Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 102, 151–2 [FSN 382A, 508–9]). These inscriptions are part of a larger tradition of Nile flood records from the Second Cataract otherwise attested from the reigns of Amenemhat III and his successors, Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew, as well as Amenemhat-Senebef, the second king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (§3.1). The inclusion of inscriptions of a king with the prenomen Sekhemre-Khutawy in this tradition also suggests that a king with this name occurs in temporal proximity to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the start of the Thirteenth (Ryholt 1997b, 315, 320).

Some scholars however, maintain the order of the Turin king-list as it is copied, with Wegaf as the first king of the dynasty (e.g. Grajetzki 2006, 65–6; Quirke 2006, 264–5; Schneider 2006, 175). Some of the particularly ephemeral kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty who have no contemporaneous attestations, and whose regnal years are not fully preserved in the Turin king-list—such as Iwefni, Sewadjkare, or Nedjemibre—may well have reigned only days, weeks, or months (Ryholt 1997b, 192–3). As such, they argue that the short timespan indicated by the census of Senefrew-Khakawre from the reign of Amenemhat III to that of Sekhemre-Khutawy does not necessarily require emending the Turin king-list, and the first fourteen reigns of the

Thirteenth Dynasty could all occur within the single generation of the census (Grajetzki 2006, 66; Quirke 2006, 265). However, the timespan of the first fourteen reigns of the early Thirteenth Dynasty is probably not as insignificant as this theory requires. The regnal years known from either contemporaneous sources or the Turin king-list give a minimum of twelve years in total prior to the reign of the dynasty's fourteenth king, be that Wegaf or Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (Ryholt 1997b, 192–3; McCormack 2008, 67). It is also probable that some of the unidentified pyramids of Dahshur and Mazghuna may date to this period (§5.1.5), suggesting that at least some of the kings whose reign lengths are unknown may have reigned for the two to four years that was probably necessary to build these monuments (McCormack 2008, 67). As such, the timespan attributed to the first fourteen kings of the dynasty is likely longer than the minimum twelve years. In order to reconcile the order of the Turin king-list—with Wegaf as the first king of the dynasty and Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep as the fourteenth—and P. UC 32166, Senefrew-Khakawre, who was already an established adult in Year 40 of Amenemhat III, would have had to live through the subsequent twenty years until the end of the Twelfth Dynasty as well as a minimum of another twelve years, and likely more, into the Thirteenth Dynasty. Even if Senefrew-Khakawre was attributed an unusually long life-span, it seems ‘quasiment impossible que sa carrière recouvre à la fois la fin de la XII^e dynastie et presque la moitié de la XIII^e’ (Siesse 2019, 76). Thus Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep must have been among the earliest kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, supporting his suggested transposition with Khutawyre Wegaf in the Turin king-list. In turn, there are also similar contemporaneous attestations of Wegaf which likewise suggest that he reigned later in the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§1.2.5).

The placement of the phrase *iri.n:f m nsywt* after specific entries in the king-list is regarded as an indication of the location of original column headings in the lost original from which the Turin version was copied, allowing the layout of this manuscript to be reconstructed (Malek 1982, 94; Helck 1992, 184; Ryholt 1997b, 29–31). This reconstruction suggests that the

entries for Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Khutawyre Wegaf may have been alongside each other in adjacent columns of that earlier manuscript which, combined with their similar prenomina, might account for their mistaken transposition by the scribe when copying them into the king-list (Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; Ryholt 2004, 150).

The identity of Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep is further complicated by the potential existence of a second king with the prenomen Sekhemre-Khutawy. Aside from the shared prenomen, however, the titularies of these two kings are distinct. The full titulary of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep is attested on blocks from a portal of this king from Medamud (Eder 2002, 85–101; Siesse 2019, 55–7), and these give his Horus name as *mnh-ib:f* (Siesse 2019, 56). The Two Ladies name is only partially preserved, but reads *ʕz-[...]ty* (Eder 2002, 101; Siesse 2019, 56), and his Golden Horus name is *ʕnh-ntrw* (Eder 2002, 97, 101, pl. 45; Siesse 2019, 56). An architrave from Bubastis, however, associates the prenomen of Sekhemre-Khutawy with the Horus name *hʕi-bzw* (BM EA 1100: Naville 1891, pl. 33 [G–I]; Eder 2002, 133–4). Similarly, the prenomen Sekhemre-Khutawy is also found on a cylinder of unknown provenance, together with the Horus name *[hʕi]-bzw* enclosed in a *serekh* (UC 11527: Petrie 1917, pl. 18.15.1; Quirke 2006, 268). Unusually, a Two Ladies name, *whm-dd* was also included in the *serekh* on this cylinder seal, as well as a third phrase, *ʕnh-rnpwt*; this might be an additional element of the Two Ladies name, or it might be the Golden Horus name without any accompanying designation (Quirke 2006, 265). From these attestations, then, the prenomen Sekhemre-Khutawy occurs with two sets of titulary with different Horus and Two Ladies names, and possibly also a different Golden Horus name.

Nevertheless, the shared prenomen has led some scholars view these titularies as belonging to as a single individual king Sekhemre-Khutawy (Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; Quirke 2006, 264–5; Siesse 2019, 55–9). In particular, they argue that since the prenomen was the king’s primary unique identifier, the repetition of a prenomen within a close timespan would

be so inherently unlikely as to exclude the possibility of two kings with the name Sekhemre-Khutawy within one dynasty (Quirke 2006, 264–5; Siesse 2019, 58). Although such a repetition is uncommon, it is not unheard of. For example, the prenomen Neferkare was used frequently among the ephemeral kings following Nemtyemsaf II, who are typically attributed to the Eighth Dynasty but may instead belong to the Seventh and even late Sixth Dynasties (Ryholt 2000, 99; Papazian 2015, 416). Likewise, the prenomen Sewoserentre was used by both Khyan and Bebiankh who, although usually attributed to the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Dynasties respectively, probably reigned in close temporal proximity (Leprohon 2013, 82, 85). Later, the prenomen of Ramesses II, Wesermaatre, was repeatedly reused by the kings of the Twentieth Dynasty. It is also worth noting that there were some fourteen intervening kings between the reigns of these two Sekhemre-Khutawys, creating a mental separation between them, even if their actual chronological distance was not so great.

In order to accommodate the differing names on the Medamud portal and cylinder seal, it has been hypothesised that the names *whm-dd* and *nh-rnpwt* of the cylinder seal constitute a single bipartite Two Ladies name, which would complement the Golden Horus name *nh-ntrw* also known from the Medamud portal (Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 97–8 n. 9). This theory, however, was proposed before the conflicting Two Ladies name *z-[...]ty* from Medamud was published (Eder 2002, 101; Siesse 2019, 56). It also cannot explain the two distinct Horus names: *mnh-ib:f* and *h*^*i-bzw*. Instead, some scholars who identify Khabaw with Amenemhat-Sobekhotep dismiss the Horus name *mnh-ib:f* by claiming that the Medamud blocks bearing this name do not necessarily come from the same monument as those with the prenomen and nomen Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 68 n. 9; Quirke 2006, 264–5). However, the blocks with the Horus name are stylistically consistent with those inscribed with the cartouches, suggesting that all came from a single monument. In particular, all the names accompany a figure of the king whose facial features are consistent with each other, and distinct from other kings attested at Medamud (Siesse 2019, 56–7). Since the Horus name

mnh-ib:f is securely associated with Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, Siese, rather than trying to integrate the two conflicting sets of titularies, alternatively suggests that Sekhemre-Khutawy may have changed his titulary over the course of his reign (2019, 58). However, as Quirke had previously noted, changing titularies is otherwise unparalleled in the Late Middle Kingdom (2006, 265). Moreover, the highest attested regnal year for Amenemhat-Sobekhotep is Year 4 (Ryholt 1997b, 193), and the likelihood of a king adopting a new titulary within a four-year reign seems no more inherently plausible than two kings with the same prenomen occurring in the same dynasty.

In addition, one further attestation of Khabaw suggests that he reigned later in the dynasty. The Horus name Khabaw is found on an architrave found at Tanis that was re-used as a sarcophagus base in the tomb of Shesonq III (Montet 1960, 71–2). Its current location is unknown (Ryholt 1997b, 339). The Horus name of Khabaw reads to the left from a central *ankb* sign. To the right of the *ankb*, however, is the Horus name of Awibre Hor, *ḥtp-ib-tꜣwy* (Montet 1960, pl. 28). Each name was followed by the title *nswt bity*, although the kings' prenomina were not preserved. This block then, was seemingly the central of several that made up the architrave with the titularies continuing to either side. Awibre Hor is recorded in 7.17 of the Turin king-list, as the thirteenth king of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (fig. 1.2). Stylistically, the inscriptions appear contemporaneous. However, that does not necessarily require that the kings themselves were (Murnane 1977, 25). In order to reconcile identifying Khabaw with Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and the presence of his titulary on a later monument of Hor, it has been suggested that the architrave with both names represents the veneration of the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty by Hor (Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50). However, the antithetical arrangement of titularies from a central *ankb* is only otherwise attested between kings who were in a direct predecessor-successor relationship, if not also coregents (§1.4.4), such as Amenemhat I and Senwosret I on the stela of Intef (CG 20516: Saladino Haney 2020, 60 fig. 2.4), Senwosret I and Amenemhat II on the stela of Wepwawetaa (Leiden V.4: Saladino Haney 2020, 73 fig. 2.11), and

Amenemhat III and IV on a pedestal from Karnak (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, pl. 5–6; Pignattari 2018, 116–18). The use of this particular design would then suggest that Khabaw and Hor were also close chronologically, likely predecessor and successor (Ryholt 1997b, 318). As such, the attestations of Sekhemre-Khutawy suggest that one king with this prenomen belongs among the earliest kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, while another can be placed in chronological proximity to Hor, some thirteen kings later. Therefore, the extant material favours two distinct kings, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Khabaw, with the same prenomen Sekhemre-Khutawy within the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

1.2.2 Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef

Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef is placed in the Turin king-list as the second king of the dynasty (7.6). However, as with the Sekhemre-Khutawys, the number of kings with this prenomen has been disputed. The Turin king-list records the king by both prenomen and nomen. His prenomen, Sekhemkare, is fully preserved and in a cartouche. After the cartouche, the divine determinative is written (Gardiner sign G7) followed by *ī*[...], which might be restored as A[menemhat]. A different fragment (no. 74) preserves the end of this entry which has a second divine determinative, indicating that the nomen was also included, albeit not in a cartouche. Traces beneath this determinative are perhaps the tail of a viper (Gardiner Sign I9), allowing a reading of ‘A[menemhat-Senebef]’ (Ryholt 1997b, 71 fig. 10, 73; Siesse 2019, 59). This nomen is also preserved on a cylinder seal from Moalla (MMA 26.7.23: Hayes 1953, I, 342 fig. 226).

A statue from Elephantine, however, is inscribed with the prenomen Sekhemkare accompanied by the nomen Amenemhat alone (Aswan 1318 + Vienna ÄS 37: §6.1.2). This led Ryholt (1990, 103–10; 1997b, 336–7) and Beckerath (1964, 31–9) to conclude that the Sekhemkare Amenemhat of this statue was a separate king to Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef. Both attribute the Turin king-list entry in 7.6 to Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef, and place

Sekhemkare Amenemhat in the following entry, 7.7, which names a king Amenemhat. All other attestations of the king include only the prenomen (see list in Siesse 2019, 373–4), leading to uncertainties about whether they belong to Amenemhat-Senebef, or Amenemhat alone. Smith, for example, has attributed the flood records of Sekhemkare first to Amenemhat-Senebef (1991, 118) and then to Amenemhat alone (1995, 27).

However, this identification of two distinct kings with the prenomen Sekhemkare has largely not been accepted, on the basis that it is unlikely that two sequential kings would share both an identical prenomen and near-identical nomen, and that more plausibly, these names refer to the same individual (Franke 1988b, 250–1; Quirke 2006, 264; McCormack 2008, 67–8; Siesse 2019, 59–60). Unlike the material for the Sekhemre-Khutawys, there is no firm evidence to separate the kings with the prenomen Sekhemkare. The absence of the second element of Amenemhat-Senebef on the Elephantine statue may be attributed to aesthetic concerns and spatial constraints (Siesse 2019, 59; §6.1.2). This also eliminates any confusion over attestations that only use the prenomen Sekhemkare, since all may be attributed to one and the same king.

1.2.3 Nerikare

Nerikare is not recorded in the Turin king-list, but is known only from two contemporaneous attestations: a stela fragment of unknown provenance dated to Year 1 (Lepsius 1897, 15) and a Nile flood record from Semna, also dated to Year 1 (Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 152 [FSN 510]). The stela fragment is known only from Lepsius' published drawing (*LD* II.4: 150 [f]), and its present location is unknown (Beckerath 1964, 240; Gabolde 1990, 17 n. 2). Lepsius (1897, 15) described the stela fragment as 'sehr schlecht, aber alt, wie der der Pariser Stelen mit dem namen des [Khendjer]' (Louvre C 11: Siesse 2020, 39 fig. 8). This led Weill to suggest that the cartouche on the stela fragment of Nerikare should be emended to Khendjer-Ka, as a variant on the nomen of Khendjer (1918, 802). Without reference to Weill, Gabolde also subsequently questioned the existence of Nerikare and argued that the cartouche on this fragment should be

emended to Woserkare Khendjer (1990, 217–22). Neither, however, were apparently aware of the Semna Nile flood record which independently corroborates the existence of Nerikare (Ryholt 1997b, 337 n. 1).

All the securely dated examples of the Nile flood inscriptions are from either the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasties (§3.1) and so this type of attestation also suggests an early Thirteenth Dynasty date for Nerikare. The Turin king-list entry for Amenemhat-Senebef, the second king of the dynasty, includes a notation at the end of the line which reads *wsf rnpt 6* (7.6). The same term *wsf* is used in several other entries in the king-list, such as the Fourteenth Dynasty king Awibre, whose summation is given in the papyrus as ‘[...] years, *wsf*, 18 days’, or the Sixteenth Dynasty king Bebiankh, who is recorded as ‘Dual King Sewoserenre, 12 years, *wsf*, [...] days’ (9.12, 11.8: Ryholt 1997b, 95 fig. 11, 153 fig. 14). From these examples, *wsf* may be understood as a scribal notation that can stand in for any information ‘missing’ from the papyrus that was being copied by the scribe of the Turin king-list (Ryholt 1997b, 10–11). In the entries for Bebiank and Awibre, the lost information was the count of months. The *wsf*-entry following Amenemhat-Senebef, however, apparently records the loss of the name of a king, who is allocated a reign length of 6 years. Nerikare, dated among the earliest Thirteenth Dynasty kings on the basis of his flood record but otherwise unplaced in the Turin king-list, seems a very plausible candidate for this *wsf*-entry (Ryholt 1997b, 70; Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; Franke 2008, 270; McCormack 2008, 68–9). No regnal year above Year 1 is attested contemporarily for Nerikare, which does not sit easily with the reign of six years attributed to the missing king of the *wsf*-entry. However, the summation of the total years of the First to Eighth Dynasties also includes a ‘*wsf rnpt 6*’ (5.15–17: Ryholt 2004, 141). The ‘missing’ information of this *wsf*-entry may be the ten kings of the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties recorded in the Abydos king-list who do not appear in the Turin king-list (Beckerath 1962, 145; Ryholt 1997b, 11). As such, Ryholt suggests that a round figure of 6 years may perhaps have been used as a placeholder when an

actual duration was unknown to the scribe (1997b, 10–11). The exact significance of the number 6 remains unclear.

An alternative placement for Nerikare, however, has been proposed by Siesse (2019, 73). Following the entry for Amenemhat-Senebef and the *wšf*, the Turin king-list next lists a king Amenemhat (7.7). This entry may be attributed to Ameny-Qemaw (§1.2.4). Ameny-Qemaw is attested only by his nomen, and Nerikare only by his prenomen. As such, Siesse suggests that these two kings may in fact be the same individual, with Nerikare being the prenomen of Ameny-Qemaw (2019, 73), apparently as part of a general strategy to reduce the number of kings attributed to the Thirteenth Dynasty. However, this theory offers no explanation for the *wšf*-entry recorded between Amenemhat-Senebef and Amenemhat/Ameny-Qemaw in the Turin king-list (7.6). Beyond their apparent chronological proximity and an ability to fill the gaps in each other's titularies, there is no evidence to support the identification of Nerikare with Ameny-Qemaw.

1.2.4 Ameny-Qemaw and Hotepibre Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef

Neither Ameny-Qemaw nor Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef can be immediately identified among the names of the Thirteenth Dynasty recorded in the Turin king-list. Any assessment of their position in the dynasty is complex, and relies on their relationship to each other as well as the placement of an additional king, Sewadjenre Schotepibre, who is known from a stela from Gebel el-Zeit (Bonn L 1628: Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 15–18; Marée 2009, 151–5), and a block from Tod (Bisson de la Roque 1937, 125–8). The prenomen of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef, Hotepibre, is attested on a block from el-Atawla (Cairo TR 25.4.22.3: Habachi 1954, pl. 10) and a statue from Khatana (Habachi 1954, pl. 9). This prenomen is not recorded in the king-list. However, the similar name Schotepibre is found twice in the Thirteenth Dynasty section, in 7.8 and 7.12, although there is only one king in the early Thirteenth Dynasty attested archaeologically with this name, the above mentioned Sewadjenre Schotepibre. As such, one of

these is entries typically thought to be erroneously {Se}Hotepibre, confusing the prenomen of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef with the well-known prenomen of Amenemhat I (Beckerath 1964, 39; Ryholt 1997b, 16–17; Siesse 2019, 60).

The Sehotepibre entry in 7.12 is preceded by a king Semenkare Nebnun (7.11). Stelae of both Nebnun and Sewadjenre Sehotepibre were found at Gebel el-Zeit (JE 98137, Bonn L 1628: §6.2.2). Although the stelae were not found in the same archaeological context and so cannot be conclusively chronologically associated on those grounds (Bennett 1997, 15), Ryholt has argued that it ‘can hardly be regarded as a mere coincidence’ that these two Thirteenth Dynasty kings attested at this site can also be placed in successive reigns (1997a, 100). Working backwards, then, the Sehotepibre of 7.12 may be attributed without emendation to Sewadjenre Sehotepibre (Ryholt 1997b, 73; 1997a, 99–100; Franke 2008, 285; Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 18; Marée 2009, 153; Siesse 2019, 60–1). In turn, the entry in 7.8 is then typically emended to Hotepibre and attributed to Hotepibre Sahornedjheritef (Ryholt 1997b, 16, 73; Franke 2008, 285; McCormack 2008, 71; Siesse 2019, 60).

The name Qemaw is known as a non-royal name, but is otherwise unattested in titulary (Ranke 1935 I, 334; Leprohon 2013, 220). Its shared use in the nomina of Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef suggests a close connection between these two kings, which is most likely that of father and son (Ryholt 1997b, 214; Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; McCormack 2008, 71; Siesse 2019, 60). As Qemaw is the shared name across these two double nomina, it is presumably the name of the father which was inherited by the son. During the late Middle Kingdom, filiative expressions place the name of the father ahead of the son (Obsomer 1993, 171; Olabarria 2020, 131). The son may then be identified as the king with Qemaw in the initial position, namely, Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef. The nomen Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef could perhaps be read as a direct statement of filiation, ‘Qemaw’s son Hornedjheritef’ (Quirke 1991, 129; Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; McCormack 2008, 71, 434; Siesse 2019, 60). However, Sahornedjheritef is also as a distinct, theophorous name of the paradigm *s3*-[god’s name] (Ranke

1935 I, 280; Vittmann 2013b, 4), in which case, the double name Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef could be read as a filiation expressed through direct juxtaposition ‘Qemaw’s son, Sahornedjheritef’ (Beckerath 1964, 35; Vernus 1986, 95–7; Ryholt 1990, 104–7). Regardless, Ameny-Qemaw may be expected to be found in the Turin king-list preceding Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef. The Turin king-list entry in 7.7, immediately before Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef, names an ‘Amenemhat-*{re}*’. The name Ameny can be a hypocorism for Amenemhat (Posener 1956, 22–4; Vernus 1986, 127; Ryholt 1997b, 207 n. 708), and the two names may be used interchangeably in both the royal and non-royal spheres (for examples, see: Parkinson 1999, 54; Kanawati and Evans 2016, 40; Siesse 2019, 62). As such, the Turin king-list entry for Amenemhat preceding Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef may be identified with Ameny-Qemaw (Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; McCormack 2008, 70; Allen 2010, 7; Siesse 2019, 60). Although the attribution of both kings is circumstantial, it is a persuasive argument that places Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef as a probable father-and-son duo in successive entries in the Turin king-list.

1.2.5 Khutawyre Wegaf

As previously discussed, Khutawyre Wegaf is listed in the Turin king-list as the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, but was interchanged with Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, recorded in 7.19 (§1.2.1). Just as there is contemporaneous material that suggests that Amenemhat-Sobekhotep belonged among the earliest kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, there is also contemporaneous material which would favour assigning Wegaf much later in the dynasty, namely, a bark-stand from Medamud which is inscribed with the names of both Wegaf and Kay-Amenemhat (JE 15900: Bisson de la Roque 1928, 84–6). The bark-stand is inscribed with three rectangular panels on what is presumably its front face. The central panel contains the *serekh* and prenomen of Kay-Amenemhat, facing the phrase ‘beloved of Montu, Lord of Medamud’, while the panels on either side contain the *serekh* and a cartouche of Wegaf—with the prenomen in the left panel and the nomen in the right—facing the same phrase ‘beloved of Montu, Lord of

Medamud' (Bisson de la Roque 1928, pl. 3). Above these is a horizontal band of inscription which encircles the entire bark-stand's sides. This gives the full titulary of Kay-Amenemhat and states that 'he made it as a monument for his father, Montu, Lord of Thebes and Medamud'. The inscription is written twice in mirrored orientations, beginning from a shared *ankh* sign above the central panel (Bisson de la Roque 1928, pl. 3). There are palaeographic and stylistic differences between the inscriptions of Kay-Amenemhat and Wegaf which indicate that the two sets of inscriptions are not contemporaneous (Ryholt 1997b, 317; Eder 2002, 109; Siesse 2016, 174–5; 2019, 76–7). The inscriptions of Kay-Amenemhat occupy the prime spaces on the bark-stand, and the horizontal band claims him as the sole dedicator of the monument, which both suggest that the inscriptions of Kay-Amenemhat were original to the monument while those of Wegaf were added subsequently (Ryholt 1997b, 317; Eder 2002, 109; Siesse 2016, 174–5; 2019, 76–7). As such, Wegaf cannot predate Kay-Amenemhat, who is listed in the Turin king-list as the fourteenth king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (7.18). The following line is the entry for Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (7.19), who is thought to have been interchanged with Wegaf. The proposed transposition would make Wegaf the immediate successor of Kay-Amenemhat, which would fit well with the addition of inscriptions of Wegaf to the bark-stand of Kay-Amenemhat (Ryholt 1997b, 318).


1.2.6 Khabaw and Djedkheperew


The kings known by their Horus names, Khabaw and Djedkheperu, are some of the most problematic to locate among the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Both kings are known from a series of sealings from the fortresses of Uronarti (Dunham 1967, 38, 40, 57–8, 64) and Mirgissa (Dunham 1967, 160; Gratien 1986, 89), which give only their Horus names. Two approaches have been taken to locating these kings within the early Thirteenth Dynasty: to either regard them as additions to the already substantial number of attested kings (e.g. Ryholt 1997b, 70, 216–

17), or to identify them with other already known kings (e.g. Dodson 2000b, 50; Grajetzki 2000, 155; Siesse 2019, 55–9, 96–8).

As previously discussed (§1.2.1), Khabaw is sometimes assumed to be the same king as Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, since both have the prenomen Sekhemre-Khutawy (Quirke 2006, 264–5; Siesse 2019, 55–9). However, the remainder of their titularies differ from each other, and the shared architrave of Khabaw and Hor from Tanis suggests that Khabaw was the predecessor or successor of Hor, nearing the end of the early Thirteenth Dynasty rather than the beginning of the period (§1.2.1). The arrangement of the inscription itself does not shed any light on the chronological order of the two kings. In parallels, the name of the senior coregent or predecessor appears on the right with that of the junior coregent or successor on the left on a lintel of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I (Awadalla 1990, 12), the stela of Wepwawetaa dated to Senwosret I and Amenemhat II (Leiden V.4: Saladino Haney 2020, 73 fig. 2.11) and the bark stand of Amenemhat III and IV (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, pl. 5–6). However, on the stela of Antef, the order is reversed with the elder Amenemhat I on the left and the younger Senwosret I on the right (CG 20516: Saladino Haney 2020, 60 fig. 2.4). As such, the organisation of the inscription on this architrave does not reliably indicate the chronological sequence between Khabaw and Hor. Ryholt argues that Khabaw was the successor of Hor, emending the Turin king-list to add an additional *wsf*-entry following Hor (1997b, 70, 216–17). There is, however, an alternative hypothesis that would allow Khabaw to be placed in proximity to Hor but without emending the Turin king-list. The predecessor of Hor is listed in the Turin king-list as Renseneb (7.16). As previously discussed (§1.2), this king is also known from a single unprovenanced bead, whose current location is unknown, where he is identified by the double nomen Amenemhat-Renseneb (Ryholt 1997a, 95). However, the remainder of his titulary is unknown. Given that both Renseneb and Khabaw may be found in chronological proximity to Hor, it has been suggested that Khabaw may be the otherwise unknown Horus name of Renseneb (Dodson 2000b, 50; Grajetzki 2000, 155). This equation

could plausibly account for the seemingly late attestations for the name Khabaw Sekhemre-Khutawy in the early Thirteenth Dynasty sequence, without requiring any emendation of the Turin king-list to add another king after Hor.

In addition to the sealings from Uronarti and Mirgissa, Djedkheperew is also known from a black basalt statue of Osiris lying on a bed, discovered in the tomb of Djer at Abydos (JE 32090: Leahy 1977, 424–5, pl. 26–9; Dreyer 2010, 151 fig. 12). A horizontal row of inscription encircles the top of the sides of the bed in mirrored orientations from a central *ankh*, and includes a full royal titulary. The names of the king, however, have been thoroughly erased. Stylistic features of the statue itself and remaining orthographic features of the inscription suggest the monument was carved in the late Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period (Leahy 1977, 431–3; Fay 1988, 70; Siesse 2019, 96). Many of the signs in the inscription were erased individually, preserving their general shape, and some signs such as the sun-disk were not erased even in the royal names (Leahy 1977, 427–9). The various published restorations of this inscription agree that the Horus name can be read as *dd-hprw* (Beckerath 1964, 289; Leahy 1977, 429; Ryholt 1997b, 217; Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; Siesse 2019, 96–7), and that the prenomen can be read as [...]-*k3-r* (Beckerath 1964, 289; Leahy 1977, 433; Ryholt 1997b, 340; Siesse 2019, 97), which is a commonly used paradigm in the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§4.2). However, the restorations differ in their interpretation of the nomen. The erased traces in the cartouche suggest that the nomen consisted of five signs, and from the general shape of these, Leahy restores the name of Khendjer, written with an unusual terminal *i*:  (1977, 433–4). An attribution to Khendjer would fit with the traces of the prenomen, since Khendjer's prenomen is elsewhere recorded as Woserkare (for list, see Siesse 2019, 379–80). Khendjer's Two ladies name is recorded as *w3h-mswt* on the pyramidion of his South Saqqara pyramid (JE 53045: Jéquier 1933, 21 fig. 17), which is also consistent with the surviving traces of the Two Ladies name on the bed (Leahy 1977, 434; Siesse 2019, 97). Ryholt (1997b, 217), however, has

argued that the Horus name of Khendjer is partly preserved on a block from his pyramid complex on which an *ankh* sign precedes the Two Ladies title *nbty* (see Jéquier 1933, 16 fig. 14). From this, Ryholt restores the Horus name [...]ankh for Khendjer, which would be incompatible with the Horus name Djedkheperew inscribed on the Osiris bed (1997b, 217 n. 747). He instead restores the first group of the nomen on the Osiris bed as  and suggests that this king held a double nomen, with the first name referencing Hor, and the second name as [...]i (Ryholt 1997b, 217). Accordingly, Ryholt attributes Djedkheperew to the same hypothetical *wsf*-entry as Khabaw (1997b, 217). However, as Siesse argues (2019, 97), the reading of the block from Khendjer's pyramid complex is far from certain: the sign itself is only partly preserved, and even if it is read *nh*, this could be interpreted as an emblematic *ankh* which often precedes elements of royal titularies or as part of another formulaic phrase such as *di nh*. Moreover, he argues that a different block from the north chapel of Khendjer's pyramid, on which the title *nswt-bity* is preceded by a quail chick, could equally conceivably be interpreted as a trace of the name [Djedkheper]ew as part of Khendjer's titulary (Jéquier 1933, 17 fig. 15; Siesse 2019, 97). The remains from Khendjer's pyramid are too fragmentary to exclude taking the Djedkheperew on the Osiris bed as the Horus name of Khendjer. Siesse (2019, 97) follows Leahy (1977, 433–4) in reading the erased nomen on the Osiris bed as Khendjer, but suggests that the tall, narrow sign at the end of the nomen might be better restored as the throw-stick (Gardiner T14). This sign is not written in other attestations of Khendjer's nomen, but is a possible restoration, given that Khendjer is often considered to be a Semitic name (Ward 1961, 34–5; Ryholt 1997b, 220; Siesse 2019, 97).

Additional evidence appeared in 2005, when fragments of a shrine that once surrounded the Osiris bed were discovered during the DAI excavations at Umm el-Qab (Effland, Budka et al. 2010, 30–5), which also support the attribution of the Osiris bed to Khendjer. The inscriptions on the shrine were erased like those on the bed itself, but they include a partially

preserved example of the nomen, whose first sign was a round shape (Dreyer 2008, pl. 5b; Siesse 2019, 97). Among the many known names of the Thirteenth Dynasty, there are only two kings whose nomina fit this shape: Khendjer, beginning with *h* (Gardiner Aa1), and Sehotepibre, whose nomen begins with the sun-disk (Gardiner N5) (Siesse 2019, 98). In addition, Khendjer is the only king of the early Thirteenth Dynasty whose name is otherwise securely attested at Abydos, on the stela of Amenyseneb. The nomen of Khendjer is included in the lunette of one stela (Louvre C 11: Baines 2009, 20 fig. 3b), while the main body text of the other records that Amenyseneb was commanded to restore the temple at Abydos (Louvre C 12: Baines 2009, 7). The command itself is given by the Vizier Ankhef, but ‘the description of the commission as a *wḏ* ‘command’ is characteristic of royal communications’ and suggests that it originated with the king (Baines 2009, 9). Although the king is not actually named in the second stela, it seems most plausible that the two are contemporaneous, and that Khendjer was the king who commanded this restoration work at Abydos, which may have included the production of the Osiris bed itself (Siesse 2019, 173; 2020, 40). Overall, the contextual and inscriptional evidence supports attributing the Osiris bed to Khendjer, and thus identifying Khendjer with Djedkheperew.

1.2.7 Nebmaatre

The position of a king Nebmaatre in the Second Intermediate Period is uncertain but usually attributed to the late Thirteenth, Sixteenth or Seventeenth Dynasties (Ryholt 1997b, 168, 171; Marée 2009, 159; Lorand 2010, 107). Nebmaatre is attested on an axe (BM EA 63224: Davies 1987, 43 fig. 102), an axe blade (Chicago Field Museum 30329: Davies 1987, 48 fig. 150), and a steatite lion figurine of questionable authenticity (UC 11587: Quirke 2006, 269). Several fragments of a stela of Nebmaatre were discovered at Gebel el-Zeit in the 1980s (SA 49, SA 556: Régén and Soukiassian 2008, 13, 21–3), but were not joined together until 2009 (Marée 2009, 159–161 figs. 7–8; Lorand 2010, 104–7). Siesse persuasively argues that Nebmaatre may be dated

to the early Thirteenth Dynasty on the grounds of stylistic similarities between this stela and the two stelae of Nebnun and Sehotepibre, also from Gebel el-Zeit (2019, 79–80; see also §6.2.2).

Siesse also argues that the similarities between the prenomen Nebmaatre and that of Amenemhat III, Nimaatre, indicates that Nebmaatre should be identified with one of the early Thirteenth Dynasty kings whose nomina are compounded with Amenemhat (2019, 80). There are seven kings with this style of nomina (§4.3), but of them, only the prenomina of Ameny-Qemaw and Amenemhat-Renseneb are unknown. Since Siesse equates Ameny-Qemaw with Nerikare (2019, 73), he identifies Nebmaatre with Amenemhat-Renseneb (2019, 80). Although the addition of the name Amenemhat to their own nomina may be one means of association, the funerary complexes and royal statuary of early Thirteenth Dynasty kings whose nomina are not compounded with Amenemhat also demonstrate a modelling on Amenemhat III (§5; §6). The motif of association with Amenemhat III in the early Thirteenth Dynasty is thus not exclusive to the kings who use the name Amenemhat in their own nomina. As such, if Nebmaatre is to be placed in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, this prenomen may equally plausibly be attributed to any king of this period whose prenomen is unknown, namely, Ameny-Qemaw, Iwefni, or Amenemhat-Renseneb.

The other two early Thirteenth Dynasty kings attested at Gebel el-Zeit, Nebnun and Sehotepibre, reigned successively, which may suggest that the site was only used for a limited period in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. As such, Siesse argues that Nebmaatre should also be found temporally close to Nebnun and Sehotepibre, and as Amenemhat-Renseneb is placed four entries after Sehotepibre in the Turin king-list, Siesse identifies him as ‘le candidat idéal’ (2019, 80). However, the figure of Iwefni is actually placed closer in the list, separated only from Nebnun by the intervening reign of Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat (7.9–12). Siesse does not consider Iwefni as a candidate for Nebmaatre, having previously dismissed his existence entirely (2019, 38). Although, as a king with no known prenomen who reigns in close proximity to the other two early Thirteenth Dynasty kings also attested at Gebel el-Zeit, Iwefni is at least an equally

plausible candidate, if not actually preferable one, for Nebmaatire especially since, as previously suggested, Amenemhat-Renseneb may already be associated with Khabaw, which would identify his prenomen as Sekhemre-Khutawy and not Nebmaatire (Dodson 2000b, 50; Grajetzki 2000, 155; §1.2.6). As such, in this thesis, the prenomen Nebmaatire and the Gebel el-Zeit stela of this king, will be attributed to Iwefni.

1.2.8. Reign lengths of the early Thirteenth Dynasty

Secure contemporaneous attestations that include regnal years are known for only four kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Of these, three derive from a series of Nile flood records made at the Second Cataract (§3.1), which record a Year 4 for Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (FSN 382A: Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 102), a Year 4 for Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef (FSN 506: Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 151), and a Year 1 for Nerikare (FSN 510: Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 152). The reign lengths of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Senebef are both lost in the Turin king-list (7.6, 7.19: fig. 1.1–2, table 1.3), while the *msf* entry attributed to Nerikare gives a placeholder date of 6 years that is unlikely to be accurate (§1.2.3). These records, then, are the highest attested regnal years for each of these kings. However, the highest attested regnal year only represents the minimum time a given king reigned, although as these records were made annually in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, the records of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Senebef plausibly attest to the final regnal years of these kings (Ryholt 1997b, 193). The flood record of Nerikare, however, is the final extant flood record and so it is not certain if the date of Year 1 indicates the final year of this king, or only the last known year of the tradition. In addition to the flood records, there are also two household census papyri from Lahun with regnal years: the previously discussed census of Senefrew-Khakawre, dated to Year 1 of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (P. UC 32166: Collier and Quirke 2004, 116–17; §1.2.1), and a census of a Senefrew, dated to Year 3 of Amenemhat-Senebef (P. UC 3216: Collier 2009, 211, fig 4–6). The census of Senefrew, however, also later references ‘Year 5,

first month of Peret, day 8' of an unspecified king, which could perhaps indicate that the reign of Amenemhat-Senebef extended into a fifth regnal year (Collier 2009, 211; Siesse 2019, 122). A fifth regnal year of Amenemhat-Senebef is also supported by the Year 1 flood record of Nerikare: if the reign of Amenemhat-Senebef ended during his Year 4 after the annual flood record was made, then the first expected flood record of Nerikare would be a hypothetical Year 2 as the inundation would already have passed during his Year 1. The existence of a Year 1 record for Nerikare indicates that his accession occurred early in the year before the inundation, and by extension, that the reign of Amenemhat-Senebef ended early in his fifth regnal year (Ryholt 1997b, 193, 321). The final extant dated contemporaneous attestation from the early Thirteenth Dynasty is a control note from the pyramid of Khendjer, dated to Year 5, fourth month of Akhet, day 15 (F. Arnold 1990, 179). As with the flood records, this is the highest attested regnal year for Khendjer, whose reign length is otherwise not preserved in the Turin king-list (7.20: fig. 1.1–2, table 1.3).

In addition to these securely identified examples, a Year 4 date is preserved on a boundary stela from Abydos (JE 35256: Leahy 1989, 42 fig. 1). The stela was reused during the reign of Neferhotep I, but the date was not recarved and so presumably can be attributed to the original owner of the stela (Leahy 1989, 46). Traces of the original cartouches suggest that this original owner may have been either Wegaf or Intef IV (Leahy 1989, 47–8). A reign length for Intef IV is poorly preserved in the Turin king-list with only a partial day count, but Wegaf is attributed a reign of 2 years, 3 months, and 24 days (7.5, 7.22: fig. 1.1–2, table 1.3). Leahy, however, argues that even 'a fractional adjustment' of the reconstructed papyrus would allow an additional lost year stroke in the reign length of Wegaf, which would reconcile a reign length of three completed years with a date in Year 4 (1989, 49). The traces are not consistent with the names of kings known to have reigned four years such as Amenemhat-Sobekhotep or Amenemhat-Senebef (Leahy 1989, 47–8), and so even without specifically identifying the original owner, this stela indicates that at least one further early Thirteenth Dynasty king reigned

into a fourth regnal year. Similarly, control notes from the South Saqqara Unfinished pyramid attribute 5 regnal years to another unknown king of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (F. Arnold 1990, 181–3). In this case, however, this pyramid, and the control notes, may plausibly be attributed to Amenemhat-Sobekhotep or Amenemhat-Senebef (§5.1.4), and therefore cannot be added to the total years attested for the early Thirteenth Dynasty. The Turin king-list provides the only indication of reign lengths for the majority of kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (table 1.3), although as these dates cannot be verified against contemporaneous sources and are often poorly preserved, they must be regarded with some caution (Ryholt 2004, 147, 151).

No summation line giving the total years of the Thirteenth Dynasty is preserved in the Turin king-list (fig. 1.1–2). However, various archaeological, genealogical, and astronomical methods of absolute dating consistently arrive at a figure of approximately 150 years duration for the Thirteenth Dynasty as a whole (Ryholt 1997b, 190; Siesse 2019, 122–3; Cahail 2022, 5). When totalled, the highest attested dates of the early Thirteenth Dynasty suggest that these kings should be attributed 21 years at the lower end, or 30 years at the upper end, of this 150 year period. However, this duration is likely only the minimum estimate of years that can be attributed to the early Thirteenth Dynasty, due to the loss of year counts for a number of these kings in the Turin king-list.

1.2.9 Summary of early Thirteenth Dynasty Chronology

With regards to chronology, as Quirke writes, ‘little is firm in the 13th Dynasty pack of cards’ (2006, 264). However, using the Turin king-list as the basic structure, supported and emended as necessary by contemporaneous material, nineteen kings can be relatively securely attributed to a distinct phase that can be termed the early Thirteenth Dynasty, and their order established with a reasonable degree of confidence. From the above discussion, the regnal sequence used in this thesis is as follows:

Table 1.4 Early Thirteenth Dynasty chronology

line number	Turin king-list entry	Name	Highest attested date
7.19	<i>šhm-r^c-ḥw-t3wy</i>	Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep	4
7.6	<i>šhm-k3-r^c i[mn-m-ḥ3t snb]:f</i>	Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef	4–5
	<i>wsf</i>	Nerikare	1
7.7	<i>[i]mn-m-ḥ3t-{r^c}</i>	Ameny-Qemaw	3–4 years, months and days lost*
7.8	<i>{s}ḥtp-ib-r^c</i>	Hotepibre Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef	1–4 years, months and days lost*
7.9	<i>iw:f-n(y):i</i>	Nebmaatre Iwefni	–
7.10	<i>s^cnh-ib-r^c</i>	Sankhibre Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat	Years and months lost, 23 days*
7.11	<i>smn-k3-r^c</i>	Semenkare Nebnun	Years and months lost, 22 days*
7.12	<i>šḥtp-ib-r^c</i>	Sewadjenre Schotepibre	Years lost, 1–4 months, 27 days*
7.13	<i>sw3ḏ-k3-r^c</i>	Sewadjkare	Years and months lost, 11–14 days*
7.14	<i>ndm-ib-r^c</i>	Nedjemibre	7 months, days lost*
7.16	<i>rn-[s]nb</i>	(H) Khabaw Amenemhat-Renseneb	4 months, 0 days*
7.17	<i>3w{t}-ib-r^c</i>	Awibre Hor	Years and months lost, x+7 days*
7.18	<i>sḏf[3]-k3-r^c</i>	Sedjefakare Kay-Amenemhat	–
7.5	<i>ḥw-t3wy-r^c</i>	Khutawyre Wegaf	2 years, 3 months, 24 days*
7.20	<i>wsr-[k3]-r^c</i> <i>ḥ¹ndr</i>	(H) Djedkheperew Woserkare Khendjer	5
7.21	<i>[smnh]-k3-r^c</i> <i>imy-r3-mš3</i>	Semenkhkare Imyremesha	Years and months lost, x+4 days*
7.22	<i>[šḥtp]-k3-[r^c] in- it:f</i>	Schotepkare Intef IV	Years and months lost, x+3 days*

7.23	[<i>mr</i>]- <i>ib</i> -[<i>r</i> '] <i>sth</i>	Meribre Seth	Years and months lost, 6 days*
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*designates a regnal date known only from the Turin king-list

1.3 The early Thirteenth Dynasty relative to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties

The chronological position of the Thirteenth dynasty in relation to the dynasties of the Second Intermediate Period has also been the subject of intense debate, particularly with regard to a potential overlap with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties (e.g. Ryholt 1997b, 75–8, 184–91, 295–301; Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 52–66; Bennett 2006, 235–41; Müller 2018, 200–11; Siesse 2019, 108–20; Cahail 2022, 3–17). Ryholt has previously argued that the Fourteenth Dynasty was already in existence at the start of the Thirteenth, having first emerging during the Twelfth Dynasty in the reign of Sobekneferew (1997b, 75, 293–6). In particular, he argued that a seal impression of the Fourteenth Dynasty king Sheshi found together with seals of Khabaw and Djedkheperew at Uronarti provides an ‘invaluable synchronism between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties’ (1997b, 321–2). As previously discussed, Khabaw and Djedkheperew may be identified with Renseneb and Khendjer respectively (§1.2.6). However, the reliability of this archaeological context has been questioned since the deposit also contained ceramics from the late Thirteenth Dynasty, suggesting that the early Thirteenth Dynasty seals may have been kept for archival purposes after the reigns of Khabaw and Djedkheperew (S. Allen in Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 55–8; Franke 2008, 274). The traditional view maintains that the Fourteenth Dynasty overlapped only with the late Thirteenth Dynasty (Beckerath 1964, 81–6; Allen 2010, 5; Ben-Tor 2010, 94–5). However, in 2011, seals of the Fifteenth Dynasty king Khyan were discovered in a closed context at Tell Edfu that can be securely dated to the final occupation phase of the complex, together with seals of Khaneferre Sobekhotep II of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Moeller, Marouard et al. 2011, 87–109; Moeller and Marouard 2018, 173–85). Similarly, sealings of Khyan were discovered at Tell el-Dab’a in the same stratum as sealings of other mid-

Thirteenth Dynasty kings Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I and Neferhotep I which, although not as secure as the Tell Edfu context, may also support the synchronism of Khyan and the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Forstner-Müller and Reali 2018, 112–14; Höflmayer 2018, 147). These sets of seals provide a strong indication of contemporaneity between the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty and the Fifteenth Dynasty (Cahail 2022, 6–7), which may also be supported by radiocarbon dates from Tell el-Dab’a and genealogical methods of dating (Höflmayer 2018, 156–7; Moeller and Marouard 2018, 193–4; Schneider 2018, 282–3).

This synchronism of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty with the Fifteenth Dynasty also impacts the chronological relationship between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Dynasties. Attestations of Fourteenth Dynasty kings at Tell el-Dab’a—such as architectural fragments of Nehesy (Bietak 1984, 62–5, 75, pl. 1)—appear to precede those of the Fifteenth Dynasty (Ryholt 1997b, 104; Cahail 2022, 8). Similarly, typological studies of Second Intermediate Period royal scarabs suggest that Fourteenth Dynasty kings such as Ya’ammu and Sheshi should be placed earlier in the sequence than Khyan (Ryholt 2018, 242–8). While it is plausible that the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties were partially concurrent, this material suggests that at least the first six kings of the Fourteenth Dynasty, up to and including Nehesy, reigned prior to Khyan. Accordingly, if Khyan of the Fifteenth Dynasty is concurrent with Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, and the Fourteenth Dynasty at least partly precedes Khyan, the Fourteenth Dynasty must also have been established by the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty at the latest (Cahail 2022, 7–8). The reign lengths of the Fourteenth Dynasty kings preceding Nehesy is unknown, but unless they are all accounted extremely short reigns entirely within the four-year reign of Sobekhotep I (Ryholt 1997b, 192 table 33), ‘what we are left with is the probability that the Fourteenth Dynasty had its origins during the early decades of the Thirteenth Dynasty, growing in influence and control over sites like Tell Hebuoa and Tell el-Dab’a’ (Cahail 2022, 8). In addition to the loss of valuable arable land in the Delta and its associated resources to the Fourteenth Dynasty which presumably affected the economic

position of the Thirteenth, the emergence of a competing dynasty may also have weakened its political position, perhaps provoking a ‘legitimation crisis’ for the early Thirteenth Dynasty and prompting the use of both innovative and traditional legitimising strategies in Thirteenth Dynasty royal self-presentation (Ryholt 1997b, 295–6; see also §7).

1.4 Succession

Closely related to the question of chronology is that of succession. The large number of known Thirteenth Dynasty kings and their predominantly short reigns raises questions of how the office of kingship was passed, and why it was doing so at such speed during this period. In particular, it seems unlikely that the kingship was passed in accordance with male-preference primogeniture during the Thirteenth Dynasty simply because the generations of a family would be exhausted after the quick succession of only two or three kings in this manner (Ryholt 1997b, 282). The mechanism for Thirteenth Dynasty succession has been substantially debated, and a number of different models put forward, including processes of selective kingship, circulating succession between elite families, and limited cases of hereditary succession. Each of these models will be reviewed here.

1.4.1 Selective kingship

Junker (1933, 105) first suggested that the many kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty may be attributed to ‘das zeitweise Bestehen eines Wahlkönigtums’. This theory was later refined by Hayes, who argued that the king was a figurehead selected by the vizier (1972, 144–8). In particular, Hayes’ model was developed from attestations of the vizier Ankhew, who is named as vizier on one of the stela of Amenyseneb (Louvre C 12; Baines 2009, 6–10; Siesse 2019, 173), as well as on administrative papyri, including judicial insertions B and C on the recto of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 (Hayes 1972, 71–85) and the estate account P. Boulaq 18 (Allam 2019 II, 47). Hayes dated the stela of Amenyseneb to the reign of Khendjer (1972, 73), insertions B and C of P.

Brooklyn 35.1446 to the reign of Sekhemre-Wadjkhaw Sobekemsaf I, who he identified as the predecessor of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I on the basis that both are attested at Medamud (1972, 145), and P. Boulaq 18 to the reign of Sobekhotep I (1972, 146). As such, Hayes argued that the tenure of Ankheh as vizier covered the reigns of five kings: Khendjer, Intef IV, Seth, Sobekemsaf I, and Sobekhotep I (1972, 146–7). The sons of Ankheh, Renseneb and Aymerew, were also viziers although the kings under whom they served are unknown (Siesse 2019, 175). As such, Hayes suggested that in the Thirteenth Dynasty the viziership had become a hereditary office, with greater longevity and stability than the kingship (1972, 146–8). Moreover, in the judicial insertions of P. Brooklyn 35.1446, the initial petitions were made to the king who then directed them to Ankheh (Hayes 1972, 71–2), which Hayes interpreted as evidence that the vizier held greater authority than the king to act on the petitions (1972, 79–82, 148).

This theory of selective kingship became the most influential and pervasive model of Thirteenth Dynasty succession and was often repeated (e.g. Kemp 1983, 154; Cruz-Uribe 1987, 107; Bourriau 1988, 53). However, the theory relies on the dating of its three key sources. The dating of the stelae of Amenyseneb is the most secure, with it being very plausible that the two stelae are contemporaneous, and that Ankheh served as vizier during the reign of Khendjer (Franke 1984, 137; Siesse 2019, 173; Ilin-Tomich 2021, 152). The king of Insertions B and C of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 is unidentified, but the preserved date of Insertion C indicates a reign length of at least six years (Hayes 1972, 72). The palaeography of the insertions suggests that they are contemporaneous with each other, and precede Text A, a legal docket on the verso of the papyrus which documents the assigning of servants to a beneficiary whose name is not preserved in year 1 of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I (Hayes 1972, 13, 111–12). The unnamed king of these insertions, then, must be a predecessor of Sobekhotep I with a reign length of six years. None of the kings preceding Khendjer have an attested regnal year greater than 4 (Ryholt 1997b, 192–7), suggesting that they did not reign long enough to be the unidentified king of these insertions. Control notes from the pyramid of Khendjer indicate he

reigned at least 5 years (F. Arnold 1990, 173–81), which may make him a plausible candidate for the king of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 Insertions B and C, especially since he is already associated with Ankheh through the stelae of Amenyseneb (Siesse 2019, 174). Alternatively, this king may be identified with one of the three kings who reigned after Khendjer but before Sobekhotep I, whose reign lengths are all unknown and so may have extended to the six regnal years indicated by the papyrus: Imyremesha, Antef IV, or Seth.

The dating of P. Boulaq 18 is similarly uncertain. Allam (2019 I, pl. 18; II, 2–3) suggests restoring a damaged section written in red ink as a cartouche reading Ameny-Sobekhotep, dating the papyrus to the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep. However, as Ryholt and Allam himself have noted, this restoration is very unsure as cartouches are not typically written in red ink (Ryholt 1997b, 319; Allam 2019 II, 2–3). The palaeography is consistent with a Thirteenth Dynasty date but cannot be further specified (Quirke 1990, 12; Allam 2019 II, 2). The king is unnamed in P. Boulaq 18, but given a regnal year 5 (Allam 2019 I, 33–4), leading Siesse to propose that the papyrus may also date to the reign of Khendjer (2019, 174). However, the name of a King's Wife Aya is preserved in the papyrus (Recto XI, col. 1.19: Allam 2019 I, pl. 11; II, 61), whereas the wife of Khendjer is attested on a fragment of canopic jar from his pyramid complex as Senebhenas (CG 54498: Jéquier 1933, 28). While it is possible that Khendjer had two wives, the reference to this King's Wife Aya may also indicate that P. Boulaq should be attributed to a different king (Ryholt 1997b, 243). In addition, the papyrus also names a number of other members of the extended royal family, including ten King's Sisters, three King's Daughters, a King's Son, and an unspecified number of King's Brothers (Recto I, col. 1.1–4, Recto III, col. 1.4–14: Allam 2019 I, pl. 1, 4, 11; II, 44–5, 48). None of these individuals overlap with the well-documented families of Sekhemre-Sewadjetaw Sobekhotep I or the three brother kings, Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Khaneferre Sobekhotep II, which may indicate that P. Boulaq 18 predates the reign of Sobekhotep I (Quirke 1990, 12–13; Ryholt 1997b, 243). As with the P. Brooklyn 35.1446 insertions, the three kings of unknown

reign length between Khendjer and Sobekhotep I may also be plausible candidates for the king of P. Boulaq 18. As such, all three key sources for Hayes' elective kingship theory can be attributed to Khendjer or one of his close successors, and do not support a particularly extraordinary tenure as vizier for Ankhew. Moreover, both the stelae of Amenyseneb and the insertions of the Brooklyn papyrus were issued to Ankhew as royal decrees (Quirke 1991, 134; Baines 2009, 9). There is no indication that the vizier held greater authority than the king from these texts, as Hayes suggested (1972, 148). Rather these decrees reflect a typical relationship of power, with the vizier acting on behalf of and by the authority of the king (Quirke 1991, 134–5).

1.4.2 Circulating succession

As an alternative to selective kingship, Quirke (1991, 138) proposed an oligarchic model of 'circulating succession', developed from an anthropological case study of the Gonja, a Ghanaian tribe, where kingship passes between several significant families in rotation (Goody 1966, 155–69). Circulating succession may account for the large number of short reigning Thirteenth Dynasty kings, as it prioritises senior, and presumably older, members of the chosen families (Quirke 1991, 138). Quirke specifically claims that circulating succession was established during the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, resulting in a period of greater stability at this point (1991, 139). However, one of the fundamental principles of such a circulating succession is that the kingship does not pass directly within a family (Goody 1966, 167). The mid-Thirteenth Dynasty includes the consecutive reigns of three brothers—Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Sobekhotep II—in conflict with this essential principle (McCormack 2008, 146). If circulating succession was in use in the Thirteenth Dynasty then, it may be more plausibly expected in the early phase of the Thirteenth Dynasty when the throne was passing between individuals with no evident connection, rather than in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty when fratrilineal succession is attested. However, in this model a common factor which identifies and elevates the specific families through which the throne circulates, such as a common ancestor or holding a particular office

prior to kingship, is also necessary (Goody 1966, 159–60). No such common tie has yet been identified among the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty and so the framework necessary for a circulating succession is not supported (McCormack 2008, 144–9; 2010a, 376).

1.4.3 Hereditary succession

Although hereditary succession may not have been the norm in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, Ryholt has argued that the nomen may serve as an indicator of hereditary succession for at least seven kings of this period (1990, 106; 1997b, 207–9). These seven kings each have multiple names: six with double nomina, and one with a triple nomen (§4.3, table 4.2). Ryholt identifies this style of nomen with multiple names as ‘filiative nomina’, in which a king incorporated the nomen of his royal father as the first name in his own nomen in order to display his legitimacy (1997b, 207). For example, Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef were the fourth and fifth kings of the dynasty respectively and likely represent an example of father-to-son succession in the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§1.2.4). Ryholt has argued that by extension any king of the early Thirteenth Dynasty without a double nomen would not be of royal descent (1997b, 208–9).

This theory can be verified against the historical record, as every king with a double nomen ought to be preceded by a king who shares the first name of their double nomen if they represent royal filiation. In addition to the example of Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef, the kings Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Senebef, could also both be examples of hereditary succession: as the first and second kings of the dynasty, both could conceivably have been descendants of Amenemhat IV (Ryholt 1997b, 209; Franke 2008, 270 n. 9), although there is no additional material to support this hypothesis. For each of the remaining kings with a double name, however, a royal father is not readily apparent. While Ameny-Qemaw is well-accepted as the father of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef, his own use of a double nomen would indicate that he was also the son of a king ‘Ameny’ under Ryholt’s theory. Ryholt has

argued that the Amenemhat preceding Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef in the Turin king-list was this hypothetical father of Ameny-Qemaw, arguing that the entry for Ameny-Qemaw himself was lost in a lacuna between these two kings (1997b, 70, 214). However, as discussed previously, the Amenemhat preceding Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef likely represents Ameny-Qemaw himself (§1.2.4). At a stretch, Ameny-Qemaw could perhaps also be descended from Amenemhat IV (Franke 2008, 270 n. 9).

A plausible filiative descent for Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat and Amenemhat-Renseneb is similarly difficult to identify. Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat is recorded in 7.10 of the Turin king-list as the successor of Iwefni, which also places him shortly after Ameny-Qemaw (7.7) and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef (7.8). As such, Ryholt (1997b, 214–15) suggests that the triple nomen indicates two generations of filiation: a father, Intef, and a grandfather, Ameny. He assigns Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat to the same family group as Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef, and reconstructs a family tree whereby Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat is descended from the hypothetical king Amenemhat he identifies as the father of Ameny-Qemaw, through a non-ruling son, Intef (1997b, 214–15). This would make Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat the nephew of Ameny-Qemaw, but this hypothesis does not account for the intervening rule of the supposedly unrelated Iwefni between Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef and Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat.

Image redacted

Figure 1.4 Theoretical family tree of Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat, labelled Amenemhat VI, after Ryholt (1997b, 215, table 49).

Ryholt has suggested that the triple nomen here would ultimately serve the same purpose of legitimation by tracing his lineage back to a reigning king, although it somewhat contradicts the theory that the double nomina always indicate royal paternity (1997b, 215). As with Ameny-Qemaw, though, the existence of this ancestor king Amenemhat is doubtful. An alternative hypothesis posits that Ameny-Qemaw himself may have been the grandfather of Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat, with Intef being a son of Ameny-Qemaw (McCormack 2008, 119). However, as discussed previously (§1.2.4), the name carried forward to indicate descent from Ameny-Qemaw would be the second written name, Qemaw, rather than Ameny, as in the example of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef. Additionally, there is no clear Amenemhat preceding Amenemhat-Renseneb who could be his royal father, leading Ryholt to suggest that Amenemhat-Renseneb may be the son of Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat despite there being four intervening kings between them, or alternatively, that Amenemhat may have been the nomen of one of the preceding kings, Sewadjkare or Nedjemibre, which are still unidentified (1997a, 95–6; 1997b, 216).

An apotropaic ivory wand from Abydos bearing the cartouche of a Seb-Kay (JE 34988: Daressy 1903, pl. 11; Wegner and Cahail 2021, 346–8 fig. 14.5) was once thought to be evidence of the royal father of Kay-Amenemhat (Ryholt 1997b, 340–1). Ryholt has further interpreted Seb-Kay as another filiative double nomen, reconstructing the succession from Seb, to Seb-Kay, to Kay-Amenemhat, although neither Seb nor Seb-Kay are recorded in the Turin king-list or have any other contemporaneous attestations (1997b, 70, 219). With the discovery of the tomb of Seneb-Kay at South Abydos in 2014, the wand is now plausibly read as Se<n>eb-Kay, and attributed to this king (Cahail 2015, 118; Wegner and Cahail 2021, 340–1).

As such, the only secure example of father-to-son succession that coincides with the use of a double nomen is the succession from Ameny-Qemaw to Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef. In every other case, the identification of a royal father is uncertain at best. Given these difficulties, the theory of filiative nomina has not received scholarly acceptance (Quirke 1991, 129–31; Ben-Tor, Allen et al. 1999, 50; Quirke 2006, 263–4; Franke 2008, 270 n. 9; McCormack 2008, 430–7;

Wegner and Cahail 2021, 340–1). Hereditary succession seemingly did occur in the Thirteenth Dynasty: seals of Queen Nubhotepti and Aahotepti, who both held the titles of King’s Wife and King’s Mother, attest indirectly to hereditary succession, although neither can be conclusively linked to a specific king (Quirke 1991, 129; Ryholt 1997b, 38–9, 242; McCormack 2008, 115). However, the double nomina used by some early Thirteenth Dynasty kings does not seem to be an expression of filiation or hereditary succession. An alternative interpretation of these double nomina will be discussed further in chapter 4.

1.4.4 Coregency

The practice of coregency is often understood as a means of ensuring a secure and stable succession, by elevating the designated heir to kingship prior to the death of the current king (e.g. Simpson 1956, 214; Jansen-Winkel 1997, 115; Saladino Haney 2020, 42–4). Coregency may perhaps be first attested in the Sixth Dynasty, between Pepy I and Merenre (Kanawati 1981, 215–6; Sabbahy 2021, 107–8), although the evidence for this is uncertain (Murnane 1977, 111–13). However, the practice is most typically associated with the Twelfth Dynasty, having been called ‘the most salient feature of Dynasty XII internal policy’ (Eaton-Krauss 1982, 17). The debate around Twelfth Dynasty coregencies is extensive. At various points, a coregency has been argued for, and against, nearly every combination of successive kings in the Twelfth Dynasty.

In the early Twelfth Dynasty, the argument for coregencies largely centres around three double-dated stelae: the stela of Intef, dated to Year 30 of Amenemhat I and Year 10 of Senwosret I (CG 20516: Saladino Haney 2020, 60 fig. 2.4), the stela of Wepwawetaa, from Year 44 of Senwosret I and Year 2 of Amenemhat II (Leiden V.4: Saladino Haney 2020, 73 fig. 2.11), and the rock stela of Hapu from Konosso, dated to Year 35 of Amenemhat II and Year 3 of Senwosret II (Saladino Haney 2020, 76 fig. 2.12). The presence of two dates on a single monument is often thought to indicate that the given regnal years were concurrent and so too, their respective kings (Simpson 1956, 214–19; Murnane 1981, 72–83; Blumenthal 1983, 104–21;

Franke 1988a, 114–18), although some have challenged this interpretation (Delia 1979, 15–27; 1982, 55–61; Helck 1983b, 43–6; Obsomer 1995, 37–42, 45–54, 137–43; Uphill 2001, 85–7). The coregency of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I may also be supported by a substantial variety of further architectural and epigraphic material (Simpson 1956, 214–19; Eaton-Krauss 1980, 35–51; Franke 1988a, 116; Awadalla 1990, 7–9; Do. Arnold 1991, 15–16; Jansen-Winkel 1997, 121–35; Saladino Haney 2020, 61–72). However, there is little supporting evidence for the coregencies of Senwosret I and Amenemhat II, and Amenemhat II and Senwosret III beyond the double-dated stelae (Saladino Haney 2020, 72–7). These double-dated stelae are the cornerstone of coregency studies, and together, they suggest a complete sequence of coregencies from Amenemhat I to Senwosret II.

There are no double-dated monuments known after the reign of Senwosret II, and so arguments for subsequent Twelfth Dynasty coregencies must rely on different types of evidence, and consider how a coregency might be portrayed in aspects of royal presentation such as monumental architecture, relief, and statuary. Several small objects are inscribed with the names of both Senwosret II and Senwosret III, including a cylinder seal from Lahun (Petrie 1891, pl. 8 [28]), and a plaque (Chicago 94.1317: Allen 1923, 151). However, co-named objects may serve other purposes such as commemoration or legitimation, and so while they can support other evidence for coregency, they are not considered reliable indicators of a coregency on their own (Murnane 1977, 206, 213; Saladino Haney 2020, 41). As such, no coregency is proposed between Senwosret II and Senwosret III (Murnane 1977, 9; Saladino Haney 2020, 77–8).

On the other hand, a coregency is argued for between Senwosret III and Amenemhat III on the basis of two conflicting pieces of evidence, which can be reconciled if a coregency is assumed. The first is a series of stelae from Abydos which appear to indicate that Year 19 of Senwosret III was temporally close to Year 1 of Amenemhat III, through references to common events and officials (Simpson 1972, 52–3; Franke 1988a, 117–19). The second is a pair of control notes, one dated to Year 30 from the pyramid of Senwosret III at Dahshur (F. Arnold 1992, 28–

9), and the other dated to Year 39 from the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Abydos (Wegner 1996, 251–3, figs. 1–3). Control notes typically do not name the king as they are associated with specific monuments that identify their owners contextually (Wegner 1996, 251, 255). It has been argued that these control notes could be attributed to later work on the mortuary complexes of Senwosret III by Amenemhat III (Vogel 2018, 228). The Year 30 control note from Dahshur was found in the ‘galerie des princesses’ which was extended and remodelled at a later stage compared to the main pyramid, and included the burials of several King’s Daughters such as Menet, Senet-Senebtisi, Sathathor, and Merit (F. Arnold 1992, 28–9; Lehner 2008, 179). The control note, and these burials, then could conceivably date to the reign of Amenemhat III (F. Arnold 1992, 31; Grajetzki 2014, 86). However, these burials do not use the mutilated hieroglyphs typical of those from the late years of Amenemhat III, which supports the attribution of both the burials and the associated Year 30 control note to Senwosret III (Di. Arnold 2002, 117; Saladino Haney 2020, 50). The second control note from the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Abydos was found in a sealed context with ceramic material that suggests a date from late Senwosret III to early Amenemhat III, and so the regnal year 39 of this control note is also best attributed to Senwosret III (Wegner 1996, 255–60; Saladino Haney 2020, 51–2). In order to reconcile the proximity of Year 19 of Senwosret III and Year 1 of Amenemhat III with an apparent thirty-nine year reign of Senwosret III, a number of scholars favour a twenty year coregency between the two (e.g. Franke 1994, xii–xiii; Wegner 2007, 36–9; Saladino Haney 2018, 86).

The latest possible Twelfth Dynasty coregency is that of Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV. There are no clear chronological markers that might indicate a coregency between these kings, and so the argument for this coregency largely rests on the decorative programme of the temple at Medinet-Madi (Pignattari 2018, 119–29) and a co-named bark-stand from Karnak (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, pl. 5–6). The decoration of the temple is largely schematically divided, with scenes of Amenemhat III on the west walls, and Amenemhat IV on

the east, except for the three niches in the transverse hall which are decorated only with scenes of Amenemhat III (Murnane 1977, 14 fig. 1). It is widely agreed that these niches were the earliest completed stage of the decorative programme and attributed entirely to Amenemhat III (Zecchi 2010, 81; Bresciani and Giammarusti 2012, 103–4; Pignattari 2018, 25). The schematically divided decorative programme of the rest of the temple, however, is variously attributed to a period of coregency between the two kings (Valloggia 1969, 114–15; Zecchi 2010, 80–3; Pignattari 2018, 27; Saladino Haney 2020, 331), or understood as work completed by Amenemhat IV solely (Hirsch 2004, 129; Bresciani and Giammarusti 2012, 103–4). The two kings are typically depicted in identical or complementary scenes (for examples, see: Zecchi 2010, 62–9), which may be interpreted as a visual equation of the two kings representing their coregency (Habachi 1954, 465; Pignattari 2018, 24–7). However, a scene in the hallway between the outer and transverse halls depicts Amenemhat IV and reads ‘giving the house to his lord as a beautiful and excellent temple for his father, the Dual King, Nimaatre, justified’ (Scene O: Pignattari 2018, 125), which seemingly attributes the temple to Amenemhat IV. This style of inscription is typically understood as an act of commemoration of past rulers (Murnane 1977, 21), and may therefore indicate that the decoration of the temple was completed by Amenemhat IV alone, who included scenes of his predecessor honourifically.

The bark-stand of these two kings was set up in the White Chapel at Karnak (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, pl. 5–6). The upper part of the stand is inscribed with the titularies of Amenemhat III and IV emerging from a central ankh, and both are said to have made it for Amun-Re (Pillet 1924, 67–8). On the front face, there are two further inscriptions, enclosed in rectangles and topped with *pt* signs. To the right, the inscription gives the Horus name, prenomen and nomen of Amenemhat III. The left inscription gives the same titulary elements of Amenemhat IV. The inscriptions are oriented so that the titularies face each other (Pillet 1924, 67). The arrangement of a king’s titulary in mirrored orientations on either side of a central *ankh* is well-attested on single-named monuments, such as on a number of lintels and architraves from

the White Chapel of Senwosret I (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, 26–51, pl. 2–3, 10–11). The same arrangement with two different kings' titularies can also be found on the double-dated stela, where the symmetry of the royal names may be understood as a visual equivalence between the two named kings and which may reflect a coregency (Murnane 1977, 2, 4–6; 1981, 76–80; Franke 1988a 115; Jansen-Winkel 1997, 117–18, 122–3; Saladino Haney 2020, 74). However, in the example of the co-named lintel of Khabaw and Hor, Murnane cautioned against interpreting this feature as evidence of a coregency, since it only demonstrates that the design was contemporaneous, and not necessarily that the kings themselves were (1977, 25). Moreover, even the appearance of a coregency does not necessarily mean that one actually occurred. Hatshepsut claimed to have been crowned as a coregent in the presence of her father, Tuthmosis I, in the sequence of her divine birth scenes at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1898 III, pl. 60–4). Historically implausible, due to the intervening reigns of Tuthmosis II and Tuthmosis III, these scenes are viewed as a means of legitimisation for Hatshepsut by claiming that her accession was directed by Tuthmosis I (Murnane 1977, 230; Ockinga 2011, 261). At Medinet Madi, the mother of Amenemhat IV is depicted in a scene which identifies her as 'the King's Mother and associate of the white crown, Hotepti' (Scene O: Pignattari 2018, 124–5). The absence of the title King's Wife is typically understood as an indication that Amenemhat IV was not the son of Amenemhat III (Ryholt 1997b, 210; Pignattari 2018, 16; Siesse 2019, 127). As such, visual motifs that could represent coregency may have been used to legitimise Amenemhat IV by presenting him as a king appointed by Amenemhat III without any coregency having taken place. There is no evidence for a coregency between Amenemhat III and IV that cannot also seemingly be explained by a posthumous commemoration of Amenemhat III by his successor.

For the Thirteenth Dynasty, Murnane concluded that the sheer number of kings makes the practice of coregency probable, but that there is insufficient evidence to securely identify any specific examples (1977, 229–30). There is only a single co-named object from the early Thirteenth Dynasty which could perhaps indicate a coregency between its kings: the architrave

of Khabaw and Hor from Tanis, with the kings' names written in mirrored orientations from a central *ankh* sign (§1.2.1). As discussed above, however, the use of this motif might, but need not, indicate a coregency between these two early Thirteenth Dynasty kings, and there is no other evidence to support this theoretical coregency (Murnane 1977, 25). Weill (1929, 61–3) had previously suggested that the co-named bark of Kay-Amenemhat and Wegaf might also be indicative of a coregency but, as previously discussed, the two sets of inscriptions are not contemporaneous and so cannot support understanding their respective kings as coregents (§1.2.5). The function of coregency to ensure stability during succession may make it a theoretically plausible method to counteract any perceived instability caused by the rapid turnover of kings during the Thirteenth Dynasty (Murnane 1977, 230). However, the evidence for this practice in the Thirteenth Dynasty is very limited. Given the importance of coregencies in the Twelfth Dynasty, their absence in the Thirteenth may appear unusual. However, although evidence for coregencies in the early Twelfth Dynasty is relatively extensive, evidence for the practice in the late Twelfth Dynasty is less clear. While it seems probable that Amenemhat III may have served as a junior coregent alongside Senwosret III, it is significantly less probable that he later appointed a coregent of his own. As such, if the practice of coregency did not continue after the sole reign of Amenemhat III, this may account for its absence in the subsequent Thirteenth Dynasty. In addition, the same extensive number of attested early Thirteenth Dynasty kings which might make coregency theoretically likely, may also have made it practically implausible, as the short reigns of the majority of early Thirteenth Dynasty rulers would allow limited time to not only establish a king's own position on the throne but then also to appoint a coregent.

1.4.5 Summary of early Thirteenth Dynasty succession

The question of succession has been described as the 'central problem' for Thirteenth Dynasty kingship and the most significant point of contrast between Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties

(Quirke 1991, 137). The many attested kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty make it highly unlikely that kingship was passing according to traditional male-preference primogeniture at this time, although there is one securely attested example of father-to-son succession in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, with the succession from Ameny-Qemaw to Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef (§1.2.4). However, none of the theories put forward as a model for Thirteenth Dynasty succession are firmly supported by the ancient material. The theory of elective kingship, in which the king is understood as a figurehead appointed by the vizier, relies on the incorrect dating of its primary sources to inflate the tenure of the vizier Ankhew (§1.4.1). The interpretation of the early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina as markers of royal filiation and thus hereditary succession is not substantiated as the majority of kings with this style of name are not preceded by a king who shares their name (§1.4.3). There is also only one single, questionable, indicator of an early Thirteenth Dynasty coregency, and so it also seems unlikely that this practice was used to secure the succession during this dynasty either. As discussed, however, this practice seems to cease after the reign of Amenemhat III, and as such may not be expected to continue into the Thirteenth Dynasty anyway (§1.4.4). The oligarchic model of ‘circulating’ succession is arguably the most theoretically plausible model proposed (§1.4.2), and has been adopted by Siese (2019, 154), but lacks any supporting evidence. McCormack (2008, 113) suggests that there may not have been a single consistent model which can account for the pattern of succession in the Thirteenth Dynasty, but rather that it may have varied according to the individual circumstances of each king. Although succession in the early Thirteenth Dynasty remains obscure and does not appear to have operated according to traditional patterns, it should not go unobserved that the Thirteenth Dynasty were still able to exercise royal power for some 150 years (Otto 1969, 395; Hayes 1972, 147; Ryholt 1997b, 190), apparently continuing ‘without harm to Egyptian kingship theory’ from the absence of traditional succession patterns (Quirke 1991, 138). However, an unusual or disputed succession is acknowledged as a factor which may

drive innovation in legitimation and royal self-presentation (Otto 1969, 385; Baines 1995, 16–17; Richards 2010, 56).

1.5 Legitimation and emulation

Unclear succession practices and the potential emergence of the Fourteenth Dynasty, then, are both factors which may have resulted in a greater need for the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty to legitimise their rule. Legitimation, however, is a complex topic. It is fundamental to kingship, as Baines observes: ‘however monolithic and even indispensable a major institution is and however much it displays its self-assurance, it must continually reaffirm its right to exist’ (1995, 7). Yet there is no ancient Egyptian term which correlates to this idea, and few texts which overtly discuss this aspect of kingship (Otto 1969, 185; Baines 1995, 7; Hill, Jones et al 2013, 10). Moreover, the few known texts which do offer a clear justification for the accession of a specific king, such as the Divine Birth narratives of Amenhotep III and Hatshepsut (Gayet 1894, 98–106, pl. 62–67; Naville 1896 II, 13–18, pl. 46–55; 1898 III, 1–9, pl. 56–64), or the Coronation Inscription of Horemheb (Gardiner 1953, 14–21), are associated with accessions of individual kings, often under unusual circumstances, and so may not reflect universally applicable principles (Otto 1969, 385). Nonetheless, through an analysis of less direct material, such as historical and religious texts as well as royal epithets, studies of legitimation in Egyptian kingship have identified three key aspects: legitimacy through inheritance, efficacy, and mythology (Otto 1969, 389; Baines 1995, 5). These aspects, however, were not three independent principles or separate systems through which a claim could be asserted, but were interconnected (Otto 1969, 410). The myth of Osiris and Horus, for example, establishes both a mythological basis for rule, as the king is understood as the manifestation of Horus on earth, while also setting the precedent for primogeniture inheritance (Otto 1969, 388; Pehal 2021, 4; Sabbahy 2021, 22–3). Likewise, the ideas of familial inheritance and divine sonship coincide in divine birth narratives, where the deity appears to the future king’s mother in the form of the king to conceive the child (Otto

1969, 407). Moreover, in the Heliopolitan creation myth, Re acts as the creator god, creating Osiris and Isis who in turn begat Horus, so that Horus may be understood as a descendent of Re, and thus the king may be understood as both Horus, son of Osiris, and as the Son of Re (Quirke 2001, 38; Sabbahy 2021, 23). The intertwining of all these ideas allowed a flexibility in the legitimization of Egyptian kingship, with different emphases according to the different times and circumstances of any given ruler (Otto 1969, 411; Richards 20010, 56–7). In particular, it is often said that the mythological principles of divine birth and predestination may have greater weight when there is no clear and direct hereditary succession, such as in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Otto 1969, 395; Siesse 2019, 157). Yet while there is some evidence of allusions to divine birth during the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, and most particularly during the reign of Neferhotep I (§2.1), there is no apparent emphasis on this during the early Thirteenth Dynasty. The principle continued to be demonstrated through traditional features such as the use of the title ‘Son of Re’, and through the epithet ‘beloved’, which indicated a preferential relationship between the king and a variety of deities (Otto 1969, 408; for examples, see Ryholt 1997b, 336–43), but not to any greater extent than expected in Egyptian royal display.

The mobilisation of the past is often said to be a means of legitimization for the present (e.g. Richards 1999, 84; Baines 2007, 180; Wegner 2010, 139), in a ‘reverential use of history in order to legitimize a king’s own rule by looking back to exemplary figures from the history of the nation’ (Wildung 2003, 65). The significance of the past in relation to kingship is demonstrated through the king-list traditions, such as the Turin king-list (fig. 1.1) or the Abydos king-lists of Seti I and Ramesses II (Kitchen 1975, 176–9; 1979, 539–41), which ‘served to identify and establish the king’s ancestors’ (Bács 2017, 8). Although the inheritance of kingship was ostensibly hereditary (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 255–7; Pehal 2021, 202–3), there were naturally many disruptions to this familial descent. The king-list traditions project an idealised version of history where that ideal is ‘order born out of continuity’ (Bács 2017, 8), and that continuity is ‘das sich auf der Gleichheit des Amtes, nicht des Blutes gründet’ (Otto 1969,

397). As such, the king-lists serve to situate the reigning king within a continuous line of royal authority, albeit one that may be selective and not necessarily reflective of biological descent or actual chronological sequence (Redford 1986, 18–21, 160–2, 197–201; Bács 2017, 5–8; Campagno 2019, 101). At the same time, the Egyptian environment which enables good preservation and the choice of durable materials meant that the extensive royal monumental display of ancient Egypt was enduring and gave the past a constant, tangible presence in the landscape (Baines 2007, 179; Wegner 2010, 120). In a parallel manner, then, monumental display which evokes an association with past kings can also act as a physical and visual expression of that same continuity, situating kings within a monumental tradition (Bács 2017, 13–4; Baines 2019, 109).

Moreover, emulation evokes a visual equivalence between the model and the copy, so that the copier may relate to the identity of the model and take on its associated qualities (Meskell 2004, 7; Bács 2020, 152–3). Legitimacy through efficacy is bound to the concept of *ma'at*, the concept of right order, the maintenance of which is said to be a key duty of Egyptian kingship and essential for the continuation of Egyptian life (e.g. Otto 1969, 389; Richards 2010, 56; Bárta 2019, 27). The extensive monumental discourse of ancient Egypt, then, provided a model of good and powerful kingship for the present ruling structure (Baines 2007, 179; Wegner 2010, 120). As Baines notes: ‘they have the monuments of the past almost ineradicably before them; they too seek to construct enduring monuments; in looking to the future they emulate the past and extend its traditions’ (2007, 179). The act of emulation of these monuments does not only assert continuity, but may also be understood as a means of ‘constructing an identity through (wishful) association with “ancestors” (the issue of consanguinity is hardly relevant in this context) in whom one might see an actual or prospective similarity’ (Snape 2011, 467). In particular, association with the past is often said to be a particularly potent means of legitimation during or after times of political crisis (e.g. Silverman, Simpson, et al. 2009, ix; Snape 2011, 467;

Pieke 2017, 262), when the emulated model acts as ‘a powerful referent’ through which the emulator ‘magnifies the aura of his own governance’ (Lorand 2015, 215).

Although legitimation is essential to kingship, overt displays of legitimation highlight a potential weakness in the system, since an institution that requires conspicuous legitimation is by definition not a perfect one, and such displays may actually risk drawing attention to the specific areas where that institution may be criticised (Baines 1995, 7; 2007, 180). Legitimation through association with the past, however, may mitigate this to some extent: by invoking a favourable comparison with an idealised past, ‘this imperfection can be set against the perfection of the past’ (Baines 2007, 180). Monumental display is an investment made in the present, intended to endure into the future, when it will become the past, and therefore served as a means of creating and articulating a king’s reputation both in the past and for the future (Baines, Blom et al. 2019, 2). While past events cannot be changed, their recollection is continually constructed and reconstructed (Assmann 1997, 9; Alcock 2002, 16; Baines 2019, 111–12). Shaping the historical narrative is one way that individuals and institutions of power assert and maintain their authority (Alcock 2002, 17), and so the emulation of that monumental display is one way in which subsequent kings may align themselves with, and even appropriate, that reputation for themselves (Pieke 2017, 262; Bács 2020, 152).

The chronological scope of this thesis is restricted to the early Thirteenth Dynasty, a group of nineteen kings at the start of the dynasty who share common features in titulary, funerary architecture, and statuary. Many of these early Thirteenth Dynasty kings are poorly attested (see the comprehensive catalogues of Ryholt 1997b, 336–59; Siesse 2019, 371–96), and their monuments tend to be isolated, individual pieces, such as an offering table of Seankibre Amenemhat from Karnak (CG 23040: Kamal 1909, 31–7), or from fragmentary corpuses, such as the remains of architectural pieces and partial statues from chapels of the pyramid complex of Khendjer (Jéquier 1933, 3–26; McCormack 2008, 171–4). Although Neferhotep I does not fall within this defined group, but is instead part of a distinct mid-Thirteenth Dynasty group of kings (§1.1), his First Cataract graffiti and the early Thirteenth Dynasty flood records at the Second Cataract offer two rare examples of programmatic, well-preserved, and well-documented monumental display from the Thirteenth Dynasty available for close study and comparison. These two case studies can provide an important framework from which to consider the ways in which Thirteenth Dynasty monuments interacted with the landscape and with existing monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty. As such, these case studies will be examined in detail in the following two chapters, in order to establish the framework for subsequent chapters concerning the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

The island of Sehel, located in the First Cataract region south of Aswan, bears ‘un témoin majeur de [l’]histoire égyptienne] grâce aux quelque cinq cents inscriptions gravées dans le granit de ses rochers’ (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 1). There are approximately 300 known non-royal graffiti of the Old and Middle Kingdoms on the island (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 21–74, 83–7; Borrmann 2016, 8). Among them are six monumental graffiti of Senwosret III and, without exception, these six graffiti of Senwosret III are accompanied by a complementary graffito of the Thirteenth Dynasty king, Neferhotep I (Habachi 1981, 77; Delia 1991, 7; Gasse

and Rondot 2007, 87). These graffiti constitute the only royal graffiti at Sehel prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Other notable Middle Kingdom kings, ‘les Montouhotep, les Amenemhat, bien attestés dans la region, en sont absents’ (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 75).

Four of the six graffiti of Senwosret III are titulary inscriptions, each of which consists of two short columns with one royal name in each column (SEH 148–51: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 81–2, 458–9), while the remaining two both concern the cutting of a canal, and depict the king receiving an *ankh* from Satet or Anuket respectively, the titulary goddesses of Sehel (SEH 146–7: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 77–80, 455–7). All of the four titulary inscriptions of Senwosret III are accompanied by a corresponding inscription of Neferhotep I which imitate the form and content of the Senwosret III graffiti (SEH 158–61: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 89–91, 458–9). The graffiti of Neferhotep I responded to the two canal graffiti of Senwosret III differently, however. In one case, the corresponding inscription of Neferhotep mimicked the figural scene but excluded any reference to cutting a canal in the corresponding inscription (SEH 156: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 88, 455), while the other canal graffiti of Senwosret III was instead accompanied by a titulary inscription of Neferhotep I (SEH 157: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 89, 459).

As studies of ancient graffiti emphasise, graffiti must be studied contextually, with an awareness of their material form and the ways in which they interact with the natural or built landscape in which they are placed (David and Wilson 2002, 2–7; Baird and Taylor 2011, 3–11; Ragazzoli, Harmanşah et al. 2018, 1–14). Graffiti are ‘a particular relationship between a surface, text, image, author and audience’ (Baird and Taylor 2011, 6). The majority of non-royal graffiti at Sehel are clustered in the central valley between its eastern and western outcrops, now known as Bibi Togog and Hussein Togog (map 2.1). Five of the six pairs of royal graffiti, however, are found on the eastern face of Bibi Togog, where the Nile runs alongside, and where there were only a few existing graffiti of the Old Kingdom (SEH 147–51, 157–61: map 2.2). The sixth pairing, a canal graffiti of Senwosret III with matching figural graffiti of Neferhotep I, is

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Map 2.1 Sehel, showing the distribution of graffiti (Gasse and Rondot 2007, map 2).

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Map 2.2 Sehel, Eastern Bibi Togog (Gasse and Rondot 2007, map 13).

placed on the western face of Bibi Togog, towards the southern end of the central valley (SEH 146, 156: map 2.3). Although set further back than the graffiti on the eastern face, this location is also on a riverward face of Bibi Togog. All together, these graffiti wrap around the south-eastern point of the island, and are placed in locations that face the river.

The position of these graffiti in the landscape was determined under Senwosret III, with those of Neferhotep I being secondarily situated in relation to the existing graffiti. The graffiti of Senwosret III occupy the prime position at each location, being placed on the most prominent and smoothest available surfaces, while the graffiti of Neferhotep I utilise the closest available, but sometimes less ideal, surfaces to those of Senwosret III. There is no apparent pattern in the direction of the Neferhotep I graffiti relative to those of Senwosret III: they may be found to the left (e.g. SEH 149, 158: fig. 2.2; SEH 146, 156: fig. 2.6), or right (e.g. SEH 151, 161: fig. 2.3; SEH 148, 159: fig. 2.5; SEH 147, 157: fig. 2.8), and once, below that of Senwosret III (SEH 150, 160: fig. 2.1). The graffiti of Neferhotep I are typically placed immediately beside or below the graffiti of Senwosret III, but on two occasions, they are instead placed on a different face of the same boulder, when there is not a suitable available space on the same face (e.g. SEH 148, 159: fig. 2.4; SEH 147, 157: fig. 2.8). The graffiti of Senwosret III and Neferhotep I were predominantly carved in sunk relief, with some internal modelling (SEH 146–8, 151, 156–9, 161: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 77–82, 88–91), although some are described as being hammered into the stone instead, producing shallower and less defined signs (SEH 149–50, 160: Delia 1991, 5–7; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 81–2, 91). Two of the hammered inscriptions were found on a boulder that is particularly weathered and has largely flaked away (SEH 150, 160: fig. 2.1) and so in this case, the change in technique may perhaps be due to a poorer quality of stone. The graffiti of Neferhotep I, overall, are shallower and less exactly delineated in comparison with those of Senwosret III.

2.1 The titulary graffiti

Three of the titulary pairs are positioned at a similar elevation to each other over a distance of some fifty metres (SEH 149–51, 158, 160–1: map 2.2), and are still visible from the modern-day water line. As a group, these three graffiti include all five titulary names of Senwosret III and Neferhotep I. In each case, the inscriptions of Neferhotep I replicate those of Senwosret III in style and content almost exactly. Each inscription consists of two columns facing towards each other in mirrored orientations, with one royal name in each column.

From north to south, the first pair occur together on single boulder, with the graffiti of Senwosret III above that of Neferhotep I (SEH 150, 160: fig. 2.1). The boulder roughly resembles a stela, being rectangular with a rounded top. Both graffiti are poorly preserved, but with sufficient traces to restore them fully. In the inscription of Senwosret III, the Two Ladies title and partial name *ntry-ms[wt]* is given in the left column, facing what is presumably the prenomen on the right, although only the title *nswt-bity* is preserved. In the inscription of Neferhotep I below, his Two Ladies name, *[w]p-mꜣꜥt*, is partly preserved in the left column, facing the *nswt-bity* title and cartouche on the right. In the lower left corner of this boulder, there is also a seemingly unrelated later graffiti dated to the New Kingdom, with only a single column partly preserved, which includes the title *sš-ḥmt ny [...]* ‘Scribe of the Artisans of [...]’ (SEH 510: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 319).

The cartouche of Neferhotep I contains both his prenomen and nomen, Khasekhemre Neferhotep, as is common in the writing of his name at Sehel and elsewhere (Delia 1991, 7; for examples, see Beckerath 1964, 243–5; Siesse 2019, 384–5). Notably, in every example where the title accompanying a cartouche containing both names is preserved, it is *nswt-bity*, or occasionally *ntr-nfr*. Whereas, also at Sehel and elsewhere, cartouches of Neferhotep I preceded by *sꜣ-rꜥ* contain only the nomen (e.g. Aswan 1363: Habachi 1985, pl. 201–2; SEH 159–60: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 90–1). As such, this writing of both the prenomen and nomen of

Neferhotep I in a single cartouche appears to be functionally serving as the prenomen. Its use in this inscription then seemingly parallels the use of Senwosret III's prenomen in the accompanying graffito.

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Figure 2.1 SEH 150 (upper) and 160 (lower right) in situ photograph, and facsimile (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 458).

The second set of complementary titulary graffiti are found beside each other on a pair of boulders whose shape also significantly resemble stelae (SEH 149, 158: fig. 2.2). The graffito of Senwosret III is on the right boulder, with the graffito of Neferhotep I on the left. In both inscriptions, the *serekb* of their respective king is found in the left column, facing the prenomen in the right. As in the previous titulary graffito, the cartouche of Neferhotep I contains both prenomen and nomen, but is introduced by *nswt-bity* and functions as the prenomen.

Additionally, there is a horizontal line beneath the titulary of Neferhotep which reads 'the King's Acquaintance, Nebankh'. This same Nebankh also appears in other graffiti of Neferhotep I around the First Cataract region (SEH 158: fig. 2.2; SEH 162: fig. 2.11; Konosso: fig. 2.14) and

his inclusion in them is thought to indicate that he was the official who oversaw their production (Spalinger 1980, 100; Habachi 1981, 77–9; Ryholt 1997b, 226; Grajetzki 2001, 30, 78; Siesse 2019, 243–5).



Figure 2.2 SEH 149 (right) and 158 (left) (author's photograph, 2016).

The third and southernmost of these three pairs of titulary graffiti share a single projecting boulder, with the graffiti of Neferhotep I placed immediately to the right of that of Senwosret III (SEH 151, 161: fig. 2.3). Both inscriptions give the Golden Horus name of their respective kings in the left column, facing the nomen in the right. The only variation between the two graffiti is the inclusion of the phrase *di ḥnh* beneath the nomen of Neferhotep I. The Golden Horus name of Senwosret III, *ḥpr*, is particularly short and is written grouped with an oversized *ḥr-nbw* sign, as also seen elsewhere such as on a royal-name panel from his pyramid temple at Dahshur (Di. Arnold 2002, pl. 156c), and on the stela of Ikhnofret (Berlin 1204: Schäfer 1904, pl. [1]; Simpson 1974, pl. 1 [ANOC 1.1]). The title is oversized so that the column is equal in height with his nomen. The Golden Horus title is also oversized in the graffiti of Neferhotep I,

mimicking the proportions of that of Senwosret III, even though his Golden Horus name, *mn-mrwt*, is longer and cannot be grouped in the same fashion. In the Neferhotep I graffito, the oversized signs of the Golden Horus title alone are as tall as both the *nswt-bity* title and cartouche together in the following column. As such, the additional phrase beneath the nomen may have been added in order to aesthetically balance the length of the two columns in this graffito, and to match all the other titulary graffiti of both Senwosret III and Neferhotep I at Sehel, where the mirrored columns are of equal heights to each other.



Figure 2.3 SEH 151 (left) and 161 (right), (author's photograph, 2016).

Together, these three inscriptions display the full titularies of their respective kings, Senwosret III and Neferhotep I, and are positioned in highly visible positions close to the water's edge, where they could presumably have been seen by visitors to the island and passing river traffic. A cartouche is found in every graffito, accompanied by one of the three remaining names of the titulary, in a prominent display of royal identity across the Sehel landscape. The graffiti are not arranged geographically according to the standard order of the names typically found when the

titulary is written in full—Horus, Two Ladies, Golden Horus—either north-to-south or vice versa. Instead, the graffiti containing the Horus names are located in the centre, with the graffiti containing the Two Ladies names to the north, and those with the Golden Horus names to the south. This suggests that the graffiti were not intended to be viewed by an audience travelling in a specific direction, but more generally by all those who may be in the area of the First Cataract.

In addition to these three, there is a fourth pair of titulary graffiti of Senwosret III and Neferhotep I at Sehel (SEH 148, 159: fig. 2.5). This fourth pair is the northern-most of all the graffiti of these kings, located at the north-eastern point of Bibi Togog, and is set in a more elevated position, further back from the water's edge than the other titulary graffiti (SEH 148, 159: map 2.2). The graffiti of this pair are also larger than any other of the titulary graffiti—perhaps in order to maintain their visibility despite the greater distance from a viewer at water, or ground, level—both measuring just over one metre tall, while the graffiti in the other titulary pairs vary in size from 33 to 88 centimetres tall (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 81–2, 89–91).

In addition to size, there are several other differences between this pairing and the others, both in position and in content. In the other titulary pairs, the graffiti of Neferhotep I is always placed in immediate proximity to that of Senwosret III, whether that is left, right, or below it. In this pairing, however, the two graffiti share a boulder but are found on different faces of it (fig. 2.4). The graffiti of Senwosret III is on its eastern face, with that of Neferhotep I on the northern face. This placement may have resulted from space constraints, as the boulder is tall but narrow and there is insufficient space to position the Neferhotep I graffiti on either side of that of Senwosret III. There is workable surface above the inscription of Senwosret III into which the inscription of Neferhotep I could be placed but which would perhaps have been difficult to access practically. Instead, the Neferhotep I graffiti was placed at roughly the same elevation as that of Senwosret III, but on a different face of the same boulder.



Figure 2.4 SEH 148 (left) and SEH 159 (right), (author's photograph, 2016).

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Figure 2.5 SEH 148 (left) and SEH 159 (right), (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 458–9).

In addition, this graffito of Neferhotep I differs in content from that of Senwosret III. Like the other titulary pairs, these graffiti each consist of two columns. The first column of each inscription contains their respective *serekhs*. In the second columns, however, the graffito of Senwosret III gives the Dual King title and prenomen, while the graffito of Neferhotep I gives the Son of Re title and nomen. The other titulary inscriptions have minor variations between the graffiti of Senwosret III and Neferhotep I, such as the reference to the official Nebankh in SEH 158 (fig. 2.2), or the inclusion of the phrase *di ḥnh* in SEH 161 (fig. 2.3). Here, however, by using the nomen instead of the prenomen, the graffito of Neferhotep I shows a significant departure from the model of Senwosret III. This suggests that the Neferhotep I graffito was a deliberate adaptation which may reflect different ideological priorities of the respective kings.

In other aspects of Neferhotep I's self-presentation, the title 'Son of Re' and nomen are frequently accompanied by his maternal filiation, such as in the Year 2 stela from Abydos (JE 6302, l. 1, 26: Helck 1983a, 26) and on numerous scarabs (e.g. Ashmolean 1933.93: Tufnell 1984, no. 3124; see also Ryholt 1997b, 37; Siesse 2019, 42 table 12). The title in itself implies the divine descent of the king as the son of the sun god (e.g. Blumenthal 1970, 65; Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 72–5; Baines 1995, 9), although it has been argued that it only ever represented a metaphorical relationship between the king and Re, rather than actual sonship (e.g. Lorton 1979, 460; Ockinga 2011, 263). The association of the maternal filiation with the 'Son of Re' title, however, evokes the union of his mother with the sun god that appears in other divine birth narratives such as *The Tale of Khufu's Court*, or the divine birth sequences of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III (McCormack 2010a, 377–8). Previously, it was thought that the first reference to the king's divine birth as the conception of a physical union between the king's mother and a deity occurred in the Eighteenth Dynasty (e.g. Lorton 1979, 463; Silverman 1995, 70–2; McCormack 2010a, 377), with the divine birth sequences of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1896 II, 13–18, pl. 46–55; 1898 III, 1–9, pl. 56–64) and Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple (Gayet 1894, 98–106, pl. 62–67), where the divine father is Amun-Re. However, the discovery of divine

birth scenes from the causeway of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur in 2008 provided a clear Twelfth Dynasty precedent (Oppenheim 2011, 171–87; 2021b, 148–50). In these scenes, the divine father is Re alone, rather than the syncretised Amun-Re of the Eighteenth Dynasty parallels, corroborating the ‘Son of Re’ title (Oppenheim 2011, 183). A fragment of a circumcision scene from the pyramid of Djedkare also appears to come from a divine birth sequence, suggesting that this theme may trace back to the Old Kingdom, approximately concurrent with the appearance of the ‘Son of Re’ title (Megahed and Vymazalová 2015, 276–82; Sonbol 2019, 149–50; Oppenheim 2023, 40–51). Other scenes from the causeway of Senwosret III appear to reproduce scenes also known from Fifth Dynasty pyramid complexes, such as the ‘starving Bedouin’ scene also attested on the causeways of Unis, and Sahure (Hawass and Verner 1996, 182–4, pl. 55b–c; Labrousse and Moussa 2002, 175 fig. 117–18; Oppenheim 2011, 188). These may indicate that there were ‘standard’ scenes on Old Kingdom pyramid causeways, including the divine birth sequence, and these were carried into the Twelfth Dynasty from Old Kingdom models (Oppenheim 2011, 187–8; Megahed and Vymazalová 2015, 277–9; Oppenheim 2023, 44–51), and then into New Kingdom temples (Lieven 2014, 25). Divine birth is a common motif in the legitimization of royal power (e.g. Blumenthal 1970, 62–6; Baines 1995, 18; Lieven 2014, 24–6; Goebis and Baines 2018, 653–4), that may be used in conjunction with other factors such as divine selection and hereditary succession (Blumenthal 1970, 36–7; Ockinga 2011, 263–4; Bickel 2014, 23–9; Pehal 2021, 202). When one of these aspects is absent, however, another may be emphasised. Notably, on genealogical scarabs and other monuments of Neferhotep I and his brothers, their parents do not hold royal titles (§2.5), which suggests that in the absence of traditional hereditary succession, the divine birth motif may have become a principal aspect in the legitimization of these kings of non-royal background (McCormack 2008, 2, 100–4; Siesse 2019, 157).

Themes of divine birth are typically found in mortuary and temple contexts (Sonbol 2019, 148–9). The genealogical scarabs of Neferhotep I which associate the ‘Son of Re’ title

with his maternal filiation, however, bring the divine birth motif out of these restricted contexts and into a form that was highly mobile and able to be mass-produced. The large-scale production of these genealogical scarabs continues into the reign of Neferhotep I's brothers and successors, Sahathor and Khaneferre Sobekhotep II (Ryholt 1997b, 36–7; Siesse 2019, 42–3). There are also notable similarities between the circumstances of these three brother kings, and the story of triplets born to a priest's wife Rewedjdjedet, destined to become kings by virtue of being the sons of Re, recorded in *The Tale of Khufu's Court* from Papyrus Westcar (P. Berlin 3033, 9.21–12.26: Lepper 2008, 48–54; see also Franke 1994, 69–70). Although the only surviving copy of the text has been dated to the Second Intermediate Period, palaeographic features suggest that the composition itself may date earlier, plausibly to the Thirteenth Dynasty (Parkinson 2010, 295–6; Stauder 2013, 113). The motif of divine birth may have been such an integral and well-known aspect of the ideology of Neferhotep I that he and his brothers could perhaps have been the inspiration behind this story of the royal siblings (Quirke 1991, 130; Franke 1994, 69–70; Lepper 2008, 319; Siesse 2019, 155). In this graffito of Neferhotep I at Sehel, there is no maternal filiation included and so no overt reference to the divine birth. However, the 'Son of Re' title and nomen in itself evidently carried significance for Neferhotep I as a key element in his legitimation through divine birth elsewhere, and this may perhaps account for its seemingly preferential use in this graffito against the model of Senwosret III. In the limited corpus of Thirteenth Dynasty royal monuments, even seemingly small features such as this may articulate significant elements of royal ideology.

2.2 The canal graffiti

In addition to the four pairs of titulary graffiti discussed above, there are also two canal graffiti of Senwosret III, both with accompanying graffiti of Neferhotep I. These pairs are placed in less visible locations in the landscape than the titulary inscriptions. One of these pairs is found near to the four titulary inscriptions on the eastern face of Bibi Togog, and at a similar elevation

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Map 2.3 South-Western Bibi Togog (Gasse and Rondot 2007, map 5a).

to the three titulary graffiti along the waterfront (SEH 147, 157: map 2.2). The other pair, however, are the only royal graffiti of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties found on the western face of Bibi Togog, and are placed among a cluster of elite graffiti of the Old and Middle Kingdoms at the southern end of the central valley between Bibi Togog and Hussein Togog (SEH 146, 156: map 2.3). The canal graffiti do face the waterfront, but at less than a metre tall, they would be difficult to see in detail from a distance. Moreover, the eastern canal graffito of Senwosret III, the closer of the two to the water's edge, is also carved underneath an overhanging boulder, further obscuring its view even at close distance (SEH 147: fig. 2.8). As such, their intended audience appears to differ from those of the titulary graffiti. Rather than for passing traffic, the canal graffiti appear to have been intended for close viewers. The 1990–2002 IFAO survey suggested that the canal mentioned in these inscriptions was located to the east of Bibi Togog, approximately parallel to the four titulary graffiti and to the eastern canal graffito of Senwosret III (Gasse and Rondot 2007, map 2; reproduced here as map 2.1), which may indicate that this canal graffito was placed near to the canal it describes (Grallert 2001, 180; Obsomer 2017, 4). There are also two later graffiti concerning the restoration of a canal respectively under Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III located on the eastern face of Bibi Togog (SEH 234, 242: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 130, 137). The graffito of Tuthmosis I is approximately 40 metres south of that of Senwosret III, with the graffito of Tuthmosis III another 50 metres south (SEH 146, 234, 242: map 2.2). The presence of three graffiti concerning canals in this one area supports identifying this area as the location of the canal.

The western canal graffito of Senwosret III, however, is located in the central valley where a chapel dedicated to Anuket, the construction of which is attributed to Senwosret III, was also found (Habachi 1951, 17–9; Delia 1980, 28; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 75). The two canal graffiti of Senwosret III have different focuses in their content, with the eastern canal graffito concerned with the practicalities of the canal, recording its dimensions and the military campaign, while the western graffito highlights its religious function as a monument dedicated to

Anuket (Grallert 2001, 180). Although the exact location of the canal has not been confirmed archaeologically, and so any relationship between these canal graffiti and the canal itself also cannot be confirmed (Quirke 2009, 224), it seems plausible that the canal graffiti of Senwosret III could have been placed at two significant locations within the landscape, with the eastern graffiti focusing on the practical function of the canal being placed close to the canal itself, and the western graffiti commemorating the dedication of the canal to Anuket placed closer to her chapel. As with the titulary graffiti, the placement of the graffiti of Neferhotep I was determined by those of Senwosret III.

The western canal graffiti of Senwosret III consists of a scene with captions, with an inscription of two rows beneath (SEH 146: fig. 2.6). In the scene, which is enclosed in a square border, Senwosret III is depicted before Anuket who extends an *ankb* to his nose, with accompanying captions which read ‘Dual King Khakaure, beloved of Anuket, favourite of her mother’, and ‘Words spoken: “I have given you all life, stability, and dominion like Re, eternally”’. The upper caption is written in a combination of vertical columns and horizontal rows which fill the available space around the figures: the name of the king and ‘beloved’ is written in columns in front of his figure, while the name and epithet of Anuket is written in a row above her head. The caption describing the scene itself is written in a column between their bodies. The inscription beneath the scene reads ‘he made (it) as his monument for Anuket, Lady of Nubia, making for her a canal; “Beautiful are the Ways of Khakaure, justified” is its name’ (SEH 146: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 77–8). The accompanying graffiti of Neferhotep I is placed immediately to the left of the Senwosret III graffiti and replicates the figural scene nearly exactly. As with the Senwosret III graffiti, there is a scene of the king receiving an *ankb* sign from Anuket, with accompanying caption, reading ‘Dual King Khasekhemre-Neferhotep, beloved of Anuket, favourite of her mother. Words spoken: “I have given you all life, stability, and dominion like Re, eternally”’ (SEH 156: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 88). The epithet of Anuket, ‘favourite of her mother’, is only attested in these two graffiti, and in the Eighteenth

Dynasty chapel of Senenmut at Gebel el-Silsila (Caminos and James 1963, 55; Leitz I 2002, 302; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 78).

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Figure 2.6 SEH 146 (right) and SEH 156 (left), (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 455).

There are, however, minor differences in execution between the two scenes here. The graffito of Neferhotep I is not exactly parallel to that of Senwosret III, but is carved at a slight angle. Both are carved in shallow sunk relief with internal moulding, but the figures in the graffito of Neferhotep I are less detailed and precise than those of Senwosret III. The cartouche of Neferhotep I is introduced by *nswt-bity* and functions as the prenomen, but actually contains both prenomen and nomen, as seen also in his titulary graffiti (§2.1).

The organisation of the caption of the Neferhotep I graffito is unusual. Like the graffito of Senwosret III, it is carved in a mixture of rows and columns, with the name and epithet of Anuket written in a row above her head, and with the description of the scene written in a column between the figures of the king and the goddess. However, the organisation of the portion of the caption identifying the king is less clearly arranged than in the graffito of Senwosret III. At first sight, the caption appears to be written in two rows (as transcribed in

Gasse and Rondot 2007, 88), with the cartouche written horizontally in a second row which neatly occupies the full space beneath the first row. However, this apparent arrangement would read *nswt-bity mry nfr-ḥtp*, so that *mry* is read between *nswt-bity* and the cartouche, when it would be expected after. In the graffito of Senwosret III, this section is written in vertical columns. Despite initial appearances, this section in the Neferhotep I section should be read as columns as well, to give the expected order *nswt-bity nfr-ḥtp mry ḥnqt*, with the cartouche carved horizontally within the first column but extending beneath the second. Writing a cartouche horizontally within a vertical column is an unusual orthographic feature in an inscription, but is also attested in a late Twelfth Dynasty hieratic manuscript of *The Eloquent Peasant* (B2 131: Parkinson and Baylis 2012, 67 pl. 11). The content and layout of the graffito of Neferhotep I derives from that of Senwosret III, but the proportions of the figural scenes are slightly different, with the figures of the goddess and the king being a little larger in the graffito of Neferhotep I than that of Senwosret III. The signs are also larger. As a result, there is less overall space within the rectangular border of the Neferhotep I graffito, which may have resulted in this unusual organisation of the caption in order to fit within the available space.



Figure 2.7 Comparative transcriptions of SEH 156, l. 1–2: in horizontal rows (after Gasse and Rondot 2007, 88), and in vertical columns.

The differences between the two scenes are still relatively minor and technical in nature, demonstrating that the scene of Neferhotep I is secondary to and imitative of that of Senwosret III. In contrast, there is a significant difference in content between the inscriptions below the

respective scenes, which represents a deliberate departure by Neferhotep I from the model of Senwosret III. Where the inscription of Senwosret III states that 'he made (it) as his monument to Anuket, Lady of Nubia, making for her a canal', the inscription of Neferhotep I instead gives a pair of balanced sentences 'your monument exists as eternity exists; as the sky endures, that which you have made lasts'. Habachi suggested that the text was rephrased because Neferhotep I could not claim the same achievement as Senwosret III, namely, the construction of the canal (1950, 504). In the graffito of Senwosret III, the text clearly identifies the 'monument' as the canal. In the graffito of Neferhotep I, however, the identification of both the 'monument' as well as the figure indicated by the masculine second-person possessive 'your', and the subject of the relative form 'that which you have made' is not immediately clear. The 'monument' referred to could be understood as the graffito itself, and so Neferhotep I would be the second person actor. The caption is oriented in the same direction as the speech of Anuket in the scene above, and could perhaps represent a continuation of her speech, with the goddess assuring Neferhotep that his monument may endure. In this case, however, the same term *mnw*, would have been used in these neighbouring and otherwise highly similar graffiti of Senwosret III and Neferhotep I to refer to very different monumental achievements: a canal in one, and a graffito, in the other. Perhaps the same term was used in the graffito of Neferhotep I in order to intentionally minimise the difference in their monuments. If, however, the 'monument' of the Neferhotep I graffito is understood as the graffito itself, then Neferhotep I could also have claimed to have made a monument to Anuket, and so it may be expected that the graffito of Neferhotep I would follow that of Senwosret III more closely, with the phrase 'he made it (i.e. the graffito) as his monument to Anuket'. Another possibility is that the 'monument' in both graffiti is the canal, with the graffito of Neferhotep I making a reference to the neighbouring graffito of Senwosret III. As the graffito of Senwosret III claims 'he made it (i.e. the canal) as his monument', the phrase 'that which you have made lasts' in the corresponding graffito of Neferhotep I could refer to the canal as well. The second-person possessive would then not refer to Neferhotep I,

who did not make the canal, but to Senwosret III. In this case, the caption of Neferhotep I may even be understood as addressing the earlier graffito of Senwosret III directly.

The eastern canal graffito of Senwosret III (SEH 147, fig. 2.9) is similar in format to the western, consisting of a scene with captions, but also has an inscription of eight lines below and to the left of the scene. ‘The Perfected god Khakaure’ is depicted before ‘Satet, lady of Elephantine’, who extends an *ankh* to his nose, with accompanying caption which reads ‘Words spoken: “(I) have given to you all life and dominion eternally’; behind the king is written ‘all protection is behind him’. Below this scene, there are six horizontal rows of inscription, which read: ‘Year 8 under the Person of the Dual King Khakaure, living eternally. His Person decreed the making new of the canal—the name of this canal is “Beautiful are the ways of Khakaure, forever’—after his Person journeyed upstream to overthrow vile Kush. The length of this canal is 150 cubits, the width 20, the depth 15.’ To the left of the dimensions are two further vertical columns of inscription, which are poorly preserved. Only the phrase *m šꜣd*, digging, can still be read (SEH 147: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 80). Immediately to the left of the scene are two additional vertical columns which name a Twelfth Dynasty official, a ‘controller of works of the entire land, Senankh’, and a carved figure of this Senankh (SEH 147: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 80). Much like Nebankh in the graffiti of Neferhotep I, it has been suggested that this Senankh was included in this graffito of Senwosret III because he oversaw the construction of the canal (Grajetzki 2009, 57). The canal in this inscription has the same name as that of the undated western canal graffito of Senwosret III, ‘Beautiful are the Ways of Khakaure’, and is presumably the same canal. The graffito is placed on the east face of a boulder that is unusually shaped with a nearly square edge, and with another boulder above which overhangs and enshadows it (fig. 2.8).



Figure 2.8 SEH 147 in context, documenting the reduced visibility (author's photo, 2016).

Image redacted

Figure 2.9 SEH 147 (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 456).

The difference in language between the two canal graffiti of Senwosret III—with the undated graffito stating that ‘he made it as his monument’, while the Year 8 canal graffito mentions ‘making (it) new (*irt ... m-m3(w)t*)’—has raised questions about the nature and number of times that work was carried out on the canal during the reign of Senwosret III. Some have suggested that the undated western canal graffito records the first cutting of the canal under Senwosret III, and the eastern canal graffito, its subsequent restoration in Year 8 (Delia 1980, 26–7; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 78). Alternatively, Quirke suggests that the two canal graffiti are contemporaneous, recording the restoration and renaming of a pre-existing canal in Year 8 of Senwosret III (2009, 224). However, the phrase *m-m3wt* can refer both to making a new thing, and to making something new again (Gardiner 1916b, 113; 1957a, 125; *Wb.* II, 26.18–27.7), so it is also possible

that both graffiti are contemporaneous and document the creation of a new canal under Senwosret III in Year 8.

The inclusion of Senwosret III's prenomen in the name of the canal also does not in itself reliably indicate that it was first constructed in his reign, as both graffiti could refer to a restoration and renaming of the canal, as occurred later under Tuthmosis III: the Year 50 graffito of Tuthmosis III reads 'his Person decreed the digging of this canal after he found it blocked with stones ... The name of this canal is "Menkheperre, living eternally, is the one who opens the way beautifully"' (SEH 242, l. 2–3, 5: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 137; see also Morris 2005, 181; Quirke 2009, 225). The phrasing of this graffito is identical to the graffito of Tuthmosis I, which also reads 'his Person decreed the digging of this canal after he found it blocked with stones' but without naming the canal (SEH 234, l. 2–4: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 130). Given the physical proximity of these graffiti to the eastern canal graffito of Senwosret III (SEH 146, 234, 242: map 2.2), it is thought that all three refer to work carried out on the same canal (Delia 1980, 26; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 78; Török 2009, 161). The graffito of Tuthmosis III implies that the canal could be renamed after the current ruler, and so the earlier name of the canal invoking Senwosret III does not alone indicate if he constructed a new canal, or only recut and renamed an older one. However, the later Eighteenth Dynasty canal graffiti both use the technical term *šꜥd* (*Wb.* IV, 414.11–415.4) to describe the digging of the canal 'after he found it blocked with stones' (SEH 234 l. 3–4, SEH 242, l. 2–3: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 130, 137), while the graffito of Senwosret III uses the more general verb *iri*, appearing to describe a different action of 'making', which may perhaps indicate the first construction of the canal (Delia 1980, 27; Grallert 2001, 180).

The dated canal graffito refers to the same year as the first documented Nubian campaign of Senwosret III in Year 8 (Török 2009, 85–6; Tallet 2014, 145; Obsomer 2017, 4–5), and so it is widely thought that the canal was cut, or recut, at this time in connection with this Nubian campaign (Bell 1975, 246; Delia 1980, 25–7; Török 2009, 86; Tallet 2015, 41). Obsomer,

however, has argued that the initial construction of the canal did not necessarily occur in conjunction with this expedition in Year 8, 'car le franchissement de la cataracte se faisait également en période de paix, d'autant plus s'agit de l'époque probable de la construction des forteresses de Semna' (2017, 5 n. 13). The Year 8 graffito states that the canal was made 'after the journey of his Person upstream to destroy vile Kush' (Delia 1980, 25–6). The later canal graffiti of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III also both record work done on the canal 'after' their expeditions, and specify that it was during the months of Shemu, when water levels were low (SEH 234, 242: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 130, 137; Obsomer 2017, 5 n. 12). Delia has suggested that it was difficulties in navigating the canal during the expedition that prompted the work documented by the graffito (1980, 25). Presumably, work on the canal was easiest with lower water levels, which may also explain why work was carried out after the expedition season (Obsomer 2017, 5).

As with every other graffito of Senwosret III on Sehel, a graffito of Neferhotep I is found in close proximity to the Year 8 canal graffito, on the same boulder but on a different face. While the graffito of Senwosret III is situated on the eastern face, that of Neferhotep is found on the north face, almost at a right-angle to the canal graffito (fig. 2.8). It is possible that this placement was determined by limitations on available space, as there is no space to the right of the Senwosret III graffito, and the space to the left is somewhat restricted by the boulder above which overhangs and enshadows it. In addition, the existing small graffito of Senankh was already immediately to the left of the Senwosret III graffito (SEH 147: fig. 2.9). If the graffito of Neferhotep I was also placed on the east face of the boulder, it would be separated from the graffito of Senwosret III by the figure of Senankh, and this may perhaps have also contributed to the decision to place it instead on the north face.

This graffito of Neferhotep I does not replicate the content of the accompanying Senwosret III graffito at all, unlike in every other graffito pair. In response to the western canal graffito of Senwosret III, the accompanying graffito of Neferhotep I replicated the figural scene

but adapted the inscription to his circumstances by removing the specific reference to the cutting of the canal (SEH 146, 156: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 77–8, 88). Here, however, the Neferhotep I graffito is instead entirely different from the highly detailed and specific account of the canal in the graffito of Senwosret III that it accompanies. It is instead a fifth titulary inscription, which gives the *serekh* in one column on the right, facing *nswt-bity* and a cartouche containing both prenomen and nomen on the left.

Image redacted

Figure 2.10 SEH 157, in situ photograph and facsimile (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 459).

Perhaps the different focuses of the two Senwosret III canal graffiti may also account for the different responses to them in the accompanying graffiti of Neferhotep I: the western canal graffito focused on the religious dedication of the canal, an action which Neferhotep I could participate in and perpetuate through his own graffito, and so the model of Senwosret III was adapted for Neferhotep I. This eastern canal graffito of Senwosret III, on the other hand, emphasised the practical construction of the canal with detailed description of construction and dimensions, which Neferhotep I did not contribute to, and so the graffito of Neferhotep I departed entirely from the model of Senwosret III.

This is one of only two occasions where the graffiti of Neferhotep I significantly differ from those of Senwosret III, the other being in the titulary pairing of SEH 148 and 159. There, the graffiti of Neferhotep I gives the nomen, rather than the prenomen that is found in the graffiti of Senwosret III (§2.1). Given that apparent preference for the nomen, it might be expected that the nomen would also be chosen in SEH 157, but the prenomen appears instead. In the case of the titulary pair of SEH 148 and 159, the overall formats of the two graffiti are substantially similar. Both have two royal names, with *serekb* and cartouche, in two columns, in mirrored orientations. These similarities may mitigate the change from prenomen to nomen in the graffiti of Neferhotep I to some extent, providing an overall visual symmetry despite the change in content. SEH 157, however, is radically different from the canal graffiti of Senwosret III that it accompanies, but in that graffiti, Senwosret III is only named by his prenomen. The prenomen of Neferhotep I might have been used in this titulary graffiti to provide a common feature with the earlier and otherwise entirely different canal graffiti that it accompanies.

On both occasions where the graffiti of Neferhotep I depart significantly from the accompanying graffiti of Senwosret III, the Neferhotep I graffiti are also found on a different rock face to those of Senwosret III. There appears to be a correlation between differences in content and a more distant placement in the landscape. In both these cases, limitations on available space would not permit the graffiti of Neferhotep I to be placed immediately to either side or below the graffiti of Senwosret III. This suggests that when the landscape itself did not allow immediate physical proximity, the absence of a visual juxtaposition of the graffiti pairs appears to instead allow a greater flexibility in the design of the Neferhotep I graffiti to make changes that reflect the circumstances and priorities of his reign. This flexibility also highlights that Neferhotep I's engagement with the past was not limited to strict imitation of the graffiti of Senwosret III. The association with Senwosret III could also be achieved by predominant similarity but with some modification, such as the preference for the nomen in SEH 159, perhaps due to the legitimising divine birth connotations (§2.1), but also by physical proximity

and the replication of specific features without an overall reproduction, such as the use of the prenomen to link SEH 157 to its accompanying canal graffito. In these examples, the graffiti of Neferhotep I allow him to articulate his own identity while still asserting a close association with Senwosret III.

2.3 Graffiti and landscape: the graffiti of Senwosret III

It has been observed that many First Cataract graffiti, royal or otherwise, are often textually ‘unspectacular’ (Blöbaum 2013, 18) and that they ‘do not at all make fascinating reading’ (Seidlmayer 2013, 207). Graffiti, however, are embedded within physical contexts that add dimension to their meaning (Baird and Taylor 2011, 7–9; Ragazzoli, Harmanşah et al. 2018, 4–15). Where they are written may say as much, or more, than what they actually say. Rock graffiti are frequently placed in environments of particular importance with prominent geological features that may add to the visual impact of the graffito itself (Harmanşah 2017, 52; Thum and Salmas 2021, 85). At Sehel, this can be seen in both the overall geographic location of the site, and specific topographic features within it. The island of Sehel lies in an area between the First and Second Cataracts that was a liminal frontier zone between Egypt and Nubia, where control could be extended or withdrawn over different historical periods (Török 2009, 8–9). During the reign of Senwosret III, the southern border was marked at the Second Cataract forts of Semna and Uronarti, as recorded in boundary stelae of regnal Years 8 and 16 from Semna, and Year 16 from Uronarti (Vogel 2011, 326–35; Obsomer 2017, 5–7, 9–22). The First Cataract, however, provided a geological boundary between Egypt proper and annexed territory (Galán 1995, 1; Quirke 2009, 224; Morenz 2021, 27). This is reflected in *The Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, which reads ‘we have reached the end of Wawet, we have passed by the island of Bigga. Look, we have returned in peace. Our land, we have reached it’ (P. St. Petersburg 1115, l. 8–11: Golénischeff 1913, pl. 1). Bigga, like Sehel, is an island of the First Cataract. Actual toponyms may be used in literary contexts because they were recognised as culturally significant locations that may evoke a

specific emotional resonance for the audience (Parkinson 2016, 3–17). Here, Bigga is juxtaposed with Wawat, Lower Nubia, to represent the return to Egypt from the south (Gomaà 1986, 36; Allen 2015b, 12).

As the Year 8 canal graffito of Senwosret III demonstrates, the First Cataract region was strategically important as the contact point for passage to Nubia. The canal graffito itself documents the first known Nubian campaign of Senwosret III (Török 2009, 85–6; Tallet 2014, 145; Obsomer 2017, 4–5). The Hymns to Senwosret III from Lahun exalted the king as ‘one who protects the land and extends his borders’ (P. UC 32157, 1.2: Blumenthal 1970, 187 [E.2.13]; Collier and Quirke 2004, 16) and proclaimed ‘how joyful are your [people], for you have made their borders’ (P. UC 32157, 2.2: Blumenthal 1970, 185 [E.2.3]; Collier and Quirke 2004, 17). Even if these hymns were composed at the king’s accession, predating his Nubian campaigns, as Allen (2015b, 369) suggests, they still demonstrate that the maintenance of borders and expansion of Egyptian space were ideologically important to kingship (Blumenthal 1970, 184–9; Galán 1999, 22; Török 2009, 81–2; Langer and Fernández-Götz 2020, 39–40). Beyond military campaigns, passage through the cataract also facilitated trade and the exploitation of Nubian natural resources such as gold and precious stones (Nicholson and Shaw 2000, 32–3, 161; Shaw 2002, 248–9; Török 2009, 92–3; Näser 2013, 135–9), while the First Cataract region was also a source of granite itself (Klemm and Klemm 2008, 233–67). In turn, these resources enabled royal display through the construction and embellishment of monuments (Lorand 2015, 212). As such, the region of the First Cataract, including the island of Sehel, also formed an important ‘geographical node in a network of far-reaching contact and exchange’ (Raue, Seidlmayer et al. 2013, ix). In addition to its strategic importance, the region also held symbolic significance as the first location of the annual inundation in Egypt itself, a ‘*Naturschauspiel*’ where ‘*zwischen den Felsen verschwindenden und danach etwas nördlich bald wieder auftauchenden Wasser*’ (Morenz 2021, 30–1, 64–5).

The geomorphology of the region, with its many exposed granite boulders, provides an ideal surface for rock graffiti (Klemm and Klemm 2008, 233; Seidlmayer 2013, 205). On a macro-level, the First Cataract was an environment imbued with political, military, economic and religious significance which shaped and enhanced the royal graffiti placed within it. In addition, on a micro-level, the titulary graffiti at Sehel were variously placed on boulders fortuitously shaped like stelae (e.g. SEH 149, 150, 158, 160: figs. 2.1, 2.2), or which protruded from those around them (SEH 151, 161: fig. 2.3); and which were in visible locations near to the water's edge (e.g. SEH 149, 150–1, 158, 161: map 2.2), or at high elevations (SEH 148, 159: map 2.2). As previously discussed, the two canal graffiti may have also have been placed at significant locations in relation to the canal—namely, alongside the canal itself and near to the shrine of Anuket to whom the canal was dedicated (§2.2). All six graffiti of Senwosret III were seemingly placed in specific locations within the landscape of Sehel that enhanced their monumentality.

The four titulary graffiti and two canal graffiti of Senwosret III may appear as two distinct categories of inscription at this location. They seemingly have little in common, with the titulary graffiti being textual only, large in scale, and readily viewable from different vantage points in the landscape including on the water, while the canal graffiti combine figural scenes with captions and other inscriptions, and can only be fully viewed at close distances. The royal titulary may be used iconographically to represent the king's continual presence in the landscape (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 37–40; Spieser 2000, 7–11; 2010, 4–5), while the canal graffiti commemorated specific events, such as the cutting of the canal and its dedication to Anuket, and the Year 8 Nubian campaign. In style and content, then, there is no immediately evident connection between the titulary graffiti and the canal graffiti, aside from being carved under the authority of Senwosret III. However, the graffiti are connected in the landscape: all four titulary graffiti and the undated canal graffiti are all found along the eastern face of Bibi Togog, a location with nearly no other pre-existing graffiti, royal or non-royal (SEH 147–51: map 2.2). In particular, three of the four titulary graffiti are positioned along the waterfront of Bibi Togog,

alongside the highly plausible location of the canal referred to in the canal graffiti (SEH 147, 149–50: map 2.1–2). Marking landscapes with monumental graffiti is understood as a means of asserting authority over that landscape, particularly in boundary regions (Blöbaum 2013, 18; Brown 2017, 168–75; Darnell 2020, 1115–6). While the canal graffiti of Senwosret III explicitly claimed his ownership over the canal, they did so to a restricted audience of those who could access and understand the graffiti. In contrast, the full titulary of Senwosret III inscribed in three large and highly visible graffiti alongside the canal itself would also have served to demonstrate his control over this important passage to much wider audiences. These two different styles of graffiti of Senwosret III at Sehel work together in a single programme of monumental display, proclaiming his power and authority over this significant landscape.

2.4 Graffiti as dialogue with the past: the graffiti of Neferhotep I

By virtue of being placed next to the graffiti of Senwosret III, the graffiti of Neferhotep I could also utilise the significance of Sehel to accentuate their display of power and were placed in locations, albeit secondary to the prime placement of those of Senwosret III, that enhanced their monumentality. However, for Neferhotep I there was an additional factor: the presence of the graffiti of Senwosret III themselves. Graffiti are not only influenced by the context in which they are situated, they also become embedded features of that landscape which are able, in turn, to influence and impose new layers of meaning on those landscapes (Richards 1999, 83–4; David and Wilson 2002, 5; Ragazzoli, Harmanşah et al. 2018, 9–10). The graffiti of Senwosret III transformed the landscape of Sehel into an arena for the monumental display of royal power. The graffiti of Neferhotep I engaged with and depended on those of Senwosret III for their basic form, content, and physical context. In doing so, they demonstrate another key aspect of graffiti: their social quality. Graffiti do not only engage with the environment they are situated in, but also with existing monuments and other graffiti; they have a tendency to cluster together, creating a physical and visual ‘dialogue’ in the landscape (Baird and Taylor 2011, 7; Ragazzoli

2018, 30–2; Salvador 2020, 434). Since this dialogue is embedded in the physical environment, it is not bound by the constraints of real time, but allows different times to co-exist within one space, creating a ‘palimpsest of construction and experience’ (Alcock 2002, 4). The direct juxtaposition of their graffiti inextricably links the presence of Neferhotep I at Sehel with that of Senwosret III, and the parallels in their content invites the viewer to compare the two kings.

Although processes of imitation and reproduction are often not strictly linear but exist within a network of influences (Laboury 2017, 236–51; Pieke 2017, 265–81), the graffiti of Neferhotep I provide a particularly clear example of a programme of linear copying. Their shared physical context and secure chronological order make it clear that the graffiti of Neferhotep I derive directly from those of Senwosret III. However, no copy is ever exact (Laboury 2017, 232; Pieke 2017, 261). There are differences in technique and execution, such as the generally shallower signs of the graffiti of Neferhotep I, and his less detailed figural scene compared to the accompanying western canal graffito of Senwosret (SEH 146: fig 2.6), which may perhaps reflect a reduction in economic power in the Thirteenth Dynasty compared to the Twelfth. Some differences may be the result of transmission or other errors, such as the unusual arrangement of the cartouche also in the western canal graffito of Neferhotep I, presumably due to insufficient space (§2.2). Others, however, were intentional departures from the model of Senwosret III, such as the apparent preference for the nomen in SEH 159 (§2.1). They are ‘productive copies’ or ‘creative borrowings’, which recreate and reinterpret past forms in a nuanced and meaningful manner (Laboury 2017, 238). This is particularly clear in the response of Neferhotep I to the western canal graffito of Senwosret III. When Egyptian monuments engaged with specific historic events, rather than general iconographic or architectural forms from the past, it was often with the intent to exceed or at least equal that event (Baines 2007, 182; Bács 2020, 153; Thum and Salmas 2021, 79–81). The graffito of Neferhotep I, however, replaces the claim of Senwosret III to have ‘made (the canal) as his monument for Anuket, Lady of Nubia’ (SEH 146: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 78), with a wish that ‘your monument exists as

eternity exists' (SEH 156: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 88). While the graffito allows Neferhotep I to participate in the perpetuation of the monument, the change in phrasing implies both an awareness of the actions of Senwosret III, but also an implicit acknowledgement that a similar feat was not attributable to Neferhotep I (Habachi 1950, 504). In addition, although the text was rephrased to fit the historical circumstances of Neferhotep I, the figural scene was replicated nearly exactly from that of Senwosret III (fig 2.6). In its main scene then, the graffito of Neferhotep I creates a visual equality between Neferhotep I and Senwosret III for those who could view it. It is only in the inscriptions, whose audience is more restricted to those who could both access and read the canal graffiti, that a difference in their circumstances and achievements is acknowledged in a subtle and nuanced manner. The most accessible and visible elements of the emulative graffiti programme as a whole are the titulary pairs, which create a striking parallel between Senwosret III and Neferhotep I across the Sehel landscape. The immediate and predominant impact of the entire programme, then, is of similarity and association between the two kings. The monumental graffiti of Senwosret III utilised the physical features and the significance of the landscape at Sehel to present a programmatic display of royal power and in turn, the emulative graffiti of Neferhotep I co-opted this display in order to enhance this king's own monumental presentation.

2.5 A departure and an innovation: the genealogical graffito of Neferhotep I at Sehel

Although each of the graffiti of Senwosret III at Sehel was programmatically accompanied by a complementary graffito of Neferhotep I, not every graffito of Neferhotep I accompanies one of Senwosret III. In addition to the six graffiti discussed already, there is one further non-figural graffito associated with Neferhotep I at Sehel: a family list (SEH 162: fig. 2.11), hammered into the stone approximately five metres south-east of the undated canal graffito of Senwosret III and the accompanying graffito of Neferhotep I (SEH 162: map 1.3). Neferhotep I himself is not actually named in this list, but the family members included are recognised from another family

list of Neferhotep I in the region, inscribed on a wall which fortified the ancient road between Aswan and el-Shellal and which does include the king's name (no. 79: Morgan, Bouriant et al. 1894, 17). Given this, and the proximity of the Sehel list to the other graffiti of Neferhotep I, its attribution to his reign seems secure (Habachi 1981, 79; Ryholt 1997b, 226 n. 769).

The Sehel family list consists of nine columns, each of which names one individual. It begins with his parents, 'the God's Father Haankhef' and 'the King's Mother Kemi', and then 'the King's Wife Senebsen'. They are followed by two King's Sons, 'Sahathor' and 'Sobekhotep'. There is then another 'King's Son, Haankhef', and a 'King's Daughter, Kemi', who are assumed to be the children of Neferhotep I and Senebsen, named after their paternal grandparents (Ryholt 1997b, 227). The two final columns include the names of two officials with no evident familial connection to Neferhotep I, 'the King's Acquaintance Nebankh, born of Hepi and begotten of Sobekhotep' (Habachi 1980, 47–53; Franke 1984, 201 [294]; Grajetzki 2009, 78–9), and 'the Treasurer Senebi, true of voice' (Franke 1984, 374 [634]; Grajetzki 2001, 26–30).

Image redacted

Figure 2.11 SEH 162, family list of Neferhotep I at Sehel (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 162).

Image redacted

Figure 2.12 Transcription of SEH 162 (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 92).

A statue of the King's Son Sahathor was discovered in the Heqaib sanctuary at Elephantine and names his parents as the 'God's Father Haankhef' and the 'King's Mother Kemi' (Habachi 1981, 79 fig. 7). A small double-sided stela of Khaneferre Sobekhotep II, from the Wadi Hammamat, which is now lost but which also included a family list on one side, also identifies his parents as the 'God's Father Haankhef' and the 'King's Mother Kemi' (Simpson 1969, 156 fig. 1). On this stela, both Sobekhotep II and Neferhotep I are identified as *ntr nfr* and each have their combined prenomina and nomina written in a cartouche. However, only the *serekh* of Sobekhotep II is included, and the cartouche of Neferhotep I is followed by the epithet *mꜣꜥ hrw*, which together may suggest that Sobekhotep III should be understood as the reigning king, and Neferhotep I as his posthumous predecessor (Ryholt 1997b, 229). As such, although the figures of Sahathor and Sobekhotep are listed as King's Sons in the family list of Neferhotep I, they can be identified as his brothers and successors (Ryholt 1997b, 227; Revez 2014, 538–9).

The genealogical graffito of the Neferhotep I family at Sehel belongs to a wider genealogical tradition commonly used by the kings of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, which includes a rock-cut stela of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I from Wadi el-Hol depicting the king and his family members (Laming Macadam 1951, 20–8), the other family list graffito of Neferhotep I inscribed on the el-Shellal road previously mentioned (no. 79: Morgan, Bouriant et

al. 1894, 17), and the Wadi Hammamat stela of Khaneferre Sobekhotep II (Simpson 1969, 154–8). Genealogical scenes and inscriptions can also be found on objects large and small during this time period, from an altar of Sobekhotep I from Sehel (Wild 1951, 12–16), to a cylinder seal and a bead of Sahathor (UC 11571; Brooklyn 44.123.163; Wegner 2020, 1678), and numerous scarabs with maternal and paternal filiations accompanying the kings' cartouche names (for examples, see Ryholt 1997b, 34–7; Siesse 2019, 42 table 12). The entries for Neferhotep I and Khaankhre Sobekhotep in the Turin king-list even include the name of their fathers, the only entries in the list to do so, perhaps recognising the importance of genealogy to royal self-presentation in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (7.15, 7.25: Ryholt 1997b, 71 fig. 10, 215, 225; 2004, 144; Siesse and Connor 2015, 227–38).

In these mid-Thirteenth Dynasty genealogical monuments, the families of Sobekhotep I and the brother kings, Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Sobekhotep II, are demonstrably of non-royal origin. In principle, hereditary succession was not an essential aspect of Egyptian kingship ideology, where the king's legitimacy could derive from his divine origins as the Son of Re or divine preordination, the transmission of the royal *ka*, and be demonstrated by acting as the manifestation of Horus on earth (Blumenthal 1970, 35–7; Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 63–80, 255; Quirke 1991, 137–8; Baines 1995, 9, 14–18; Oppenheim 2021b, 150; Pehal 2021, 205–15). In practice, however, transmission of kingship through familial lines is thought to have been the norm, couched within these mythological frameworks (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 255–7; Revez 2010, 44–66; Pehal 2021, 202, 215–19). *The Tale of Sinuhe* records an explicit example of primogeniture succession in the Twelfth Dynasty, from Amenemhat I to his eldest son Senwosret I, saying 'his son has entered the palace, he having taken possession of the inheritance of his father' (Sinuhe B 45–7: Blumenthal 1970, 32; Schmitz 1976, 184; Koch 1990, 31). Moreover, although the mythological foundations of Egyptian kingship could legitimise a king with no biological claim to the throne, this legitimacy was still often expressed in biological terms (Pehal 2021, 216–8). In the Twelfth Dynasty, for example, Amenemhat IV completed

monuments of his predecessor such as the temple at Medinet Madi and the Shrine of Kings at Serabit el-Khadim (Černý 1955, 36–7; Hirsch 2004, 129; Bresciani 2006, 41; Pignattari 2018, 24–9), and claimed to have carried out this work ‘for his father, Dual King Nimaatre’ at Medinet Madi, on wall scenes and a statue placed in the central niche (Zecchi 2010, 77; Pignattari 2018, 125, 129). Since his mother, Hotepti, bears only the title King’s Mother and not King’s Wife, and is nowhere associated with Amenemhat III, it is thought that Amenemhat IV was of non-royal descent and that he identified Amenemhat III as his father honourifically (Ryholt 1997b, 210; Pignattari 2018, 16; Siesse 2019, 127). In contrast, the genealogical monuments of mid-Thirteenth Dynasty kings such as Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep II and Neferhotep I openly articulated their non-royal origins (Ryholt 1997b, 297). This display was both extensive and accessible to a variety of audiences, from large-scale royal monuments to highly portable seals (Ryholt 1997b, 297). Ryholt has suggested that this extensive proclamation of the non-royal background may be understood as a deliberate means of indicating a break from the previous kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty (1997b, 285, 297). Additionally, Haankhef, the father of Neferhotep I and his successors, is given the title *it ntr*, ‘god’s father’, on the Sehel family list as well as on other genealogical monuments and scarabs. This same title was also used for Intef III, the father of Montuhotep II, and a Senwosret, who was likely the father of Amenemhat I (Habachi 1958 185–90; Postel 2004, 49–50; Siesse 2019, 158). The use of this title for his non-royal father may suggest that Neferhotep I, paralleling Montuhotep II and Amenemhat I, wished to be regarded as the founder of a new era.

Much like the titulary and canal graffiti of Senwosret III, the family list graffito of Neferhotep I appears at first glance to belong to a genealogical tradition which is separate from his emulative graffiti at Sehel. However, also like the graffiti of Senwosret III, the family list is linked to the emulative graffiti in the landscape. As previously noted, the family list is situated approximately five metres south-east of the figural graffito of Neferhotep I accompanying the undated canal graffito of Senwosret III (SEH 156, SEH 162: map 2.3), and perhaps relies on this

proximity to incorporate Neferhotep I into the family list where he is otherwise unnamed. In addition, the figure of Nebankh is included in both this family list and one of the titulary graffiti of Neferhotep I, providing another link between these two different styles of graffiti (SEH 158: Gasse and Rondot 2007, 89–90). These two types of graffiti may work together towards distinct but complementary aims. While the genealogical list at Sehel serves to dissociate Neferhotep I and his successors from the kings of the earlier Thirteenth Dynasty by promoting their non-royal background contrary to traditional royal ideology (Ryholt 1997b, 285, 297), in the same monumental graffiti programme, the emulative graffiti counter this dissociation by prominently invoking a connection with traditional kingship specifically through association with Senwosret III. However, these two aspects are not equally balanced. The genealogical motif at Sehel occurs only once, and its potential audience is also more restricted to the literate and to close viewers, as the smaller size of the signs in the family list limits its legibility from a distance, like the canal graffiti that it is placed near to, compared to the highly visible titulary graffiti. The newness of the Neferhotep royal family then, was somewhat concealed within the predominant appearance of connection to Senwosret III and royal tradition.

2.6 Beyond Sehel: the graffiti of Montuhotep II and Neferhotep I at Konosso

The monumental graffiti programme of Neferhotep I was not limited to Sehel. The nearby island of Konosso in the same region of the First Cataract was carved with two graffiti of Montuhotep II in the form of the composite Kamutef, standing between Khnum and Satet, and Montu and Neith respectively (no. 31, 44: Morgan, Bouriant et al. 1894, 71, 73). In the Thirteenth Dynasty, two graffiti of Neferhotep I were added, apparently near to those of Montuhotep II and closely following them in style (no. 30, 45: Morgan, Bouriant et al. 1894, 71, 73). All four graffiti were recorded and copied by Lepsius in the 1840s before Konosso was affected by the construction of the low and high dams at Aswan. It was partially submerged after the construction of the low dam, although photos of the difference between the water levels at

the site pre- and post-construction show many of its graffiti still visible at that point in time (King 1906, 452, 454). Habachi also later published a photograph of one of these graffiti pairs of Montuhotep II and Neferhotep I, suggesting this pair at least was still accessible then (1963, pl. 14). However, all four graffiti were certainly submerged with the rising water levels caused by the building of the high dam, and only the top of the tallest boulders of Konosso are visible today (Thum and Salmas 2021, 94–6).

The previously mentioned photograph documents one of these graffiti pairs as it was *in situ* (Habachi 1963, pl. 14). The graffito of Montuhotep II occupied the majority of space on a boulder, while the graffito of Neferhotep I was approximately half its size and placed to its immediate left (fig. 2.13). The two graffiti were so close that the upper left border of the graffito of Montuhotep II formed the right border of that of Neferhotep I. In the graffito of Montuhotep II, the king is depicted between Khnum and Satet. In the graffito of Neferhotep, however, the king appears with Khnum alone, perhaps due to space constraints in the smaller graffito. There is also an additional inscription beneath the graffito of Neferhotep I which names his father and the same official Nebankh who is also included in the Sehel graffiti.

There are no published images which show the physical context of the second pair of graffiti in relation to each other, although Lepsius described the graffito of Neferhotep I as ‘auf einem Felsen drüber’ that of Montuhotep II (1901, 129). In this graffito of Montuhotep II, the king is depicted between Montu and Neith. In the later graffito, however, Neferhotep I is instead depicted between Montu and Satet. A stela of his brother, Khaneferre Sobekhotep II, indicates that their family was Theban in origin (JE 51911, l. 4–5: Helck 1983a, 31; Vernus 1989, 178–81; Ryholt 1997b, 226). The presence of Montu in the Konosso graffiti of Neferhotep I may underline the Theban connection between himself and Montuhotep II, while the inclusion of Satet relates to the First Cataract region. The graffito of Montuhotep II also included three columns of inscription beneath each of the deities, and the nine bows depicted beneath the king

Image redacted

Figure 2.13 Graffiti of Montuhotep II (right) and Neferhotep I (left) in situ at Konosso, (Habachi 1963, pl. 15).

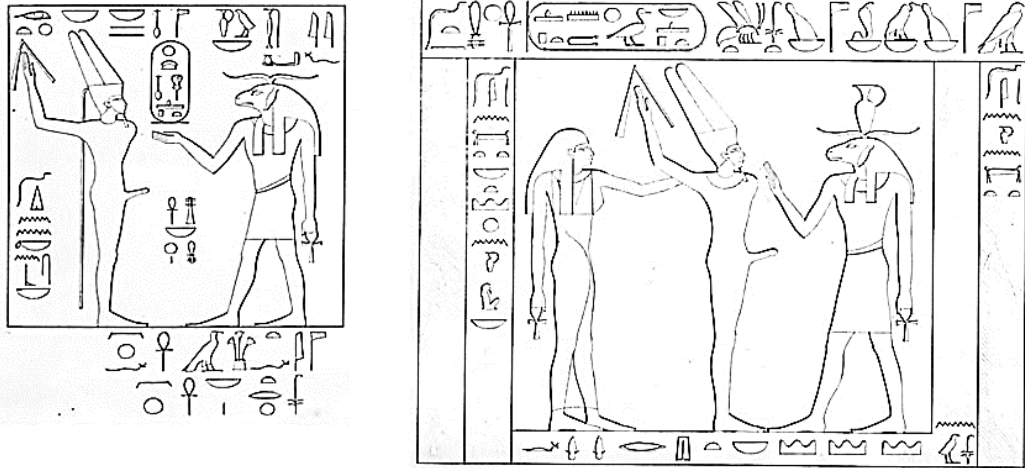


Figure 2.14 Lepsius' copies of graffiti of Montuhotep II (LD II.IV, 150 [b]), and Neferhotep I (LD II.IV, 151 [f]) at Konosso, Public domain.

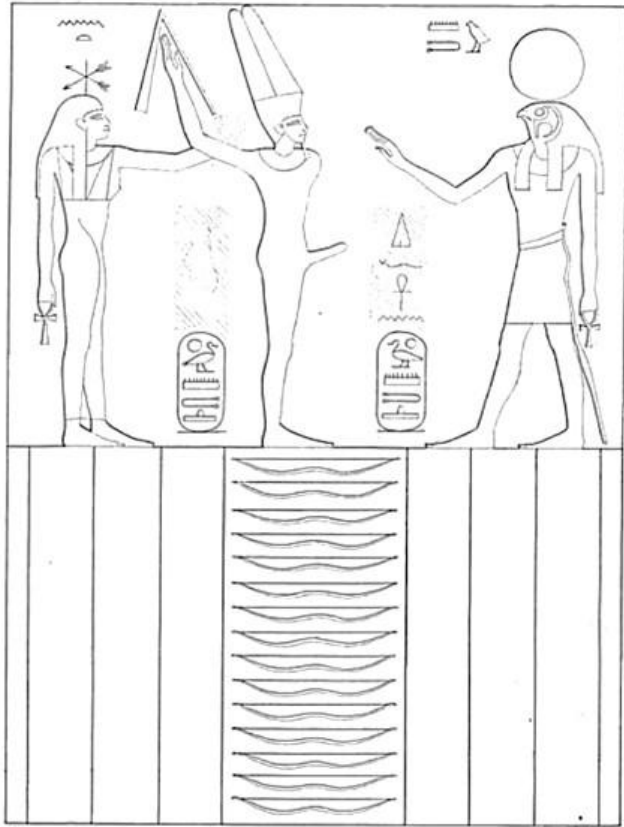


Figure 2.15 Lepsius' copy of a graffito of Montuhotep II at Konosso (LD II.IV, 150 [c]), Public domain.

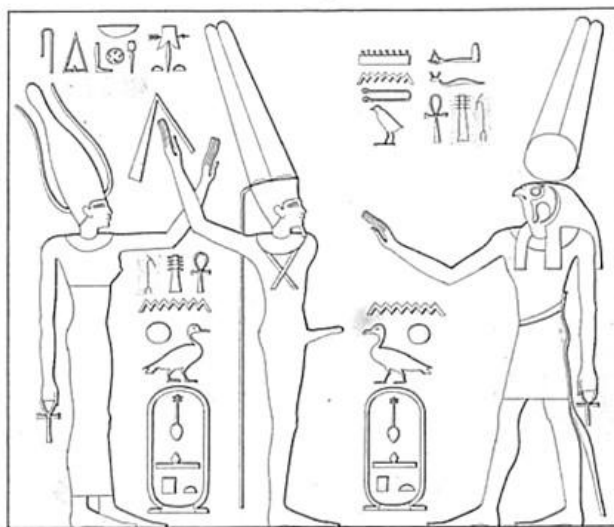


Figure 2.16 Lepsius' copy of a graffito of Neferhotep I at Konosso (LD II.IV, 151 [h]), Public domain.

himself. There is no indication of a similar inscription beneath the graffito of Neferhotep I, although if this graffito was placed above that of Montuhotep II, as Lepsius described, it was plausibly positioned without space for any inscription.

In all four graffiti, both kings are depicted in the same composite divine form, wearing the tall-feathered crown of Amun, mummiform, ithyphallic and holding the *nḥḥ* flail. Montuhotep II is also depicted in this form in a scene from the left wall of his *ka*-chapel in Dendera (JE 46068: Habachi 1963, 26 fig. 8), and this self-presentation may reflect the deification of this king during his lifetime (Habachi 1963, 50–2; Morenz 2010, 146–52; Di. Arnold and Do. Arnold 2015, 40–1). In contrast, Neferhotep I is not attested in this form elsewhere, which suggests that the significance of depicting Neferhotep I in this composite form here, then, was not in appearing like a god, but in appearing like Montuhotep II. In this way, the graffiti of Neferhotep I at Konosso demonstrate the same programmatic local emulation of a specific king as his Sehel graffiti.

2.7 The First Cataract graffiti of Neferhotep I: a single programme of engagement with the past?

Both the imitation of existing graffiti and the inclusion of the official Nebankh link the graffiti of Neferhotep I at Sehel and Konosso. Nebankh, as previously mentioned, is generally understood as the official who oversaw the production of this First Cataract graffiti programme of Neferhotep I (§2.1). The association of Neferhotep I with Senwosret III at Sehel, and with Montuhotep II at Konosso raises a further question: were these particular kings chosen for Neferhotep I's emulation with intent, or only by circumstance? After all, the reproduction of any material relies on both the survival and accessibility of that material, and is therefore partly determined by accidents of preservation (Alcock 2002, 4–5; Bács 2020, 152). At both Sehel and Konosso, Senwosret III and Montuhotep II were respectively the only known royal graffiti on

these islands prior to the Thirteenth Dynasty (PM V, 250–5; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 75). The previously mentioned el-Shellel road family list of Neferhotep I was also placed in relation with an earlier king. Although the el-Shellal road has been substantially destroyed by the growth of modern Aswan (Jaritz 1987, 69), Lepsius recorded that the family list of Neferhotep was ‘unmittelbar rechts’ of a Sixth Dynasty graffito (1901, 121), which is not actually a royal graffito, but it did include an image of King Merenre I, as well as his *serekh* and cartouches (Habachi 1981, 79). The names of Twelfth Dynasty kings do appear in other elite graffiti on the road, but they occur primarily incidentally in dates (e.g. Morgan, Bouriant et al. 1894, 19 [94], 20 [127]). This Sixth Dynasty graffito, however, is one of the only non-royal graffiti recorded in the area with the figure of the king and with royal names prominently displayed (Morgan, Bouriant et al. 1894, 17 [78]), which may well have been a determining factor in placing the family list of Neferhotep I beside it. It is conceivable then, that the emulative graffiti programme of Neferhotep I was intended to target any or all royal graffiti in these areas, rather than specific kings. While it is not possible to know ancient agency or intention, several factors may lend support to the idea that Senwosret III and Montuhotep II at least were indeed the specific focus of Neferhotep I’s emulative programme at the First Cataract.

Neferhotep I is known to have emulated Senwosret III in other aspects of monumental display and at other locations: the discovery of three royal tombs at South Abydos—attributed to the three brother kings, Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Khaneferre Sobekhotep III—suggests that the royal necropolis was moved during Neferhotep I’s reign from the traditional Memphite pyramid fields to South Abydos, and situated immediately beside Senwosret III’s subterranean tomb (Wegner and Cahail 2015, 156–61; Wegner 2020, 1667–79). In addition, two dyad statues of Neferhotep I from the Karnak cachette depict the king wearing a triple-striped nemes, and an amulet necklace, both characteristic of the statuary of Senwosret III (CG 42022: Legrain 1906 I, 13–14; no museum number: Grimal and Larché 2007, 17, pl. 2a–c; see also: Connor 2020, 241; Saladino Haney 2020, 188–9, 317). The prenomen of Neferhotep I, Khasekhemre, is also based

on the same paradigm as that of Senwosret III, Khakaure (Siesse 2015, 79). These diverse factors suggest a pattern of Neferhotep I adopting aspects of Senwosret III's self-presentation and monumental display, which supports the idea that the emulative graffiti of Neferhotep I at Sehel drew specifically and consciously on those of Senwosret III.

Aside from their shared Theban origins, a connection between Montuhotep II and Neferhotep I at other sites is less well-documented. Montuhotep II is credited with the construction of the earliest known cult chapel at Abydos, which was oriented towards Umm el-Qab (Wegner 2015a, 3–7). Texts from this chapel also indicate that Montuhotep II cut a canal between the temple of Osiris and his chapel, so that the chapel may have been integrated into the procession of the cult statue to the tomb of Osiris at Umm el-Qab (Wegner 2015a, 6–7; Willems 2020, 36). According to a stela of Year 2 from Abydos, Neferhotep I later refashioned the cult statue of Osiris (JE 6307: Anthes 1974, 16–41; Hofmann 2004, 85–99). He also had a series of boundary stelae at Abydos recut, demarcating and protecting this processional way (JE 35256: Leahy 1989, 41–60). This shared interest in the cult landscape at Abydos may perhaps be one factor linking Neferhotep I to Montuhotep II.

Another connection between these kings is found at the site of Wadi Shatt el-Rigal, in the western desert, where a graffito of Neferhotep I has been placed beneath the feet of a monumental graffito of Montuhotep II (Petrie 1888, 15, pl. 15 [479]; 1904, 144; Caminos and Osing 2021, 16, pl. 24 [26 M]). The graffito of Neferhotep I does not appear to be an official royal inscription, but is small and 'crudely cut' (Caminos 1986, 1120), and is typically interpreted as a traveller's graffito (Winlock 1947, 72; Peden 2001, 49). The inscription consists of two columns, both reading from right to left, reading 'Son of Re, Neferhotep, whom the King's Mother Kemi bore'. This format is identical with the maternal form of the genealogical scarab seals produced abundantly during the reign of Neferhotep I (Petrie 1904, 144; Ryholt 1997b, 37), almost as though 'whoever carved it had copied it directly from a scarab which he was wearing on his finger' (Winlock 1947, 72). This small, non-royal graffito, independent in site and style

from the First Cataract titulary graffiti of Neferhotep I, appears to corroborate a desire to associate Neferhotep I with Montuhotep II. Moreover, the fact that this is not an official royal graffiti suggests that this programme of association with specific predecessors during the reign of Neferhotep I was so widespread and well-known that even the travelling official might independently contribute to it.



Figure 2.17 Fascimile drawing of the Wadi Shatt el-Rigal graffiti (Petrie 1888, pl. 15 [479]), Public domain.

The placement of the el-Shellal family list of Neferhotep I beside a graffiti containing the figure and cartouche of Merenre seems opportunistic, and demonstrates a general desire to associate Neferhotep I with past kings. The emulation of the graffiti of Senwosret III at Sehel and the graffiti of Montuhotep II at Konosso, however, seems to reflect a deliberate and programmatic effort to associate with these specific kings that may also be seen in other aspects of Neferhotep I's monumental self-presentation. Both Montuhotep II and Senwosret III were kings of significant reputation and prestige who were deified. Montuhotep II was deified within his lifetime and was venerated as the founder of the Middle Kingdom in the Ramesseum king-list (Habachi 1963, 50–2; El-Enany 2003, 167–90; Morenz 2010, 146–52). Senwosret III was particularly honoured in lower Nubia, presumably as a result of his military conquest of the region (El-Enany 2004, 207–12; Vogel 2017, 268). He was particularly venerated by later kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but evidence of his deification can be traced back to shortly after his

reign, or perhaps even during his lifetime (El-Enany 2014, 228–31; Vogel 2017, 268). In addition, there was an existing link between these two kings targeted for emulation by Neferhotep I, with Senwosret III dedicating a series of devotional statues as well as a stela depicting the king worshipping Amun and the deified Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri (Naville 1907, 58–9, pl. 24; Di. Arnold 1974, 94; Oppenheim in Oppenheim, Di. Arnold et al. 2015, 276–7 [cat. 205]; Saladino Haney 2020, 299–302). The dedication of these statues and stela is thought to represent an honourific commemoration of his eminent predecessor, Montuhotep II, by Senwosret III, through the restoration of the king's funerary temple and cult (Oppenheim in Oppenheim, Di. Arnold et al. 2015, 276–7 [cat. 205]; Saladino Haney 2020, 299–302). Accordingly, the copying of the graffiti of these two kings at Sehel and Konosso by Neferhotep I allows him to be inserted into this existing relationship and build upon an established commemorative tradition.

2.8 Emulation in the First Cataract graffiti of Neferhotep I and beyond

As David and Wilson (2002, 5) wrote, graffiti are 'inherently hegemonic' and 'an inscription that has existed in the landscape for some time feeds into human experience and impacts on it', so that graffiti 'direct and structure' the way that their subjects may be perceived in that landscape. Graffiti have the ability to both create and to appropriate monumental landscapes (Ragazzoli, Harmanşah et al. 2018, 10), as can be seen in the respective graffiti programmes of Senwosret III and Neferhotep I at Sehel. The graffiti of Senwosret III transformed the landscape of the south-eastern waterfront of Sehel into a monumental display of royal power and authority over this strategic and symbolically significant location, creating a monumental landscape. The graffiti of Neferhotep I, on the other hand, were secondary to those of Senwosret III. In a remarkably thorough response, every graffiti of Senwosret III at Sehel was identified and emulated in context and typically also in content under Neferhotep I, utilising not only the natural landscape of Sehel itself but also the images of power presented by the graffiti of Senwosret III to enhance the monumental display of Neferhotep I through association. While this emulation of

Senwosret III was programmatic, it was not blindly imitative. Rather, the graffiti of Neferhotep I were flexible in their emulation, as seen in the apparent preference for the nomen in SEH 159, which may reflect the divine birth connotations of this name (§2.1), or the adaption of the canal graffiti to accommodate the historical circumstances of Neferhotep I (§2.2). One further graffiti of Neferhotep I was also added to his programme, in addition to those emulating Senwosret III, in the form of a genealogical graffiti, linking this graffiti programme at Sehel to a wider genealogical motif otherwise attested in monuments of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty kings (§2.5). These meaningful adaptations and innovations allowed Neferhotep I to articulate his own identity and incorporate important aspects of his self-presentation such as the divine birth and his non-royal background into the programme, while still asserting an association with Senwosret III through the emulative graffiti. This emulation of Senwosret III can also be seen more broadly in the monumental display of Neferhotep I, in the location of the tomb of Neferhotep I at South Abydos (Wegner and Cahail 2015, 156–61), in the use of iconographic features of Senwosret III's statuary for statues of Neferhotep I (Saladino Haney 2020, 317), and in the use of the same paradigm for their prenomen, Khakaure for Senwosret III and Khasekhemre for Neferhotep I respectively (Siesse 2015, 79). Although Neferhotep I's emulation was primarily focussed on Senwosret III, it can also be seen beyond Sehel in the emulation of the graffiti of Montuhotep II at Konosso. The First Cataract graffiti of Neferhotep I, then, belong to an extensive, nuanced, and programmatic strategy of emulation which can be seen across varied sites and aspects of monumental display, suggesting that this association with eminent past predecessors, especially Senwosret III, was a key element of his self-presentation. Indeed, this programme was seemingly so well-known that a travelling official, recognising Montuhotep II as one of the kings that Neferhotep I chose to emulate, might even have stopped and added a copy of the king's seal to the monumental graffiti of Montuhotep II at Wadi Shatt el-Rigal.

Much like the First Cataract monumental graffiti of Neferhotep I, the only other extensive and substantially preserved example of a programme of royal display from the Thirteenth Dynasty is also a series of royal graffiti, which recorded the height of the annual Nile flood at the Second Cataract forts of Semna, Kumma, and Askut (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 130–3 [RIS 2–3, 8–9]; Vercoutter 1966, 139; Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 102 [FSN 382A], 151–2 [FSN 506, 508–10]). These records were made during the reigns of six kings of the late Middle Kingdom. They are first attested under Amenemhat III and continued until the reign of Nerikare, a period of approximately 70 years spanning the end of the Twelfth Dynasty and the beginning of the Thirteenth. Although isolated graffiti of Thirteenth Dynasty kings are known (e.g. a genealogical stela of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I from Wadi el-Hol: Laming Macadam 1951, 23–7; Darnell and Darnell 1995, 45–6), these flood records and the First Cataract graffiti of Neferhotep I are the only extant series of royal graffiti from the dynasty. Both sets of graffiti have certain similarities—such as their general location in the southern boundary region of the First and Second Cataracts, and their relationship to existing Twelfth Dynasty royal graffiti—which make them comparable and useful case studies of Thirteenth Dynasty monumental self-presentation.

3.1 The late Middle Kingdom flood records

Twenty-seven flood records are known from the late Middle Kingdom (table 3.1). From the Twelfth Dynasty, fifteen are securely attributed to Amenemhat III, four to Amenemhat IV, and one to Sobekneferew. From the Thirteenth Dynasty, there are three records of Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, two of Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef, and one of Nerikare. The cartouche of another record dated to Year 13 was damaged and no photographs of this particular record were published (Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 151 [FSN 505]), but it can

be attributed to Amenemhat III with a high degree of probability as no other king associated with the flood records is known to have reigned more than ten years (Pignattari 2018, 99; Siesse 2019, 73). In addition to these twenty-seven graffiti, there are two further damaged graffiti—one dated to Year 36 of Amenemhat III, and the other to both Year 1 and at least Year 44 of two unspecified kings—which may be flood records, although the texts of both are too poorly preserved to be certain (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 132 [RIS 6–7]). The double-dated inscription has been attributed to Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV, and interpreted as evidence of a short coregency between them (Leprohon 1980, 195–6; Pignattari 2018, 24). This graffiti is poorly preserved, and the higher regnal year cannot be read with certainty, as ‘the broken text allows for more strokes after the number so that a date higher than Year 44 is possible’ (Leprohon 1980, 195). Franke suggested that it can be read as Year 44, 46, or 48 (1988a, 120), while Barta proposes reading Year 44, 45, or 46 (1979, 2). Given that the high regnal year falls among the latest known years of Amenemhat III, and the other could be Year 1 of Amenemhat IV, it has also been suggested that the two regnal years could indicate the transmission of the kingship in that calendar year rather than a coregency (Franke 1988a, 120). However, due to their poor condition, neither graffiti can be securely identified as a flood record, and so have not been included in this corpus.

None of the flood records remain both in context and still accessible due to an ancient bank collapse at Semna, the modern removal of graffiti to museums, and flooding of the forts. In 1884, the Year 30 flood record of Amenemhat III and that of Year 4 of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep were removed from Kumma and taken to the Egyptian Museum in Berlin (Berlin ÄM 1160–1: Wildung 1996, 80). In 1968, thirteen more of the flood records were also removed from the Semna and Kumma forts, and taken to the National Museum in Khartoum as part of the UNESCO Aswan High Dam Salvage Campaign (Yvanez 2010, 2–4). The records that remained *in situ* became inaccessible when the Second Cataract forts were flooded after the building of the Aswan High Dam. Although some of the highest remains of Semna fort are

occasionally visible when water levels are low, the remaining flood records are not able to be seen (Hinkel 1965, 96; Knoblauch, Bestock et al. 2015, 137). The flood records are as follows:

Table 3.1 Second Cataract flood records

King	Regnal Year	Provenance	Site No.	Current location
Amenemhat III	1	Kumma	RIK 2 FSN 369	Khartoum, SNM 34382
	5	Kumma	RIK 9 FSN 370	Khartoum, SNM 34387
	7	Kumma	RIK 5 FSN 371	Khartoum, SNM 34453
	8/9	Semna	RIS 1 FSN 520	lost
	13	Semna	FSN 505	lost
	14	Kumma	RIK 7 FSN 372	Khartoum, SNM 34411
	22	Kumma	RIK 3 FSN 373	Khartoum, SNM 34453
	23	Kumma	RIK 29 FSN 374	Khartoum, SNM 34395
	24	Kumma	RIK 1 FSN 375	lost
	30	Kumma	FSN 375A	Berlin, ÄM 1161
	31	Kumma	RIK 27 FSN 376	lost
	32	Kumma	RIK 30 FSN 377	Khartoum, SNM 34353
	37	Kumma	RIK 6 FSN 378	Khartoum, SNM 34453
	40	Kumma	RIK 8 FSN 379	Khartoum, SNM 34405
41	Kumma	RIK 10 FSN 380	Khartoum, SNM 34429	
43	Kumma	RIK 4 FSN 381	Khartoum, SNM 34453	
Amenemhat IV	5	Semna	RIS 16 FSN 502	lost
	6	Semna	RIS 19 FSN 503	lost

	7	Semna	RIS 18 FSN 504	lost
	8	Semna	RIS 10 FSN 507	lost
Sobekneferew	3	Kumma	RIK 11 FSN 382	Khartoum, SNM 34390
Amenemhat- Sobekhotep	2	Semna	RIS 2 FSN 508	lost
	3	Semna	RIS 3 FSN 509	Khartoum, SNM 34370
	4	Kumma	FSN 382A	Berlin, ÄM 1160
Amenemhat- Senebef	3	Askut	-	lost
	4	Semna	RIS 8 FSN 506	lost
Nerikare	1	Semna	RIS 9 FSN 510	lost

The flood levels were recorded around three forts of the Second Cataract: Semna, Kumma, and Askut. The construction of these forts is attributed to Senwosret III, presumably in connection with his Nubian military campaigns, and the name of Semna—‘Khakaure-justified-is-powerful’—incorporates the prenomen of Senwosret III into the fort’s identity (Gardiner 1916a, 188; 1947 I, 9–11; Smith 1991, 117–18; Knoblauch 2019, 372–5). All but one of the flood records were discovered at the twin forts of Semna and Kumma, which were located on opposite banks of the Nile at the southern end of the Second Cataract in the Batn el-Hajar region, where a band of a hard granitic rock significantly narrowed the river (Somers Clarke 1916, pl. 24; Caminos 1998 I, 3; Edwards, Davies et al. 2020, 183 fig. 4.01). Semna was situated on the west bank, with Kumma on the east bank (Caminos 1998 I, 3; Knoblauch 2019, 369 fig. 1). At Semna, the eastern main wall of the fort bordered upon the steep riverbank (Edwards, Davies et al. 2020, 193 fig. 4.16), while Kumma, built onto a rocky outcrop, was surrounded on three sides by the river (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 113; Caminos 1998 I, pl. 2). At Semna, the records were found inscribed on boulders of natural and dressed stone below the south-eastern

end of the main fort wall, having fallen from the riverbank above when it collapsed in antiquity (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 130). At Kumma, the flood level records were located beneath the western wall of the fort, inscribed in both the natural stone banks and dressed stone foundations (Somers Clarke 1916, 175; Dunham and Janssen 1960, 138; Vercoutter 1994, 323 fig. 8). The Year 3 record of Sekhemkare Amenemhat-Senebef is the only one belonging to this series which was not found at either Semna or Kumma, but instead was discovered at Askut during the UNESCO salvage campaign (Vercoutter 1966, 139; Smith 1991, 118). It remains unclear why the Year 3 flood record was placed at Askut but it seems to have been an isolated choice as the very next flood record from Year 4 of Amenemhat-Senebef was once again located at Semna. There is a general pattern in the distribution of the records across the two main forts, with Kumma appearing to have been preferred by Amenemhat III, although the Year 13 graffito with the damaged cartouche attributed to him was found at Semna. It is possible that further records of Amenemhat III may have been located at Semna, but were lost when the bank collapsed. Conversely, the records of his successors were predominantly made at Semna. However, the Year 3 record of Sobekneferew and Year 4 of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep were both located at Kumma (Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 102 [FSN 382, 382A]). Accordingly, this apparent pattern in distribution is not absolutely consistent.

The organisation of the flood records in relation to one another is uncertain due to the loss of their exact context. Their vertical height was presumably set by the height of the flood itself, but their lateral distribution is more difficult to determine. The Karnak quayside inscriptions of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties, although much later, provide a close parallel. In these, the earliest inscriptions were placed in central positions with later ones spreading outward as dictated by available space (Broekman 2002, 164). Among the stones of the collapsed Semna bank, the records of Years 2 and 3 of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep were found on a single boulder (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 130 [RIS 2–3]). Likewise, Years 5, 6, and 7 of Amenemhat IV also shared a large boulder (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 130 [RIS 16, 18–19]),

but which also bore later records of Year 4 of Amenemhat-Senebef and Year 1 of Nerikare alongside the records of Amenemhat IV (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 130 [RIS 8–9, 16, 18–19]). At Kumma, Years 7, 22, 37, and 43 of Amenemhat III were also grouped closely and were taken together on a single stone to Khartoum (SNM 34453: Dunham and Janssen 1960, pl. 96A [RIK 3–6]; Yvanez 2010, 64–5). These documented examples indicate that the distribution of the flood records was apparently in part chronological, but also that later records could be placed among earlier ones where available space allowed, consistent with a distribution that was at least partly determined by the local landscape and uncontrollable natural forces like the height of the flood itself.

The late Middle Kingdom flood records all begin with a standard formula, which reads *r3 n(y) ḥꜥpy n(y) rnpt [X] ḥr ḥm n(y) nswt-bity* PN, where X is the regnal year and PN is the prenomen.

Image redacted

Figure 3.1 Nile flood record of Year 4 of Sekhemre-Khutawy (Berlin ÄM 1160: Wildung 1996, 80 [83]).

Almost invariably, the records open with the phrase *r3 n(y) ḥꜥpy*, which is understood as ‘level of the inundation’. The use of *r3* is known in other geographical terminology, especially those pertaining to water, usually in the form of a compound such as *r3-mw* ‘water’s edge’ and *r3-ḥ3t* ‘mouth of the river’ (*Wb.* II, 397–8; Vercoutter 1966, 135). However, one flood record instead

begins with the regnal year, reading *rnpt 9 r3 n(y) hꜥpy n(y) rnpt 8 hft rnpt 9 hr hm ny nswt-bity ny-m3ꜥt-r* (Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 155–6 [FSN 520]). The exact meaning of *rnpt 8 hft rnpt 9* is unclear. It may be read as ‘level of the inundation of Year 8, corresponding to (the level of the inundation) of Year 9’, indicating that the floods were of equal heights these years. It has also been suggested that perhaps a provisional flood level was recorded in Year 8 but the formal inscription was not carved until Year 9 (Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 156). Regardless, the initial placement of regnal Year 9 probably indicates that the inscription itself dates from Year 9.

There are minor variations in the form of the flood records. In addition to the standard formula, the prenomen may be followed by expressions such as *di ꜥnh* or *ꜥnh dt*. Several of the flood records at Semna also go on to name officials associated with the fort (e.g. Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 150–2 [FSN 501, 504, 506–7, 509–10]). Other graphic variations include different determinatives for Hapy and the absence of register lines in three examples from Kumma (e.g. Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 99–102 [FSN 372, 377, 382A]). The records at Semna and Kumma all read right to left, but the Year 3 record of Amenemhat-Senebef from Askut instead reads left to right. Notably, during Years 22, 23, and 24 of Amenemhat III, the sign *r3* is placed higher than the other signs so that it is bisected by the uppermost register line (Hintze and Reineke 1989 II, 128–30 [FSN 373–5]).

Image redacted

Figure 3.2 Nile flood record of Year 23 of Amenemhat III, with bisected *r3* (Hintze and Reineke 1989 II, 129 [FSN 374]).

This same orthographic variant also reappears later in the records of Years 6 and 7 of Amenemhat IV (Hintze and Reineke 1989 II, 208–9 [FSN 503–4]), and is thought to indicate that the word *r3* was the mark of the exact flood height (Vercoutter 1966, 136; Putter 1993, 267; Darnell 2020, 1127). Despite these minor variations, the flood records at the Second Cataract forts are predominantly consistent in both content and location.

Each flood record identifies the king by prenomen alone. For the Twelfth Dynasty, this presents no problems, but there are uncertainties in the identification and chronological placement for two of the early Thirteenth Dynasty kings attested in the records, namely, Sekhemre-Khutawy and Nerikare. There is considerable contemporaneous evidence to suggest that there were two kings with the prenomen Sekhemre-Khutawy: Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and a Sekhemre-Khutawy with the Horus name Khabaw, who reigned towards the end of the early Thirteenth Dynasty in chronological proximity to Hor and who may be identified with Renseneb (§1.2.1, 1.2.6), and so the prenomen of the flood records could belong to either king. However, the Year 8 record of Amenemhat IV and the Year 3 record of Sekhemre-Khutawy both name the same official, the Seal-Bearer of the King and Overseer of the Army Renseneb (Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 150 [FSN 504], 152 [FSN 509]; Siesse 2019, 73). The fact that the career of this official spanned both of these reigns suggests that the Sekhemre-Khutawy of the flood records is likely to be the earlier of the two, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep. In addition, the only flood records at Kumba later than the reign of Amenemhat III are the Year 3 record of Sobekneferew, and Year 4 of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, which may support their chronological closeness (Siesse 2019, 73). As the successor of Sobekneferew and the predecessor of Amenemhat-Senebef, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep fits well within the temporal context of the flood record tradition (Ryholt 1997b, 320).

The chronological position of Nerikare in the Thirteenth Dynasty is uncertain as his

prenomens is not listed in the Turin king-list and his nomen is otherwise unknown (§1.2.3). However, four of the six kings attested in the Second Cataract flood records—Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV, Sobekneferew, and Amenemhat-Senebef—can be securely placed closely chronologically, as the final three kings of the Twelfth Dynasty and the second king of the Thirteenth. The probable attribution of the Sekhemre-Khutawy flood records to Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, the first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, also adds to the temporal proximity of the extant Second Cataract flood records. Accordingly, this style of monumental graffiti ‘*appartient de toute évidence à un ensemble de règnes chronologiquement proches*’ of the late Twelfth and very early Thirteenth Dynasties, and may indicate that Nerikare should also be located around this restricted timespan (Siesse 2019, 72; see also, Ryholt 1997b, 70; McCormack 2008, 69). The Year 4 record of Amenemhat-Senebef and the Year 1 record of Nerikare were found on the same boulder (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 130 [RIS 8–9]), perhaps supporting Nerikare as the successor of Amenemhat-Senebef (Siesse 2019, 73). Although the placement of graffiti across a landscape does not always reflect chronology (as the First Cataract graffiti of Senwosret III and Neferhotep I demonstrate), the grouping of some sequential flood records—such as Years 5, 6, and 7 of Amenemhat IV (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 130 [RIS 16, 18–19])—indicates that physical proximity could also embody temporal closeness in this tradition, and so the physical context of these specific records may also support the chronological placement and Nerikare in the *wšf*-entry following Amenemhat-Senebef in the Turin king-list (7.6: fig. 1.2), as the third king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (§1.2.3). Together, this material presents a convincing ‘closed sequence’ of kings under whom these flood records were made, comprising the final three kings of the Twelfth Dynasty and the first three kings of the Thirteenth (Ryholt 1997b, 318).

During the years of Amenemhat III, the extant records are sporadic but span nearly the entirety of his long reign. Within these records, there are sequences of consecutive years, such as Years 22 to 24, and Years 30 to 32. The flood records of Amenemhat IV are consecutive, but all

date to his later years, beginning with Year 5, while the first half of his reign is absent. Only one regnal year of Sobekneferew, Year 3, is attested among the extant flood records. Given the collapse of the bank at Semna, it is possible that flood records of the unattested years of these three kings were located there and subsequently lost. However, it is equally plausible that the flood records were not made every year, and that records from those missing years of Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV, and Sobekneferew never existed. In contrast, the flood records of the early Thirteenth Dynasty present a nearly complete sequence (Ryholt 1997b, 318). These flood records preserve the highest known regnal years of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Senebef, as well as the only year of Nerikare (Ryholt 1997b, 193). The relative lack of records dated to Year 1 is expected: as flood levels seem to have been recorded only once in any given year at the forts, records dated to Year 1, such as that of Nerikare and Amenemhat III, would only be found if a king had acceded prior to the annual inundation (Ryholt 1997b, 321). In light of this, the only Thirteenth Dynasty record that might be expected but is absent from the sequence is a Year 2 record of Amenemhat-Senebef (Ryholt 1997b, 320), which may have been lost with the collapse of the riverbank at Semna. By the early Thirteenth Dynasty then, the flood records appear to have been made consistently and annually.

3.2 Earlier royal flood graffiti

While the tradition of recording Nile flood levels at the Second Cataract appears to have begun with Amenemhat III, this style of inscription is not without precedent. In addition to the Second Cataract corpus, there are three earlier known flood graffiti of the Twelfth Dynasty from elsewhere. Two of these are dated to Year 10 of Senwosret III and were found at Tina Island in the Dal Cataract, making them the most southerly known inscription of this type from the Middle Kingdom (Vercoutter 1966, 164; Edwards and Mills 2013, 15; Davies 2016, 14–17). The graffiti were carved immediately beside each other on the same stone, and both recount the

passage of a fleet through the cataract on ‘Year 10, 3rd month of Akhet, day 9’ (Davies 2016, 15). Only one of the graffiti, however, uses the specific phrase found in the later flood records at the Second Cataract, *rꜥ n(.y) ḥꜥpy* (Davies 2016, 14–16, fig. 1). Found *in situ*, the water-levels recorded were close to the modern water line during November 2014 (Davies 2016, 14). These monumental graffiti commemorate a specific occasion of the fleet passing northwards through the cataract, presumably returning from an incursion into Kush, ‘highlighting the fleet’s achievement in successfully navigating the cataract at a time of year when the river-level posed difficulties for traffic’ (Davies 2016, 16). A further graffito of Senwosret III from Uronarti similarly details the difficulties faced by an expedition passing through the cataract in the fourth month of Akhet on the return journey after a campaign against Kush but does not record an exact water level (Vercoutter 1966, 155; Dunham 1967, 33–4; Delia 1980, 77–9; Hinkel and Mohamed 2002, 157). These two Dal Cataract graffiti of Senwosret III are thus distinct from the Second Cataract flood record tradition of the late Middle Kingdom by their date, location, format, and purpose in connection to the specific passage of a fleet rather than a record of the flood level itself.

Even earlier, however, there is a flood graffito of Year 6 of Senwosret II which was found at the fort of Aniba in 1914 (Steindorff 1937 II, 11–12; III, pl. 2; Vercoutter 1966, 137). This inscription was discovered on a worked stone ‘Hafenmauer’ at the south-east end of the fort (Steindorff 1937 II, 11). The excavators thought it probable that the graffito was a Nile flood record that was made at this specific location, but also acknowledged the possibility that it was made elsewhere and later re-used as a stone in the harbour wall (Steindorff 1937 II, 11). This graffito shares a number of features with the Second Cataract flood records: it was found within the context of a fort—although Aniba is further north than Semna and Kumma, located between the First and Second Cataracts (Knoblauch 2019, 369 fig. 1)—and the inscription is composed of the same elements, although in a different sequence. Here, the regnal year and prenomen of Senwosret II precede the phrase *rꜥ n(y) ḥꜥpy*.

Image redacted

Figure 3.3 Flood graffito of Senwosret II at Aniba (Steindorff 1937 II, pl. 2).

There are several orthographic irregularities in this graffito, such as the abbreviation of the top loop of the *ankh*, and the presence of additional loops in the *h* sign of *hꜥpy*. The cartouche is also unusually shaped, and two signs have also seemingly been carved in their hieratic form. In addition, the overall workmanship of the inscription is poor, with signs being misaligned, unusually proportioned, and often clumsily executed. Similar roughly executed graffiti and rock-cut stelae may be seen in Twelfth Dynasty inscriptions from Sinai (e.g. Gardiner and Peet 1917, pl. 27 [92], 31 [100] 36 [110], 41 [118], 51 [139]) and in the Second Cataract flood records (Hintze and Reineke 1989 II, 127–9 [FSN 369–70, 327], 208 [FSN 502]), perhaps indicating a correlation between orthographic irregularities and distance from the centre. Although both demonstrate the same interest in documenting flood levels, this graffito of Senwosret II is separated from the Second Cataract flood records by some thirty years and its location at Aniba. It is also the only known flood record graffito of Senwosret II, and does not appear to belong to a larger tradition. This graffito may be an isolated early precursor to the Second Cataract flood record tradition, which was later established under Amenemhat III.

3.3 Ecology and ideology: the foundation of the flood record tradition

Perhaps the most commented on aspect of these graffiti is the unusual height of the floods they record, measuring more than seven metres higher on average than modern flood levels prior to the construction of the Aswan high dam (e.g. Bell 1975, 227; Trigger 1976, 82; Butzer 1984, 107; Said 1993, 145–6; Peden 2001, 41; Creasman 2020, 27). Subsequent studies have largely centred around two questions: did these flood records accurately reflect the actual height of the annual Nile inundations in the late Middle Kingdom, and what was the reason for recording flood levels at this particular time, beginning in the reign of Amenemhat III?

Although early scholars questioned the authenticity of the flood levels indicated by the records (e.g. Somers Clarke 1916, 174–6), archaeological evidence from the nearby Semna-South fort corroborates a period of high floods during the Middle Kingdom. The 1956–57 excavations at Semna-South found 8 metres of Nile silt deposited in horizontal layers on the glasis (the outer sloping defensive wall), of the fort, suggesting that it had been regularly submerged after its construction (Vercoutter 1966, 131–2). On the very plausible assumption that structures were built above the maximum anticipated inundation level in order to prevent flood damage (Moeller 2005, 155; Bárta 2019, 34), the silting of the glasis at Semna-South may suggest that flood levels had risen since the construction of the fort. Later excavations revealed that the glasis had subsequently been extended and built on a steeper incline, perhaps in response to the submersion and silting (Žabkar and Žabkar 1982, 10, 15). Accordingly, this period of flooding at Semna-South may be dated prior to the extension of the glasis. Sealings and material finds indicate that Semna-South appears to have been in use during the reigns of Senwosret I to Amenemhat III, but that it was then abandoned (Žabkar and Žabkar 1982, 14–15), providing a broad timeframe for this period of flooding and flood related works. In addition, there was damage to the brickwork in the north-eastern section of the fort and a destroyed wall connecting the north-east and north-west bastions which may also be attributed to flooding (Žabkar and Žabkar 1982, 14). Similarly, erosion to an outer bastion wall due to water damage that is

consistent with the heights of the floods indicated by the flood records has also been observed at the nearby fort of Mirgissa (Hesse 1970, 53).

Away from the Second Cataract, fine sandy washes consistent with high flood depositions were also found in the Middle Kingdom settlement layer at Kom Rabia, near Memphis (Jeffreys and Malek 1988, 17; Giddy 2012, 201; Butzer 2014–15, 72). The levels of the Faiyum lake may also be a general indicator of climate and flood patterns, as the levels fluctuated in accordance with the volume of the Nile flood which fed it (Hassan and Tassie 2006, 37; Römer 2017, 171), but during the Twelfth Dynasty, the lake levels appear to have been regulated and maintained at a level between 14 and 20 metres above sea level, due to the presence of a dam constructed near to the town of Lahun (Hassan and Tassie 2006, 40; Hassan, Tassie et al. 2011, 126; Römer 2017, 173–7). However, sedimentation deposits that dated to the late Middle Kingdom on the pedestals of the Biahmu colossi of Amenemhat III suggest that this dam was no longer functional due to flood heights of 22 metres above sea level after the reign of Amenemhat III (Hassan 1986, 491; Hassan, Tassie et al. 2011, 128; Creasman 2020, 28), which may also broadly corroborate the high flood levels indicated at the Second Cataract. Settlement heights at Elephantine also rose during the Middle Kingdom, perhaps indirectly indicating a corresponding rise in flood levels (Moeller 2005, 155–6; Bárta 2019, 34). The Dal Cataract graffiti of Senwosret III also supports this. The date of the inscription, ‘third month of Akhet, Day 9’, occurred in late January (Bell 1975, 238; Davies 2016, 15) but when the graffiti were observed at a similar time of the year in December 2015, they were then ‘well above the prevailing river-level’ (Davies 2016, 15). As such, these graffiti also seem to indicate an unusually high level of the winter Nile during the reign of Senwosret III (Bell 1975, 238, 244–5). These factors attest to a period of high floods during the late Middle Kingdom across Egypt and Lower Nubia, corroborating the flood levels recorded at the Second Cataract forts.

Many theories have been put forward to explain the difference in flood height observed between the ancient and modern levels. Early scholars suggested that the difference represented

a lowering of the flood height in modern times, due to the erosion of the river bed (Ball 1903, 74–7) or a sudden collapse of the banks widening the channel (Reisner 1929a, 68; 1929b, 160). However, the aforementioned factors of the silting of the glasis at Semna-South, geophysical surveys from Memphis and the Faiyum, and the rising settlement levels at Elephantine, would all indicate instead an ancient rise in flood heights during the late Middle Kingdom. There are currently two main theories to explain this sudden and substantial increase. The dominant view is that Egypt experienced a period of natural climate variation in the late Middle Kingdom, resulting in unusual floods (Bell 1975, 26–37; Butzer 1976, 29; Putter 1993, 270–80; Peden 2001, 41; Seidlmayer 2001, 76–80; Moeller 2005, 156; McCormack 2011, 39; Creasman 2020, 27–8). An alternative hypothesis posited that the river was artificially narrowed by a dam or spurs, creating a reservoir with locally elevated water levels. This was first proposed by Horner (1850, 385), but was predominantly advocated by Vercoutter (1966, 143–57; 1976, 148–163; 1994, 318–26; 1998, 35–42; see also, Uphill 2018, 186–9). However, no archaeological evidence has been discovered that could support the construction of a dam in this area (Seidlmayer 2001, 77). In addition, the *in situ* records at Kumma were discovered *downstream* of the location of the proposed dam, which is not consistent with a reservoir that would form *upstream* of a dam (Putter 1993, 278). Furthermore, the geophysical evidence from Memphis, the Faiyum, and Elephantine previously discussed indicates that the elevated water levels were not localised around this proposed dam beside the forts of Semna and Kumma.

Both theories assume that the purpose of the flood records was to document the increased water levels. According to the artificial dam theory, they recorded the water levels generated by this hypothetical dam (Vercoutter 1966, 152–3), while the climate model argues that floods of that height were simply ‘so remarkable as to demand commemoration’ (Bell 1975, 237). It cannot be proven that all the extant flood records marked floods of great height, since the Semna flood records were displaced by the bank collapse and so no quantifiable ecological

data can be drawn from them (Putter 1993, 267–8); this is particularly relevant for the later periods, since the records of Amenemhat IV and the Thirteenth Dynasty kings were almost entirely found at Semna. Accordingly, any purported picture of the climate after Amenemhat III that is based on these graffiti relies on assumptions taken from averages of only a few points of data (as Bell acknowledged, 1975, 229). Even though the Kumma records of Amenemhat III do appear to record a period of unusually high floods, it should also not be assumed that the flood record tradition as a whole documents ‘in einem präzisen Sinne’ the beginning and end of this natural phenomenon (Seidlmayer 2001, 75); it would be a remarkable coincidence if the first unusually high flood should occur in Year 1 of Amenemhat III, and the last in the first and final year of Nerikare. In addition, the silting of the glasis at Semna-South suggests that climate variation was already in effect earlier in the Twelfth Dynasty, since it is implausible that sufficient silting could have occurred to require the modification to the glasis and for this work to be carried out before the fort was abandoned in the reign of Amenemhat III if the high floods only began in his Year 1 (Putter 1993, 274; Seidlmayer 2001, 77). Similarly, the recording of the flood level at Aniba under Senwosret II may demonstrate a new concern for unusual flood levels earlier in the Twelfth Dynasty. Several inscriptions of Senwosret III attest to climate variability, with the Dal Cataract inscriptions indicating an unusually high winter Nile level in the third month of Akhet, Year 10, and an inscription from Uronarti from the second month of Akhet, Year 19, conversely recording difficulties passing due to unusually low water levels at nearly the same time of the year (Bell 1975, 238; Peden 2001, 40). These contrasting inscriptions not only demonstrate that a period of climate variability may already have been affecting the Twelfth Dynasty prior to the start of the Second Cataract flood records, they also highlight the difficulties in drawing conclusions about climate patterns from inscriptional material alone. The Second Cataract flood records of the late Middle Kingdom may have been made during a longer period of climate variability and can provide, within their limitations, valuable ecological data on

the conditions at this time, but it does not necessarily follow that their purpose was to document these unusually high floods. An alternative interpretation of the purpose of the flood records suggests that the measurements of the flood level were taken and recorded at Egypt's southern border, where the flood would first arrive, in order to predict harvest levels and calculate taxes (e.g. Yvanez 2010, 8; Pignattari 2018, 67), although Reisner (1929b, 158) had already argued that measurements taken at the Second Cataract were impractical for use in Egypt since the flood itself would arrive as fast as any messenger bearing news of it.

Although it seems likely that the Twelfth Dynasty more broadly experienced a period of unusual flooding, the extant flood records are restricted only to the reigns of Amenemhat III and his successors, which raises the question of what prompted the start of this tradition at this specific time (Putter 1993, 281)? An early suggestion from Lepsius (1913, 244) hypothesised that the Second Cataract flood records could have begun in connection with the building work of Amenemhat III in the Faiyum, and a newly identified piece of evidence suggests that this older theory should be revisited. A flood record of Regnal Year 23 under Amenemhat III was found at Kumma (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 145 [RIK 29]; Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 99–100 [FSN 374]), and is now located in the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum (SNM 34395: Yvanez 2010, 54). There is also a second flood record of Year 23 of Amenemhat III in the Hearst museum in Berkeley (6–19877: Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966, 64), making this the only regnal year to have multiple extant flood records. The Hearst record begins 'Year 23, month 4 of Shemu, day 23'. It then continues on a second line with the phrase *r3 n(y) hꜥpy* and the king's prenomen. Beneath the inscription proper, there is an additional horizontal line which bisects a large *r3* sign placed centrally, as is also found in the Second Cataract flood records of Years 22, 23, and 24 of Amenemhat III where this sign in *r3 n(y) hꜥpy* is bisected by the upper register line, which may also support their concurrence.



Figure 3.4 Flood record of Year 23 of Amenemhat III, Heast 6–19877 (Hearst Museum of Anthropology Berkeley, 2018), CC BY-NC-SA 4.0.

The provenance of the Hearst flood record was originally recorded as Nag ed-Deir (Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966, 64), although Davies (2016, 14 n. 5) expressed doubts about this provenance and suggested the Faiyum as an alternative. Nag ed-Deir seems a highly unlikely location for a royal flood record, as an elite cemetery site with no other royal monuments (PM V, 26–8; Kroenke 2010, 13–14). The museum has confirmed that the graffito had been incorrectly catalogued and in fact came from the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt at Tebtunis in the Faiyum (Black and Knudsen, personal communication, 2018). Although Tebtunis is not located on the Nile valley, geological models suggest that the Twelfth Dynasty settlement was probably located close to the lake margins (Hassan and Tassie 2006, 39–40), although the possibility that this inscription was moved to Tebtunis from another location also cannot be discounted. This is the only extant flood record of the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasties known from outside of the cataracts, and may connect the flood records of the Second Cataract to the Faiyum. In order to understand the significance of the flood record tradition, then, the significance of each of these

two sites of the Faiyum and the Second cataract, as well as their connections to the flood, must be considered.

There are twenty-seven known records from the Semna and Kumma forts, but only one extant record from the Faiyum, which might suggest that the Second Cataract was the primary site for the flood record tradition, although the better preservation conditions at the Second Cataract compared to the Faiyum may also have affected this corpus. From the reign of Senwosret III, the Second Cataract forts of Semna and Uronarti were marked as the southern border of Egyptian territory through the placement of boundary stelae in Years 8 and 16 (Török 2009, 85–6; Vogel 2011, 326–35; Obsomer 2017, 5–7, 9–22). Marking the landscape with royal monumental graffiti in liminal or disputed regions may serve as a territorial claim to authority over that area (Darnell 2002, 109–10; Blöbaum 2013, 18; Brown 2017, 168–75), and so, much like the graffiti of Senwosret III at Sehel at the northern end of the boundary zone between the First and Second Cataracts (§2.3), the flood records of Amenemhat III at the Second Cataract forts displayed royal authority over this important region. This message was presumably enhanced by their placement within a militarised landscape, where the natural barrier of the Batn el-Hajar and the Second Cataract forts controlled the river access (Török 2009, 85–9; Knoblauch 2019, 371–3). The name of Semna fort, ‘Khakaure-justified-is-powerful’ demonstrates the dual function of the forts as practical military outposts and ‘physical manifestations of royal power’ (Knoblauch 2019, 375).

It is therefore striking that these graffiti of Amenemhat III did not mark the landscape with his titulary or deeds, as Senwosret III did through his Sehel graffiti and the boundary stelae at Semna and Uronarti, but record the level of the annual flood. The Nile flood was always significant for royal ideology and was integrated into royal display: from the image of King Scorpion opening a canal on the Scorpion macehead (AN1896-1908.E.3632: Millet 1990, 55 fig. 2; Wengrow 2006, 213–14), to the inclusion of flood levels in the royal annals of the Palermo stone (Palermo 1028: Schäfer 1902, pl. 1–2; Bárta 2019, 26–9; Nuzzolo 2021, 57–78), and the

measurements of water levels recorded on the north wall of the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, 238–41; Seidlmayer 2001, 93–103). Literary texts associate a good flood with good kingship as a sign of divine favour, such as in *The Teaching of Amenemhat* in which the king is said to claim ‘Hapy gave me honour on every field, so that none hungered during my years or thirsted therein’ (11b–c: Helck 1969, 73; Adrom 2006, 64–5), while a bad flood is acknowledged as a potential source of stress in *The Teaching for Merikare*, which states that ‘the Nile flood will not cause you worry by failing to come’ (P 33: Helck 1977, 53; E 86: Quack 1992, 53). The earliest known copies of these texts date to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and most plausibly so too their composition (Gnirs 2006, 207–43; 2013, 129–51; Stauder 2013, 175–99, 435–96). However, the Twelfth Dynasty stela of Sehotepibre, which has a version of *The Teaching of Kaires* (Stauder 2020, 252–3), explicitly likens Amenemhat III to the flood: ‘he is the one who makes the land green, more than a high inundation, he having filled the lands with the breath of life’ (l. 12–3: Blumenthal 1970, 440 [H 2.10]; Posener 1976, 70).

The Second Cataract was an area of particular significance for the flood. Given the south-to-north orientation of Egypt, in accordance with the flow of the Nile, the southern border was the head of the land (Baines and Yoffee 1998, 255; Bunbury, Cooper et al. 2023, 61). These flood records at the Second Cataract, the southern border during the late Middle Kingdom, were therefore made at the first location where the flood arrived in Egyptian controlled territory. It has been suggested that Nile flood levels were measured and documented in order to mitigate the risk of negative floods (Bunbury, Cooper et al. 2023, 68). Although, as Reisner (1929b, 158) noted, measuring flood levels at the Second Cataract could have little impact in the short term as there would presumably not be sufficient time to prepare for a high or low flood’s arrival between the time the measurement was taken and its spread throughout Egypt in any calendar year, long-term monitoring may have helped identify patterns and inform water management strategies during a period of climate variation such as the late Middle Kingdom was apparently experiencing (Bunbury, Cooper et al. 2023, 68). In addition, rock-cut

graffiti outside the traditional boundaries of the Nile Valley, may be understood as ‘socialising’ the landscape in that they do not just assert authority to an audience of any people who inhabit these regions, but impose the Egyptian worldview and ideal order onto the environment itself (Brown 2017, 170–2; Ragazzoli 2018, 24; Darnell 2020, 1112–13), and so rather than passively documenting a series of unusually high floods, the Nile flood records at the Second Cataract could be understood as a means of bringing this environment under royal authority and symbolically asserting control over this uncontrollable natural phenomenon.

Although the flood record tradition was best attested at the Second Cataract, the existence of the Year 23 flood record from Tebtunis links this programme of graffiti from the Second Cataract to the Faiyum. Located in the Western Desert, the Faiyum became a site of increasing importance over the Twelfth Dynasty. Archaeological attestations of early Twelfth Dynasty kings in the region are limited to a statue of Amenemhat I with Bastet from Kiman Fares (Sourouzian 2005, 105–6, pl. 5; Davoli and Ahmed 2006, 81–2), and a monolithic 13 metre tall obelisk-like monument of Senwosret I from Abgig (Hirsch 2004, 288–9; Zecchi 2008, 373–83; Enmarch 2013, 21–4), decorated with offering scenes to Atum, Amun, Re-Horakhty, Ptah, and Montu, as well as other deities including Sobek but ‘with little evidence of local deities being given special prominence’ (Enmarch 2013, 21). The Faiyum is mentioned in the annals of Amenemhat II, in which the king reportedly engaged in fishing and clapnet fowling in ‘the palace of the Southern Faiyum’, *ḥ n(y) t3-š rsy* (AnnM x+23–5: Altenmüller 2015, 101–8). Monumental activity in the Faiyum increased with the construction of the pyramid of Senwosret II at Lahun, at the entrance to the Faiyum channel (Do. Arnold 2016, 52–65; Kockelmann 2017 II, 396), and the temple at Qasr el-Sagha, attributed most plausibly to Senwosret II on the basis of pottery typology and the nearby location of his pyramid complex at Lahun (Di. Arnold and Do. Arnold 1979, 20–1; Zecchi 2010, 35–6; Do. Arnold 2016, 63). However, the Faiyum and its god, Sobek of Shedet, did not receive significant attention until Amenemhat III, with the building of temples at Shedet (Habachi 1937, 85–8; Zecchi 2010, 37–53; Kockelmann 2017 II,

364–6), and Medinet Madi (Zecchi 2010, 60–84; Bresciani and Giammarusti 2012, 59–104; Kockelmann 2017 II, 407), as well as the construction of the colossi at Biahmu (Habachi 1940, 721–9; Zecchi 2010, 38). Hawara, at the entrance to the Faiyum, was also the chosen location for the pyramid and ‘Labyrinth’ mortuary temple of Amenemhat III (Blom-Böer 2006, 66–9; McCormack 2008, 155–66; Zecchi 2010, 53–60; Kockelmann 2017 II, 391–2). The particular dedication of Amenemhat III to Sobek may be seen in the central scene from the temple of Renenutet at Medinet Madi, where Amenemhat III is depicted facing Sobek, with both the king and the god together grasping a *mnpt* sign staff, while Renenutet stands behind the king (fig. 3.5). In the captions of both Sobek and Renenutet, the king is identified as the Son of Sobek. Even in this temple dedicated to Renenutet, this central scene is oriented around Amenemhat III and his relationship to Sobek (Zecchi 2010, 76). Three limestone blocks record the conferral of royal titulary on Amenemhat III from the syncretised Sobek-Shedety Horus-in-the-midst-of-Shedet (*sbk šdty hr hr.y-ib šdt*), in the presence of Senwosret III (Berlin ÄM 15801–3: PM IV, 103; Leprohon 1980, 297–99, pl. 1; Hirsch 2004, 345 [288]). Although the exact provenance of these blocks within the Faiyum area is not certain, they are typically attributed to the temple of Sobek in Shedet (Franke 1988a, 118; Hirsch 2004, 345; Zecchi 2010, 48).

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Figure 3.5 Rear wall of the central niche at Medinet Madi (Zecchi 2010, 63 fig. 8).

In addition to these monuments, hymns to Sobek, a copy of which was discovered in a Thirteenth Dynasty tomb beneath the Ramesseum in Thebes, are also attributed to the reign of Amenemhat III, reading *ḥtp:k n nswt imn-m-ḥꜣt nfr ḥr:k imy:f m rꜥ pn* ‘may you be gracious to king Amenemhat, through whom your face is happy on this day’ (P. Ramesseum 6: Gardiner 1957b, 43–4; Vernus 1980, 117; Zecchi 2010, 95). The epithets ‘beloved of Sobek-Shedety’ and ‘beloved of Sobek-Shedety Horus-in-the-midst-of-Shedet’ are found most extensively associated with the names of Amenemhat III (Yoyotte 1957, 86; Brovarski 1984, 998–9; Zecchi 2010, 41–2). Through his particular connection to this region and its deity, Sobek-Horus, the royal display of Amenemhat III takes on a distinctly Faiyemic quality.

Nilotic imagery also appears in other aspects of the self-presentation of Amenemhat III, such as a dyad statue which was discovered at Tanis having been reinscribed with the name of Psusennes I (GC 392: Freed 2002, 116; Connor 2020, pl. 19 fig. 2.5.1.2g). The dyad depicts two standing figures bearing offerings of fish, ducks, and lotus flowers. The figures each wear a wig with thick locks of ringlets around the face and a braided section at the back that has no exact parallels but some similarities to an Early Dynastic non-royal ivory statue from Hierakonpolis (Fay 1999, 116; Freed 2002, 115–16; Saladino Haney 2020, 255–6). They also both wear a full beard with rows that extends across the entire jawline and reach the mid-chest (Saladino Haney 2020, 262). In the absence of the traditional headdresses and beards, and with the foreheads of both damaged, there are no clear royal insignia on either figure. However, a fragment of an unprovenanced statue from Rome preserved from the chest up depicts a figure wearing the same wig and beard, and with a preserved uraeus (Museo Nazionale dell Terme 8607: Connor 2020, pl. 19 fig. 2.5.1.2e). As this style of wig and beard are only attested on these two statues, the Rome fragment is thought to have come from a second dyad statue (Freed 2002, 116 n. 125; Saladino Haney 2020, 616). The parallel suggests that both dyads depict a king, who can be identified as Amenemhat III through facial features (Freed 2002, 116; Saladino Haney 2020, 579). The dyads are sometimes identified as Nile gods or fecundity figures (e.g. Habachi 1978, 86; Hill 2015, 297

fig. 113), although they lack characteristic attributes of fecundity figures such as a corpulent stomach and breasts (Baines 1985, 118; Freed 2002, 117). Rather, Freed suggests that these statues use Nilotic symbols to represent the harnessing and control of the natural environment by the king (2002, 118).

While Amenemhat III is well-documented in the Faiyum, his predecessor Senwosret III is notably absent (Zecchi 2010, 37). As such, Saladino Haney suggests that this emphasis on the Faiyum under Amenemhat III may have begun during a period of coregency so that Amenemhat III could establish a distinct identity as king by associating with a form of Horus, the syncretised Sobek-Shedety Horus-in-the-midst-of-Shedet, with whom Senwosret III had no apparent connection (2020, 351–63). The syncretism of Sobek with Horus elevates him to a state god associated with kingship, but maintains his connection to the Faiyum and waterways more generally (Altenmüller 1975, 188; Brovarski 1984, 999–1001; Zecchi 2010, 42–51; Kockelmann 2017 I, 228–33). In particular, Sobek is given the epithet ‘Lord of the Nile’, and attributed control over the river and its flood (Leitz 2002 III, 689; Kockelmann 2017 I, 128–38). Long-term environmental stress is often said to be economically and politically detrimental (e.g. Butzer 1984, 103–11; 2012, 3632–9; Bárta 2015, 177–89; Morris 2019, 79–83), and studies suggest that there may be a correlation between periods of climate variability and periods of decentralisation or instability in kingship in ancient Egypt (Butzer 1984, 103–11; Moreno García 2020, 145). As the *Hymn to Hapy* states ‘if he idles, then noses are blocked, everyone is poor ... if he is greedy, the whole earth suffers ... if he rises, the land is in joy’ (2d, 3a, 3c: Helck 1972, 14, 18, 20;). Amenemhat III’s particular dedication to Sobek then, may demonstrate the same desire to assert control over the inundation that is also seen in the Second Cataract flood records and the Nilotic dyad statues.

The Faiyum is unique among Egyptian oases in that it is not fed by springs or groundwater but rather, from the Bahr Yusuf channel off the Nile, on which it is entirely reliant (Hassan, Tassie et al. 2011, 116; Römer 2017, 171). Both the Faiyum and the Second Cataract

then, were linked by the flood, although this was true of nearly all Egyptian sites. What set the Faiyum apart was that its water source could be regulated. As previously mentioned, remains of a dam dated to the Twelfth Dynasty were located to the north of the Bahr Yusuf (Hassan and Tassie 2006, 40; Hassan, Tassie et al. 2011, 126; Römer 2017, 173–7; Willems, Creylman et al. 2017, 302). This dam cannot be dated more precisely but it is often attributed to Amenemhat III, or perhaps Senwosret II, on the basis of their other monumental investments in the Faiyum (e.g. Hassan, Tassie et al. 2011, 124–5; Römer 2017, 173–4; Willems, Creylman et al. 2017, 328–32; Bunbury 2020, 56). While the flood records at the Second Cataract may have asserted the king's symbolic control over the inundation at its origin, and arguably belong to a wider motif of controlling the flood also seen in other aspects of Amenemhat III's display, the Faiyum was an important region for this motif as it could physically demonstrate that control through the anthropogenic regulation of the lake water levels.

The flood records at the Second Cataract seemingly begun under Amenemhat III as part of a larger concern with controlling the natural environment during a period of climate variability and were connected to his water-management works in the Faiyum. However, the Faiyumatic connection of the flood records appears to lessen in the reigns of his successors. Amenemhat IV is only attested at the temple of Medinet Madi alongside Amenemhat III, where he is thought to have completed the decorative programme begun under Amenemhat III (§1.4.4), but he is notably absent from other sites such as Shedet and Hawara (Zecchi 2010, 84; Pignattari 2018, 63). Sobekneferew is primarily associated with the Faiyum through her name. She was the first ruler to incorporate the name of Sobek into her titulary, in both her nomen and prenomen, Sobekkare (Brovarski 1984, 999; Callender 1998, 228). On several occasions, her nomen is even written as Sobek-Shedety-Nefereu—on a block from Hawara (UC 14337: Blom-Böer 2006, 188–90 [93]), an architrave from Kom al-Akarib (Moukhtar 1983, pl. 8; Callender 1998, 230–1), and two cylinder seals (JE 72663: Aufrère 1989, 13; BM EA 16581: Callender 1998, 233)—reinforcing her connection to Sobek's specific form in the Faiyum that was so associated

with Amenemhat III (Zecchi 2010, 87). In practice, however, she is only securely attested in the Faiyum at Hawara, where she is thought to have completed or made additions to the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III (Callender 1998, 230; Zecchi 2010, 85). In particular, on one fragment of column from Hawara inscribed with the *sereks* of both Amenemhat III and Sobekneferew, the falcon of Amenemhat III's *serekb* extends *ankh* and *djed* signs to the beak of the falcon of Sobekneferew's (Pignattari 2018, 211 fig. 43). Both Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew are attested in the Faiyum at key sites of Amenemhat III, but in manners that appear to emphasise their relationship to him rather than the region more broadly.

At the Second Cataract, the flood records of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew have features which similarly suggest an association with Amenemhat III: the use of the bisected *r* sign in Years 6 and 7 of Amenemhat IV seemingly derives directly from the records of Years 22 to 24 of Amenemhat III (Hintze and Reineke 1989 II, 208–9 [FSN 503–4]), and Sobekneferew's only extant flood record was placed among those of Amenemhat III at Kumma (Dunham and Janssen 1960, 138 [RIK 11]). These features suggest that in addition to their documentation of the flood levels itself, this tradition had also developed an associative function under Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew, articulating the relationship between Amenemhat III and themselves as his successors. However, flood records continued to be made only sporadically under these kings, as they were during the reign of Amenemhat III. Although it is unclear precisely what factors led to the recording of flood years in some regnal years but not others, the (in)frequency of their recording demonstrates a degree of continuity in function between the flood records of Amenemhat III and his Twelfth Dynasty successors.

By the early Thirteenth Dynasty, any Faiyomic connection of the Second Cataract flood records seems lost. At least one Thirteenth Dynasty king appears to have engaged with the monuments of Amenemhat III in the Faiyum, as a statue of Intef IV was discovered next to a statue of Amenemhat III in the sanctuary of the temple at Medinet Madi (§6.1.8). The reigns of some twenty kings separate Amenemhat III and Intef IV and although the reign lengths of

some of these intervening rulers are unknown, it may be estimated to be at least 25 years. An unprovenanced cylinder seal of Kay-Amenemhat (Kaplony 1981, II: 541, pl. 149), and an unprovenanced bead of Imyremesha (Vassilika 1995, 201) may perhaps have also come from the Faiyum as they are dedicated to Sobek of Shedet (Ryholt 1997b, 341–2). However, none of the three early Thirteenth Dynasty kings of the flood record tradition have any known attestations from the Faiyum. The flood records continue at the Second Cataract, but appear to change in frequency: while the Twelfth Dynasty flood records are sporadic, the sequence of Thirteenth Dynasty records is nearly complete with only a single unattested regnal year, appearing to continue simply as an annual tradition (§3.1). The change in frequency may reflect a change in function of the flood records at this time. The flood records of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew suggest that already by the late Twelfth Dynasty, this tradition had also taken on an associative function. The absence of a Faiyumic connection or any other Nilotic imagery concerned with the control of the flood in the early Thirteenth Dynasty may suggest that this associative function, linking these kings to Amenemhat III, had become the records' primary function.

If the function of the flood records in the early Thirteenth Dynasty is understood as a means of associating these kings with Amenemhat III, then given the importance of the Faiyum for royal display under Amenemhat III, it is perhaps unusual that the early Thirteenth Dynasty have very limited engagement with this region and the monuments of Amenemhat III there. There may, however, be a practical explanation. As previously noted, the Twelfth Dynasty dam at the Lahun gap was damaged by floods reaching more than 22 metres above sea level after the reign of Amenemhat III (Hassan 1986, 491; Hassan, Tassie et al. 2011, 128; Creasman 2020, 28). At that height, the flood waters would have covered a vast amount of the Faiyum depression (Hassan and Tassie 2006, 39), perhaps causing significant difficulty in accessing the region and its monuments and limiting early Thirteenth Dynasty work in this region (Willems, Creylman et al. 2017, 334). The presence of the statue of Intef IV, one of the final kings of the early Thirteenth

Dynasty, at Medinet Madi suggests that access may have fluctuated, or was perhaps regained towards the end of this period. The agricultural qualities and fluctuating water levels of the region, as well as significant subsequent use in the Graeco-Roman period (e.g. Uytterhoeven 2009; Römer 2020), may also have impacted the preservation of early Thirteenth Dynasty attestations from the Faiyum.

3.4 The end of the Second Cataract flood records

As sharply as they begin in Year 1 of Amenemhat III, the flood records appear to end in the first and only regnal year of Nerikare. Bell assumed that the flood records were made in order to commemorate floods of extreme height, and so argued that the absence of a flood record would indicate that the flood had been of normal height in those years (1975, 235). In addition, she argued that the cessation of the flood records indicated that the period of high floods in the late Middle Kingdom ended suddenly after the reign of Nerikare, and moreover, that the return to normal flood levels after Egypt had become accustomed to the higher levels, would have felt like a deficit (1975, 261–2), and even suggested that the brief reigns of many Thirteenth Dynasty kings may be explained by lower flood levels, in that a king ‘would be secretly murdered or expected to commit suicide when his coronation was not followed in due season with floods adequate to avert scarcity’ (1975, 266). Although climate variability is often understood to be a potential cause of political instability, the relationship between these factors is complex and it is difficult to support such a direct causation between climate change and political collapse (e.g. Moeller 2005, 153–67; Contardi 2015, 13–18; Moreno García 2021, 201–10). In addition, the fact that the three kings with flood records all reigned for short periods, while there are no indications of higher floods for longer reigning, better attested, and arguably more stable kings of the dynasty such as Neferhotep I, Khaneferre Sobekhotep II, or Merneferre Ay, would argue against this theory. In addition, just as the beginning of the flood records in Year 1 of Amenemhat III marks only the establishment of a new tradition in response to increasing flood

levels and not the precise beginning of the high floods themselves, the end of the tradition also does not necessarily correspond with the end of a climate event (Seidlmayer 2001, 75). While climate variability may well have been one factor contributing to the apparent instability of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Butzer 1984, 107–9; McCormack 2008, 459–64; 2011, 39–40), the cessation of the flood record tradition after the reign of Nerikare may be largely independent of any climate events.

An alternative hypothesis is that the flood records ceased because the Thirteenth Dynasty lost control over Nubian territories (Uphill 2018, 186). However, objects from Thirteenth Dynasty kings later than the flood records are attested at the forts, including seal impressions of Khabaw, Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I, and Neferhotep I from Uronarti and Mirgissa (Dunham 1967, 64 [3A], 171 [32.1.20], 172 [32.1.44]), a statue of Wegaf from Semna (Khartoum 65–7: §6.1.5), and a decorative plaque of Neferhotep I from Buhen (Wegner and Houser Wegner 2015, 12 fig. 1.21). These suggest that a lack of access to the Second Cataract alone could not have prompted the end of the flood records either (Trigger 1976, 84). However, architectural and ceramic evidence suggests that the purpose of the Second Cataract forts shifted during the Thirteenth Dynasty, from military-garrison outposts to domestic settlements (Smith 1995, 64–6; Knoblauch 2019, 380–3). This may also be seen in the records at Semna which include the name of senior officials associated with the fort: those who appear in the earlier records hold military titles, including the Commander of the Crew of the Ruler, Khuwysobek (Year 9 of Amenemhat III: Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 155–6 [FSN 520]); the Overseer of the Army Renseneb (Year 7 of Amenemhat IV, and Year 3 of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep: Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 150 [FSN 504], 152 [FSN 509]); the Commander Nebipu (Year 8 of Amenemhat IV: Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 151 [FSN 507]); and the Overseer of the Army Djefa[...] (Year 4 of Amenemhat-Senebef: Hintze and Reineke 1989 I, 151 [FSN 506]). In contrast, the official named in the latest extant flood record held only an administrative title, Overseer of the Fields Senwosret-Seneb (Year 1 of Nerikare: Hintze and

Reineke 1989 I, 152 [FSN 510]). This change in titles may reflect the demilitarization of the forts during the early Thirteenth Dynasty, which coincides with the end of the flood record tradition (Siesse 2019, 73–4). Economic factors may have driven this demilitarization process, as the maintenance of the fort infrastructure required significant resources and human effort (Smith 1995, 80). Likewise, their distance from the centre may have also complicated the effort involved in maintaining an annual royal tradition in this location, and so seemingly as these communities transitioned to a more self-sufficient domestic model, this monumental graffiti tradition also ceased.

3.5 Continuity and change: two case studies of Thirteenth Dynasty graffiti

The emulative First Cataract graffiti of Neferhotep I and the Second Cataract Nile flood records of the early Thirteenth Dynasty arguably provide the only two well-preserved examples of specific programmes of monumental display from the dynasty, which span multiple sites in the case of the Neferhotep I graffiti, or multiple reigns in the case of the flood records. They have several similarities which make them suitable for direct comparison: both are examples of living-rock graffiti programmes, both were located in the liminal southern boundary region of Egypt between the First and Second Cataracts, and most significantly, both were connected to existing graffiti programmes of the Twelfth Dynasty. The graffiti of Neferhotep I emulated those of Senwosret III at Sehel and Montuhotep II at Konosso, while the early Thirteenth Dynasty flood records were a continuation of a form and practice which was established under Amenemhat III at the Second Cataract. In addition, although both sets of Thirteenth Dynasty engage with Twelfth Dynasty programmes, they are not simply imitative of them, but adapt them to articulate their identity. At Sehel, the graffiti of Neferhotep I alter the content of the graffiti of Senwosret III to reflect their own historical circumstances and important elements of Neferhotep I's self-presentation such as divine birth allusions (§2.4), as well as incorporating the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty genealogical motif into this graffiti programme (§2.5). At Konosso, the graffiti of

Neferhotep I emulated the divine composite form of Montuhotep II, which was used by this king to signify his deification during his lifetime, not to deify Neferhotep I himself but to associate him with his eminent predecessor (§2.6). Similarly, the tradition of recording Nile flood levels at the Second Cataract seemingly begins under Amenemhat III as part of a wider motif of controlling the natural environment during a period of unusually high Nile floods, that may also be seen in his particular dedication to Sobek, his use of Nilotic imagery in statuary, and in the regulation of water levels in the Faiyum. The later flood records of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew seemingly develop an associative function that can also be seen in their other monumental attestations from the Faiyum. However, these records were still only made sporadically, suggesting that they were made according to the same unknown variable as those of Amenemhat III. In contrast, the absence of any Faiyumatic connection, perhaps due to practical limitations on access to the region, and the change in frequency to an annual tradition in the flood records of the Thirteenth Dynasty suggest that this association with Amenemhat III may have become the flood records' primary function during the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§3.3). Both the First Cataract emulative graffiti of Neferhotep I and the Second Cataract flood records of the early Thirteenth Dynasty then articulate a nuanced association with the past, and specifically with their late Twelfth Dynasty predecessors. The presence of this motif in both of these graffiti programmes, the only comprehensive and well-preserved programmes of monumental display from the dynasty, suggests that this association with the past may be an integral element of Thirteenth Dynasty self-presentation, and can thus provide a framework from which to analyse other Thirteenth Dynasty monumental displays. Section Two of this thesis will argue that this emulation of the late Twelfth Dynasty, and most notably Amenemhat III, by the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty can also be observed consistently in other aspects of royal display, including in their titulary patterns (§4), their mortuary architecture (§5), and in the style, iconography, and physical contexts of their statuary and relief (§6).

Baines (2007, 192–3), notes that it is important to distinguish between traditions which deliberately recall a past time, and those which express continuity with the past. These two examples of Thirteenth Dynasty graffiti programmes exemplify this difference. The First Cataract graffiti of Neferhotep I create an association with eminent predecessors such as Senwosret III and Montuhotep II despite the chronological distance between these kings. The emulation of these specific predecessors distinguished Neferhotep I from the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, who instead had consistently followed onomastic, architectural, and iconographic models of Amenemhat III. This change was also reinforced by the use of genealogical monuments and scarabs which proclaimed the non-royal background of Neferhotep I and his family (§2.5). The graffiti of Neferhotep I at the First Cataract then arguably served two complementary purposes: it distanced him from his immediate predecessors and asserted the start of a new sub-dynasty within the broader Thirteenth Dynasty, while also creating a connection to powerful models and traditions of kingship through the emulation of Senwosret III and Montuhotep II. The early Thirteenth Dynasty also appealed to established royal tradition, but rather than recalling and emulating a more distant past, they engaged with an active and ongoing tradition of recording Nile flood levels at the Second Cataract. Attested under both the final three kings of the Twelfth Dynasty and the first three kings of the Thirteenth, the Second Cataract flood records spanned the dynastic divide, directly connecting the Twelfth to the early Thirteenth Dynasty. By continuing this tradition, then, the early Thirteenth Dynasty systematically presented themselves as continuous with and the direct successors of the Twelfth Dynasty.

PART TWO

Certain groups of royal material from the early Thirteenth Dynasty with common features for comparison can be identified in the surviving sources, such as the Second Cataract flood records previously discussed (§3), or the post-Hawara pyramids, royal statuary, and Gebel el-Zeit stelae that form the basis of the following chapters. However, many attestations of the early Thirteenth Dynasty kings consisted of isolated objects or architectural fragments, such as the offering table of Sankibre Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat from Karnak (CG 23040: Kamal 1909, 31–7), the axe of Nebmaatre Iwefni (BM EA 63224: Davies 1987, 43 fig. 102), blocks of Hotepibre Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef from el-Atawla (Cairo TR 25.4.22.3: Habachi 1954, pl. 10), or a lintel of Sedjefakare Kay-Amenemhat from Tod (I.2527: Postel 2007, 1546–7, fig. 3). Without parallels, isolated attestations limit the possibilities of identifying trends and analysing the development of royal ideology over the Thirteenth Dynasty. Many of these attestations are recognised as those of Thirteenth Dynasty kings by the presence of royal names inscribed on them, but often have limited further inscriptions which offer few avenues for in-depth textual analysis. However, the royal names themselves can provide important insight into the self-presentation and priorities of the kings who bore them.

The royal titulary has been described as ‘the first identity of the sovereign—that defines him both in his essence and his function’ (Lorand 2015, 207). By the Twelfth Dynasty, the titulary had reached a standard form composed of five names, each introduced by a specific title, expressing different aspects of Egyptian kingship (Leprohon 1996, 165; Postel 2004, 2; Quirke 2010b, 11–12): from the Horus name, which marked the king’s authority as the manifestation of Horus on earth, to the Two Ladies name, which alluded to the king’s dominion over the entire land represented through the duality of the goddesses of El-Kab and Buto, historic cult centres of the north and south (Baines 1995, 9; Quirke 2010b, 14; Leprohon 2013, 13–15), while the Golden Horus name united the conception of the king as Horus with solar imagery, as the

material qualities of gold represent the sun and the sun-god Re (Berlev 2003, 19–35; Spalinger 2015, 336, 348). The final two names, the prenomen and nomen, are both typically enclosed in cartouches and often found together (e.g. Barta 1970, 5–16; Spieser 2010, 1–2). Together, they represent the complementary nature of Egyptian kingship, with the prenomen or throne name identifying the king as the holder of a divine office, and the nomen or birth name recognising his earthly person within that office (e.g. Blumenthal 1970, 23; Silverman 1995, 64–5; Hamilton 2021, 110). At the same time, both prenomen and nomen also each expressed their own duality. The accompanying title of the prenomen is composed of two elements, *nswt* and *bity*, whose exact significance remains elusive. The traditional view interprets the signs as heraldic symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt, and so translates the title as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, reflecting a geographical duality that may also be seen in the Two Ladies title, the *sm3-t3wy* motif, and in specific names such as Sekhemre-Khutawy, ‘the powerful one of Re, protector of the two lands’ (e.g. Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 16; Silverman 1995, 65; Morales 2014, 63). However, the two terms may also distinguish other aspects of kingship, such as the constant institution of kingship itself represented by *nswt*, while *bity* may refer to a king as the current occupant of that office (Blumenthal 1970, 22; Quirke 1986b, 123; Silverman 1995, 64; Leprohon 2013, 17). As such, a more general translation of Dual King is preferred here (see Baines 1995, 9). The king’s nomen, understood as his own personal name given at birth and representative of his earthly body, is typically introduced by the title ‘Son of Re’, so that a divine element is evoked even in the king’s human birth (Baines 1995, 9; Quirke 2010b, 15). As a whole, these five names expressed the complex, multifaceted nature of Egyptian kingship, the essence of the office itself: north and south, earthly and solar, human and divine.

If the codified format of the titulary expressed the essence of kingship as an institution, then the individual names chosen for any given king’s titulary identified the unique function of his particular kingship and served as ‘le manifeste idéologique de chaque règne’ (Postel 2004, 2). A decree of Tuthmosis I sent to the Viceroy of Kush, Turi, indicates that the titulary was chosen

and communicated around the country at the king's accession (Sethe 1906, IV, 80–1; Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 312–13; Leprohon 2013, 10–11). It is tempting to read back the later achievements of a king into the statements of the titulary. For example, the 'Golden Horus' name of Amenhotep III—*ḫpš-ḫwi-sttyw*, great of strength, who strikes down the Asiatics—appears to foreshadow his later militaristic reputation (Cabrol 2000, 95; Leprohon 2010a, 2). In reality though, 'one should not evaluate the king's deeds in terms of the titulary only, because it is set at the start of the reign and has essentially a programmatic value, without knowing *a priori* the actual sovereign's achievements' (Lorand 2015, 207). Equally, however, the names chosen by the king may 'define a political programme' to be pursued (Willems 2022, 690). Accordingly, the four titulary names taken at accession are anticipatory, but they may reveal the priorities and intents that later shape a king's actions and reign (Postel 2004, 2–3; Leprohon 2010a, 2; Lorand 2015, 207), and may be updated during the reign to reflect substantial events or developments (Postel 2004, 243–4; Willems 2022, 690–1). Unfortunately, and probably due to their limited monumental output and few extant attestations, the complete titularies of many Thirteenth Dynasty kings are unknown (see Appendix A). In particular, the first three names of the titulary are unattested for two thirds of the numerous Thirteenth Dynasty kings. However, their prenomina and nomina are better preserved—presumably since these were the most common of the king's names and his main identifiers by the time of the Middle Kingdom (Quirke 2010b, 24)—and accordingly, patterns in these names may provide valuable insights into Thirteenth Dynasty kingship. This chapter will consider the role of titulary patterns in identifying and defining groups of kings within the Thirteenth Dynasty as a whole, before considering specific aspects of the prenomina and nomina of the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

4.1 Divisions in the Thirteenth Dynasty

As previously discussed (§1.1), studies of Thirteenth Dynasty chronology subdivide the numerous kings of the dynasty into three or four groups, typically on the basis of average reign

length and number of attestations. These reveal a distinct pattern across the dynasty, beginning with a period of short-reigning and poorly attested kings until Meribre Seth, followed by several longer reigning kings with a corresponding larger monumental output, such as Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep II, Khasekhemre Neferhotep I, or Merneferre Ay, before again returning to a series of particularly fleeting rulers at the end of the dynasty. This raises the question: would these divisions be recognisable to the kings of the dynasty themselves, or are they artificial divisions applied by modern scholarship? Titulary patterns in the Thirteenth Dynasty reveal three distinct patterns which broadly agree with the subdivision of the dynasty into early, mid-, and late groups, and as such may well provide contemporaneous support for the subdivisions of the dynasty identified by modern scholarship.

The early Thirteenth Dynasty, defined here as the first nineteen kings from Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep to Meribre Seth (§1.1–2), is characterised by the use of the paradigms *X-k3-r* and *X-ib-r* in the prenomen, which together account for an overwhelming thirteen of the eighteen known prenomena of this group (Siesse 2015, 76–7; table 4.1 below). The earliest Thirteenth Dynasty kings show substantial variation in their nomina, with fifteen distinct names attested. The only names that are repeated are Intef, which occurs twice, and Amenemhat or its diminutive Ameny, which occurs seven times. Amenemhat, however, never appears alone but accompanies a variety of other names in a double or triple-barrelled nomen pattern which is distinctive of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§4.2). There is then a sequence of six kings from Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep to Khahotepre Sobekhotep who are delineated by their use of prenomena with the paradigm *h*̄*i-X-r* and the nomen Sobekhotep (Siesse 2015, 79). Following this group, there is an apparent preference for prenomena of the paradigm *mr-X-r* among the poorly documented kings towards the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Siesse 2015, 80). The paradigm causative-*n-r* is frequently used in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties, and prenomena of this paradigm also begin to increase in frequency in the very late Thirteenth Dynasty (Siesse 2015, 85–8). The name Amenemhat is also entirely absent among the extant

record of the late Thirteenth Dynasty, and the only attestations of the name Sobekhotep occur in the titularies of Merkawre Sobekhotep, and Merhotepre Sobekhotep, who was also called Ini (McCormack 2008, 90, 92–3; Siesse 2019, 64–5).

Table 4.1 Divisions and patterns in Thirteenth Dynasty prenomina and nomina

	Turin king- list	Prenomem	Nomen
Early Thirteenth Dynasty	7.19	Sekhemre-Khutawy	Amenemhat-Sobekhotep
	7.6	Sekhemkare	Amenemhat-Senebef
	7.6 <i>wsf</i>	Nerikare	-
	7.7	-	Ameny-Qemaw
	7.8	Hotepibre	Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef
	7.9	Nebmaatre	Iwefni
	7.10	Sankhibre	Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat
	7.11	Semenkare	Nebnun
	7.12	Sewadjenre	Sehotepibre
	7.13	Sewadjkare	-
	7.14	Nedjemibre	-
	7.16	Sekhemre-Khutawy	Amenemhat-Renseneb
	7.17	Awibre	Hor
	7.18	Sedjefakare	Kay-Amenemhat
	7.5	Khutawyre	Wegaf
	7.20	Woserkare	Khendjer
	7.21	Semenkhkare	Imyremesha
	7.22	Sehotepkare	Intef IV
	7.23	Meribre	Seth
	Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty	7.24	Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy
7.25		Khasekhemre	Neferhotep I
7.26		[...]wadjre	Sahathor
7.27		Khaneferre	Sobekhotep II

	7.15	Khaankhre	Sobekhotep III
	8.1	Khahotepre	Sobekhotep IV
Late Thirteenth Dynasty	8.2	Wahibre	Ibiaw
	8.3	Merneferre	Ay
	8.4	Merhotepre	Ini/Sobekhotep V
	8.5	Sankhenre	Sewadjtew
	8.6	Mersekhemre	Ined/Neferhotep II
	8.7	Sewadjkare	Hori
	8.8	Merkawre	Sobekhotep VI
	8.9	-	-
	8.10	-	-
	8.11	-	-
	8.12	-	-
	8.13	-	-
	8.14	-	-
	8.15	-	-
	8.16	Mer[...]re	-
	8.17	Merkheperre	-
	8.18	Merkare	-
	8.19	-	-
	8.20	Sewadjare	Montuhotep V
	8.21	[...]mesre	-
	8.22	[...]maatre	Ibi
	8.23	[...]webenre	Hor[...]
	8.24	-	Se[...]kare
	8.25	Scheqenre	Sankhptahi
	8.26	[...]re	-
	8.27	Se[...]enre	-

As such, titulary patterns of the Thirteenth Dynasty seem to overlap with and support the internal divisions of the Thirteenth Dynasty previously identified (§1.1). They may also help to clarify these divisions further. Although there is broad agreement on the identification of both

the early and late Thirteenth Dynasty groups, the eight kings from Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I to Merneferre Ay present some challenges for modern commentators (§1.1). Sobekhotep I, for example, is typically considered the first ruler of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke 1986a, 219–20; Ryholt 1997b, 297–8; Franke 2008, 272; McCormack 2008, 95–6; Siesse 2019, 13). In particular, his use of genealogical motifs can link him with the following kings, Neferhotep I and Khaneferre Sobekhotep II (Ryholt 1997b, 297–8; McCormack 2008, 95–6). Conversely, Connor (2020, 57–9) groups Sobekhotep I with the early Thirteenth Dynasty on the basis that a statue which might depict his father has some stylistic similarities with statuary of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. There is no extant statuary of Sobekhotep I himself or a known funerary monument which could attribute him to the early or mid-Thirteenth Dynasty on either iconographic or architectural grounds (catalogues in Ryholt 1997b, 343–4; Siesse 2019, 382–3), but the use of the nomen Sobekhotep supports the traditional attribution of this king to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty.

At the other end of the group, Ryholt (1997b, 297–8) and Franke (2008, 272) separate Khahotepre Sobekhotep III, Wahibre Ibiaw and Merneferre Ay from the other earlier kings on the basis of scarab typology. In particular, the distinctive genealogical scarabs attested under Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I and the three brother kings are replaced by a new type with both royal cartouches on a single scarab and no genealogical expressions from the reign of Sobekhotep III onwards (Ryholt 1997b, 35–7). Alternatively, other scholars group all eight kings together as the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke 1986a, 219–20; 1991, 139; Grajetzki 2006, 73; McCormack 2008, 95–6). However, the use of both the *h^ci-X-r^c* paradigm and the Sobekhotep nomen in the titulary of Sobekhotep III links him firmly with the preceding kings. In contrast, the absence of both in the titulary of Wahibre Ibiaw, and the use of the *mr-X-r^c* prenomina paradigm by Merneferre Ay might suggest that these two rulers actually mark the start of the late Thirteenth Dynasty phase (Siesse 2015, 80). A clear and distinct boundary between the mid- and late Thirteenth Dynasty, however, is not easily determined. Scarab typology and titulary patterns

together suggest that this may have been a gradual transition between the two periods, rather than the sharp division observed between the early and mid-Thirteenth Dynasty groups (§1.1).

Individually, a king's chosen titulary may serve as a manifestation of their own 'cadre idéologique' (Postel 2004, 2). Collectively, however, programmatic patterns in the titulary may also link together several kings into an identifiable group (e.g. Leprohon 1996, 165–71; Postel 2004, 5–6; Siesse 2015, 76). Two dynastic names appear consistently in each of the Eleventh and Twelfth dynasties, for example: Intef and Montuhotep in the Eleventh Dynasty, and Amenemhat and Senwosret in the Twelfth. Equally, different titulary patterns may have been used to distinguish different groups of kings. Changes in titulary patterns during the Thirteenth Dynasty, then, reveal three distinct groups within the dynasty that provide important contemporaneous support for the subdivision of the dynasty, and suggest that these modern divisions reflect actual distinct groups within the dynasty. These changes also help to clarify the boundaries of these groups, and better understand the transitions between them.

4.2 Early Thirteenth Dynasty prenomina

Among early Thirteenth Dynasty prenomina, $X-k3-r^c$ was the most common paradigm, used eight times among the nineteen kings of this group. This paradigm was also the most commonly used in the Twelfth Dynasty, appearing in the titularies of Kheperkare Senwosret I and Sobekkare Sobekneferew, as well as with the plural variant $k3.w$ in Nebukaure Amenemhat II and Khakaure Senwosret III (e.g. Leprohon 1996, 167–9, 171). This paradigm had a significant earlier history, also being used in the prenomens of Sankhkare Montuhotep III in the Eleventh Dynasty (Postel 2004, 260), as well as appearing frequently in the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and Eighth Dynasties (Dobrev 1993, 195; Beckerath 1999, 54, 56, 60, 62–5; Leprohon 2013, 39–43). The use of this paradigm by Senwosret I presumably drew on this historical tradition, and was in turn referenced by his successors in the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties (Siesse 2015, 78). The $X-ib-r^c$ paradigm was used five times in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. This same paradigm was

also used in the prenomen of Amenemhat I, Sehetepibre (Leprohon 1996, 165). Unlike the X-*k3-r* paradigm, X-*ib-r* was not frequently used prior to the Twelfth Dynasty, and is only attested once before Amenemhat I, in the prenomen of Meryibre Khety VIII of the First Intermediate Period (Leprohon 2013, 52; Siesse 2015, 78). The use of this paradigm in the early Thirteenth Dynasty may then be understood as consciously recalling Amenemhat I (Siesse 2015, 78). Both the X-*k3-r* or X-*ib-r* paradigms, then, are historical prenomena paradigms associated with the Twelfth Dynasty, evoking a connection from the Twelfth into the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

In addition to the early Thirteenth Dynasty prenomena which share the X-*ib-r* paradigm with Amenemhat I, his exact prenomen, Sehetepibre, was also re-used as the nomen of the king Sewadjenre Sehetepibre (Marée 2009, 151–4). After its use by Amenemhat I, Sehetepibre became a common non-royal name in the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties (Ranke 1935 I, 318.6; Marée 2009, 153), which then seemingly enabled its return to the royal sphere as a nomen. However, the use of Sehetepibre as the birth name of Sewadjenre Sehetepibre most plausibly reflects a decision made for him in infancy, rather than a deliberate reference to Amenemhat I at his later accession. Sewadjenre Sehetepibre is one of only four kings among the nineteen of the early Thirteenth Dynasty whose prenomena do not fit either the X-*k3-r* or X-*ib-r* paradigm. Instead, his prenomen used the causative-*n-r* paradigm that became most popular at the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty and into the Second Intermediate Period (Siesse 2015, 85–6). There are also three kings with prenomena formed with the phrase *hw-t3wy*, namely, Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, Khutawyre Wegaf, and a king with the Horus name Khabaw, whose prenomen is also Sekhemre-Khutawy.

The prenomena of three kings—Ameny-Qemaw, Iwefni, and Amenemhat-Renseneb—remain uncertain due to fragmentary attestations and the complex chronology of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Siesse (2019, 73) suggests that Ameny-Qemaw may be identical with Nerikare, a king

known only by his prenomen, although this equation is entirely circumstantial (§1.2.3). A stela from Gebel el-Zeit suggests that a Thirteenth Dynasty king had the prenomen Nebmaatre (Marée 2009, 159–61, figs. 7–8; Siesse 2019, 79–80), and may be attributed to Iwefni (§1.2.7), while Amenemhat-Renseneb may be equated with Khabaw (Dodson 2000b, 50; Grajetzki 2000, 155; §1.2.6), which would identify his prenomen as Sekhemre-Khutawy. If the latter two equations are accepted, then Amenemhat-Renseneb would be among the *ḥw-t3wy* group, and Iwefni would be a second king of the early Thirteenth Dynasty whose prenomen does not belong to either the *X-k3-r* or *X-ib-r* paradigms or the *ḥw-t3wy* group. However, although Nebmaatre does not follow the same common paradigms of the early Thirteenth Dynasty prenomina, it does also have a connection to the Twelfth Dynasty, following a closely similar pattern as the prenomen of Amenemhat III, Nimaatre. Ameny-Qemaw would then be the only early Thirteenth Dynasty king whose prenomina remains unknown.

The precise translation of names is particularly challenging (Leprohon 2013, 4; Olabarria 2018, 97; Nyord 2019, 175–6). With the *X-k3-r* paradigm, the simplest option grammatically may be to translate these as adjectival sentences. The prenomen of Khendjer, Woserkare, for example, may be understood as ‘the *ka* of Re is strong’. However, names in the titulary may be better understood not as statements about the qualities of the god, but of the relationship between the god and the king (Krauss 1978, 122–32; Baines 1995, 9; Beckerath 1999, 22–5). In this case, these paradigms may be read as two nominal expressions juxtaposed either as a sentence or a direct genitive phrase (Beckerath 1999, 22–3), as seen, for example, in the prenomen of Hatshepsut, ‘Maat is the *ka* of Re’ (Gundlach 2003, 182). The prenomen of Khendjer may then be understood as ‘the strong one is the *ka* of Re’, or ‘the strong one of the *ka* of Re’. The names of this paradigm also highlight the particular ability of the *ka* to establish a relationship between two entities (Nyord 2019, 162). Nyord defines the *ka* as ‘the undifferentiated potential of which the person is a manifestation, not necessarily as a realisation once and for all, but rather through a continuous process of actualisation’ (2019, 164). By being,

or being of, the *ka* of Re, the prenomina of these paradigms assert that their holders serve as a manifestation of Re. One way in which the king may be understood as a manifestation of Re through the *ka* is through relatedness, and particularly paternity (Bolshakov 1997, 160; Olabarria 2018, 95–7; Nyord 2019, 175). The *ka* as an aspect of kinship is explicitly stated in *The Teaching of Ptahhotep*, ‘he is your son, he is of the seed of your *ka*’ (204: Žába 1956, 32), and may also be seen in names such as *k3(:i)-msw(:i)*, ‘my *ka* is my children’, or *k3(:i)-n(y)-it(:i)*, ‘my *ka* is that of my father’ (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 702 [3745–6]; Olabarria 2018, 96–7). The *ka* is therefore also in effect a ‘dynastic principle’, which may be ‘handed down from father to son’ (Assmann 2005, 101). In the case of royal names, the paternal connotations of the *ka* in prenomina of this paradigm may complement and emphasise the filiative relationship between the king and Re that is also evident in the Son of Re title.

Names of the X-*ib-r* paradigm may perhaps also be translated as nominal phrases, but are often better understood as relative phrases. For example, the prenomina of Seth, Meribe, may conceivably be read as ‘the loving one of the heart of Re’, but is more plausibly translated as ‘the one who has loved the heart of Re’ (participle), or ‘the one whom the heart of Re has loved’ (relative-form). These names are further complicated by the fact that the initial nominal element can be read alternatively as a participle or a relative form, as illustrated by the prenomina of Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat, Sankhibre: if the initial element is a participle, then the king’s name is ‘the one who has sustained the heart of Re’, indicating the king’s actions towards the god, but if it is a relative form, ‘the one whom the heart of Re has sustained’, then the name instead describes the actions of the god towards the king. In turn, this raises the question whether names of the same paradigm should be consistently translated in the same way, or if similar appearing names may actually represent quite different grammatical structures. Lorand (2015a, 208) suggests that ‘this ambiguity is probably deliberate’, in a form of ‘semantic multiplicity’ which embodies different aspects of the close and mutually beneficial relationship between the king and Re.

Shared names may be a way of reinforcing connections within royal and non-royal kin groups (Olabarria 2018, 97), and so may also help scholars to later identify these groups. A pattern of alternating names is often seen in non-royal families, where sons are named for their grandfathers (Vandekerckhove and Müller-Wollermann 2001, 303–9; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 25–8). A similar pattern of alternating names may be seen in royal nomina, such as in the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties as previously mentioned, indicating a familial line of descent for these dynasties. In contrast, there are no clear family names in the early Thirteenth Dynasty nomina, but instead, there are fifteen different names attested among the sixteen known nomina of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§4.2). The absence of alternating names in this corpus may thus indicate that these kings did not constitute a direct familial line. The nomen is thought to have been set at birth and was not changed at accession or during a given king's reign (§4.2). The prenomen, however, was set at accession and is a name over which the king may have had some agency (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988, 312–13; Leprohon 2013, 10–11). In the absence of unifying nomina, the paradigms *X-k3-r* and *X-ib-r* may perhaps have been consistently chosen for the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty in the prenomina as a means of uniting these rulers as a group, as well as connecting them to established royal naming traditions.

In summary, the paradigms *X-k3-r* and *X-ib-r* constitute at least thirteen out of the eighteen known prenomina of the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. A further three kings have prenomina which include the phrase *ḥw-t3wy*. Only Sewadjenre Schotepibre and perhaps also Iwefni (if his prenomen has been correctly identified as Nebmaatre) have prenomina which do not fall into any of these categories. The most commonly used paradigms reinforced the close relationship between the kings and the sun god, Re, and united these kings as a distinct group. The predominance of prenomina of the paradigms *X-k3-r* or *X-ib-r*, which both have Twelfth Dynasty connections and, in the case of *X-k3-r*, a long tradition, also suggests an awareness of historic royal naming patterns in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. The use of these specific paradigms, the most common paradigms of the Twelfth Dynasty and in particular, the

paradigms used by both its first and final rulers, Amenemhat I and Sobekneferew, creates a sense of continuity from the Twelfth Dynasty into the Thirteenth.

4.3 Early Thirteenth Dynasty nomina

One of the characteristic and most commented on aspects of Thirteenth Dynasty kingship is the use of multiple names in the nomen (Beckerath 1964, 34–5; Vernus 1986, 92; Ryholt 1990, 101–13; Quirke 2006, 26 3–4; McCormack 2010a, 375–6; Siesse 2019, 55–67). As previously discussed (§1.4.3), there are six early Thirteenth Dynasty kings with two names in the nomina, and one king with three.

Turin king-list	Prenomem	Nomen
7.19	Sekhemre-Khutawy	Amenemhat-Sobekhotep
7.6	Sekhemkare	Amenemhat-Senebef
7.7	-	Ameny-Qemaw
7.8	Hotepibre	Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef
7.10	Sankhibre	Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat
7.16	Sekhemre-Khutawy	Amenemhat-Renseneb
7.18	Sedjefakare	Kay-Amenemhat

Although it is not common before the New Kingdom (Leprohon 2010b, 7–8), kings throughout Egyptian history do occasionally have more than one distinct names attested within one of the five titles of the titulary, such as with Montuhotep II, whose Horus name was changed twice, first from *s^cnh-ib-t3wy* to *ntry-hdt*, and then to *sm3-t3wy* (Habachi 1963, 16–52; Postel 2004, 175–99), or with Amenemhat I, whose Horus name was changed from *sh^tp-ib-t3wy* to *wh^m-mswt* (Leprohon 1996, 165–7; Postel 2004, 284–9). These changes are thought to have coincided

with major political developments during their reigns, such as the move of the capital from Thebes to Itjtawi during the reign of Amenemhat I (Do. Arnold 1991, 18; Leprohon 1996, 167; Postel 2004, 243–4; Willems 2022, 690–1). However, Thirteenth Dynasty multiple nomina differ from these in two respects. Firstly, the multiple names occur in the nomen which was not changed, as in the examples of Montuhotep II or Amenemhat III (Willems 2022, 690), or in periods such as the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, where kings regularly changed and augmented their titularies (e.g. Leprohon 2010b, 7–8; 2013, 93–135). Secondly, they are not separate or sequential names, representing a change in protocol, but occur as a concurrent pair. Kings with two distinct nomina may also be known from the late Thirteenth Dynasty, such as Merhotepre Ini/Sobekhotep and Mersekhemre Ined/Neferhotep II (McCormack 2008, 92–3; Siesse 2019, 64–5). In these cases, however, attestations of these rulers used one or the other nomen alternatively (for examples, see: Siesse 2019, 393). The multiple nomina of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, however, are typically found together, enclosed in a single cartouche, such as on a glazed steatite bead of Amenemhat-Renseneb (Ryholt 1997a, 95), on the canopic jars of Ameny-Qemaw (Swelim and Dodson 1998, 324–9), and on a *sed*-portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep from Medamud (JE 56496: Eder 2002, pl. 43). Therefore, they do not represent two nomina, but one nomen composed of two names (Ryholt 1990, 101 n. 1). Later sources may refer to kings with a multiple nomen by only one of these names, such as Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Renseneb, who were listed in the Turin king-list as Sobekhotep and Renseneb respectively (7.19, 7.16: fig. 1.2), although Amenemhat-Senebef was seemingly recorded by both his prenomen and double nomen in the king-list (7.6: fig. 1.2). However, there is only one extant contemporaneous attestation of a king with a double nomen which refers to him by only one name: a statue of Amenemhat-Senebef from Elephantine names him only Amenemhat (Aswan 1318 + Vienna ÄS37: Fay 1988, pl. 18–23). On this statue, the cartouche containing the nomen is found on at the bottom of a column of inscription on the front of the throne, right where it joins the base (Fay 1988, pl. 18). The statue is well-

preserved and the inscription is complete, so it is not possible that the second name was originally included and subsequently lost. However, the location of the cartouche at the bottom of the column limits its size, which may perhaps account for the absence of the second name on this exceptional example (§6.1.2).

Double names of non-royal individuals are also commonly found during both the Old and Middle Kingdoms (Ranke 1952 II, 6–7; Vernus 1986, 3–77; Vittmann 2013a, 2–3; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 20–1). Lists of names included in legal and administrative documents from Lahun often identify individuals by two names, and where someone has only one, the space for their second name may be filled by the stock expression ‘this is his/her name’ (for example, P. UC 32170: Collier and Quirke 2006, 44–5), suggesting that double names were a ‘normative means of identifying an individual in writing’ by the late Middle Kingdom (Quirke 2006, 263). In royal names, multiple names are only found in the *nomen* specifically, that is widely assumed to be the king’s own personal name given at birth (Baines 1995, 9; Leprohon 2013, 18; Hamilton 2021, 110). Given that succession practices in the early Thirteenth Dynasty are unclear and many of its kings may have come from non-traditional backgrounds (§1.4), these multiple *nomina* may well have entered the royal sphere from this already established private practice, through the accession of previously non-royal individuals who had been given double names at birth (Vernus 1986, 92; Siesse 2019, 66).

Various theories regarding the purpose of the double *nomina* in the early Thirteenth Dynasty have been proposed. Beckerath (1964, 34–5) suggested that the name written second could be understood as the ‘bürgerliche Geburtsname’ of individuals which was deemed unsuitable when they became king, to which an additional ‘ansehrlicheren’ name was added at accession. While this theory could be applied to names such as Amenemhat-Senebef or Amenemhat-Reniseneb—increasing the suitability of their own names with the addition of a traditionally royal name like Amenemhat—it does not account for double *nomina* like Qemaw-

Sahornedjheritef or Kay-Amenemhat, where the names Qemaw or Kay bring no apparent royal prestige (Ryholt 1990, 105).

Beckerath (1964, 34–5) also suggested an alternative theory that the double nomina may represent filiative expressions, which may be supported by the likely father-and-son relationship between Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef (§1.2.4). As previously discussed (§1.4.3), Ryholt (1990, 106; 1997b, 207–9) further develops the filiative theory, arguing that the double nomina do not just indicate filiation, but specifically, royal filiation. This theory could be verified if each king with a double nomen was preceded by a king who shares the first name of the double nomen. However, in the majority of cases, no such figure can be identified, and so the theory is not supported by the extant record. Moreover, in studies of non-royal examples of seemingly filiative double names, the name given by the filiative expression does not always correspond with the name of the individual's father, in cases when that is known from other sources (Vernus 1971, 195–7; 1986, 116). In the non-royal sphere, then, it seems that even clearly marked filiative expressions did not necessarily represent actual physiological descent but could be used honourifically, denoting a significant individual such as a worker's superior or a patron, or perhaps even a more distant ancestor (Hayes 1972, 30; Vernus 1986, 116–17; McCormack 2008, 433–4; Vittmann 2013b, 6). As such, even if the pairing of Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef does reflect filiation, it cannot be extrapolated from their case that all early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina necessarily do so.

A variety of different functions for non-royal individuals with multiple names have been identified, including as abbreviations of formal names, like the use of both Ameny and Amenemhat (Vernus 1986, 113–15; e.g. in the tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hassan, see: Kanawati and Evans 2016, 13), or individuals with foreign names who also adopted a traditional Egyptian name (e.g. P. Brooklyn 35.1446: Hayes 1972, 99–102; Vernus 1986, 84). However, apart from the triple named Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat—which will be discussed as an apparently unique case later—none of the early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina are made up of a

formal name and its accompanying diminutive. Nor are there any apparent names of foreign origin among the kings with multiple nomina. The name Qemaw has previously been misunderstood as an epithet *ꜥmw*, meaning ‘the Asiatic’, possibly indicating a foreign origin for Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef (Posener 1957, 156; Hayes 1973, 45–6; Bietak 1991, 49). However, it is now recognised as a personal name, ‘the created one’, from the verb *qmꜣ*, ‘to create’ (Ranke 1935 I, 334.2–4; Beckerath 1999, 102–3). Vernus has observed that private double names were often also complementary: if one name demonstrated internal personal qualities, like the circumstances of their birth, profession, or physical features, the other often referenced something external to the individual such as a deity or king (1986, 121–7). This complementary pattern is also frequently seen in the Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina, in the names of Amenemhat-Senebef, Ameny-Qemaw, Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef, and Amenemhat-Renseneb. An exception is Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, whose names are both theophorous, and perhaps also Kay-Amenemhat, where the exact significance of the name Kay is unclear. This, however, is the only apparent overlap in the function of royal and private double names.

Siesse (2019, 66) argues that the early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina were double names given to an individual prior to accession, in line with this common practice in the private sphere, and that these were maintained after that individual became king. In particular, he suggests that the names were given to differentiate between like named individuals, as attested in the extended royal families of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty kings Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I and Khaneferre Sobekhotep II (2019, 65–6). On a stela of the daughters of Sobekhotep I, the King’s Daughter Iwhetibew is distinguished from her grandmother, the King’s Mother Iwhetibew, by the addition of the second name Fendy (Louvre C8: Staring 2017, 254, fig. 1). Similarly, on the Wadi Hammamat genealogical stela of Sobekhotep II, two King’s Sons both called Sobekhotep are distinguished from each other and from Sobekhotep II himself by double names, being called Sobekhotep-Miw and Sobekhotep-Djadja respectively (Simpson 1969, 156–7). In this theory, the first written name is understood as the primary name, with the second

being used to distinguish him from other figures in the same context. However, if the multiple nomina were intended primarily to distinguish between like-named individuals, they might perhaps be expected only in situations where confusion was possible, rather than their consistent use on royal monuments in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Moreover, as Siesse acknowledges, their royal titles and other titular names already served to uniquely identify each king (2019, 66), rendering the double name unnecessary for disambiguation. On the genealogical stela of Sobekhotep II, for example, the king himself does not have a double name to distinguish him from his sons (Simpson 1969, 156–7).

These differing theories present a variety of interpretations of Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina primarily by prioritising one name over another, and so highlight two questions: was one name the king's primary name and if so, which one? In the private sphere during the Old Kingdom, double names were distinguished by different terms: *rn ʕ3* and *rn nfr* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 20–1). During the Twelfth Dynasty, however, only *rn nfr* continued to be used to introduce the name that is written second (Vernus 1986, 78–81; Vittmann 2013a, 3). From the Twelfth Dynasty into the Seventeenth, this term was gradually replaced by the phrase X *ddw n:f* Y, X who is called Y (Vernus 1986, 82–5; Vittmann 2013a, 3). These forms suggest that the first name was an individual's primary name, while the *rn nfr* or the name introduced by *ddw n:f* was secondary (Vernus 1986, 98–9; Pérez Vázquez 2009, 149). However, double names can also be directly juxtaposed, with neither clearly marked as the secondary name, and orthographic factors such as honourific transposition may make it difficult to distinguish between them (Vernus 1986, 118–20; McCormack 2008, 433; Vittmann 2013b, 6–7). All known early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina are directly juxtaposed, but the pairing of Ameny-Qemaw and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef may provide useful indications of the names' priorities and sequence. Of the two names of Ameny-Qemaw, only Qemaw was carried on into the name of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef, which suggests that the two names were not treated equally and that the second-written name was the primary name sufficient to identify the king. This may also be

supported by the later Turin king-list, where Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Renseneb are recorded only by their respective second-written names (7.19, 7.16: fig. 1.2).

It is also important to identify when the additional name was acquired, because if it was acquired later in life, it would represent a meaningful decision over which an individual had had agency and, particularly, names chosen for the titulary may then reflect royal ideology (Postel 2004, 2; Leprohon 2010a, 1–3; Lorand 2015, 207; Willems 2022, 690). If, however, the name was given at birth, it would reflect the choice of the parents rather than the individual, and would have been chosen before any future accession of that child to kingship could have been known (Quirke 2010b, 17; Lorand 2015, 207). It is nearly impossible to identify precisely when double names, private or royal, were acquired, although it is often assumed that private individuals acquired a second name later in life (e.g. Quirke 2010b, 10; Vittmann 2013a, 2). Some names seemingly reference aspects perhaps unlikely to be present at birth, such as profession, like *qdw*, ‘the mason’ (Ranke 1935 I, 337; Vernus 1986, 126; Vittmann 2013b, 2), although such names could equally be anticipatory, or reference a family tradition in that profession. The name Imyremesha, for example, is the nomen of one early Thirteenth Dynasty king, and can be understood as a reference to a military tradition in the family rather than an indicator that the king ever held this as a title himself (Quirke 1991, 131; Ryholt 1997b, 221–2). Other names seem probably to have been wishes given at birth, such as those for the health of the child, like *ꜥnhtyfy*, ‘He who will live’, or *snb:f*, ‘May he live!’ (Ranke 1935 I, 67; Vernus 1986, 125). However, the tendency to repeat names within families also complicates any effort to understand naming practices, since even a name which appears to reflect specific circumstances may not indicate the circumstances of that particular individual, but instead those of an ancestor after whom they were named (Vittmann 2013b, 2). Moreover, many names give no particular indication of when or why they were given, such as those referencing animals, or hypocorisms (Vernus 1986, 110–11, 126–7; Vittmann 2013b, 3, 7).

McCormack has urged caution in interpreting the early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina: given the modern difficulties and variety of possibilities in interpreting non-royal double names, there may not have been a consistent ancient pattern behind royal double nomina (2008, 434–5). However, there is one feature that does speak to a consistency of intention in the early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina: the frequency of the name Amenemhat. Of the six kings with double nomina, three use the name Amenemhat as their additional name, while its diminutive Ameny also appears in the names of Ameny-Qemaw and the triple named Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat. The only Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina which do not use Amenemhat or Ameny as the secondary name are Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef, whose double nomen instead references his predecessor Ameny-Qemaw, and Kay-Amenemhat, where Amenemhat was not used as the secondary name but was already the king's primary name. The prevalence of Amenemhat among the double, and triple, nomina suggests a meaningful and programmatic use of this particular name. From his theory of filiative nomina, Ryholt suggests that the use of the name Amenemhat by the first two kings of the dynasty, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Senebef, indicates that they could claim descent from Amenemhat IV (1997b, 209). While this could perhaps also be applied to Ameny-Qemaw, who is still one of the first five kings of the dynasty (Franke 2008, 270 n. 9), it is less plausible to infer a direct descent from the late Twelfth Dynasty for kings such as Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat and Amenemhat-Renseneb, with eight and twelve intervening kings between them and Amenemhat IV respectively. The use of this name may instead articulate an indirect or more distant connection to the family line of Amenemhat III or Amenemhat IV. Alternatively, the name may have been used honourifically, as in non-royal examples (Vernus 1971, 195–7; 1986, 116–17), to assert a relationship between individuals even without a biological connection.

The name Senwosret is notably absent from the early Thirteenth Dynasty nomina, double or otherwise. Its absence suggests that the double nomina did not reference the Twelfth Dynasty broadly, as the prenomina paradigms appear to have done, but instead were specifically

targeted. It is not possible to determine which of the four Twelfth Dynasty Amenemhats is being recalled from this material alone. Amenemhat I, as the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, or Amenemhat IV, as the closest predecessor from whom the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty could possibly claim descent, are both plausible. However, in other aspects of self-presentation and monumental discourse, such as the substructural designs of their pyramids (McCormack 2010b, 70–5; Wegner 2020, 1666; §5.1.1–2), and the iconography of royal statuary (Fay 1988, 67–77; Connor 2020, 230; §6.1.14–15), the early Thirteenth Dynasty consistently articulate a self-presentation that is programmatically modelled on Amenemhat III. It seems plausible, then, that Amenemhat III was also the specific source of the name Amenemhat in the early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina (McCormack 2010a, 375–6; Siesse 2019, 66). McCormack (2008, 110; 2010a, 375–6) suggests that this name was deliberately chosen in order to evoke an association with Amenemhat III. Siesse (2019, 66) conversely assumes that the double names were given prior to accession in accordance with this common non-royal practice, but that those kings with a double name of Amenemhat maintained it—where other kings with less illustrious double names may have chosen to leave them behind when formulating their titulary—precisely because of its royal associations. However, these examples of emulation of Amenemhat III in the early Thirteenth Dynasty all post-date the first use of the double nomen in the reign of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep. The earliest extant example of the iconographic emulation of Amenemhat III in early Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary is found in the statue of Amenemhat-Senebef, the successor of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (§6.1.2), while the first securely identified early Thirteenth Dynasty pyramid which replicates features of the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III is that of Amenemhat-Qemaw (§5.1.3). As such, the initial use of the name Amenemhat in the double-nomen of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep may not have specifically referenced Amenemhat III, but wider Twelfth Dynasty traditions. However, the continued exclusive use of this name in later double-nomina of the early Thirteenth Dynasty suggests that it became programmatically focussed on an individual, likely Amenemhat III.

A similar use of Amenemhat III's name is attested under Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew, who both incorporated the titulary of Amenemhat III into their monuments as a means of emphasising their connection to him. For example, two scarabs give the prenomen of Amenemhat III in one column of inscription, followed by the Horus name of Amenemhat IV in a second column, and Bodily Son of Re Amenemhat in a third, all in the same orientation (Scarab A 19 and UC 11332: Pignattari 2018, 141–2 figs. 12–13). In this arrangement, the nomen Amenemhat could refer to either king, or indeed, to both. From the reign of Sobekneferew, there is a fragmentary column from Hawara on which the *serekb* of Amenemhat III gives *ankb* and *djed* signs to the *serekb* of Sobekneferew (Habachi 1954, 464, pl. 15a; Callender 1998, 233–4 fig. 2; Pignattari 2018, 211 fig. 43), and a block on which the prenomen of Amenemhat III flanks her titulary (UC 14337: Callender 1998, 230; Pignattari 2018, 211 fig. 44). In these cases, the use of Amenemhat III's nomen is often thought to be a means of legitimation, asserting that their authority to rule derived from their connection to Amenemhat III (e.g. Habachi 1954, 464–6; Callender 1998, 230; Pignattari 2018, 30). The addition of the name Amenemhat to the nomina of early Thirteenth Dynasty kings served the same function of association, and was perhaps a continuation of this practice intended for use alongside association through monumental display. However, these short-reigning kings had a limited architectural output on which to represent this sort of association, and so it is only preserved now in the double nomina.

Although it occurs in the prenomen, rather than the nomen, a parallel for this use of the name Amenemhat in the early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina may perhaps be seen in the use of the prenomen of Pepy II, Neferkare, by at least five kings of the Eighth Dynasty, with another also using the plural variant Neferkawre (Papazian 2015, 411). These kings also are typically identified by double names, such as Neferkare-Neby, Neferkare-Khendu, and Neferkare-Pepiseneb, although in this case the second written name is thought to be an additional name added for differentiation (Papazian 2015, 411–2). It has been suggested that the use of the Neferkare prenomen among these kings indicated their descent from Pepy II

(Papazian 2015, 411–5). Moreover, it has also been argued that the long reign of Pepy II, with many wives and numerous offspring, may have undermined the kingship following his death by creating a multitude of contenders with a claim to the throne, leading to the rapid succession of the Seventh and Eighth Dynasties (Papazian 2015, 411; Bárta 2017, 12), in a situation that has notable parallels with the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Although Ryholt's understanding of these double nomina as markers of direct royal filiation is not supported by the evidence, perhaps they may be understood as a means of indicating a more indirect royal descent from Amenemhat III. However, the possible designation of Nefereuptah as his heir (Ryholt 1997b, 210; Pignattari 2018, 7–8; Stünkel 2022, 64) and the eventual succession of the unrelated Amenemhat IV (Ryholt 1997b, 210; Pignattari 2018, 16; Siese 2019, 127), may suggest Amenemhat III did not have the extensive progeny required in this scenario. In another later example, seven kings of the Twentieth Dynasty from Ramesses V onwards incorporated the name Ramesses into their nomina, alongside other distinguishing names and epithets as a means of invoking an honorific association with their eminent predecessor, Ramesses II (Kitchen 1987, 138–9; Baines 2007, 200; Brand 2023, 465).

The triple-named Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat presents further issues. There are no other known kings with a triple nomen, although an example of an individual with three names can be found on a stela of Ameny-Seneb-Kemes (CG 20345: Simpson 1974, pl. 4 [ANOC 1.11]; Quirke 2006, 263). Ryholt's filiative approach leads him to reconstruct a complicated chronology in which Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat was descended from the same hypothetical Amenemhat as Ameny-Qemaw, through a non-ruling and otherwise unattested son, Intef (1997b, 214–15; §1.4.3), although there is no evidence to support the existence of this ancestor Amenemhat. Alternatively, McCormack also suggests that the triple name may reflect two generations of filiation, but with Ameny-Qemaw himself as the grandfather of Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat, and Intef his father (2008, 119). However, understanding these names as honourific rather than patrilineal, removes the need to amend the chronology to accommodate them.

Siesse (2019, 61–3), alternatively, has suggested that the triple name of Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat is the conflation of two different double naming practices, where Intef-Amenemhat is a double name to which the hypocorism Ameny has also been added. A cylinder seal of Amenemhat III and a miniature casket lid of Amenemhat IV, both of unrecorded provenance, provide royal parallels for the use of Ameny as a hypocorism for Amenemhat (fig. 4.1). The cylinder seal records the prenomen and nomen of Amenemhat III in cartouches, followed by Ameny, also written in cartouche (Brooklyn 44.123.73: Siesse 2019, 62). Similarly, the miniature casket lid has the prenomen and nomen of Amenemhat IV, followed by Ameny, with all three names written in cartouches (BM EA 22879: Parkinson 1999, 54). On both objects, the full nomen Amenemhat is accompanied by the title *ntr-nfr nb-t3wy*, while Ameny is seemingly introduced by the title that typically accompanies the nomen, Son of Re, although the sun disk has been omitted on the cylinder seal. On both objects, Ameny can be understood as the equivalent of the kings' nomina. The use of both Amenemhat and its diminutive Ameny complicates these situations. On the seal and miniature casket lid, the name Ameny could conceivably refer to either Amenemhat III or Amenemhat IV (Valloggia 1969, 120–2; Parkinson 1999, 54; Pignattari 2018, 30). Both of these objects then, may date to the reign of Amenemhat IV, with the name(s) of Amenemhat III used honourifically on the cylinder seal, as in the scarabs discussed previously (Scarab A 19 and UC 11332: Pignattari 2018, 141–2 figs. 12–13).

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Figure 4.1 Seal of Amenemhat III, Brooklyn 44.123.73 (Siesse 2019, 62 fig. 7), and miniature casket lid of Amenemhat IV, BM EA 22879 (Parkinson 1999, 54 fig. 3).

However, in these and also in non-royal examples, the hypocorism is usually written after the full name (Vernus 1986, 110–11), such as in the Twelfth Dynasty stela of Sobekaa, also called Aai (BM EA 1372: Antoine, Vandenbeusch et al. 2016, 111), and the Seventeenth Dynasty stela of Khentiemhat, whose father is named as Ptahhotep Ipepi (Wien ÄS 195: Hein and Satzinger 1993, 128–32). The initial placement of Ameny in the triple nomen Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat may then indicate that it is not a hypocorism of the king's own name, but a reference to a different Ameny or Amenemhat. Perhaps like the double nomina, it too may be understood as an honourific reference to Amenemhat III. Similar to Kay-Amenemhat, the use of Amenemhat as Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat's primary name presumably precluded this name being repeated as the honourific, and so perhaps the diminutive form was used as an alternative to Amenemhat in order to differentiate the honourific from the king's own name. Furthermore, the introduction of a third name may have served as an additional measure for clarity by separating the two similar names. The use of the name Intef is also perhaps particularly relevant, since Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat also shares a Horus name, *shr-tꜣwy*, with Intef I, the first king of the Eleventh Dynasty for whom a Horus name is known (Postel 2004, 59; Leprohon 2013, 216; Siesse 2019, 61). The triple name of Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat, then, may perhaps even have evoked an association with not one but two distinguished predecessors. If the use of the name Intef refers to Intef I, then this would also support the reading of the double and triple nomina as honourific rather than biological namings, as the significant timespan between Intef I and Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat would make it difficult to assert any direct family connection between them.

Only seven of the nineteen kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty have a double or triple nomen. The nomina of three are unknown, leaving eight kings with a standard single nomen. Despite the extensive scholarly discussions of them, multiple nomina account for just half of the known early Thirteenth Dynasty nomina. The distribution of these multiple nomina, however, is significant. Five of the first seven kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty have a multiple

nomen. After this, the multiple nomina only appears twice among the next seven kings, and then not at all in the final five kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty group (table 1.4). The frequency of this naming practice thus appears to decrease as the dynasty progressed and become more distant in time from the reign of Amenemhat III.

4.4. Titulary, identity, and ideology

Many Thirteenth Dynasty kings have survived as little more than names preserved on fragmentary monuments, isolated objects, or the Turin king-list, but names themselves were ‘a means of presenting one’s identity’ and ‘powerfully encompassed bodily, social, spiritual and intellectual spheres’ (Meskell 2002, 59). Royal names, moreover, were an essential aspect of not just self-identity but self-presentation, and could serve as an iconic representation of the king’s authority and presence in inscribed monumental architecture and landscapes (Spieser 2000, 7–11; Postel 2004, 2; Lorand 2015, 207), as seen in the First Cataract graffiti of Neferhotep I (§2.3). The titulary itself signified royal authority, and its adoption distinguished a king from other individuals (Postel 2004, 3–4). Carefully and meaningfully chosen, these royal names provide a succinct ‘manifeste idéologique’ (Postel 2004, 2), and as such, are able to provide several insights into Thirteenth Dynasty kingship.

Firstly, three distinct groups of titulary patterns in the Thirteenth Dynasty can be identified, which overlap with the previously identified sub-division of the dynasty into early, mid-, and late groups, and importantly, articulate a contemporaneous awareness of these groups. Secondly, patterns in the prenomina and nomina of the early Thirteenth Dynasty demonstrate modelling on those of the Twelfth Dynasty, similar to the emulation and continuation of Twelfth Dynasty traditions seen in Thirteenth Dynasty monumental graffiti at the First and Second Cataracts. Although there are no contemporaneous king-lists preserved from the Middle Kingdom, this use of Twelfth Dynasty prenomina paradigms in the Thirteenth Dynasty implies an awareness and knowledge of Twelfth Dynasty naming patterns (Leprohon 2010a, 5). The

prenomina achieve this in a general fashion, through the predominant use of the two most common paradigms found in the Twelfth Dynasty, X-*k3-r* or X-*ib-r*. More particularly, however, the double nomina of the early Thirteenth Dynasty evoke a specific association with an eminent ancestor with the name Amenemhat, who is arguably Amenemhat III (§4.3). Notably, it is in the prenomen, the name which represents kingship as an institution (Blumenthal 1970, 23; Silverman 1995, 64–5; Hamilton 2021, 110), that the early Thirteenth Dynasty recall the historical paradigms of the Twelfth Dynasty, while their personal nomina evoke a specific association with Amenemhat III. In this way, the titulary patterns of the early Thirteenth Dynasty situate these kings as the successors of the Twelfth Dynasty more broadly, while simultaneously suggesting that their individual kingship follows that of Amenemhat III in particular.

The second corpus of early Thirteenth Dynasty attestations with shared characteristics are royal funerary monuments. There are five pyramids securely attributed to the early Thirteenth Dynasty on the basis on inscriptions and architectural form (§5.1), although a number of poorly preserved pyramids currently being excavated at Dahshur may also add to this corpus (§5.1.5). In addition to these pyramids, at least one king of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, Awibre Hor, was buried in a shaft tomb within the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (§5.3). Aside from their funerary monuments, there is very limited further evidence for monumental architecture constructed by the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (McCormack 2008, 112). This may be expected, given the short reigns of its kings, which reduced the available time for both the gathering of materials and for construction (Quirke 1991, 139; Theis 2009b, 338). The only other evidence for significant construction during the early Thirteenth Dynasty comes from Medamud, with a portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (§6.2.1), and a number of fragments from papyriform columns and doors which may come from a columned hall (Eder 2002, 104–9, pl. 47–8). These fragments were re-used by Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, but the prenomen was only partially erased on one of these blocks and can be restored as Meribre, so that the construction of the hall may be attributed to Meribre Seth, the final king of the early Thirteenth Dynasty and immediate predecessor of Sobekhotep I (JE 44944: Ryholt 1997b, 285 n. 1031; Franke 2008, 271 n. 14). Other isolated examples of early Thirteenth Dynasty architectural fragments include lintels of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep from Deir el-Bahri (Neville 1910 II, pl. 10 [b]), of Khabaw from Bubastis (BM EA 1100: Neville 1891, pl. 33 [G–I]), and of Kay-Amenemhat from Tod (I.2527: Postel 2007, 1546–7, fig. 3). These suggest that the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty contributed to existing temples, although the fragmentary state of these attestations obscures the nature and extent of their constructions

(McCormack 2008, 112). As such, this chapter focusses on the extant mortuary architecture of the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

5.1 The post-Hawara pyramids

Despite the many known named kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, there are few funerary complexes which can be securely attributed to them. There are two pyramids which can be assigned to Thirteenth Dynasty kings by name: those of Khendjer (PM III/2: 434–5; Jéquier 1933, 3–53), and Ameny-Qemaw (PM III/2: 890; Maragioglio and Rinaldi 1968, 325–38; Swelim and Dodson 1998, 319–30), both from the early Thirteenth Dynasty. These two pyramids share several distinctive features with three further unidentified pyramids: the North and South Pyramids at Mazghuna (Petrie, Wainwright et al. 1912, 41–56), and SAK S 6, often referred to as the Unfinished Pyramid, at South Saqqara (PM III/2, 435; Jéquier 1933, 55–70; Theis 2008, 101–5). Their shared characteristics include a series of ninety-degree turns in the substructure, the use of portcullises which close from alternating sides, and a north-south oriented burial chamber made from a single quartzite monolith (Dodson 1987a, 39–40; McCormack 2008, 259–68; 2010b, 78; Wegner 2020, 1666). As such, Dodson (1987a) and Theis (2009b) both identify these five pyramids as a group, which they refer to as Thirteenth Dynasty Pyramids. However, many of these features are found earlier in the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III (Dodson 1987a, 39–40; McCormack 2008, 155; Theis 2009b, 312; Wegner 2020, 1666), and so they are not exclusive to the Thirteenth Dynasty. Other scholars define this group, including the Hawara pyramid, as Late Middle Kingdom pyramids, acknowledging that they cross the dynastic divide between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties (Lehner 2008, 184; McCormack 2008, 152). Given that the tombs of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew have not yet been identified (Grajetzki 2002, 24–7; Pignattari 2018, 95–7), it is possible that these may be among the unidentified tombs of this group (Dodson 1987a, 43; McCormack 2008, 152). This group of monuments may also be

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Map 5.1 Pyramids (marked by red squares) from South Saqqara to Mazghuna (map by L. Rees).

identified as ‘post-Hawara’ pyramids, as coined by Wegner (2020, 1666) which distinguishes the Hawara pyramid as the model from the later pyramids.

The five post-Hawara pyramids are located at the three sites of South Saqqara, Dahshur, and Mazghuna (map 5.1), within the existing Memphite pyramid fields of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, bound to the north by Giza and the south by Lisht (Lehner 2008, 10–11). The excavation history and architectural features of each of these pyramids have been discussed in McCormack’s unpublished PhD thesis (2008, 152–294), as well as in several articles (Dodson 1987a; 1994b; Theis 2009a, 2009b; McCormack 2010b), and so, a full description of each pyramid complex will not be given here. Instead, this section focuses on the architectural parallels between the Hawara and post-Hawara pyramids, the development of this pyramid type, and its significance for both funerary and royal ideology.

5.1.1 The Hawara pyramid as prototype

The post-Hawara pyramids must be understood in relation to the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III (PM III/2: 887; Petrie 1890, 5–17). This was the second pyramid constructed by Amenemhat III, after his first pyramid at Dahshur was apparently abandoned due to structural weaknesses in the substructure caused by the weight of the pyramid above (Di. Arnold 1987, 83–4). The Hawara pyramid was constructed on a stone platform foundation, with a mudbrick core and limestone casing (Petrie 1890, 13; Spencer 1979, 38; Di. Arnold 1987, pl. 41; McCormack 2008, 157). The side lengths are estimated at 200 cubits (105 metres), with a slope of 49 degrees, which would give a full height of 120 cubits (63 metres) (Uphill 2000, 71). The complex also included a north chapel (Petrie 1890, 6), and an extensive but poorly preserved structure to the south later made famous by several classical authors as the Labyrinth (Petrie, Wainwright et al. 1912, 28–35; Di. Arnold 1979a, 6–7; Uytterhoeven and Blom-Böer 2002, 111–5; Grajetzki 2005a, 48–55; Blom-Böer 2006, 11–82). The entire complex was surrounded by an enclosure wall, rectangular in shape, with an entrance in the south-east and the pyramid at the

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Figure 5.1 Plan of the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III at Hawara (Di. Arnold 2009, 15).

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Figure 5.2 Substructure plan of the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara (Verner 2020, 366 fig. 11.25).

northern end, and with internal walls on the east-west axis creating distinct areas for the entrance, Labyrinth, and the pyramid (fig. 5.1).

When first excavated, the substructure of the pyramid was flooded due to the high water table at Hawara, but was otherwise in good condition (Petrie 1890, 14). It had been constructed by excavating a pit in the rock for the burial chamber and trenches for the surrounding passageways, which were lined with limestone (Uphill 2000, 71; McCormack 2008, 159). Dieter Arnold suggests that this construction method was intended to better support the substructure against the weight of the pyramid above, in response to the structural failure of the Dahshur pyramid (1987, 85). The substructure was entered via a descending ramped stairway located at the western end of the southern wall of the pyramid (fig. 5.2). A blind corridor then continued in a northerly direction from the entrance passage, while the true passage leading to the burial chamber turned first to the east and proceeded to spiral inwards at ninety-degree angles, so that the antechamber was approached from the east, and was situated north of the burial chamber. There were three quartzite portcullises in the substructure: one immediately after the entry passage which was closed, and another two which were each placed after a ninety-degree turn and were both open (McCormack 2010b, 71). All three portcullises were placed at vertical junctions and slid from slightly-ramped recesses in the upper passage walls to form the roof of the lower passage (Uphill 2000, 72; McCormack 2008, 159–62). The first portcullis emerged from the right, after which they alternated the side of the corridor from which they emerged (McCormack 2010b, 71).

The burial chamber has been described as ‘a technical marvel’ (Lehner 2008, 182). Its floor and walls were carved from a single quartzite monolith with the interior hollowed out to form a ‘tub’-like chamber (Uphill 2000, 73; Lehner 2008, 182; McCormack 2008, 162). Petrie estimated that this monolith weighed 110 tons (1890, 16). The roof of the burial chamber was made of three stone slabs and sat level with the floor of the antechamber. The centre and south-most slabs of the roof were fixed into place, but the one closest to the antechamber was raised

on stone supports resting on niches filled with sand. In the raised position, it allowed access to the burial chamber. These niches were closed at the base by blocks and could be accessed via hidden corridors off the antechamber. Removing the blocks would allow the sand to drain out of the niches, lowering the final piece of the roof to seal the burial chamber (fig. 5.3). The width of the roof pieces was larger than the width of the monolith below, so that when shut, the roof pieces were directly supported by ledges cut into the bedrock, to avoid putting pressure on the monolithic chamber (Lehner 2008, 183). Above this, the burial chamber also had a saddle roof made of enormous limestone slabs, as well as a five-course mudbrick archway (McCormack 2008, 163).

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Figure 5.3 Burial chamber of Amenemhat III at Hawara with lowering lid mechanism (Petrie 1890, pl. 4; McCormack 2008, 163 fig. 3.4).

Like the use of trenches in construction, this innovative style of burial chamber is understood as a response to the structural failure of the Dahshur pyramid, introduced in order to strengthen the burial chamber through the use of solid quartzite rather than masonry, and to better distribute the weight of the pyramid above through the saddle roof and archway (Spencer 1979, 38; Di. Arnold 1987, 85–6; Verner 2002, 428–9; Lehner 2008, 183).

Two uninscribed sarcophagi with niched decoration were discovered in the burial chamber (fig. 5.2): one on the central axis of the chamber, and a second smaller one wedged between the west wall of the sarcophagus and the east wall of the chamber (Petrie 1890, 7–8; Dodson 1994a, 28–9). A canopic chest was found at the south-west foot of the larger sarcophagus (Dodson 1994a, 28 fig. 7). The larger central sarcophagus was attributed to Amenemhat III, and the smaller to the King's Daughter Neferewptah on the basis of an offering table and various bowls shaped like ducks found in the tomb, all inscribed with her name (Petrie 1890, 8; Grajetzki 2017, 34). The exact reason for Neferewptah's inclusion in the pyramid of her father remains unclear, as she is known to have also had her own pyramid at Hawara, two kilometres south of the pyramid of Amenemhat III (Farang and Iskander 1971; Grajetzki 2017, 33–6, 42). Dodson (1994a, 29) suggests that the king's own canopic chest was intended to be placed centrally at the foot of his sarcophagus but was moved to the west to accommodate the canopic chest of Neferewptah, of which only fragments were found (Petrie 1890, 17).

The later post-Hawara pyramids shared many of the architectural features first found in the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III, but they did not replicate them exactly. Perhaps the most obvious difference is size: the post-Hawara pyramids typically have side lengths of 100 cubits, approximately 52.5 metres, half the size of the typical Twelfth Dynasty pyramid (Swelim and Dodson 1998, 321; Lehner 2008, 17); this may be a result of the short reigns and associated limitations on resources of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Theis 2009b, 338). The Unfinished pyramid, SAK S 6, is somewhat larger, with side lengths of 150 cubits (Jéquier 1933, 55–6; Theis 2009b, 325). Other architectural features appear to have derived closely from the Hawara pyramid, but with some modifications. For example, the substructures of all the Late Middle Kingdom pyramids were constructed in trenches, excavated variously into the bedrock, sand, or levelled platforms (McCormack 2008, 259). In the Hawara pyramid, the burial chamber was placed in one trench, while separate trenches were cut for the surrounding passageways, following the shape of the substructure passages closely (Petrie 1890, 14; McCormack 2008, 159), whereas in

the post-Hawara pyramids, a single large square trench was cut in which both burial chamber and corridors were built (Di. Arnold 1987, 74; McCormack 2008, 259; 2010b, 72).

The post-Hawara pyramids also had the same organisation of portcullises as in the Hawara pyramid, where the blocks emerged from alternate sides of the passages and blocked areas of vertical ascent (Di. Arnold 1987, 85; McCormack 2010b, 78). Typically, the first portcullis would have emerged from the right (McCormack 2010b, 78), with one exception: the pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw, where the first stone instead would lower from above (Swelim and Dodson 1998, 323; McCormack 2008, 213). Although these five pyramids used the same organisation of portcullises found in the Hawara pyramid, their placement differed. In the Hawara pyramid, the portcullises were placed at each of the three right-angle turns of the substructure passages (fig. 5.2), while the portcullises of the later pyramids were placed either in or at the end of the entrance passageway or dividing the antechamber from the burial chamber (fig. 5.4–8). There are two exceptions to this: in the North Mazghuna pyramid, there was also a portcullis in the first passage after the entry (fig. 5.7), and in the Unfinished pyramid, there were two portcullises in the final passage approaching the antechamber (fig. 5.8). In both of these cases, however, the portcullises were still in the general vicinity of the areas typical for the post-Hawara pyramids—the entrance and the antechamber—rather than being placed at each turn, as in the Hawara pyramid. The portcullises were typically made of quartzite, although granite was used instead for both the portcullises of the South Mazghuna pyramid and one portcullis of the Unfinished pyramid (McCormack 2008, 203, 232, 261).

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of these pyramids were their monolithic quartzite burial chambers. In the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara, the monolith was hollowed out to create a chamber into which a freestanding sarcophagus and canopic chest were placed (Petrie 1890, 16; Lehner 2008, 182; McCormack 2008, 162). In the post-Hawara pyramids, however, recesses were carved directly into the monolith itself to serve as the sarcophagus and canopic chest, integrating them fully within the structure of the burial chamber (Dodson 1987a, 39–40;

2000a, 8; Grajetzki 2002, 26; McCormack 2010b, 72). The recess for the canopic chest was carved at the foot of the sarcophagus recess, to the south (Dodson 1994a, 28–30, 33; McCormack 2008, 264). The burial chambers were typically oriented north-south, with the antechamber situated north of the burial chamber (e.g. fig. 5.4–7). However, there is again one exception to both these features. The Unfinished pyramid was unusual in that it alone out of these six pyramids had two burial chambers (McCormack 2008, 202). The larger burial chamber was of the monolithic quartzite type but was oriented east-west (McCormack 2008, 201; Theis 2009b, 326), while the smaller of the two burial chambers was a chamber built of granite blocks, but was entirely filled with a monolithic quartzite sarcophagus (Jéquier 1933, 65; McCormack 2008, 203). These and other features of the Unfinished pyramid, and their significance, will be discussed further later (§5.1.4).

5.1.2 Post-Hawara pyramid substructure subtypes

The post-Hawara pyramids can be subdivided into two subtypes, differentiated by the layout of their substructure passages and by the type of sarcophagus lid (McCormack 2010b, 70). The first subtype most closely followed the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III. These pyramids had a winding substructure with a series of ninety-degree turns which spiralled inwards and wrapped around the burial chamber (McCormack 2010b, 71–3). They also used the sand-lowering sarcophagus lid mechanism of the Hawara pyramid (McCormack 2008, 265–7). In this subtype, portcullises were only found in or at the end of the entry passage. This subtype comprises the pyramids of South Mazghuna (fig. 5.4) and Khendjer (fig. 5.5). The location of the entrance also varied: the South Mazghuna pyramid was entered from the south, before the first corridor turned to the west, similar to the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara. In the pyramid of Khendjer, however, the entrance was located to the west and continued in the same direction as the first corridor. In both, the antechamber was entered at its eastern end, but from a passage

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Figure 5.4 Substructure plan of the South Mazghuna pyramid (Verner 2020, 370 fig. 12.1).

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Figure 5.5 Substructure plan of the pyramid of Khendjer (Verner 2020, 376 fig. 12.5).

that approached from the south. This is a slight reduction from the plan of the Hawara pyramid, which had an additional turn so that the antechamber was approached directly from the east, although the overall layout of passages which spiralled inward was maintained. The length of the antechamber was oriented east-west, perpendicular to the north-south burial chamber. In this subtype, the antechamber extended beyond the width of the burial chamber and was oriented in this fashion so that the sand-lowering mechanism of the sarcophagus lid could be accessed through passages on either side of the burial chamber.

The second subtype also had winding substructure passages with ninety degree turns, but they no longer spiralled inwards and instead, formed a U-shaped bend. The layout of the burial chamber also differed. The antechamber and burial chamber were one continuous space, both oriented north-south, with the top of the monolithic burial chamber level with the floor of the antechamber. This is because, instead of a lowering-lid mechanism, the lid of the sarcophagus was slid into place to close the burial chamber, and was stored in the antechamber prior to use (McCormack 2008, 267). Once the burial chamber was shut, a portcullis separated the burial chamber from the antechamber. These portcullises always closed horizontally from the west, and were thinner than the portcullises used in the entrance passages. They only appeared in tombs of this subtype (McCormack 2008, 263; 2010b, 73). The antechamber was approached from the east, the same as the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III. This subtype comprises the pyramids of Ameny-Qemaw (fig. 5.6) and North Mazghuna (fig. 5.7). In these pyramids, the entrance was to the east, although in the pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw, it was located on the eastern face, whereas in the North Mazghuna pyramid, it was at the eastern end of the north face (McCormack 2010b, 73–5). The North Mazghuna layout was more complex than that of Ameny-Qemaw, with an initial southwards corridor and with additional passages that created two U-bends. It also had a further room after the burial chamber, unique among the Late Middle Kingdom pyramids, possibly intended for the storage of funerary goods (McCormack 2008, 223; 2010b, 74).

Image redacted

Figure 5.6 Substructure plan of the pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw (Verner 2020, 374 fig. 12.3).

Image redacted

Figure 5.7 Substructure plan of the North Mazghuna pyramid (Verner 2020, 372 fig. 12.2).

Image redacted

Figure 5.8 Substructure plan of SAK S 6, the Unfinished pyramid (Verner 2020, 378 fig. 12.6).

The Unfinished pyramid, SAK S 6, occupies a distinct place among this corpus in that it had features of both subtypes. It had more features in common with the second subtype pyramids: like the North Mazghuna pyramid, the entry passage was located at the eastern end of the north face, and its substructure also had the U-shaped passage layout typical of this subtype. However, as previously mentioned, it had two burial chambers, with one of each subtype. The larger burial chamber had the lowering sarcophagus lid of the first subtype, while the smaller burial chamber had the sliding lid of the second subtype (McCormack 2010b, 74). Both shared a common antechamber, which was approached from the east like the other post-Hawara pyramids. However, neither burial chamber was located south of this antechamber. Instead, the larger burial chamber followed linearly from the antechamber and so was oriented east-west, while the second was situated north of the antechamber (fig. 5.8).

Due to its size and linear position off the antechamber, the larger burial chamber is typically assumed to be the main burial chamber of the king (e.g. Dodson 1987a, 41; Lehner 2008, 187; Theis 2009b, 327). Like the other post-Hawara pyramids, this burial chamber was made from a single monolithic quartzite block which was hollowed out. Unlike the other post-Hawara pyramids, however, this block was not only hollowed out with recesses that acted as the sarcophagus and canopic chest at the western end, but also with an additional space at the eastern end (fig. 5.9), which may have stored funerary furniture (Dodson 1987a, 41; Theis 2009b, 326). Although the chamber as a whole was oriented east-west, it was large enough to accommodate the recess for the sarcophagus being oriented north-south, as was also found in the other post-Hawara pyramids (Dodson 1987a, 41; McCormack 2008, 201). The recess for the canopic chest was also placed against the southern wall of the burial chamber, at the eastern foot of the sarcophagus recess.

Image redacted

Figure 5.9 Plan and cross-section of the primary burial chamber of SAK S 6, the Unfinished pyramid (Dodson 1987a, 39).

As previously noted, the second burial chamber was constructed from granite blocks and also contained a quartzite monolith with recessed sarcophagus and canopic chest (Jéquier 1933, 65; McCormack 2008, 203). The purpose of this second burial chamber is unclear. It has been suggested that it served as a decoy burial to deter potential robbers away from the main chamber (Dodson 1987a, 41), but this seems an unlikely security measure given that the main burial chamber was placed linearly off the main antechamber, with the supposed decoy off to the side (Theis 2009b, 327–8). An alternative argument suggests that it was a subsidiary burial for a

member of the royal family, similar to those in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (Theis 2009b, 327–8). However, this type of sarcophagus is not attested in known subsidiary burials (McCormack 2008, 203). Lehner has suggested that it may be a late example of a *ka*-tomb, but he also acknowledges that these are typically independent structures, rather than included in the pyramid itself (2002, 187). It has also been suggested that the two burial chambers of this pyramid may have been intended for two of the brother kings, Neferhotep I and Khaneferre Sobekhotep II (McCormack 2008, 207), but the tombs of these kings have since been identified at South Abydos (Wegner and Cahail 2015, 125–61; Wegner 2020, 1666–79). The purpose of the two chambers remains unclear. As with other second subtype burial chambers, the lid of the sarcophagus was stored in a space north of the burial chamber, which could be separated from the burial chamber after the lid was shut by another portcullis that slid horizontally from a recess to the left. In the pyramids of Ameny-Qemaw and North Mazghuna, this space was the antechamber, and the portcullis apparently served to close the burial chamber. If this portcullis of the Unfinished pyramid was closed, however, the burial chamber would still remain accessible from the south, while the space north of the burial chamber was closed off.

The presence of two burial chambers and the layout of the secondary burial chamber, however, are not the only unusual features of the Unfinished pyramid. With side-lengths of 150 cubits, it was considerably larger and closer in size to the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III than to the other post-Hawara pyramids (Jéquier 1933, 55–6; Theis 2009b, 325). The Unfinished pyramid also had an additional corridor off the south-west end of the U-shaped turn which may have been a storage gallery or blind passage (McCormack 2008, 199; Theis 2009b, 326) and, as previously mentioned (§5.1.1), it also had portcullises in the corridor approaching the antechamber (McCormack 2010b, 74). These features are also seen in the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III, but are not typical in the post-Hawara pyramids.

5.1.3 Development of the post-Hawara pyramid type

One concern of scholarship on the Late Middle Kingdom pyramids has been the chronological relationship between them (e.g. Dodson 1987a, 39–43; McCormack 2008, 375–6; Theis 2009a, 52–9). Given that only the pyramids of Amenemhat III, Ameny-Qemaw and Khendjer can be identified with a specific king, there are few secure markers to assess the development of this type. The Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III is clearly the earliest of the late Middle Kingdom pyramid group and the only pyramid of this type securely attributed to the Twelfth Dynasty, while Khendjer is identified as the sixteenth king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, recorded in 7.20 of the Turin king-list (fig. 1.2). Ameny-Qemaw, however, is not immediately recognisable in the king-list (§1.2.4), and so his pyramid cannot be placed in relation to those of Amenemhat III and Khendjer on this basis. Likewise, there is no inscriptional material to identify the owners of the Mazghuna pyramids and to situate them in relation to the other pyramids. As such, the placement of these three pyramids has been theorised on the basis of differing interpretations of their architectural features and other material, leading to varying reconstructions of the chronological order of the subsequent post-Hawara pyramids across scholars (summarised in table 5.1).

Dodson (1987a)	McCormack (2008)	Theis (2009a)
Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III	Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III	Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III
Pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw	South Mazghuna pyramid	South Mazghuna pyramid
North Mazghuna pyramid	Pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw	Pyramid of Khendjer
South Mazghuna pyramid	Pyramid of Khendjer	Pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw
Pyramid of Khendjer	North Mazghuna pyramid	North Mazghuna pyramid
Unfinished pyramid	Unfinished pyramid	Unfinished pyramid

Theis (2009a, 52–9) adopts a strictly typological basis for his reconstruction of the post-Hawara pyramid chronology. In particular, he argues that the parallels between the pyramids of Amenemhat III, South Mazghuna, and Khendjer indicate ‘eine direkte zeitliche Konvergenz’ between them, and so the pyramids of the second subtype, Ameny-Qemaw and North Mazghuna, should be considered a later development (2009a, 56). A number of fragments of canopic jars which were recovered from the pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw (Swelim and Dodson 1998, pl. 54–5), however, strongly suggest that Ameny-Qemaw preceded Khendjer. When reconstructed, the bodies of the jars were approximately twenty-seven centimetres at full height, and were each incised with an inscription of four columns in mutilated hieroglyphs that had been filled with a blue-green pigment (Swelim and Dodson 1998, 324–8). These are the earliest extant set of inscribed canopic jars for a king, except for a single fragment from a canopic jar of Iseki (Dodson 1994a, 30). Typologically, the jars belong to Sethe’s Type III which is used in the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties, and characterised by the writing of the initial uniliteral *s* in *stp-s3*, ‘protection’ and the use of *im:t* ‘within you’ rather than *hr:t* ‘upon you’ in the formula following the names of the four sons of Horus (Sethe 1934, 1*; Swelim and Dodson 1998, 326–8). The closest royal parallels to the canopic jars of Ameny-Qemaw are the jars of the Kings’ Daughters Sathathoriewnet (MMA 16.1.45–8: Brunton 1920, pl. 14) and Menet (CG 4005–6: Reisner 1967, 3–4), from the mid-Twelfth Dynasty. The jars of Ameny-Qemaw are distinguished from these earlier Twelfth Dynasty examples by the use of mutilated hieroglyphs, a practice which seems to begin late in the reign of Amenemhat III, appearing on the funerary equipment of Nefereuptah that was found both in her own pyramid and in her burial in the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III (Swelim and Dodson 1998, 328; Miniaci 2010, 115–7).

The Ameny-Qemaw canopic jars may also be compared with the only other known set of king’s canopic jars from the Thirteenth Dynasty, those of Awibre Hor (CG 4019–22: Dodson 1994a, 32; Aufrère 2001, 35–6). The jars of Hor belong to Sethe’s Type IV, first attested in the Thirteenth Dynasty and continuing in use later into the Second Intermediate Period (Sethe 1934,

1*-2*; Swelim and Dodson 1998, 328). The typology of their canopic jars thus suggests that Ameny-Qemaw ruled earlier in the dynasty than Hor (Swelim and Dodson 1998, 330), who is listed as the thirteenth king of the dynasty in the Turin king-list (7.17: fig. 1.2). Khendjer, conversely, is recorded three entries after Hor in the Turin king-list (7.20: fig. 1.2). An early placement for the pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw would also agree with the identification of Ameny-Qemaw as the predecessor of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef and the fourth king of the Thirteenth Dynasty (§1.2.4). As such, the pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw, with its second subtype U-shaped passages and sliding sarcophagus lid, is chronologically situated between the pyramids of Amenemhat III and Khendjer, both with the first subtype spiral passages and lowering sarcophagus lid. This would suggest that both subtypes were in use simultaneously. The blending of features of both subtypes in the Unfinished pyramid also provides a clear example of their concurrent use (McCormack 2008, 376). As such, the subtypes of the late Middle Kingdom pyramids cannot be used alone to determine their chronological sequence.

The three late Middle Kingdom pyramids that can be attributed to specific kings provide a framework for the sequence of this group around which the other three pyramids without identified owners may be placed. Dodson suggests that pyramids may have become more complex over time and that subsequent monuments were placed south of earlier ones (1987a, 39, 43), and so he assumes that the North Mazghuna pyramid precedes that of South Mazghuna, arguing that the North Mazghuna pyramid is more complex and therefore subsequent to that of Ameny-Qemaw, while the South Mazghuna pyramid is less complex and therefore earlier than that of Khendjer (1987a, 40–1). However, the reliability of complexity as a dating criterion is questionable: given that both the technologically advanced lowering sarcophagus lid and arguably simpler sliding sarcophagus lid were in use concurrently, it seems likely that the development of the Late Middle Kingdom pyramid type did not follow a simple linear increase in complexity (McCormack 2008, 373–4). In contrast, McCormack places the South Mazghuna pyramid after the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III, based on their architectural similarities, and the North

Mazghuna pyramid after that of Khendjer (McCormack 2008, 375–6). However, although architectural similarities may suggest a general temporal proximity for all the late Middle Kingdom pyramids, the subtypes do not necessarily indicate a specific chronological relationship between any given pyramids within the corpus, as is demonstrated by the chronological distance between the highly similar pyramids of Amenemhat III at Hawara pyramid and Khendjer, and by the intervening second subtype pyramid of Ameny-Qemaw between them.

The two Mazghuna pyramids have also been identified as the funerary monuments of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew (e.g. Petrie, Wainwright et al. 1912, 37; Stadelmann 1997, 249–50; Verner 2002, 342–3; Bárta 2021, 145). However, neither Mazghuna pyramid appears to have been completed, with only several courses of mudbrick and no indication of any outer casing at South Mazghuna (Petrie, Wainwright et al. 1912, 41; McCormack 2008, 227; Theis 2009b, 314), and without any surviving superstructure at North Mazghuna at all (Petrie, Wainwright et al. 1912, 50–1; McCormack 2008, 218). Given his ten-year reign, it is often assumed that Amenemhat IV would have been able to construct a more complete pyramid than either of these (Theis 2009b, 316; Verner 2020, 372). Similarly, a stela of Senebsumai (Marseilles 233: Grajetzki 2001, 24), a treasurer under an unknown king of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, refers to an *'iri-ṯ šnꜥw n(y) Sbk-nfrw hbi'*, 'hall-keeper of the storeroom of Sobekneferew, Hebi,' and may attest to an ongoing mortuary cult of Sobekneferew, which would be incompatible with the incomplete state of the Mazghuna complexes if either of them belonged to her (Grajetzki 2002, 27; Theis 2009a, 318–9; Verner 2020, 343).

It seems unlikely that either Mazghuna pyramid can be attributed to the Twelfth Dynasty, which would suggest that they were constructed in the Thirteenth Dynasty. However, the uncertainty around the dating of these pyramids raises a further question: can they be attributed to the early Thirteenth Dynasty specifically? Both post-Hawara pyramids that can be attributed to a particular king, Ameny-Qemaw and Khendjer respectively, belong to kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, and the architectural parallels between the Mazghuna pyramids and these, as

well as with the Hawara pyramid, may suggest a general temporal proximity of the pyramids of this style in the late Twelfth Dynasty and early Thirteenth Dynasty (Jéquier 1933, 67; Grajetzki 2002, 24–7; McCormack 2008, 240; Theis 2009b, 316). Conversely, the identification of the tombs of at least three kings of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty at South Abydos, that can be attributed to the three brother kings, Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Khasekhemre Sobekhotep III (Wegner and Cahail 2015, 125–61; Wegner 2020, 1666–79), would suggest that the royal necropolis had relocated by the reign of Neferhotep I, making the kings of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty less likely candidates for the unattributed post-Hawara pyramids, perhaps with the exception of Sekhemre-Sewadjtawy Sobekhotep I who reigned before Neferhotep I.

However, another possibility is that these pyramids belonged to kings of the late Thirteenth Dynasty. Merneferre Ay is thought to have at least begun a pyramid because he had a pyramidion (JE 43267: Habachi 1954, 473–4, pl. 16–17). This pyramidion was discovered at Khatana, leading to the suggestion that this king was buried in the delta (Dodson 1987a, 43), but it is more plausible that the pyramidion had been taken to Khatana later, during the Hyksos or Ramessid periods (Ryholt 1997b, 82; Swelim and Dodson 1998, 334 n. 79; McCormack 2008, 227–8; Theis 2009b, 334–5). The actual location of the pyramid which presumably accompanied this pyramidion is unknown, but the Memphite pyramid fields seems most likely (Ryholt 1997b, 82; McCormack 2008, 227–8), and so it is possible that one of these post-Hawara pyramids belonged to Merneferre Ay. Pyramidions were also found at several pyramids from the late Middle Kingdom, including the Dahshur pyramid of Amenemhat III (JE 35133: Di. Arnold 1987, 14; Oppenheim 2015, fig. 4), the pyramid of Khendjer (JE 53045: Jéquier 1933, 19–26, pl. 16), and two from the Unfinished pyramid at South Saqqara, one of which was truncated (JE 54855–6: Jéquier 1933, 58–9, pl. 16). The pyramidion of Merneferre Ay has a restored base length of 83 centimetres, which is considerably smaller than the other extant pyramidions, compared to the 187 centimetre base length for the pyramidion of Amenemhat III from Dahshur, 140 centimetres for the pyramidion of Khendjer, and 158 and 168 centimetres

respectively for the two pyramidions from the Unfinished pyramid (Habachi 1954, 472; Di. Arnold 1987, 15). The smaller size of the pyramidion suggests that the pyramid of Merneferre Ay was correspondingly smaller than the known late Middle Kingdom pyramids (McCormack 2008, 288). In addition, none of the other kings of the late Thirteenth Dynasty are attested further north of Thebes (Ryholt 1997b, 356–8; Siesse 2019, 393–5), and so are perhaps unlikely to have built pyramids around the Memphite region. As Wegner and Cahail (2015, 124 n. 8) note, the Mazghuna pyramids most probably ‘belong to two of the longer reigning kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty’, which may also exclude the particularly ephemeral kings of the late Thirteenth Dynasty, whose average reign length is estimated at around eighteen months only (Ryholt 1997b, 196, 298). Many of the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty are attributed a reign of two or three years, a length which is consistent with the completed substructures but largely incomplete superstructures of these pyramids. While the unattributed post-Hawara pyramids could conceivably have belonged to later kings such as Sewadjtawy-Sobekhotep Sobekhotep I or Merneferre Ay, it seems most probable that they were also constructed during the early Thirteenth Dynasty, like the pyramids of Ameny-Qemaw and Khendjer.

5.1.4 An early date for the Unfinished pyramid

Despite their differences, all the proposed reconstructions of the chronological sequence of the post-Hawara pyramids agree on one aspect: all place the Unfinished pyramid, SAK S 6, as the last pyramid of this group due to its size, complexity, and the way it combines features from both subtypes (Dodson 1987a, 43; McCormack 2008, 367; Theis 2009a, 54–6). Unlike the Mazghuna pyramids, the Unfinished pyramid did yield several pieces of inscribed material, including control notes dated between Years 3 and 5 (F. Arnold 1990, 181–3), and a block inscribed with the signs *wsr* (F12) and *hꜥi* (N28) (Jéquier 1933, 63). Theis (2008, 101–4) reads this combination of signs as the Golden Horus name of a king Djehuti, Weserkhaw. Djehuti is variously assigned to either the late Thirteenth Dynasty (Geisen 2004, 149–57), or the Sixteenth

Dynasty (Ryholt 1997b, 152), which would suit the suggested late date of the Unfinished pyramid. However, Ryholt has previously noted that the paradigm X-*h'iw* is more frequently attested among the known Two Ladies names of the Thirteenth Dynasty, rather than the Golden Horus names, although a specific king with the Two Ladies name Weserkhaw is unknown (1997b, 80–1 n. 245). As such, the pyramid may be attributed to any of the many Thirteenth Dynasty kings whose Two Ladies names are unknown (Ryholt 1997b, 80–1 n. 245). However, given the absence of any trace of the royal titles that should accompany the Golden Horus or Two Ladies names, it is also possible that this fragment does not comprise a royal name at all and may therefore have no bearing on the identity of the pyramid's owner (McCormack 2008, 206). The officials named in the control notes cannot be identified as individuals, nor the king under whom they served, and so they also cannot be used to date this pyramid (McCormack 2008, 206–7).

The control notes indicate that the king of the Unfinished pyramid had at least five regnal years, which eliminates the majority of Thirteenth Dynasty kings (Ryholt 1997b, 197). The Unfinished pyramid is situated close to the pyramid of Khendjer, approximately 80 metres south of it, and from this it has also been suggested that the Unfinished pyramid may have belonged to one of Khendjer's close predecessors or successors (Jéquier 1933, 55, 68). His immediate predecessor, Wegaf, has a reign length of two years, three months and twenty-four days recorded in the Turin king-list (Ryholt 1997b, 192 table 33; McCormack 2008, 205), but his successor, Imyremesha, whose reign length is unknown, may be a plausible candidate. An uninscribed fragment of a statuette was discovered at this site which has physical features similar to the statuary of both Khendjer and Imyremesha, and could therefore support the attribution of this pyramid to Imyremesha (JE 54493: Jéquier 1933, 67; Davies 1981, 24 [13]; Connor 2020, 55, pl. 86 fig. 3.1.22.2b). However, there were no traces of any cult buildings in the Unfinished Pyramid complex where this statuette could have been placed (Theis 2009b, 325–6). In contrast, the complex of Khendjer had both a mortuary temple and north chapel, the latter yielding

fragments from several statuettes (Jéquier 1933, 3–6, 15–19; McCormack 2008, 171–3). Given the proximity of the two pyramids and its resemblance to other statuettes of Khendjer, it is possible that the statuette fragment from the Unfinished pyramid is an intrusive find from the Khendjer complex.

Neither the inscribed block, nor the statuette fragment can provide solid evidence for the late dating of the Unfinished pyramid. As previously discussed, complexity is not necessarily a reliable indicator of relative date for the late Middle Kingdom pyramids, and so the larger scale and substructure of the Unfinished pyramid also does not support its late dating. The Unfinished pyramid has several unusual features which set it apart from the other pyramids of this corpus. Its main burial chamber was oriented east-west, which is otherwise unattested among the late Middle Kingdom pyramids but is not uncommon in the Twelfth Dynasty, found in the pyramids of Amenemhat II, Senwosret II, Senwosret III, and Amenemhat III at Dahshur (Lehner 2008, 19, 174–9). In particular, the sarcophagus of Amenemhat III in the Dahshur pyramid was placed north-south within the east-west oriented chamber (Di. Arnold 1987, 30–2), notably similar to the placement of the sarcophagus recess in the main burial chamber of the Unfinished pyramid (fig. 5.9). In addition to the common features shared by all the late Middle Kingdom pyramids, the Unfinished pyramid has several features unattested elsewhere in this corpus except in the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III, such as blind passageways and the presence of portcullises in the main corridors (§5.1.2). Moreover, the two pyramidions found at the Unfinished pyramid had bevelled tenons for attaching to a pyramid, which were also found on the pyramidion from the Dahshur pyramid of Amenemhat III, while the pyramidion of Khendjer had circular tenons (Di. Arnold 1991, 127; McCormack 2008, 196). These features all attest to a particular similarity between the Unfinished pyramid and the pyramids of Amenemhat III, as well as other Twelfth Dynasty pyramids.

Some of the other unique features of the Unfinished pyramid appear to sit between the Hawara pyramid and the other post-Hawara pyramids, such as its size: at 150 cubits, the side

length of the Unfinished pyramid was half-way between the 200 cubit side-length of the Hawara pyramid, and the typical 100 cubit side-lengths of the other post-Hawara pyramids. This feature can also be seen in both the burial chambers. The larger burial chamber was constructed out of a single monolith with integrated recesses which served as the sarcophagus and canopic chest like the post-Hawara pyramids, but also had open floor space like the Hawara pyramid, while the smaller burial chamber was constructed of granite blocks with a quartzite monolith inside it. These arrangements are neither the distinct chamber and sarcophagus of Hawara, nor the fully integrated post-Hawara sarcophagus/burial chamber. All together, these features may suggest that the Unfinished pyramid, rather than being the latest of the post-Hawara pyramids, was closest chronologically to the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III and other Twelfth Dynasty pyramids, and represents an intermediary stage in the development of the post-Hawara pyramid before the standard range of features of these pyramids was fully established. The Unfinished pyramid also included one of each of the two characteristic sarcophagus lids of the post-Hawara pyramid subtypes, with the lowering lid of the first subtype in the larger burial chamber, and the sliding lid of the second subtype in the smaller. On the assumption that the Unfinished pyramid was the latest pyramid of this group, McCormack (2008, 376) and Theis (2009a, 57) both suggest that it brought the two different subtypes of post-Hawara pyramids together in one monument. If the Unfinished pyramid is accepted as the earliest post-Hawara pyramid, however, it may be instead understood as a model from which these two sub-types diverged.

As previously mentioned (§5.1.2), the layout in the second burial chamber of the Unfinished pyramid was somewhat unusual, in that the portcullis would have shut behind the sarcophagus. In the other second subtype burial chambers in the pyramids of Ameny-Qemaw and North Mazghuna, this portcullis stone is thought to have closed off and protected the burial chamber (McCormack 2010b, 73–4). In the Unfinished pyramid, however, the portcullis would not secure the burial chamber when closed, but would have simply rendered the space to the north of the chamber inaccessible. Given the seeming impracticalities of this layout,

McCormack has suggested that this burial chamber in the Unfinished pyramid followed that of the other second subtype pyramids and the layout was maintained because ‘the orientation and placement of the sarcophagus and antechamber in this type of tomb were more important than the practical layout of the elements’ (2010b, 74–5). If, however, the Unfinished pyramid is the earliest of the post-Hawara pyramids, then the arrangement of the burial chamber cannot have simply been copied from other existing monuments. A different explanation for this feature can be proposed: although the portcullis would not limit access to the burial chamber itself, it would still provide significant protection for the sarcophagus in this position. By closing off the space in which the lid was stored and providing a barrier behind it, the lid would be effectively ‘locked’ in place and could not be slid open again (McCormack 2010b, 74). Moreover, once the sarcophagus was shut, the space at the northern end of the burial chamber where the lid had been stored would be empty and could then be used for another purpose, such as the storage of funerary goods (McCormack 2008, 203–4). In this case, the placement of the portcullis would also close off and secure this storage space. In practice, the sarcophagus of the secondary burial chamber was not shut and so the portcullis was also found open (Jéquier 1933, 65), but in theory, the placement of the portcullis behind the sarcophagus could have secured both spaces. In contrast, in the pyramids of Ameny-Qemaw and North Mazghuna, the portcullis stone sealed off only the burial chamber, while the space to the north, which then functioned as an antechamber, was left open and accessible. It is possible that the orientation and layout of the second subtype burial chambers had an ideological significance that is not readily evident anymore and as a result was carried forward into later monuments, as McCormack has suggested (2010b, 74–5), but in the opposite sequence: this layout may have originated in the Unfinished pyramid and was then copied in the pyramids of Ameny-Qemaw and North Mazghuna, despite being less functional in those monuments. This would also account for the presence of an additional room beyond the sarcophagus in the pyramid of North Mazghuna, which would then be an imitation of this functional space behind the portcullis in the Unfinished pyramid.

Placing the Unfinished pyramid earliest in the sequence of late Middle Kingdom pyramids has implications for its ownership, as it could then only be attributed to one of the five kings between Amenemhat III and Ameny-Qemaw, namely, Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew in the Twelfth Dynasty, and Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, Amenemhat-Senebef, and Nerikare in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Wegner and Cahail have argued that the tombs of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew ‘should in theory be two of the earliest tombs using the post-Hawara design evidenced in all known royal pyramids of the late Middle Kingdom’ (2015, 124 n. 8), which would support an identification of the Unfinished pyramid with either of these kings. However, the arguments against the attribution of either Mazghuna pyramid to Amenemhat IV or Sobekneferew also apply here: the existence of an established mortuary cult for Sobekneferew in the Thirteenth Dynasty makes it unlikely that she had been buried in the unused and incomplete Unfinished pyramid at South Saqqara (§5.1.3); similarly, Amenemhat IV could be expected to have had a more complete funerary monument given his ten-year reign (§5.1.3). An attribution to Nerikare is implausible as his highest attested regnal year of Year 1 (§1.2.3) is inconsistent with the control notes dated to Years 3 to 5 from the Unfinished pyramid (F. Arnold 1990, 181–3). Both Amenemhat-Sobekhotep I, and Amenemhat-Senebef have an attested Year 4 in the Nile flood records at the Second Cataract (Ryholt 1997b, 193), which means that either or both of their reigns may have extended into a fifth year. The reign lengths of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Senebef are thus closely compatible with the Year 5 control notes and the state of completion of the Unfinished pyramid at South Saqqara, and are both plausible candidates for its owner.

5.1.5 The missing pyramids

The few royal funerary monuments of the Thirteenth Dynasty are seemingly at odds with the many kings known from this period (Dodson 1987a, 36; McCormack 2010b, 69; Wegner and Cahail 2015, 123–4). In addition to the post-Hawara pyramids discussed above, several further

poorly preserved pyramids have been identified at Dahshur and South Saqqara which may be dated to the early Thirteenth Dynasty on the basis of proximity to other known Late Middle Kingdom pyramids, ceramic finds, and the presence of traces of quartzite, which was the primary material used for portcullises and the monolithic burial chambers typical of the Late Middle Kingdom pyramids (SAK 3, 7, DAS 2, 16, 17; PM III/2: 890; Di. Arnold and Stadelmann 1975, 172–4; Stadelmann and Alexanian 1998, 312–13; Alexanian, Schiestl et al. 2009, 38–40). The remains of a pyramid at Dahshur, DAM 28-1 (also known as Lepsius 54), consists of a mound with limestone debris and the remains of a sinusoidal wall (PM III/2, 887; Di. Arnold and Stadelmann 1975, 174; Dodson 1987a, 41). This type of wall is exponentially stronger than rectilinear walls but needs only a minor increase in bricks, and are often thought to have been used as temporary screening walls for their efficacy and efficiency (Hesse 1970, 97–101; Wegner 2007, 377–8; Moeller 2016, 334; Siegel 2016, 56–7). Sinusoidal walls are typical of Middle Kingdom architecture, and are found at a variety of sites including royal monuments such as the mortuary temple of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri (Di. Arnold 1979b, 24–5, pl. 19b) and the tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos (Wegner 2007, 371–2), as well as in non-royal funerary monuments such as the mastabas of Sesenebnefer and Imhotep at Lisht (Siegel 2016, 62, 65–6 figs. 8–9), and in settlement sites at Qasr el-Sagha (Śliwa 1992, 523–4) and Tell el-Dab’a (Czerny 2010, 74–6). Sinusoidal walls were also found at the Unfinished pyramid, as well as those of Khendjer, and South Mazghuna, and were thicker than the domestic or earlier royal examples (Petrie, Wainwright et al. 1912, 41, 47; Jéquier 1930, 108; 1933, 7; Siegel 2016, 75, 90–1). The presence of sinusoidal walls is indicative of a Middle Kingdom date for DAM 28–1, although the thickness of the walls, which might support a more specific dating to the post-Hawara pyramids, was not recorded (Di. Arnold and Stadelmann 1975, 174; McCormack 2008, 277). A limestone fragment was discovered at this site inscribed with the cartouche of an Amenemhat (Swelim 1994, 343 n. 16), leading to the suggestion that this pyramid may have belonged to Amenemhat IV or one of the five known Amenemhats of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (McCormack 2008,

227; Theis 2009a, 53). However, this pyramid is close to that of Amenemhat II, approximately 125 metres to the south-east of it (Di. Arnold and Stadelmann 1975, 174), and as such, it is possible that the fragment could derive from Amenemhat II's monument and have no bearing on the identification of the owner of DAM 28-1 (Ryholt 1997b, 85 n. 252; McCormack 2008, 277). These unidentified pyramids at South Saqqara and Dahshur may well belong to the Thirteenth Dynasty but without full excavation and publication, they cannot yet contribute to the understanding of the features and development of the Late Middle Kingdom pyramid type.

In 2017, a previously unknown pyramid was discovered at Dahshur with a canopic chest and stela inscribed for a King's Daughter Hatshepsut, the daughter of Ameny-Qemaw (Ministry of Antiquities 2017a, 1; 2017b, 1). Although few details of this pyramid have been published, images of the substructure in the televised documentary 'Egypt's lost pyramid' show that it had a monolithic quartzite burial chamber as was typical of the late Middle Kingdom pyramids, with the lowering lid mechanism of the first subtype (Naunton and Elliot 2019). Dodson (in Jarus 2017) suggests that the pyramid was originally constructed as a king's burial and was usurped for the burial of this King's Daughter. The use of the quartzite monolith would support this, as this style of burial chamber is only otherwise attested in burials of kings and was not used in known subsidiary burials such as those of the Khendjer pyramid discussed below (McCormack 2008, 203). There is no indication of the identity of this hypothetical original owner, although its re-use by a daughter of Ameny-Qemaw suggests that it most likely belonged to one of his predecessors or a king who ruled within a generation or so of Ameny-Qemaw.

The pyramid complex of Khendjer included a subsidiary pyramid to the north-east of the main pyramid, between the inner and outer enclosure walls of the complex (Jéquier 1933, 35–8; McCormack 2008, 182–5). It is usually thought that the subsidiary pyramid was intended for the burial of a member of Khendjer's family, perhaps a queen (Jéquier 1933, 38; Dodson 1987a, 41; Jánosi 1996, 70–1; Ryholt 1997b, 80; Grajetzki 2007, 24), although Lehner (2008, 187) has also suggested that it may have been a *ka*-pyramid for the king. The subsidiary pyramid was

entered on the eastern face, leading to a T-shaped substructure with the antechamber at the end of the east-west passages and two burial chambers, to the north and south of the antechamber (Verner 2020, 375 fig. 12.4). The pyramid used quartzite portcullis stones, and the sarcophagi of both burial chambers were also made from quartzite, as in the late Middle Kingdom pyramids, but neither of these burial chambers used the distinctive lowering or sliding sarcophagus lids of the late Middle Kingdom pyramids, and the overall substructure layout is substantially different too (McCormack 2008, 183–5).

Some other monuments have previously been identified as Late Middle Kingdom pyramids, but are no longer thought to be so. These include Lepsius 1, a mudbrick pyramid located at Abu Rawash originally dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty (Lepsius 1897, 21–2; Dodson 1987a, 43), now dated to the Third Dynasty instead (Swelim and Swelim 1987, 80–7; Dodson 1994a, 30 n. 63), and Lepsius 55 at Dahshur, originally identified as a pyramid (Lepsius 1897, 207–8; Dodson 1987a, 41), but now recognised as the Twelfth Dynasty mastaba of the vizier Saiset (PM III/2, 898; Dodson 1994a, 30 n. 63; Oppenheim 2021a, 379–82). In addition, Dodson (1987b, 231–2) cautiously identified two monuments at Abu Ghurob, near to Abusir (Lepsius 16: 1897 I, 130–1; Lepsius 28: 1897 I, 137–8) as Thirteenth Dynasty pyramids. The first of these, Lepsius 16, is located between the temples of Niuserre and Userkaf, and has been identified as a Fifth Dynasty sun temple (Bareš 1988, 119), while geophysical survey of the second, Lepsius 28, suggest that it is not the remains of a pyramid, but a natural mound or spoil heap from nearby Late Period tombs (Verner and Hašek 1981, 75–8; Bareš 1988, 118).

In order to address the discrepancy between the large number of Thirteenth Dynasty kings, and small number of known royal tombs, some scholars have proposed that the extant tombs were used multiple times by short-reigning kings who were unable to build their own monuments (Dodson 1994a, 35; Ryholt 1997b, 81). Many of the portcullises and sarcophagi of the post-Hawara pyramids were discovered open (McCormack 2010b, 78), and there were no

indications that the North Mazghuna pyramid and the Unfinished pyramid were ever used (Petrie, Wainwright et al. 1912, 58; Jéquier 1933, 64–5; McCormack 2008, 224–5). The sarcophagus lid of the pyramid of Khendjer was found shut, but there were no traces of burial goods in the pyramid of Khendjer to suggest it had actually been used, and its portcullises were also left open (Jéquier 1933, 33; McCormack 2008, 181–2). As such, Dodson (1994a, 35) and Ryholt (1997b, 81) have suggested that valuable pyramid complexes such as these would not have been left unused, and were instead deliberately left open so that their equipment could be removed after each burial to allow for repeated re-use, so that one pyramid could function as the funerary monument of many of the short-reigning early Thirteenth Dynasty kings. McCormack, however, argues that it is implausible that no incidental finds of burials would survive, such as traces of human remains, fragments of wooden items such as coffins, or other small goods, if these pyramids had indeed been used and re-used multiple times (2008, 292).

The tomb of Awibre Hor provides a possible model for an alternative mode of royal burial during the Thirteenth Dynasty: this king was buried in a shaft tomb, located within the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (PM III/2, 888–9; Morgan 1895, 84–91; §5.3). Being included within the existing complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty may have provided an alternative prestigious burial for kings unable to construct their own pyramids (Ryholt 1997b, 83; Swelim and Dodson 1998, 333 n. 76; McCormack 2008, 242, 292–3), and so subsidiary burials of other pyramid complexes may yet be re-identified as sites of Thirteenth Dynasty royal burials. It is also probable that further royal funerary monuments of the early Thirteenth Dynasty may still be discovered, given that ‘many of these rulers completed only modestly scaled funerary monuments which have proven difficult to identify in the extensive desert landscape which the Memphite necropolis encompasses’ (Wegner and Cahail 2015, 124). As McCormack argues, the missing tombs of Thirteenth Dynasty rulers may have been so small that they have gone unidentified or misidentified as other non-royal structures (2008, 291).

5.1.6 Funerary architecture and ideology

As with all known Middle Kingdom royal tombs, the Late Middle Kingdom pyramids are themselves uninscribed. The absence of funerary texts, such as the Pyramid Texts in the Sixth Dynasty Pyramids (Allen 2015a), complicates efforts to understand the purpose and significance of their architectural features (Wegner 2009, 114). Nonetheless, the architectural features of the monuments allows them to some extent to ‘speak for themselves’ (Rossi 2020, 427), with architecture itself being understood as a physical embodiment of funerary and royal ideology (e.g. Wegner 2009, 104–36; McCormack 2010b, 69). The use of quartzite for the monolithic burial chambers, for example, arguably had solar connotations, due to its colour and crystalline qualities (Wegner 2007, 197–9; 2009, 132), while descending and winding substructure passages are thought to evoke the tomb of Osiris and journey through the underworld (e.g. Di. Arnold 1979a, 2; Rößler-Köhler 1999, 79–88; McCormack 2008, 386–9; Wegner 2009, 136–8). The apparent blending of Osirian and solar features in these pyramids has been interpreted as an early physical expression of the nightly union of Osiris and Re during the solar rebirth cycle that is explicit in the later mortuary literature of the New Kingdom (Hornung 1982, 95–6; Quirke 2001, 131; Wegner 2009, 134–5, 142–4).

The predecessors of many of these features can be found in the funerary monuments of the earlier Twelfth Dynasty. Quartzite was used earlier, in the subterranean Abydos tomb of Senwosret III, and particularly in the burial chamber (Wegner 2009, 117, 125–7). Likewise, winding substructure passageways occur in pyramids from the reign of Senwosret II onwards (Rößler-Köhler 1999, 85; Lehner 2008, 175–87; Wegner 2009, 139). In particular, the passages of the pyramid of Senwosret II ‘encircle’ the burial chamber, similar to the way the spiralling passages of the first subtype late Middle Kingdom pyramids wrap around their burial chambers (Wegner 2009, 139). An emphasis on depth is another consistent feature of early Twelfth Dynasty and late Middle Kingdom pyramids: while the pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties remain on one level after an initial descent (e.g. Lehner 2008, 16–17), the later tombs

typically continue to descend throughout the substructure, with the pyramids of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I descending below the modern water level, limiting modern excavation, as well as both the pyramid of Senwosret II at Lahun and his subterranean tomb at Abydos (Lehner 2008, 169–75; Wegner 2009, 136–8). The late Middle Kingdom pyramids, however, do not descend in a continual manner but instead feature a number of changes in level, where vertical ascents are followed by descending passageways (e.g. fig. 5.10). Dieter Arnold suggests that this was introduced at Hawara so that the weight of the pyramid largely rested on the reinforced substructure, rather than the poor-quality soil there (1987, 85). This allowed for a predominant sense of descent, while in effect remaining on a relatively even level.

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Figure 5.10 Cross-section plan of the substructure of the pyramid of Khendjer (Verner 2020, 376 fig. 12.5).

The pyramids of the Twelfth Dynasty were innovative and show considerable variation in their orientation, layout, and architecture, which may reflect processes of change and development in early Middle Kingdom mortuary and royal ideology (Di. Arnold 1978, 1–5; Lehner 2008, 168–83; Wegner 2009, 136; Di. Arnold 2015, 13–14; Oppenheim 2015, 3). In contrast, the characteristics of the post-Hawara pyramids are relatively consistent and well-defined, and this has resulted in a tendency to treat them as an isolated group, separate from the earlier Twelfth Dynasty pyramid traditions (e.g. Dodson 1987a; Lehner 2008, 184–7; Theis 2009b). However, these features suggest that the conceptual foundations of the late Middle Kingdom pyramids can be found in the early Twelfth Dynasty funerary monuments, being different architectural expressions of common ideas. As such, the development of the late Middle Kingdom pyramid

type sits within the developmental trajectory of Middle Kingdom royal mortuary ideology, but the post-Hawara pyramids express this ideology through architectural features which are consistently and specifically adopted from the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III.

Some features are apparently at least partly practical in function. For example, the use of hard stone portcullises and the ‘virtually impenetrable mass of stone’ in the monolithic burial chambers suggest that there was an increasing investment in the security of royal burials in the Twelfth Dynasty (Wegner 2009, 138; 2020, 1666). This can be seen in the Abydos tomb of Senwosret III, where limestone masonry was used to block a vertical ascent in the first section of the tomb, which is particularly similar to the use of portcullises to block the vertical ascents in the late Middle Kingdom pyramids (Wegner 2009, 123, 136). Again, however, the post-Hawara pyramids apparently followed the specific example of the Hawara pyramid. Other features do not have identifiable parallels earlier in the Twelfth Dynasty, but are first found in the Hawara pyramid, such as the use of reinforced trenches to construct the substructure, as well as the use of a saddle roof and mudbrick arch above the monolithic burial chamber. These features are thought to be site specific to Hawara, in order to distribute and support the weight of the pyramid above in response to the structural failure of the Dahshur pyramid (Spencer 1979, 38; Di. Arnold 1987, 85–6; Lehner 2008, 183). The much smaller post-Hawara pyramids presumably would not require the same level of physical support, but they emulated these seemingly structural elements as well as the ideologically significant architectural features. These no-longer functional features may have been continued in the post-Hawara pyramids in imitation of, and because of their association with, the monument of Amenemhat III. A similar argument can be made with the Second Cataract flood records, which were continued under the first three kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty without any reference to their connection with the Faiyum or the motif of controlling the natural environment (§3.1.3). In both cases, features of the monumental display of Amenemhat III were continued into the Thirteenth Dynasty seemingly

not for their original functional or ideological purposes, but in order to associate these kings with their predecessor, Amenemhat III.

While the post-Hawara pyramids of the early Thirteenth Dynasty emulate the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III specifically, they are not also located at Hawara, which would have reinforced their architectural similarity through a shared physical context. As Baines has noted (2007, 183), location is an important aspect of monumental display: the tombs of the kings of the First Dynasty, for example, were built at Abydos in a continuation of the earliest royal burial practices, and were physically smaller than contemporaneous burials of non-royal officials at Memphis, so that ‘tradition and lineage appear more powerful legitimations than scale or proximity to the centre of power’. Likewise, the pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties were ‘carefully situated ... radiating out from the monument of Djoser and bracketed at a greater distance to south and north by the 4th-Dynasty pyramid sites of Dahshur and Giza’ and so through their placement, they invoked ‘the symbolic power and legitimation of these previously established sacred places in establishing their individual monuments of eternity, and simultaneously signaled visually the strength and continuation of authority to audiences at the political center’ (Richards 2010, 61). Nevertheless, the location of the post-Hawara pyramids away from Hawara is not inconsistent with an appeal to tradition or lineage. The pyramids of the Twelfth Dynasty are primarily situated on the west bank between Dahshur and Lisht, with the pyramids of Senwosret II at Lahun and Amenemhat III at Hawara in the Faiyumic hinterland around Lisht (Lehner 2008, 10–11). All are clustered around the Memphite region, presumably in the general vicinity of the capital of Itjtawy (Di. Arnold 1978, 3–5; Wegner 2007, 17; Taylor 2016, 47–8). As previously noted, the post-Hawara pyramids are all located within this established pyramid field (map 5.1). There may have been practical aspects to the location of the post-Hawara pyramids, which would have allowed the early Thirteenth Dynasty kings to utilise the existing infrastructure and workforce of the Memphite area (McCormack 2008, 291). Significantly, Amenemhat III himself is not absent from this area, as he had a monumental

presence at Dahshur in the form of his first pyramid, even though it was not used for the king's burial (Di. Arnold 1987, 19). Like the earlier abandoned pyramids of Snefru at Meidum and Dahshur, Amenemhat III's was not dismantled but continued to function as a royal monument and a centre for cultic activity into the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty at least, as is demonstrated by ceramic finds and the burials of several individuals within its complex, including the Twelfth Dynasty King's Wife Aat and King's Daughter Sathathor, as well as the Thirteenth Dynasty King Hor and his daughter, Nubhotepti-Khered (Do. Arnold 1977, 21–5; Di. Arnold 1987, 94–5; McCormack 2008, 251–2; Jánosi 2016, 1 n. 6). Although the pyramids of the early Thirteenth Dynasty follow the architectural model of the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III over that of Dahshur—presumably not least because the Dahshur pyramid was structurally unsound—their physical location around the pyramid fields of Saqqara and Dahshur embodies an association with the Twelfth Dynasty, including Amenemhat III. Similar to the strategies in these kings' royal titularies—which evoked both Twelfth Dynasty traditions generally, and Amenemhat III specifically (§4.4)—the placement of the post-Hawara pyramids within the landscape occupied by the Twelfth Dynasty pyramids physically situated the early Thirteenth Dynasty within a broader tradition of monumental display, while particular architectural features of the Hawara pyramid were adopted in order to create a specific association of these kings with Amenemhat III.

5.2 The late Middle Kingdom pyramidions

Of the five pyramidions of the late Middle Kingdom previously mentioned (§5.1.3), there are seemingly particular similarities between the pyramidions of Amenemhat III (JE 35133: fig. 5.11) and Khendjer (JE 35045: fig. 5.12): both were made of black granite, had similar slope angles,

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Figure 5.11 East face of the pyramidion of Amenemhat III from Dahshur, JE 35133 (Oppenheim 2015, 4 fig. 4).

Image redacted

Figure 5.12 Pyramidion of Khendjer from South Saqqara, JE 53045 (Jéquier 1933, pl. 6).

Image redacted

Figure 5.13 Pyramidions from the Unfinished Pyramid, JE 54855–6 (Jéquier 1933, pl. 16).

Image redacted

Figure 5.14 Pyramidion of Merneferre Ay, JE 43267 (Habachi 1954, pl. 16).

with that of the pyramidion of Amenemhat III measuring 54.3 degrees, and that of Khendjer estimated around 54.22 to 54.9 degrees. Both were nearly the same height, with the pyramidion of Amenemhat III measuring 131 centimetres, and that of Khendjer, 130 centimetres, although the base length of 187 centimetres for the pyramidion of Amenemhat III is larger than the 140 centimetres measured for that of Khendjer (Di. Arnold 1987, 15; Rossi 1999, 219 n. 7; McCormack 2008, 170 n. 689). Both pyramidions are inscribed with Coffin Text spell 788, the ‘opening of the face’ spell, in horizontal lines around their bases (Maspero 1902, 206–8; Jéquier 1933, 24–5), although there are minor textual and orthographic variations between them, which are presumably due at least in part to the more limited space on the smaller pyramidion of Khendjer. There are also differences in the decoration of the upper portion of their faces. The pyramidion of Amenemhat III has only one face with decoration in addition to the Coffin Text inscription around the base, which is assumed to be the eastern face (Di. Arnold 1987, 15): a winged sun-disk hovers above a vertical line of signs comprising two eyes above three *nfr* signs and a sun-disk, which can be read as a wish that the king may ‘see the beauties of Re (*ptr nfrw r*)’ (Shahawy 2005, 123). The prenomen of Amenemhat III is written horizontally to the right of the sun-disk, and his nomen to the left (Oppenheim 2015, 4 fig 4). In contrast, all four faces of the pyramidion of Khendjer are decorated. All four are surmounted with winged sun-disks with hanging uraei. The assumed eastern face is more elaborate than the others, and depicts the *serekb* of Khedjer supported by the figures of two deities, each standing upon a solar bark, with a pair of eyes similar to those on the pyramidion of Amenemhat III beneath the *serekb* (Jéquier 1933, 21 fig. 17). Although the figures of the deities are largely lost, the inscription identifies them as Re-Horakhty and Atum, who can be understood as representing the day and night solar cycle (Jéquier 1933, 22). The other three faces are each inscribed with four columns which include titulary elements and invoke further gods, including Osiris-Khentiaementiu, Anubis, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (Jéquier 1933, 22–4, figs. 18–20).

The pyramidions of Amenemhat III and Khendjer may also be compared to the three other extant pyramidions from the Thirteenth Dynasty: the two pyramidions that were found at the Unfinished pyramid (fig. 5.13), and the late Thirteenth Dynasty pyramidion of Merneferre Ay (fig. 5.14). All were made of dark granite (Arnold 1987, 15; Rossi 1999, 221), but were differently decorated. The pyramidions of the Unfinished pyramid had a smooth, finished surface but were undecorated (Jéquier 1933, 58–9, pl. 16). However, these pyramidions were possibly unfinished, like the pyramid to which they belonged, and may have been intended to be inscribed at a later date (Jéquier 1933, 58). Three faces are preserved of the pyramidion of Merneferre Ay and are each incised with a small scene enclosed in a square, in which the king appears before Re-Horakhty, Ptah, and a human headed figure (Habachi 1954, 473–4). The features found on the pyramidions of Amenemhat III and Khendjer such as the winged sun-disk and inscription of Coffin Text spell 788 are not seemingly present, but both the top and base of this pyramidion of Merneferre Ay, where these features would have been, are not preserved. As such, it is easy to overestimate the differences between this pyramidion and those of Amenemhat III and Khendjer, since other shared features may simply have been incomplete or lost. From the Twelfth Dynasty, fragments of a dark granite pyramidion of Senwosret II were found at his pyramid in Lahun (Petrie, Brunton et al. 1923, pl. 24). These fragments were also inscribed, perhaps with Coffin Text spell 788, although they are too poorly preserved to be certain (Petrie, Brunton et al. 1923, 4; Arnold 1987, 16; Morales 2013, 302 n. 898). Moreover, this spell was also found on the sarcophagus of Awibre Hor (CG 28106: Aufrère 2001, 33–4), and on a number of coffins from the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties (for examples, see: Dorman in Di. Arnold 1988, 147; Willems 1988, 168–9; Grajetzki 2010, 61–3; Morales 2021, 340). It has been suggested that this spell may have been a typical feature of royal pyramidia that was later adopted for non-royal use (Arnold 1987, 16; Franke 1994, 251).

Given the architectural parallels between the pyramids of Amenemhat III and Khendjer, the similarity of their pyramidions may also appear to be evidence of emulation of Amenemhat

III in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. However, these pyramidions must be approached with some caution as the significance of their similarities cannot be reliably determined due to the small number and poor preservation of other extant pyramidions. While the similar decorative elements on these pyramidions may indicate that that of Khendjer was modelled on that of Amenemhat III, it is also possible that these pyramidions may be the only fully preserved examples of a standard pyramidion decorative programme. As such, the pyramidion of Khendjer cannot be reliably attributed to the wider programme of emulation of Amenemhat III during the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

5.3 The shaft tomb of Awibre Hor

In addition to the five post-Hawara pyramids, the previously mentioned shaft tomb of Awibre Hor is another documented royal burial of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (PM III/2: 888–9; fig. 5.15, §5.1.5). Inside the complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur, the tomb was located in the easternmost of the subsidiary shaft tombs between the inner and outer enclosure walls south of the pyramid itself (Morgan 1895, 84–91, fig. 205). It was modified from an elite subsidiary tomb, that was either unused or re-used, from the reign of Amenemhat III (Dodson 1987a, 41; Theis 2009b, 323). The original tomb consisted of a nine-metre shaft and a limestone chamber with gabled roof, to which an antechamber and burial chamber were later added in order to accommodate the king's burial (Aufrère 2001, 12; McCormack 2008, 242–3). There is no evidence of a superstructure for this tomb (Morgan 1895, 88–9; McCormack 2008, 242). Although the tomb of Hor differs significantly in structure from the post-Hawara pyramids, it has several familiar features which recall those burials: the sarcophagus was made from quartzite and was oriented north-south, the top of the sarcophagus sat level with the floor of the antechamber so that its lid could be slid into place as in the second subtype post-Hawara pyramids of Ameny-Qemaw and North Mazghuna, and the burial chamber had a saddle roof (Dodson 1987a, 41–2; McCormack 2008, 243–4). The sarcophagus was smaller than those of

the Late Middle Kingdom pyramids, appropriate for the reduced dimensions of the shaft tomb (Theis 2009b, 323). Although the canopic chest was not integrated into the sarcophagus itself, its placement in a niche at the southern foot of the sarcophagus also parallels the post-Hawara pyramids (Dodson 1994a, 31; McCormack 2008, 243–4).

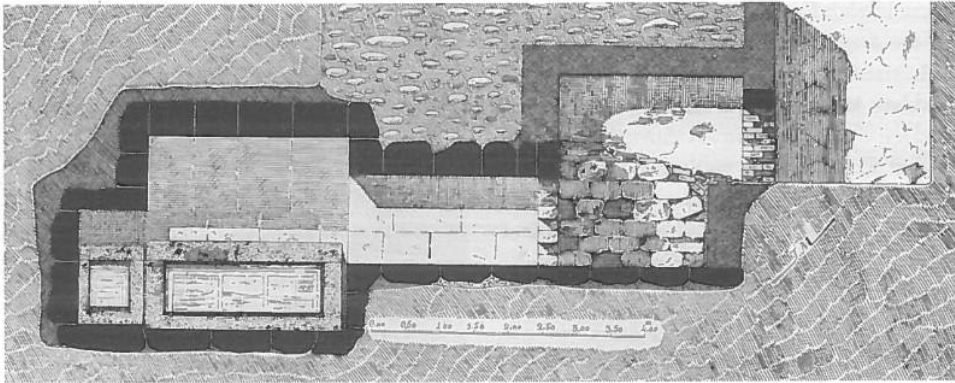


Figure 5.15 Plan of the shaft tomb of Awibre Hor (Morgan 1895, 102 fig. 243), Public domain.

Despite being robbed in antiquity, the tomb and its contents were found largely intact in 1882, including the skeletonised body which is the only mummified body of a king extant from the Middle Kingdom (Morgan 1895, 90; Aufrère 2005, 45–6; McCormack 2008, 244). Bracelets of gilded wood and beads, as well as golden nail covers, were found on the body (Morgan 1895, 99–100). The sarcophagus contained a rectangular wooden coffin with a flat lid, which was decorated with gold-leaf bands of inscriptions in a horizontal row around the upper sides, four vertical columns on each side, two vertical columns at the head and foot, and a horizontal row across the length of the lid, as well as painted *wadjet*-eyes at the north end of the left side (JE 28106: Morgan 1895, 100–2, pl. 36). This is a standard style of late Middle Kingdom coffin (Willems 1988, 22, 136–8; Grajetzki 2005b, 72). The gold leaf bands of inscription were fixed to the coffin with a ‘très friable’ plaster that crumbled with movement, so that only fragments of the inscriptions were able to be preserved (Morgan 1895, 101). However, there are sufficient traces to identify Coffin Text spell 788 in the horizontal row (Willems 1988, 168–9; Aufrère

2001, 34; Grajetzki 2005b, 77 fig. 2; 2010, 25), which was also found on the pyramidions of Amenemhat III and Khendjer (§5.2). A fragment from the lid indicates that it was inscribed with Pyramid Text spell 588, ‘commending the spirit to Nut’ (Dorman in Di. Arnold 1988, 147; Grajetzki 2005b, 73, 77 fig. 2), while the vertical columns on the sides were inscribed with ‘words spoken’ formulae of deities including Re, Mehnet, Hapy, and Imsety (Aufrère 2001, 33; Grajetzki 2005b, 73–4, 77 fig. 2). Although very fragmentary, these texts are recognised from ‘a consistent textual corpus’ of spells paralleled on other late Middle Kingdom coffins (Dorman in Di. Arnold 1988, 147), including that of the King’s Daughter Nubhetepti-Khered (CG 28104: Grajetzki 2018, 238–40, fig. 5)—who was also buried in a subsidiary shaft tomb in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur, immediately beside the shaft tomb of Awibre Hor (Morgan 1895, 107–15; Grajetzki 2018, 231–5), and who is often thought to have been his daughter (Ryholt 1997b, 217; McCormack 2008, 378; Grajetzki 2018, 232)—as well as the coffins of late Middle Kingdom non-royal individuals such as Satsobek (CG 28105: Lacau 1906, 83), and Sobekaa (Berlin 45: Steindorff 1901, 1–10; Grajetzki 2010, 43).

As well as the coffin, the burial chamber included a full canopic set, consisting of an outer stone chest, a wooden inner chest, and all four canopic jars (CG 4019–22: Morgan 1895, 101–6; Reisner 1967, 11–14; Dodson 1994a, 31–2). As previously noted (§5.1.3), the canopic jars belong to Sethe’s type IV, which was in use between the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties (Sethe 1934, 1*–2*; Swelim and Dodson 1998, 328). In contrast, the chests follow Twelfth Dynasty style, with raised ends and a flat lid for the outer stone chest, and a simple rectangular box for the inner wooden chest (Dodson 1994a, 31–2). A cord was also wrapped around the wooden chest, sealed with an impression of Nimaatre, the prenomen of Amenemhat III (Morgan 1895, 105; Dodson 1994a, 32). As previously discussed (§5.1.6), the burial of Hor in this shaft tomb is evidence of continued activity at this site, and moreover, the use of this seal demonstrates that it continued to function as a monument of Amenemhat III.

The tomb's contents also included a statue and statuette in naoi of the king's *ka* (CG 259, CG 1163: §6.1.4), and a gilded wood mummy mask (CG 28107: Morgan 1895, 98 fig. 229; Aufrère 2001, 31), as well as a large number of staves, sceptres, weapons, two falcon collars, two gilded wooden beads inscribed with the king's prenomen, and ceramic vessels (Morgan 1895, 95–100; McCormack 2008, 247–9). These objects are characteristic of a particular group of late Middle Kingdom burial assemblages, often referred to as 'court type' burials because they were initially thought to be a form restricted to the royal court during the late Twelfth Dynasty (e.g. Mace and Winlock 1916, 114–6; Grajetzki 2010, 92–4; 2014, 17–9; Quirke 2015, 221), although these objects are now thought to facilitate the transformation of the deceased into Osiris and so the term 'Osirification' burials is preferred (Miniaci and Quirke 2009, 358; Grajetzki 2018, 240–2). The majority of the dated burials of this type belong to the Twelfth Dynasty and are particularly well-attested for royal women, including the tombs of the Kings' Daughters Ita, Khnumet, Itaweret², Sathathor³, and Neferewptah⁴, and the Kings' Wives Neferethenut⁵, Khenmetneferhedjet, and Aat⁶ (Morgan 1903, 45–68, 73–4; Di. Arnold 1980, 20; 2002, 124, 63; Grajetzki 2010, 96–9). However, this assemblage type is also found in non-royal burials of men and women (for list, see Grajetzki 2010, 96–102), including the tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht (Mace and Winlock 1916, 114–6). The tombs of Hor and Nubhotepi-Khered are the only burials of this type dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty, although several of the other tombs cannot be dated more specifically than the late Middle Kingdom (Grajetzki 2010, 94, 100–2).

A series of inscribed calcite objects were found in the antechamber, including a large square stela found beneath the statue naos, with fourteen vertical columns of retrograde hieroglyphs (Morgan 1895, 94 fig. 217; Aufrère 2001, 26–7), a second smaller square stela found


² Possible daughters of Amenemhat II, who were buried in the subsidiary galleries of the pyramid of Amenemhat II (Grajetzki 2014, 48–61).

³ Possible daughter of Senwosret III or Amenemhat III, who was buried in the subsidiary galleries of the pyramid of Senwosret III (Grajetzki 2014, 81–7).

⁴ Daughter of Amenemhat III, §5.1.5

⁵ Possible wife of Senwosret III, who was buried in the subsidiary galleries of the pyramid complex of Senwosret III (Grajetzki 2014, 192–3).

⁶ Possible wives of Amenemhat III, who were buried in the subsidiary galleries of the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III (Grajetzki 2014, 193).

against the west wall of the antechamber, inscribed with four vertical columns of hieroglyphs in normal orientation (Morgan 1895, 94 fig. 218; Aufrère 2001, 27–9), a round offering table, found in and around the naos in fragments, inscribed with four vertical columns (Morgan 1895, 95 fig. 219; Aufrère 2001, 27–9), and fragments of two jars also with four vertical columns of inscription (Morgan 1895, 90 fig 210; 95; Aufrère 2001, 14). All of these featured blue-painted ‘mutilated’ hieroglyphs, as is typical of the late Middle Kingdom (Miniaci 2010, 113–20). In Hor’s inscriptions, the king’s name is consistently written with the phonetic  (Gardiner N31) in place of the divine falcon (Gardiner G5), presumably in order to avoid a mutilated image of a sacred animal (Aufrère 2001, 37; Miniaci 2010, 114 n. 11).

The large stela is inscribed with Pyramid Texts spells 204–5 (Sethe 1908 I, 67–9; Aufrère 2001, 26–7). These spells are first attested on the eastern gable of the burial chamber in the pyramid of Wenis (Sethe 1908 I, 67–9; Allen 2015a, 29), but are also known from several Twelfth Dynasty burials including the mastabas of Senwosretankh and Imhotep at Lisht (Hayes 1937, pl. 5 [304–5]; Allen 2006, 42–3 [118–123]), and the tomb of Neha at El-Quattah (Chassinat, Gauthier et al. 1906, 59–61 [44–56]). They also appear on a stela of a Thirteenth Dynasty official Nehy, from his chapel at Abydos (CG 20520, l. 16–27: Lange and Schäfer 1908, 118–9; Franke 2003, 115). In these and later sources, spells 204 and 205 are typically found as part of a larger set that also includes spells 207, and 209–10 (Hays 2012, 105–6, 290; Jasper 2017, 48), but on Hor’s stela spells 204 and 205 are found alone. These two spells are primarily concerned with the provision of nourishment for the deceased: reading ‘the mouth of the Son of Re, Hor, will not thirst. He will not hunger’ (JE 20952, l. 3–4: Morgan 1895, 94 fig. 217). They can be categorised as provisioning spells, which are distinct from offering spells in that they do not require a living individual to make offerings but instead focus on the deceased who ensures his own sustenance or receives it directly from the gods (Allen 1994, 17; Hays 2012, 289–90), as seen in the statements ‘it is the little finger of the Dual King, Awibre, that has taken what was in the naval of Osiris’ (JE 20952, l. 2–3: Morgan 1895, 94 fig. 217), and ‘the arms of Ha will repel his hunger’

(JE 20952, l. 4: Morgan 1895, 94 fig. 217). The theme of provision is also featured on the small stela and offering table, which are both inscribed with standard offering formulae invoking funerary offerings from Osiris, Geb, the Great and Little Enneads, and the Chapels of the North and South (Morgan 1895, 94–5; Aufrère 2001, 28). An offering table of Nefereuptah from her Hawara pyramid has similar texts (CG 23013: Farag and Iskander 1971, 10, pl. 7; Aufrère 2001, 28).

The two jars bear inscriptions which indicate that they are ritual libation jars, ensuring the supply of water for the deceased, and their shape is thought to derive from copper jars used in handwashing rituals in the Old Kingdom (Allen 2005, 17; Yamamoto in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 245–6), although the jars have elsewhere been misidentified as canopic jars due to their similar shape (e.g. Reisner 1967, 17–18; McCormack 2008, 246). The choice of calcite as a material, rather than copper, may be in part due to the characteristic wavy striations of this material which resemble and so symbolically conjure the water within (Aufrère 2001, 16; Yamamoto in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 245). Five fragments from similar libation jars were discovered in the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III (Farag and Iskander 1971, pl. 8b). The prenomen of Amenemhat III appears on the most complete fragment, while the nomen of Nefereuptah is preserved on another, indicating that the fragments came from at least two distinct jars. A fully preserved example was also discovered in the tomb of the King's Daughter Sahathoriewnet at Lahun (MMA 21.2.61a–b: Yamamoto in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 245–6 [cat. 183]). These Twelfth Dynasty examples are inscribed with seven lines, invoking libations, while the inscription on the jars of Hor is a more concise version at four lines (CG 4028–9: Morgan 1895, 90 fig. 210; Reisner 1967, 17–18; MMA 21.2.62: Yamamoto in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 246 [cat. 183]).

The objects from the tomb of Hor then seemingly belong to a standard Middle Kingdom repertoire of funerary culture. However, the theme of self-sustaining or divine provision might be particularly relevant for a king such as Hor, for whom there is no evidence

for a cult-place. The height of the *ka*-statue is greater than that of the tomb chambers, suggesting that it was not originally intended for this location (Do. Arnold 2015b, 17; Nyord 2019, 183). Dorothea Arnold (2015b, 17) suggests that the *ka*-statue and statuette were intended for a mortuary temple that was never completed during Hor's short reign. There is no archaeological evidence for this proposed temple, or any other superstructural element associated with the tomb of Hor within the Dahshur pyramid complex of Amenemhat III (McCormack 2008, 242), although it is possible that a mortuary temple for Hor may have been located elsewhere, or even that Hor intended to situate himself within the mortuary temple of Amenemhat III, co-opting it in the same manner as he co-opted the pyramid itself. A possible parallel for the *ka*-statue was found in one of the *ka*-chapels from within the Dahshur pyramid of Amenemhat III, attributed to an anonymous queen, where fragments of a wooden naos and female statuette of approximately one metre tall were found (Di. Arnold 1987, 60). This statuette had a deep hole in the top of her head, which may have been intended to secure the *ka*-arms headdress, although no headdress was preserved (Di. Arnold 1987, 60). If this statuette has been correctly identified as a *ka*-statuette, then it may indicate that such statues were typically placed within the tomb's substructure. In turn, the size of the *ka*-statue of Hor may then suggest that this king was intended to be buried elsewhere, perhaps even in one of the unidentified post-Hawara pyramids, but died before its completion and was instead buried in this smaller modified shaft tomb.

The use of a shaft tomb for Hor rather than a pyramid, and the similarities in its contents with the Osirification type of burial assemblage has led to the assumption that his burial is a result of political and economic decline in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, as voiced by several scholars: 'nothing so clearly expresses the reduced circumstances of the rulers at this time as the impoverished nature of the tomb of Awibra Hor' (Callender 2000, 160); 'Diese Bestattungsart könnte sich ebenso wieder mit schwindender Macht und dem einhergehenden Mangel an Ressourcen erklären lassen' (Theis 2009b, 338). However, the size of a royal tomb

may not correlate directly to overall economic prosperity, but may reflect only the proportion of resources allocated to the king's monument in any given reign (Richards 2010, 62; Moreno García 2021, 205). In addition, as previously mentioned, the limitations on time due to the short reigns of many Thirteenth Dynasty kings may equally have shaped the comparatively smaller funerary monuments of this period, rather than these being exclusively determined by economic factors (Quirke 1991, 139; Ryholt 1997b, 81; Theis 2009b, 338). Likewise, the similarities between the burial assemblage of Hor and other non-royal Osirification burials does not necessarily indicate that this king's burial was impoverished, or that the status of the king had reduced in the Thirteenth Dynasty. If burial assemblages are understood as a display of social status, then the relative power of the king could be assessed by comparing royal burials across different time periods, or within a particular time period by comparing the contents of a royal burial to non-royal burials. However, there are no other well-preserved burials of the kings of the Twelfth or Thirteenth dynasties to which the burial assemblage of Hor could be compared (McCormack 2011, 43). Similarly, although potential non-royal cemeteries of the Thirteenth Dynasty have been identified at South Saqqara and Dahshur by the DAI survey in 2006, and the Waseda University Expedition that began in 2004, the majority of the tombs and associated burial goods uncovered so far have not been sufficiently preserved for comparison and predominantly consist of ceramic vessels sherds (Baba and Yazawa 2015, 3–22; Schiestl 2015, 435–41). Among these tombs, the only indications of similar objects to those from the tomb of Hor were trapezoidal beads that may have come from flails, discovered in the anonymous shafts 79 and 107 at North Dahshur (Baba and Yazawa 2015, 12, 17). Other undated Osirification burials may perhaps also have come from Thirteenth Dynasty individuals, but a comparison of the inventories of known tombs of this type, both Twelfth Dynasty and undated (for lists, see Grajetzki 2010, 96–102), suggest that the tomb of Hor was more extensively equipped than similar burials, and so it need not indicate any decline in the status of the king relative to that of the elite. It may be a plausible

assumption that the shaft tomb of Hor is a reflection of the challenges faced by the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, but it is difficult to support that argument from the available material.

By its nature of a shaft tomb, Hor's tomb does not have many of the specific architectural features that the post-Hawara pyramids adopt from the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III, but also it creates an indisputable link with Amenemhat III by being located within his pyramid complex at Dahshur, so much so that Hor was initially thought to be a coregent of Amenemhat III who had predeceased him (Morgan 1895, 105–6; Gauthier 1907, 317–19; Vandier 1954 II, 194–7). This theory was rejected by those who recognised Hor as the king recorded in 7.17 of the Turin king-list (Petrie 1897, xxv–xxvi; Weill 1918, 482–3; Beckerath 1964, 44–5; Ryholt 1997b, 73; McCormack 2008, 74; Siesse 2019, 30), although Aufrère has continued to argue unconvincingly for a Twelfth Dynasty placement for Hor (2001, 1–41). The location of the tomb of Hor within the Dahshur pyramid complex of Amenemhat III may be attributed to the same desire to be associated with Amenemhat III that resulted in the modelling of the early Thirteenth Dynasty pyramids on his pyramid at Hawara (McCormack 2010b, 376).

5.4 Visible and invisible: the use of the past in funerary display

The funerary monuments of the early Thirteenth Dynasty demonstrate a consistent association with Amenemhat III, from the use of architectural features such as quartzite portcullises and monolithic sarcophagi specifically from his Hawara pyramid in the post-Hawara pyramids, to the location of the burial of Hor within the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur. Even the pyramidion of Khendjer has evident similarities with the pyramidion of Amenemhat III from Dahshur, although this may only demonstrate established funerary practices rather than specific emulation. Such emulation of past funerary monuments is not unique to the post-Hawara pyramids, and also occurs in the Twelfth Dynasty. After the Theban Eleventh Dynasty, Amenemhat I is credited with both the return to the Memphite necropolis and the pyramid form of funerary monument, choosing to construct a 'reduced and simplified version of the

complexes of the Old Kingdom' (Di. Arnold 1988, 17), but which also incorporated influences from the Theban tradition, such as the use of a statue cult temple instead of the pyramid temple (Lehner 2008, 169; Di. Arnold, Jánosi et al. 2015, 3). The pyramid complex of his successor Senwosret I replicated the features of Sixth Dynasty pyramid almost exactly (Di. Arnold 1988, 17; Lehner 2008, 172), while the pyramid of Senwosret III and, to a lesser extent, the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III both have features which are reminiscent of the Djoser pyramid complex at Saqqara in particular (Di. Arnold 1979a, 1–7; 2002, 121–2; Lehner 2008, 177–81). As Wegner (2010, 119–20) notes, the Middle Kingdom was Egypt's 'second-generation state', engaged in the process of state re-formation, and so they looked 'conspicuously backwards' to 'earlier periods of unity and centralized authority ... as models for constructing the present'. Emulation of the past itself, then, may be understood as a feature of Twelfth Dynasty monumental display, which was then continued in the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

In the Twelfth Dynasty pyramids, these architectural parallels with Old Kingdom monuments occur in the superstructure as part of a conspicuous monumental display. In contrast, the specific parallels between the post-Hawara pyramids and their model occur in the substructures, which would have been sealed after the burial, concealing these features from view. Likewise, the shaft tomb of Awibre Hor seemingly had no visible presence within the complex of Amenemhat III (Morgan 1895, 88–9; McCormack 2008, 242). As Baines (2006b, 262) notes, although the 'visual spectacle' of the pyramids 'dominates whole landscapes', their 'salient features' and 'what is done inside [those features] is withheld from participation and from view'. The location of the post-Hawara pyramids around the existing pyramid fields of the Twelfth Dynasty visibly locates these monuments within the landscape of traditional royal monumental display, but the features which associate them specifically with Amenemhat III were restricted from view.

A similarly concealed use of the past in Twelfth Dynasty monumental architecture may be seen in the re-use of Old Kingdom blocks in the pyramid of Amenemhat I at Lisht

(Goedicke 1971, 8–150; Jánosi 2016, 4–11, 13–57). The re-used blocks were mostly from Fourth Dynasty monuments at Giza, especially those of with Khufu and Wenis (Goedicke 1971, 152–4; Baines 2007, 194; Gilli 2009, 92–5), leading to the suggestion that these blocks were deliberately and carefully chosen out of reverence for these kings, ‘so as to integrate the legacy of the past with the present and literally to turn this material, pregnant with historical meaning, into the very essence of the way in which the ruler presented himself’ (Wildung 2003, 75; see also Goedicke 1971, 151–5). Jánosi (2016, 13) cautions against this interpretation as there may be many more uninscribed and therefore unidentifiable re-used blocks of other Old Kingdom rulers among the building material, and suggests that material was re-used from previous monuments for practical reasons, in order to speed up the construction of a pyramid that was only begun late in the reign of Amenemhat I (2016, 13). It has, however, also been pointed out that if practicality was the main motivation of this re-use, other sites closer to Lisht than Giza might have been preferable sources (Wildung 2003, 75). The re-use was not limited to Old Kingdom monuments, however, as blocks with joint scenes of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I were also found in the foundation of the mortuary temple of Amenemhat I, possibly from an earlier temple (Saladino Haney 2020, 66–7), which suggests a more practical re-use. Such blocks would presumably date from a period of coregency (Do. Arnold 1991, 15; Eaton-Krauss 1980, 41–5; Saladino Haney 2020, 66–7; Willems 2022, 694–5). The pyramid of Amenemhat I was both the first pyramid of the new dynasty, and the first pyramid to be built at Lisht, and so it is possible that the sites of Old Kingdom pyramids were visited in order to inform the design of this pyramid, giving an opportunity to assemble blocks for re-use (Gilli 2009, 95–6). The later *Teaching for Merikare* explicitly forbids this practice, saying ‘destroy not the monuments of another; you should hew stone in Tura! Build not your tomb-chamber from ruins!’ (P 29: Helck 1977, 47). This both prohibits and testifies to an awareness of this type of re-use (Connor 2022, 128). The negative portrayal of such re-use might also support the idea that it was driven by practicality rather than respect. A variety of scenes are attested on the re-used blocks at Lisht, which suggests that their

selection was random, leading scholars to speculate that they were chosen from blocks which had already fallen, rather than actively and destructively removed from the monuments (Ćwiek 2003, 347–8; Gilli 2009, 96–7). Neither motivation is exclusive, and so the re-use of material from monuments of the past may perhaps be understood as a means of facilitating quick construction while also imbuing a new site like Lisht with royal prestige and linking it with long-standing monumental tradition (Gilli 2016, 169; Connor 2022, 129). Levenson (2019, 25) suggests that controlling the perception of viewers is essential to a monument, but as this re-use of Old Kingdom blocks within the masonry of the pyramid of Amenemhat I demonstrates, visibility was not necessarily an essential aspect of Egyptian monumental display (e.g. Meskell 2004, 94; Baines 2007, 315–17; Nyord 2020, 47–51).

This tension between the visibility of the pyramids in the landscape and the invisibility of their concealed features primarily applies to the completed monument. Prior to their completion, monuments had an extensive construction life and this process is also central to understanding them (Meskell 2004, 102–15; Baines 2006b, 267; Buccellati 2019, 42–7). As Meskell states, ‘there are no a priori objects; they require human intervention to bring objects into existence’ (2004, 3). The Middle Egyptian *Dialogue of Ipuwer* reads ‘<And> look, he who was buried as a Falcon is (now) on a *šfd.t*; what the pyramid hid has come to be empty’ (7.2: Enmarch 2008, 228). The *šfd.t* may refer to a bier or mat-wrapping, indicating that the king’s body is lying outside of a royal burial in modest circumstances, in stark contrast with the king’s mythological status as the ‘Falcon’ (Enmarch 2008, 129). This articulates the role of the completed pyramid as ‘hiding (*imn.t*)’ the royal body, and describes access to and the despoiling of the royal burial as unauthorised and chaotic. The same poem elsewhere states ‘Indeed, it is good when men’s hands build pyramids’ (13.12: Enmarch 2008, 237), portraying the construction of a pyramid, and the necessary involvement of the populace in it, as a sign of good social order. In terms of public involvement, the workforce required to construct a Middle Kingdom pyramid is estimated to be approximately 5000 individuals (Di. Arnold 1987, 90–2; Lehner 2008, 226).

Even if that number is reduced for the comparatively smaller post-Hawara pyramids, that is still probably thousands of people who interacted with the pyramids and their specific architectural features during the construction process. The impact of the monument thus ‘reverberated among a far larger group’ during its construction life, and presumably the life of its intended occupant, than its later restricted access after completion (Baines 2006b, 267). In addition, later texts such as the historical stela of Neferhotep I from Abydos and *The Tale of Khufu’s Court* make reference to archives (*sip.ty*) as sources of knowledge for architecture and art (Neferhotep, 3: Helck 1983a, 21; P. Westcar, 9.5: Lepper 2008, 46). The mid-Thirteenth Dynasty stela of Neferhotep I only slightly post-dates the early Thirteenth Dynasty, and it is also plausible that the composition of *Khufu’s Court* may be attributed to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty (§2.1). The inclusion of features from the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara in the post-Hawara pyramids of the early Thirteenth Dynasty can therefore be considered as both a conceptualisation and a meaningful display of association with that king even though they were not visible: their presence would have been known to those involved in the construction of the pyramids, as well as to the architects and kept in their archives.

The construction itself is a monumental undertaking which demonstrates royal control over both physical resources and human labour, but when certain architectural forms are repeated, they may become an expectation of kingship: ‘the king builds the palace’ (or in this case, the pyramid), but equally ‘the palace builds the king’ (Levenson 2019, 31). In this way, enduring traditional architectural styles such as pyramids comprise monumental discourse, and their construction ‘can be a statement about continuing an existing order’ (Bußmann 2019, 101). The placement of the funerary monuments of the early Thirteenth Dynasty in the traditional Memphite pyramid fields embodied the location of these kings within the monumental traditions of the Twelfth Dynasty more broadly, while the adoption of specific architectural features from the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III articulated a particular association with him, regardless of their visibility.

Another corpus of early Thirteenth Dynasty royal attestations are figural representations of the king. These are found in both two- and three-dimensions, and include fourteen statues identified by inscriptions (§6.1), a portal of Sekhemre-Khutawy Amenemhat-Sobekhotep from Medamud (§6.2.1), four miniature stelae (§6.2.2), and a small faience plaque of Awibre Hor (§6.2.3).

Immediately noticeable is that there are considerably more sculptural and relief images on free-standing stelae than reliefs associated with monumental architecture from the early Thirteenth Dynasty, which is consistent with an overall scarcity of monumental architecture attributed to this dynasty (§5.1). As Lorand (2015, 212) notes, ‘creating spaces retaining the nominal and/or plastic identity of the ruler is fundamental in the ideological construction of pharaonic power’. Rather than large scale construction, the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty seem to have invested in smaller, mobile pieces such as statuary and stelae, which were able to be placed within existing monumental contexts, and in doing so, such pieces established their presence within those monumental contexts (Nyord 2020, 57). Moreover, focusing on a limited number of smaller pieces may have allowed the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty to maintain high levels of quality in their artistic output, with several pieces considered to be masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture included in this corpus, such as the Elephantine statue of Amenemhat-Senebef and the *ka*-statue of Awibre Hor (Do. Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 72).

6.1 The king in statuary

The early Thirteenth Dynasty kings are poorly represented quantitatively in surviving statues. Of the nineteen kings that make up the early Thirteenth Dynasty, only eight are depicted in statuary. These eight kings have a total of fourteen extant statues that can be securely assigned through inscriptions or archaeological context between them (table 6.1), but of these fourteen statues, only four are largely complete (ÄS 37 + Aswan 1318, CG 259, JE 37466, JE 37467). Another

seven are partially preserved with diagnostic details such as facial features, inscriptions, or iconographic elements (Boston 14.726, Bab el-Nasr Sphinx, Tell el-Dab'a 07, CG 1163, Khartoum 65–7, JE 53668, JE 67834). The remaining three statues are fragmentary and damaged to the point that it limits analysis (TR 9.12.30.1, TR 9.12.30.2, JE 33740). The surviving corpus is also distributed unevenly across the timespan of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, with a cluster of statues attested at both the start and end of this group of nineteen kings. Of the eight kings attested in statuary, three of them—Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, Amenemhat-Senebef, and Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef—are counted among the first five kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. The other five kings known from statuary—Hor, Wegaf, Khendjer, Imyremesha, and Intef IV—constitute five of the final seven kings of this group (§1.2; table 1.4). In particular, these later five kings have ten of the fourteen known statues between them, heavily weighting the corpus towards the end of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. None of the seven known kings between Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef and Hor have any extant statuary. The following table provides a summary of the identified statues:

Table 6.1 Early Thirteenth Dynasty statues		
13 th Dynasty Position	King	Statue
1	Amenemhat-Sobekhotep	MFA 14.726 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Kerma, Tumulus X Limestone H 34cm, W 21.8cm, D 30.5cm
2	Amenemhat-Senebef	ÄS 37 + Aswan 1318 Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna and Aswan Museum Elephantine, Shrine of Heqaib Greywacke H 35cm, W 17.5cm, D 20cm (Vienna) H 104cm, W 28cm, D 58cm (Aswan) Bab el-Nasr Sphinx Open Air Museum, Matariya Bab el-Nasr Quartzite H 68cm, W 50cm, D 146cm

5	Qemaw- Sahornedjheritef	Tell el-Dab'a 07 current location unknown Khatana Greywacke H 140cm
13	Hor	CG 259 Egyptian Museum, Cairo Dahshur, Tomb of Hor Wood H 175cm, W 35cm
		CG 1163 Egyptian Museum, Cairo Dahshur, Tomb of Hor Wood H 39cm
15	Wegaf	JE 33740 Egyptian Museum, Cairo Karnak Granodiorite H 21cm
		Khartoum 65-7 Sudan National Museum, Khartoum Semna, Temple of Taharqa Limestone H 20m, W 6cm
16	Khendjer	JE 53668 Egyptian Museum, Cairo Saqqara, Pyramid of Khendjer Granodiorite H 11.2cm, W 7.7cm
		TR 9.12.30.1 Egyptian Museum, Cairo Saqqara, Pyramid of Khendjer Granodiorite H 18.3cm
		TR 9.12.30.2 Egyptian Museum, Cairo Saqqara, Pyramid of Khendjer Granodiorite H 11.2cm
17	Imyremesha	JE 37466 Egyptian Museum, Cairo Tanis Granodiorite H 362cm, W 106cm
		JE 37467

		Egyptian Museum, Cairo Tanis Granodiorite H 362cm, W 106cm
18	Intef IV	JE 67834 Egyptian Museum, Cairo Medinet Madi, temple of Renenutet Quartzite H 84cm, W 39cm, D 80cm

The limited number of extant royal statues from the early Thirteenth Dynasty is in sharp contrast to the wealth of statues from the later Twelfth Dynasty. Senwosret III and Amenemhat III have more than seventy and eighty known statues respectively (Connor 2020, 23, 36; Saladino Haney 2020, 169, 249). However, the apparent decline in frequency of royal statuary production is not an abrupt change beginning with the Thirteenth Dynasty, but can be traced back to the final years of the Twelfth. From the ten year reign of Amenemhat IV, the only securely identified statue is a single sphinx that was heavily remodelled in the Ptolemaic period to the extent that the original facial features of the king, which might otherwise have helped identify other anepigraphic statues stylistically in turn, cannot be discerned (BM EA 58892: Strudwick 2006, 98–9; Connor 2020, 44, pl. 25 fig. 2.6.1a–b). Similarly, Sobekneferew is represented by four statues and a sphinx, all of which be identified by inscriptions but not by facial features, since no heads are preserved (Tell el-Daba 03–6, Louvre E 27135: Connor 2020, 46). However, a fragment of the head and shoulders of a female royal statue previously in the Berlin Museum, which was lost during World War II, has been linked to Sobekneferew and ‘finally provides a face that can with certainty be associated with her name’ (ÄM 11476: Fay, Freed et al. 2015, 89). The shorter reigns of these two final rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty are presumably a contributing factor to their comparatively few extant statues, and the same is probably true for the early Thirteenth Dynasty kings. Each of the statues of these early Thirteenth Dynasty kings will be

discussed individually, before identifying and considering the significance of trends across the corpus as a whole.

6.1.1 Amenemhat-Sobekhotep

The first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, is attested by a single limestone statuette (Boston MFA 14.726: fig. 6.1). The statuette was discovered in Tumulus X at Kerma, where it had been taken presumably during Kushite raids of the Second Intermediate Period (PM VII, 178; Davies 2003, 52–4; Valbelle 2004, 178–83; Connor 2020, 147–8). There is no firm indication of its original provenance, although Elephantine has been suggested on the basis of the large number of other objects apparently taken from there to Kerma (Ryholt 1998b, 33; Connor 2020, 147–8), including the base of a statue of Khahotepre Sobekhotep from the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, which was later joined with its upper portion in Berlin (Berlin ÄM 10645 + Boston 13.3985: Hill in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 277–8). The statuette of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep is preserved from the thighs down, including the hands. From the preserved height of 34 centimetres, the full statuette was less than life-size. It depicts the king seated, with his left hand flat on his thigh while the right holds a folded cloth. He wears a *shendyt*-kilt, and the bull's tail. The throne is decorated with a triple-stripe border on both the lateral and rear faces, and the *sm3-t3wy* motif in the lateral back corners. The statue is in a poor state of preservation, with the surface cracked and discoloured due to water damage (Ryholt 1998b, 33).

6.1.2 Amenemhat-Senebef

There are two known statues of Amenemhat-Senebef, the second king of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The first of these is a seated greywacke statue (Vienna ÄS 37 + Aswan 1318: fig. 6.2), described as ‘un chef-d’oeuvre du Moyen Empire tardif’ (Connor 2020, 49), and which is said to demonstrate that ‘the commonly held opinion that works of the Second Intermediate Period are

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Figure 6.1 Statuette of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, Boston MFA 14.726 (Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 2022).

Figure 6.2 Reconstruction of the statue of Amenemhat-Senebef, Vienna ÄS 37 + Aswan 1318 (Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 88 fig. 57).

inferior to their Twelfth Dynasty counterparts is at least in this instance disproved' (Fay 1988, 67–8). The torso, legs, and throne of this statue were discovered in 1932 in the Shrine of Heqaib at Elephantine (Aswan 1318: Habachi 1985, 113–14; Franke 1994, 64). In 1988, Fay photographically united the body of this statue with a previously unprovenanced and unidentified head in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna (ÄS 37: 1988, 67, pl. 23a). The reconstruction conclusively ended debate over whether the head dated to either the Middle Kingdom (Aldred 1970, 47 n. 76), or the Late Period (Schweitzer 1952, 124–5; Bothmer 1960, 122; Seipel 1983, 178–9). The inscription on the throne described Amenemhat-Senebef as 'beloved of Satet', suggesting that the statue was originally intended for the temple of Satet at Elephantine before being moved to the Heqaib Shrine at an unspecified point before the shrine's abandonment (Fay 1988, 68).

The modelling of the Amenemhat-Senbef statue 'est tout en nuances et en subtilité' (Connor 2020, 49). The king has an oval face with square jaw. The brow bone is modelled but there are no applied eyebrows, which may have been painted instead, consistent with the treatment of the brow from Senwosret II onwards (Fay 1988, 69 n. 21). There are two vertical furrows at the root of the nose, another feature common in the late Twelfth Dynasty (Fay 1988, 69–70). The eyes are almond-shaped with elongated canthi. The ears are large, but less so than typical of the Twelfth Dynasty, and with limited detail (Fay 1988, 71; Connor 2020, 49). The cheekbones are high and the cheeks full. There is a nasolabial depression but without the pronounced fold common in the late Twelfth Dynasty (Fay 1988, 71; Connor 2020, 49, 448–9). The mouth is smiling, and the lower lip protrudes. The body has naturalistic proportions of the waist, shoulders and arms (Fay 1988, 72; Connor 2020, 49). The legs are heavy and carved with an accentuated shin bone (Soliman 2012, 119). The king is depicted seated, with both hands placed flat on his thighs.

The king wears a *nemes*-headdress decorated with an evenly incised double-stripe pattern and pleating on the lappets. The hood of the uraeus is damaged, but its body is preserved. The

tail emerges above the head of the body in an s-shape (Soliman 2012, 115; Connor 2020, pl. 145 fig. 6.3.4.1e). There is no frontlet, nor any means by which it could have been attached as a separate piece. Fay (1988, 79), however, observes that the stone in the area of the frontlet, as well as the eyes, has a rough surface, possibly as preparation for applying this feature through gilding. Traces on the chest indicate that the statue was originally carved wearing an amulet necklace which was later removed (Fay 1988, 72). The king also wears the *shendyt*-kilt, which is decorated with an unusual triple-stripe pattern. This pattern is thought to represent pleating and is most commonly found on elite statues of the late Twelfth Dynasty, particularly of women (for examples: Fay 1996, 117–19, 134–41). The statue also wears a belt decorated with a triple-stripe pattern and a plain buckle. The throne is decorated on both sides with triple-stripe borders, as well as the *sm3-t3wy* symbol in the lower back corners.

In addition to the well-known seated statue, a second statue of Amenemhat-Senebef in the form of a sphinx (fig. 6.3) was identified and published in 2020, having been re-used as the lintel of a door at Bab el-Nasr during the 10th or 11th century BCE (Connor 2020, 137, pl. 89 fig. 3.1.26g–h; Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020, 142–3); at the time of writing, it is displayed in the open air museum at Matariya (Connor 2020, 321). The head is lost, but the sphinx has the prenomen of Amenemhat-Senebef, Sekhemkare, inscribed on its chest, as well as ‘beloved of Re-Horakhty’, suggesting that it may have originally come from Heliopolis (Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020, 143). The remains of lapets indicate that the sphinx wore a *nemes* (Connor 2020, pl. 89 fig. 3.1.26h). This is the only identified sphinx of the early Thirteenth Dynasty. It has the same material as, and similar dimensions to, a sphinx of Senwosret III and four of Amenemhat IV, as well as similar stylistic details such as striped fur indicated in thick relief (Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020, 142–3). The sphinx of Senwosret III was inscribed for the *haw* of Heliopolis (Kom el-Dikka 99: Raue 1999, 373), while one of the sphinxes of Amenemhat IV was discovered at Heliopolis (Giza Storeroom 17: Bakry 1971, 99–100). Although the original

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Figure 6.3 Sphinx of Amenemhat-Senebef (Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020, 151 fig. 19).

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Figure 6.4 Statue of Sahornedjheritef, (Habachi 1954, pl. 9).

context is unknown, their stylistic similarities and shared connection to Heliopolis may suggest that these and the sphinx of Amenemhat-Senebef all belonged to a series established and built upon over subsequent reigns in the temple at Heliopolis (Connor 2020, 137; Connor and Abou Al-Ella 2020, 142–4).

6.1.3 Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef

A greywacke statue fragment of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef was discovered at Qantir (fig. 6.4), among a cache of five statues that included three of Sobekneferew and a fragment preserving only a pair of feet (Habachi 1954, 458–61). An inscription on the front of the throne included the epithet ‘beloved of Ptah South-of-his-wall’, perhaps indicating that Memphis was its original provenance (Habachi 1954, 460; Ryholt 1998a, 2–3). It is assumed that these five statues were taken first to Avaris during the Hyksos period, before being moved to Piramesse early in the Ramessid period (Ryholt 1998a, 2–3). Its current location is unknown. Only the lower left side was preserved, sufficient to show that the king was depicted seated, wearing a *shendyt*-kilt, and that the preserved side of the throne was decorated with the *sm3-t3wy* motif (Habachi 1954, 460–1, pl. 9). At 140 centimetres, the size of the preserved section suggests that the full statue would have been larger than life-size, a scale that is rarely found in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Habachi 1954, 460).

6.1.4 Hor

A life-size, striding *ka*-statue made of wood was found in the shaft tomb of Hor (CG 259: PM III/2, 888–9; Aufrère 2005, 47–9; Connor 2020, 321–2; fig. 6.6). It was found within a wooden naos in the antechamber of the shaft tomb, placed on its back with its feet towards the south wall, paralleling the placement of the king’s sarcophagus in the adjoining burial chamber (fig. 6.5). Aufrère (2005, 47) links this placement with the function of the *ka* as ‘le double royal’—where a statue of the deceased may be treated similarly to the body and placed in a sealed space

such as the serdab or burial chamber (Assmann 2006, 71–2)—but there is also a more practical explanation: the full naos and statue stood at over two metres, much larger than the 133 centimetre height of the antechamber (Morgan 1895, 92, 102), which would have forced the naos to be laid horizontally when it was deposited in the chamber (Do. Arnold 2015b, 17).

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Figure 6.5 Plan of the tomb of Hor showing the position of the *ka*-statue relative to the sarcophagus (McCormack 2008, 245 fig. 3.16).

This is the only fully preserved striding royal statue from the early Thirteenth Dynasty. The wooden statue has a slender oval face with square jaw, almond-shaped inlaid eyes, large ears, high cheekbones with full cheeks, and thin smiling lips (Connor 2020, 50). Similar facial features can also be seen on a wooden funerary mask discovered in the tomb. The features appear more roughly executed on the mask, but this is hard to judge as the mask has been stripped of gilding (CG 28107: Morgan 1895, 99 fig. 229; Connor 2020, 50). The physique of the statue is slender, with limited musculature and long limbs (Aufrère 2001, 25–6; Connor 2020, 50). The king is depicted naked, although there are traces of a belt which may indicate that a kilt was applied separately (Aufrère 2005, 48–9; Connor 2020, 49). He also wears a tripartite wig topped with a *ka*-sign headdress, a divine beard, and a *wesekh*-collar. The *ka*-headdress and beard had been placed in the naos detached from the statue (Morgan 1895, 92). The left hand is outstretched and the right at his side, which suggests that the king held a staff in his left hand and grasped a staff or sceptre in his right, although neither has been preserved (Soliman 2010, 69–70). At discovery,

the statue was covered with a thin layer of gesso ‘qui tomba au premier attouchement’ (Morgan 1895, 91); such plaster is often applied to cover joins between the wooden pieces (McCormack 2008, 244–5; Harvey 2009, 1). Gilding also appears to have been selectively applied to areas including the wig, collar, belt, eyebrows, beard, and toenails (Morgan 1895, 91; Aufrère 2005, 49).

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Figure 6.6 *Ka*-statue of Hor, Cairo CG 259 (Do. Arnold 2015bc, 17 fig. 22).

Figure 6.7 *Ka*-statuette of Hor, Cairo CG 1163 (Borchardt 1934, pl. 164).

The statue’s naos was also plastered and gilded on the front faces, with the winged sun-disk on the lintel and inscriptions on the jambs which were coloured with blue-green paint (Morgan

1895, 91, 93 figs. 213–15). As with the statue, the plaster disintegrated when the naos was moved, but the jambs were originally inscribed with the full titulary of Hor, followed by ‘beloved of the living *ka*, foremost of the *pr-nw*, given life, stability, strength, health and joy upon the throne of Horus of the living, like Re eternally’ (Morgan 1895, 93 fig. 214; Aufrère 2001, 17). A niche at the base of the naos was packed with sixty-one miniature wooden votive offerings of fourteen different types including *bs*-ewers, milk jugs, other vessels, and loaves of bread, each type varying between one and fifteen in number and all painted white (Morgan 1895, 97 fig. 226; Aufrère 2001, 29).

The use of wood is exceptional among the extant Thirteenth Dynasty statuary, and rarely attested in surviving royal statuary prior to the New Kingdom (Harvey 2009, 5; Connor 2020, 223–4), although a large number of non-royal wooden statues and models have survived from tombs (e.g. Winlock 1955, 83–103; Harvey 2001, 114–601). A possible parallel exists from one of the *ka*-chapels from the Dahshur pyramid of Amenemhat III, attributed to an anonymous queen, where fragments of a wooden naos and female statuette of approximately one metre tall were found (Di. Arnold 1987, 60). This statuette had a deep hole in the top of her head, which may have been intended to secure the *ka*-arms headdress, although this headdress was not itself preserved (Di. Arnold 1987, 60). Texts such as the Abydos stela of Ikhernofret reference the creation of cult statues from wood, gilded and decorated with precious stones (Berlin ÄM 1204, l. 2–11; Sethe 1924, 71; Simpson 1974, pl. 1 [ANOC 1.1]; Lorton 1999, 124–6; Do. Arnold 2015b, 17). The use of these specific materials may reduce a statue’s chances of survival due to the fragility of wood and the desirability of precious metals and stones for re-use (Lorton 1999, 126; Harvey 2009, 1; Connor 2020, 223).

A *ka*-statuette of Hor was also discovered in the debris of the burial shaft (CG 1163: PM III/2: 888–9; Morgan 1895, 95; fig. 6.7). The statuette was in poor condition, but sufficiently preserved to identify that it is also a striding *ka*-figure, with similar facial features, inlaid eyes, a tripartite wig, and *ka*-sign headdress (Davies 1981, 23 [7]; Connor 2020, 327–8). The fragments

of the statuette, which preserve the figure from the knees up, are only 39 centimetres tall, significantly smaller than the near life-size statue (Connor 2020, 327). Fragments of the statuette's naos were also discovered throughout the burial chamber (Morgan 1895, 95). The inscriptions on the naos were not preserved, but Aufrère suggests that it may have referenced the *pr-wr* to complement that of the life-size statue, since a small stela and inscribed offering table also from the tomb both reference the *itrt mhwt sm'wt*, 'the chapels of the north and south' (2001, 20–1). However, the significant size discrepancy between the two may argue against them being intended as a fully complementary pair.

The *ka*-headdresses unequivocally identify both statue and statuette as representations of the king's *ka* (Nyord 2019, 183). Aufrère (2001, 23–4, 30) emphasises the role of the *ka*-statue as the recipient of offerings, supported by the inclusion of miniature votive vessels in the naos of the statue, and the emphasis on provision and offerings found in other pieces of the burial assemblage (§5.3). The receipt of offerings is an expected function of a *ka*-statue, as the concept of the *ka* is 'entangled' (Olabarria 2018, 99) with statuary and offerings: statues were frequently located in areas designated as *hwt-k3*, 'the mansion of the *ka*' (Demidchik 2015, 26–8; Connor 2022, 52), and offering formulae state that offerings were brought for the *ka* of the deceased (Demidchik 2015, 28–9; Olabarria 2018, 98; Nyord 2019, 188–90). Accordingly, there is a close connection between the *ka* and statuary, inasmuch as 'the *ka* very often occurs as an object of cult, and that in practice Egyptian cult was frequently performed in front of a statue, so that *ka* and statue are often referred to in the same context' (Nyord 2019, 154). The *ka* may be said to inhabit statuary or other images of the deceased (Junker 1910, 7; Connor 2022, 24–5, 52–3), or further, the statue may be understood as a thing which gives physical form to concepts like the *ka* (Assmann 2001, 46; Meskell 2004, 90–2). However, the function of the *ka* is not restricted to statuary or the offering cult. Nyord suggests that the *ka* may be broadly understood as the 'undifferentiated potential' of a person, which may manifest in different ways, being and doing different things across the life and death of a person (2019, 161–200).

In royal contexts, the *ka* is often found depicted in two forms: from the Twelfth Dynasty, it is attested in relief as an anthropomorphised figure with a *ka*-sign on its headdress, such as in a relief of Amenemhat III from Koptos (UC 14785: Hamden 2015, 2); or as a *ka*-sign on a standard, such as in a relief of Senwosret I discovered in the court of the fourth pylon at Karnak (Carlotti, Czerny et al. 2010, 155, fig. 37). The two forms were seemingly interchangeable, as both feature in scenes from the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak, with the choice of form seemingly determined by available space (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, 187–90). The *ka* is also closely linked to the Horus name, since the arms of the *ka*-sign on both the standard and the headdress of the anthropomorphic form embrace the *serekh* (Hamden 2015, 1–2; Nyord 2019, 181). As such, Nyord (2019, 180–3) understands such images of a king’s *ka* as an ‘emblematic personification’ of the king’s divinity, distinguished from the king himself by the use of divine, rather than royal, iconography, such as the divine beard preserved on this *ka*-statue of Hor. In addition, the *ka* also functioned as a dynastic principle in both royal and non-royal spheres (§4.2). Perhaps analogous to the idea of ‘blood’ in western society, the *ka* may be understood as something that was transmitted and connects a person to a larger group, but was simultaneously individual and personal (Olabarria 2018, 95–8). The principle of divine syncretism may also be applied to the *ka-nswt*, or the royal *ka*: as *ka-nswt*, the king’s *ka* is homologous with all the royal *kas* that came before and would come after, while remaining the personal *ka* of the individual king (Winnerman 2023, 45–6). A similar syncretism can perhaps be seen in the Horus name, to which the *ka* is connected, which identified each king as the manifestation of Horus on earth while simultaneously recognising them by a unique personal name. In this way, the royal *ka* functioned as a symbol of the king’s divinity and their legitimacy by connecting them to a perpetual tradition of kingship (Bell 1985, 258). This *ka*-statue and statuette of Hor may be the only extant examples of kingly *ka*-statues. However, they belong to a wider body of attestations of the *ka* across various elements of royal display, including the relief examples previously mentioned, as well as in the inclusion of *ka*-chapels in pyramid

complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, including the Dahshur pyramid of Amenemhat III (Di. Arnold 1987, 60–1; Lehner 2008, 92, 111, 126). They are a physical manifestation of the same ideology. Moreover, the probable *ka*-statuette from the queen's *ka*-chapel of Amenemhat III's Dahshur pyramid may suggest that statues of this type were more common, but have not survived due to the fragility of wood and the general loss of royal funerary goods.

6.1.5 Wegaf

There are two extant statues of Wegaf. The first of these is a 20 centimetre limestone *sed*-statuette (Khartoum 65–7: fig. 6.8) that was discovered in the sanctuary of the temple dedicated to Senwosret III by Taharqa at Semna (PM VII, 149; Vercoutter 1975, 227–8; Connor 2020, 320). The statuette is headless, but otherwise fully preserved. The king is depicted in the short *sed*-cloak and *wesekh*-collar, with crossed arms holding the flail in his right hand and crook in his left (Sourouzian 1994, 512). This is the only *sed*-statue known from the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

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Figure 6.8 *Sed*-statuette of Wegaf, Khartoum 65–7 (Vercoutter 1975, pl. 22b).

The original provenance of this statuette, before its move to the temple during the Twenty-fifth dynasty, is unknown. However, a similar *sed*-statue of Senwosret III can offer a parallel: it was discovered in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Dedun and the deified Senwosret III at Semna

(SNM 447: PM VII, 147; Davies 2017, fig. 6; Connor 2020, 320). Its inscription, however, mentions Semna fortress, suggesting that this *sed*-statue may be the one referred to in the Semna stela (Seidlmayer 2000, 235–42; Davies 2017, 77–81), which states that the king ‘caused that a statue (*twt*) of my Person may be made on this border’ (Berlin ÄM 1157, l. 18–9; Sethe 1924, 84). A second *sed*-statue of Senwosret III was discovered in the fort at Uronarti, perhaps accompanying the partner stela there (SNM 452: Davies 2017, 75–6). Accordingly, Vercoutter (1975, 278) proposed that the Wegaf statuette may also have been placed originally in the fort at Semna. The later placement of the statuette of Wegaf in the sanctuary dedicated to Senwosret III at Semna may well suggest that the statuette of Wegaf was previously associated with statuary of Senwosret III. The names of Wegaf and a Senwosret were also found together on an unusual object: the ‘Rubensohn plaquette’, a limestone ostrakon which was reportedly found at Elephantine around 1906 (JE 38333: Legrain 1907, 250–2; Franke 1994, 64). One side of the ostrakon has a horizontal row with the prenomen and nomen of Wegaf written in mirrored orientations from a central *ankh*, while below the ankh is a vertical column which gives the name Senwosret in a cartouche (Le grain 1907, 251 fig. 1). The signs are crudely written and the *s* (Gardiner S29) of Senwosret is written reversed. There are also fragments of demotic writing on the ostrakon, and so it is typically attributed to the Late Period (PM V, 226; Legrain 1907, 250; Siesse 2019, 379). The identity of the Senwosret referred to is uncertain, although Legrain suggests Senwosret IV (1907, 252). However, it may also be understood as a reference to Senwosret III, with the association of the *sed*-statues of Senwosret III and Wegaf at Semna perhaps providing an earlier articulation of the association of these two kings.

Although all three use *sed*-iconography, there are a number of differences between the statuette of Wegaf, and the two near-life size statues of Senwosret III (in addition to the difference in scale): both the statues of Senwosret III are made of granodiorite, while the statuette of Wegaf is limestone (Khartoum SNM 65–7, SNM 447, SNM 452: Connor 2020, 320). The statue of Senwosret III from Semna wears a long cloak and *wesekh*-collar with four

rows of beads (SNM 447: Davies 2017, 77; Saladino Haney 2020, 188–9), while his statue from Uronarti wears a short cloak but no collar (Sourouzian 1994, 510; Davies 2017, 75). The statuette of Wegaf wears the short cloak and a *wesekb*-collar with three rows of beads (Sourouzian 1994, 512; Soliman 2010, 64–5, 67–8). An iconographic feature typical of *sed*-statues, cloaked statues are attested from the Early Dynastic period (for examples, see Sourouzian 1994, 507–8; Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 13–5), although it is unclear if these early examples should be regarded as *sed*-statues specifically (Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 77; Newman 2023, 30–1). The cloak, which may be long or short, remained a distinctive feature of *sed*-statuary until the reign of Amenhotep III (Sourouzian 1994, 524; Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 85). The *wesekb*-collar is also a common feature of *sed*-iconography, but may vary in the type and number of rows of beads (Sourouzian 1994, 524). The flail and crook are perhaps the most standardized element of *sed*-iconography: both are found consistently from the Fifth Dynasty until the Eighteenth Dynasty, when the *ꜥwt* crook is replaced by the *ḥqꜣ* hook, with the flail in the right hand and the crook in the left (Sourouzian 1994, 502–4; Soliman 2012, 117). The iconography of *sed*-statues is distinct, then, but with some areas for variation. The differences between the *sed*-statues of Senwosret III and Wegaf at Semna are minor, and fall within the standard variations of *sed*-iconography during the Middle Kingdom (Sourouzian 1994, 510–2).

The two *sed*-statues of Senwosret III from the Second Cataract forts are the only extant *sed*-statues of this king. Similarly, there is only one extant *sed*-statue of Amenemhat III: a granodiorite triad statue from the temple of Sekhmet-Hathor at Kom el-Hisn, where Amenemhat III is depicted seated with an unidentified female figure on either side (JE 43104: Connor 2020, 333). It has been suggested that a head of Amenemhat III wearing the double-crown also from Kom el-Hisn, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, could be the head of the king from this triad (MMA 24.7.1: Saddik 2015, 553–6). Amenemhat III is depicted wearing the long cloak, with no *wesekb* collar, holding the flail and crook (Sourouzian 1994, 511; Stünkel 2015, 95 fig. 61). This single example makes it impossible to determine if there was a consistent

iconographic presentation of *sed*-statuary under Amenemhat III that may be compared with the iconography of the *sed*-statues of Senwosret III and Wegaf. However, one specific feature of note is that the *sed*-statues of Senwosret III include the nine bows beneath their feet (Davies 2017, 75–7), while the triad of Amenemhat III and the statuette of Wegaf do not (Davies 1981, 22 [2]; Soliman 2010, 76; Stünkel 2015, 95 fig. 61). This is consistent with their iconography in other statue types (§6.1.15).

The *sed*-festival can be traced back to the Early Dynastic period (Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 13–5; Newman 2023, 30–5), and is typically understood as a ceremonial rejuvenation of kingship (Krol 2005, 90; Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 9–12; Do. Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 50). Statuary appears as a key element in this festival: a panel scene from the south tomb of the pyramid of Djoser may refer to the dedication of a statue of the king as part of the *sed*-festival rites (Firth and Quibell 1935 II, pl. 42; Friedman 1995, 29–32), which may also be supported by the number of royal statues which were found in the festival court of this pyramid complex (Friedman 1995, 11; Di. Arnold 1997, 42–3; Lauer 2003, 376–9; Newman 2023, 33–4). The *sed*-festival is thought to have typically, but not exclusively, occurred first during a king's thirtieth regnal year, and at intervals of three years subsequently (Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 9–10, 33–4; Brand 2023, 347–54). However, there are no indications that Wegaf or any other Thirteenth Dynasty king reigned for thirty years (Ryholt 1997b, 197). Likewise, if the Semna and Uronarti *sed*-statues of Senwosret III were the statues set up in connection with the stelae, which are dated to Year 16 (Seidlmayer 2000, 233), then they also could not be associated with a Year 30 jubilee. Hornung and Staehelin (2006, 81) have suggested that not all *sed*-statues were necessarily used in, or evidence of, an actual *sed*-festival. In particular, three *sed*-statues of Tuthmosis II were donated posthumously—one set up by Hatshepsut at Elephantine (Aswan 1086: Kaiser, Avila et al. 1984, 186, pl. 61), and two by Tuthmosis III, from Edfu and Asfun respectively (Cairo TR 27.3.25.5, 6.11.26.4: Sourouzian 1994, 515–6, fig. 3c–d)—and therefore were certainly not associated with an actual *sed*-festival of this king (Hornung and Staehelin 2006,

81). In the context of the Second Cataract, *sed*-iconography and its connotations of the renewal of kingship may have been used in the statuary of Senwosret III at Semna and Uronarti to continually affirm the king's claim to and authority over this boundary region, in conjunction with the boundary stelae (Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 80–1; Davies 2017, 81). The variations between the statues of Senwosret III and Wegaf suggest that the latter was not intended as a specific duplicate of either Senwosret III statue, but given their shared location(s), it is probable that the use of *sed*-iconography in the statuette of Wegaf was inspired not only by the connotations of the ceremony itself, but also by the use of this particular iconography in the statues of Senwosret III at Semna.

The second representation of Wegaf is a fragment of a granodiorite seated statue, preserving only the left thigh and corner of the throne, which was discovered among debris in the court of Karnak Temple during clearing in 1897 (PM II, 110; JE 33740: Legrain 1905, 130; Connor 2020, 331). At 21 centimetres, the fragment indicates that the complete statue was less than life-size (Davies 1981, 22 [1]). It is inscribed with the nomen of Wegaf 'Son of Re of his body' (Le Grain 1905, 130); the inscription is broken after the cartouche, although Davies suggests restoring the phrase 'beloved of Amun' (1981, 22 [1]). There are no published images of this fragment.

6.1.6 Khendjer

Fragments of three granodiorite statuettes were discovered in the north chapel of the pyramid complex of Khendjer at South Saqqara (JE 53668; TR 9.12.30.1–2: PM III/2, 435; Jéquier 1933, 18–19). All three are uninscribed and so are attributed to Khendjer through context alone. There is no suggestion that any of these fragments could join together, and so they probably represent three separate statuettes. The three statuettes were probably comparable in size to each other when complete, leading Jéquier to suggest that the three may have been set up in niches in the

chapel of Khendjer's pyramid, although the poor preservation of the chapel means that no such architectural features could be identified (1933, 19).

The first of these three statuettes was broken at the elbows, with only the upper torso and head preserved (JE 53668: fig. 6.9). The pose of this statuette cannot be determined due to the location of the break above the waist. The king wears the *kb̄at*-headdress with uraeus (Eaton-Krauss 1977, 22, 33–4; Connor 2020, 238). Despite its small size, the statuette is finely executed. The king has an oval face with square jaw, large almond eyes with heavily modelled rims and brows, full cheeks and lips with upturned corners, and large ears splayed over the *kb̄at* (Connor 2020, 54). The proportions of the upper torso are slightly larger than in statues from earlier in the dynasty, with a wide neck and broad shoulders that are smooth and rounded, and a waist that only narrows slightly (Soliman 2012, 118; Connor 2020, 54). The pectoral muscles are pronounced and marked by a curved line across the chest, but the abdominal muscles are not indicated (Soliman 2012, 119; Connor 2020, 54).

Image redacted

Figure 6.9 Statuette of Khendjer, Cairo JE 53668 (Connor 2020, pl. 36 fig. 2.8.1a).

Only the thighs and legs of the second statuette were preserved, with the upper half, feet and pedestal all missing. The king was depicted seated, with both hands flat on his thighs and wearing the *shendyt*-kilt (TR 9.12.30.1: Connor 2020, 337). This fragment was also inscribed with ‘Perfected God, lord of ritual action’, but the name of the king is not preserved (Davies 1981, 23 [11], 32 n. 20). A fragment of the left thigh and hand was found from the third statuette, with remains of pleating indicating a *shendyt*-kilt (TR 9.12.30.2: Connor 2020, 337). There are no published images of these two smaller fragments.

6.1.7 Imyremesha

The pair of seated granodiorite colossi of Imyremesha are the only complete colossal statues from the early Thirteenth Dynasty (JE 37466, JE37467: fig. 6.10). They measure over three and a half metres tall, within the two to four metre range typical of extant colossi from the Twelfth Dynasty (Hill 2015, 298–9; Do. Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 300). They were discovered at Tanis among the transverse row of colossi in the area of the third pylon of the temple of Amun-Re (PM IV, 18; Petrie 1885 I, 8–9). Their inscriptions describe the king as ‘beloved of Ptah’, perhaps indicating that their original provenance was the temple of Ptah at Memphis (Ryholt 1997b, 342; Connor 2020, 56). Although the architecture of the Middle Kingdom temple of Ptah is difficult to identify due to later building work and re-use at the site (Giddy 1990, 38–41; Giddy, Jeffreys et al. 1990, 4–11), the colossi of Imyremesha may have shared this location with surviving colossi of Senwosret I (Sourouzian 1988, 251–4; Lorand 2011, 306–7), and Amenemhat III (Berlin ÄM 1121: Connor 2020, 135). The colossi of Imyremesha were later re-inscribed in both the Hyksos and Ramessid periods: the cartouche of Apophis ‘beloved of Seth’ was added to the right shoulders (Hill 2015, 295), while the cartouches of Ramesses II were added on the front, rear, and sides of the throne of each statue (Petrie 1885 I, pl. 3 [17a–c]; Davies 1981, 24 [14–5]). These multiple stages of re-use indicate that the colossi were first moved to Avaris during the Hyksos period, and Piramesse under

Ramesses II, before their later transportation to Tanis in the Third Intermediate Period (Hill 2015, 294–5; Connor 2022, 112–14).

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Figure 6.10 Colossi of Imyremesha, Cairo JE 37467 (left) and JE 37466 (right), (Connor 2020, pl. 38 fig. 2.8.2a–b).

The modelling of the face displays common features of early Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary, such as the modelled brow, large ears, nasolabial depression, and square jaw. However, the eyes are more triangular than the usual almond shape, and the smile is more restrained (Soliman 2012, 118; Connor 2020, 56). The treatment of the torso of the colossi is similar to the first statuette of Khendjer, despite a significant difference in size: the torso is proportionately larger than earlier Thirteenth Dynasty statuary, with broad shoulders, large sculpted pectorals, visible

abdominal muscles, and broader waist, as well as the typical heavy-set legs (Soliman 2012, 118–19; Connor 2020, 56). The impression of strength conveyed by this physique is particularly effective when matched by the scale of colossal statuary and the use of hard granodiorite, putting this pair of colossi on a ‘different plane of production’ to any other extant royal statuary from the early Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke 2010a, 60). Connor (2020, 56) suggests that this powerful physique may be connected to the militaristic name of the king, Imyremesha. However, others have cautioned against overly-militarised interpretations of this king’s reign and monuments, as there are no clear indications of military action or violence from the reign of Imyremesha, and it is often thought that his name may have reflected a family occupation history rather than a personal connection or military-driven accession for this king (Quirke 1991, 131; Ryholt 1997b, 221-2; McCormack 2008, 80). The king is depicted seated, with both hands placed flat on the thighs, and wearing a *nemes* with an unusual double-stripe pattern of uneven stripes in shallow relief (Soliman 2010, 59), s-shaped uraeus, and false beard.

Although some earlier examples are known, the use of royal colossi is not widespread until the Twelfth Dynasty (Evers 1929, 22; Do. Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 300; Saladino Haney 2020, 108). The majority of Middle Kingdom colossi have been discovered in secondary contexts, like Tanis (Hill 2015, 294–5). However, later examples which have remained in situ, like the colossi of Memnon at Kom el-Hitan (PM II, 449), or those of Ramesses II at Luxor temple (PM II, 313), suggest that paired colossi were often set up flanking the portals of temple-pylons, where they have been interpreted as mediating between human and divine spaces (Wildung 1977, 13; Price 2011, 407; Do. Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 300). Their sheer size presumably precluded colossi from being placed within enclosed areas (Price 2011, 407), although the expansion of temples could allow them to be later brought within the complex (Price 2008, 116). By virtue of their size and placement, then, colossi may have been comparatively more accessible than smaller statues placed within temples, allowing them to become the focus of cult activity and serve as a public display of royal power and the king’s

status as intermediary between people and the gods (Price 2011, 407; Connor 2020, 56; 2022, 10–15, 44–5), although their apparent accessibility may also have been tempered by social—and not just physical—barriers to temples that are no longer visible in the archaeological record (Baines 1990, 6–7; Price 2008, 116). However, an established location is only one stage in the ‘life’ of a statue, that also includes its creation, transport, and instalment (Connor 2022, 2–4). As the scene of transporting a colossal statue from the tomb of Djehutyhotep at Deir el-Bersha demonstrates, colossi require an extensive workforce to build and erect, processes during which this workforce had access to and could engage with these monuments (Willems, Peeters et al. 2005 173–5; Price 2008, 114–16; Connor 2022, 45). While the opportunities to access colossi were ‘unlikely to have been equal’ across the Egyptian social spectrum (Price 2008, 117), the different stages in the construction and display of these colossi allowed a variety of opportunities to witness and engage with them as monuments of royal power.

A further stage in the biographies of these colossi is their later relocations and re-uses. The re-use of statuary may have many different purposes, such as an intentional alteration of names and/or physical features which removes the original ownership and transfers it, perhaps as part of a *damnatio memoriae* or iconoclasm, the re-use of material driven by practical rather than ideological factors, or the addition of further inscriptions to an existing statue without altering the existing inscriptions or features (Eaton-Krauss 2015, 99; Connor 2022, 111–12). Both Apophis and Ramesses II added their own cartouches on these colossi of Imyremesha, without modifying the original inscriptions or physiognomy, which suggests that the re-use was not motivated by a political desire to erase the memory of the Thirteenth Dynasty kings, or driven by a practical need for material. The addition of the cartouche of Apophis to the right shoulder is a particularly ‘unobtrusive’ modification which Hill suggests might ‘be thought of as similar to a colophon on a papyrus: respectful of the integrity of a work while adding information about its “transmission” to his collection’ (2015, 295). Aside from these colossi, it has been noted that Apophis primarily targeted sphinxes of Amenemhat II and Amenemhat III for re-use (Do.

Arnold 2010, 207–8; Eaton-Krauss 2015, 101–2; Hill 2015, 298). Colossi and sphinxes may have been chosen as statues types that are particularly potent images of Egyptian royal power and tradition that the newly established Hyksos king wished to identify with (Do. Arnold 2010, 208–9; Connor 2022, 112), while the use of statuary of these specific kings may reflect a desire to relate to and assert continuity with kings of the more recent past (Hill 2015, 295), similar to the emulation of Amenemhat III by the early Thirteenth Dynasty kings. Likewise, the extensive re-use of royal statuary under Ramesses II may be regarded as a form of ‘reactivating’ them and integrating them into a monumental display of royal lineage and power in which Ramesses II was situated (Connor 2022, 115–24; Brand 2023, 415–16). At Tanis, the colossi of Imyremesha and other kings were not re-inscribed or altered, but were set up in row across a transverse axis in the court of the third pylon in the temple of Amun-Re, where perhaps they added a ‘perceived chronological depth’ to the development of the temple (Hill 2015, 297). The multiple stages of re-use of these colossi, long after the end of the Thirteenth Dynasty, demonstrates their enduring function as images of royal power.

6.1.8 Intef IV

The latest known royal statue from the early Thirteenth Dynasty is a quartzite statue identified by inscription as Sehetepkare Intef IV (JE 67834: fig. 6.11). It is the only contemporary attestation of this king (Siesse 2019, 381). It was discovered next to a statue of Amenemhat III in the sanctuary of the temple of Renenutet at Medinet Madi (Vogliano 1942, pl. 9; Donadoni 1952, 6–7), which was constructed during the reigns of Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV (Donadoni 1947, 334; Zecchi 2010, 80–4; Pignattari 2018, 25–7). Notably, this is the only early royal Thirteenth Dynasty attestation from the Faiyum, although it is possible that ecological conditions limited access to the region at this time (§3.3). The statue is preserved from the thighs down. The king is depicted seated, with his left hand flat on his thigh while the right hand is not preserved, and wearing the *shendyt*-kilt (Davies 1981, 24 [16]).

Image redacted

Figure 6.11 Statue of Intef IV, Cairo JE 67834 (Vogliano 1942, pl. 10).

Image redacted

Figure 6.12 Statue of Intef IV in context beside a statue of Amenemhat III (Vogliano 1942, pl. 9).

6.1.9 Stylistically-identified statues

In addition to the fourteen statues described above, there are also several unattributed statues which can be plausibly dated to the early Thirteenth Dynasty on stylistic grounds, such as a quartzite royal head now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 12.183.6: Connor in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 89–90), or the previously mentioned uninscribed statuette found at the Unfinished Pyramid (§5.1.4; for other examples, see Connor 2020, 50–1, 57). In contrast, other pieces that were previously dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty have now been excluded and redated to later periods, such as a head from the Abemayor collection (Fay 2016, 22–3).

Two unprovenanced statues now located in Berlin are of particular interest and will be discussed in more detail because they are the only attestations of distinctive iconographic features in the corpus of Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary. The first of these is a standing statue in the prayer pose (ÄM 10337: fig. 6.13). Although originally identified as Amenemhat III, Fay notes that the short kilt of the statue is decorated with the triple-stripe pattern which is only otherwise attested on the statue of Amenemhat-Senebef (1996, 119, 134). In addition, the facial features of the Berlin statue do not resemble those of Amenemhat III but are often found in early Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary, including features such as a smiling mouth, square jaw, and high cheekbones (Connor 2020, 51). This statue is the only extant example of a royal statue in the prayer pose from the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Although the provenance of this statue is unknown, its proportions and pose are almost identical to a series of praying statues known from Karnak (Connor 2020, 51, pl. 69 fig. 3.1.9.1b). In this series, two statues are identified as Amenemhat III by inscriptions (CG 42019; Luxor J.117: Saladino Haney 2020, 536–7, 539–40), and another two are identified stylistically also as Amenemhat III (CG 42015; JE 43596: Saladino Haney 2020, 573–5). There are also four further fragments of Amenemhat III without a recorded provenance that are thought to belong to this series because of stylistic parallels between these and the known Karnak series fragments (Berlin M17551; Cleveland 1960.56; MMA 45.2.6; Louvre AF 2578: Saladino Haney 2020, 577–8, 597–8, 608–9). Connor proposes

joins between JE 43595 and Louvre AF 2578, as well as between CG 42019 and Cleveland 1960.56 (2020, pl. 69 fig. 3.1.9.1b), to give a total of six statues of Amenemhat III from this Karnak series. In addition, two further praying pose statues were found at Karnak which are stylistically consistent with the series but not with the physiognomy of Amenemhat III (CG 42016, 42018: Legrain 1906 I, 11), and which may thus be attributed to a successor of Amenemhat III, possibly Amenemhat IV (Connor 2020, 266, 329; Saladino Haney 2020, 631–3). As such, it seems that the successors of Amenemhat III added their own statues to his Karnak series, including this praying pose statue of an unidentified early Thirteenth Dynasty king from Berlin (Connor 2020, 51, pl. 69 fig. 3.1.9.1b).

The second unprovenanced statue is a granodiorite head wearing the earliest known three-dimensional representation of the *kebepresh*-crown (ÄM 13255: fig. 6.14; Connor 2020, 239). The *kebepresh* is also attested in relief on other Thirteenth Dynasty monuments including the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep from Medamud (§6.2.1), and on a stela of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty king Khaneferre Sobekhotep II from the Wadi Hammamat (Debono 1951, pl. 15). These are the earliest attestations of the *kebepresh* in two dimensions, suggesting that this crown was an iconographic innovation of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (Davies 1982, 71–5). Due to its sparse attestations, the significance of the early *kebepresh* is unclear, but in the New Kingdom, it is often associated with coronation and with the human exercise of kingship, appearing in scenes of ritual and action such as warfare (Davies 1982, 75; Hardwick 2003, 119–20). The *kebepresh* also has solar connotations through the phonetic allusion to Khepri, the reborn morning sun, presenting the king as the earthly representative of the sun god (Bryan 2007, 179–80). The introduction of this headdress might perhaps have been a means of legitimation for the early Thirteenth Dynasty: in the absence of traditional succession practices (§1.4), the symbolism of the *kebepresh* reinforces that the kings' authority derives from Re.

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Figure 6.13 Unidentified statue of an early Thirteenth Dynasty king in the prayer pose, Berlin ÄM 10337 (ÄM 10337: Connor 2020, pl. 69 fig. 3.1.9.1b).

Figure 6.14 Unidentified fragment of an early Thirteenth Dynasty king wearing the *kebepresh* crown, Berlin ÄM 13255 (Connor 2020, pl. 39 fig. 2.8.2e–h).

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Figure 6.15 The Medamud Osirid heads, Louvre E 12924, JE 58926, JE 54857 (Connor 2020, pl. 29 fig. 2.7.1a–c)

None of the statues dated to the early Thirteenth Dynasty on stylistic grounds can be identified with a specific king, with the exception of a series of fragmentary ‘Osirid’ pillar statues, three heads and one torso of which were discovered during the excavation of the Ptolemaic temple at Medamud in the 1920s (Louvre E 12924, JE 58926, JE 54857: fig. 6.15). The three preserved heads all wear the white crown with uraeus, and have no beard. There are minor differences in execution, perhaps suggesting that the series of statues were the work of several different sculptors or workshops, but the features are sufficiently consistent to identify all as the same king (Connor 2020, 48). The king has an oval face with square jaw, large ears, almond eyes, nasolabial depression, high cheekbones with full cheeks, and smiling mouth. The torso fragment shows that the statues were mummiform with hands crossed over the chest, although it is uncertain if they held *ankh*-signs in their hands in the manner of the ‘Osirid’ statues of Senwosret I from Karnak (see: Leblanc 1973, pl. 62–3; Gabolde 1998, pl. 1), or had clenched fists, as restored by Eder (2002, 102–3).

Given the resemblance of their facial features to other early Thirteenth Dynasty statuary, some scholars have broadly attributed these statues to the period without identifying a particular king (e.g. Bisson de la Roque 1946, 37; Russmann 1990, 78). However, their context may allow a more specific attribution. Due to their standing shrouded form and pressed-together legs, ‘Osirid’ statues are able to be used architecturally as pillars and are often found in porticos, such as the proposed reconstruction of facade of Karnak temple under Senwosret I (Gabolde 1998, pl. 1; Larché 2009, 7–9, fig. 15–7; Di. Arnold 2015, 15–16), or the later pillared façade of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut (Szafranski 2018, 377–9). Given that this type of statuary is associated with monumental architecture, these ‘Osirid’ pillars most probably depict one of the three kings who have extant monuments at Medamud: Senwosret III, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, or Sobekemsaf I (Davies 1981, 18 n. 67; Fay 2016, 23; Connor 2020, 48). Delange attributed these statues to Senwosret III, but also acknowledged that their physiognomy does not match that typical of this king (1987, 42–3). However, their observed facial features are characteristic of

the early Thirteenth Dynasty, and so the ‘Osirid’ pillars are widely attributed to the only Thirteenth Dynasty king attested at Medamud, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (Davies 1981, 18 n. 67; Eder 2002, 102–3; Soliman 2010, 105–13; Fay 2016, 23; Connor 2020, 48). Although the only certainly identified statue of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep does not preserve the face for comparison (§6.1.1), Davies notes that there is ‘an encouraging degree of correspondence between the features of these heads and the relief-portraits of the king’ (1981, 18 n. 67) on his *sed*-portal from Medamud (§6.2.1). These three ‘Osirid’ statues provide the only extant example of the White Crown in early Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary, and plausibly, the only preserved face of the first king of the dynasty, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep.

The ‘Osirid’ statue type is first attested in the Eleventh Dynasty, with statues of Montuhotep II from Deir el-Bahri (MMA 26.3.29: Leblanc 1980, 77–8; Do. Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 50), and Montuhotep III from Armant (Freed in Freed, Berman et al. 2009, 68–9; Do. Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 51–2). From the Twelfth Dynasty, ‘Osirid’ statues of Senwosret I lined the causeway of his pyramid at Lisht (CG 398, MMA 08.200.1, MMA 09.190.529: Gautier and Jéquier 1902, 38–42; Hayes 1953, 185; Lorand 2011, 38 fig. 7), and his portico at Karnak temple (JE 48851: Lorand 2011, 36–7 fig. 4), while further examples of this statue type of both Senwosret I and Senwosret III were discovered at Kom es-Sultan, probably from the temple of Osiris-Khentyimentiew (CG 429, BM EA 608: Connor 2020, 111). Although this statue type is referred to as ‘Osirid’, the shroud of these statues is actually to be understood as the *sed*-festival cloak (Leblanc 1980, 69–89; Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 50–2; Smith 2017, 208–9). While the statue type is an innovation of the Middle Kingdom, these belong within the larger tradition of *sed*-statuary, and their standing, shrouded form also recalls statues of Djoser (Do. Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 50; Newman 2023, 33–4 fig. 4.2). The *sed*-imagery of this statue type, then, also reinforces the connection between these three Thirteenth Dynasty heads and the *sed*-portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep at Medamud (Connor 2020, 231).

6.1.10 Development of royal statuary in the early Thirteenth Dynasty

Assessing the development of royal statuary in the Early Thirteenth Dynasty is complicated due to not only the scarcity of examples, but also their uneven distribution across the time period (§6.1). There are also issues with the preservation of extant examples, particularly among the later statues. Two of the Khendjer statuettes (TR 9.12.30.1–2: Connor 2020, 337), the Wegaf statue fragment (JE 33740: Connor 2020, 331), and the single statue of Intef (Connor 2020, 57, 336) are all highly fragmentary. Even among the better-preserved examples, possibilities of comparison are limited: for example, the features of the statuette of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (MFA 14.726: fig. 6.1) cannot be compared to the statuette of Khendjer (JE 53668: fig. 6.9), since the former is preserved from the waist down and the latter from the waist up, leaving no physical features in common. Differences in scale and material also limit analysis: both Khendjer and Imyremesha have seated statues made of granodiorite (JE 53668: fig. 6.9; JE 37466–7: fig. 6.10), but the former are small statuettes and the latter colossi and so differences in scale make any comparison between them difficult as features may be rendered in significantly different levels of detail and precision at such different proportions (Connor 2020, 54). Other statues among the corpus, such as the *k3*-statues of Hor, are unique. These challenges mean that any typological analysis of early Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary must be cautious, but even within these limitations, some plausible trends emerge across the extant corpus.

6.1.11 Materiality

The most commonly used material was granodiorite, accounting for six of the fourteen securely identified statues. The only other hard stone attested was quartzite. The remaining statues used a variety of soft materials including greywacke, limestone, and wood (table 6.1). Likewise, granodiorite was the most commonly attested material in the stylistically attributed statues, alongside limestone for the ‘Osirid’ heads (§6.1.9). The proportions of this material usage are broadly similar to those in the late Twelfth Dynasty (Saladino Haney 2020, 172 fig. 4.2, 250 fig.

5.2), although overall fewer material types are attested in the Thirteenth Dynasty, as can be expected from the smaller corpus. Dark stones such as granodiorite and greywacke were used frequently, which could have been because of the associations of this colour with Osirian renewal and fertility (Connor 2009, 45–7). However, the apparent preference for granodiorite must be balanced against preservation factors which may favour hard stones over soft, skewing statistical analysis (Connor 2009, 47). There is a higher proportion of smaller statues with seven of the fourteen examples being less than life-size or statuettes, which may reflect economic factors and limitations on resources during the early Thirteenth Dynasty, although there are also three colossi attested in this small corpus. There is no evident correlation between scale and material in the corpus.

6.1.12 The face

Among the fourteen securely identified statues, there are six with preserved heads (Vienna ÄS 37: fig. 6.2; CG 259: fig. 6.6; CG 1163: fig. 6.7; JE 53668: fig. 6.9; JE 37466, JE 37467: fig. 6.10). These provide four faces of distinct individuals, as Hor and Imyremesha are both represented twice. In addition, the Osirid heads from Medamud may preserve the face of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (§6.1.9). These all have common features which can be regarded as characteristic of the early Thirteenth Dynasty royal face: an oval shape with square jaw, wide-set almond eyes with modelled rims and brow, high cheekbones with full cheeks, nasolabial depression but no true fold, the absence of pouches beneath the eyes, wrinkles or other signs of age, and a smiling mouth with prominent lower lip (Soliman 2012, 118; Connor in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 89; Connor 2020, 54–7). At the same time, each face is individualised with distinctive features (Connor 2009, 41–2; Connor in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 89), as is observable in the furrowed brow of Amenemhat-Senebef, the slender face of Hor, and the severity of Imyremesha (Connor 2020, 49–50, 54). These features create an image of each king that is recognisable and specific, without necessarily being an accurate depiction of that king's

physiognomy (Connor in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 89; Laboury 2016, 74–7; Connor 2020, 441–2), but one that also establishes an overall style of representation typical of the Thirteenth Dynasty. It is this characteristic set of features that allows other anepigraphic statues to be attributed to the early Thirteenth Dynasty but not to any specific king, such as the prayer pose statue (ÄM 10337: §6.1.9) and the *kebepresh* head (ÄM 13255: §6.1.9).

All of the extant faces of royal statuary from the early Thirteenth Dynasty are youthful. Only Hor and Imyremesha, and possibly Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, have multiple preserved examples of their faces, and among them, there is no evidence of an accompanying aged-face type of statue such as is attested for Senwosret III and Amenemhat III (Connor 2020, 27–30, 36, 38–41). Given the small sample size both of the corpus overall and of the kings with more than one extant example of their face, it is possible that aged faces may have existed among other statues which have not survived (Connor 2009, 47). There are more extant statues of the longer-reigning mid-Thirteenth Dynasty kings such as Neferhotep I and his brother Khaneferre Sobekhotep III, who have four and ten statues respectively (Connor 2020, 59, 64). Although there are notable differences which distinguish mid-Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary from that of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, such as an increasingly stylised and geometric treatment of the torso, a softer, fuller face, and the reintroduction of the pouch necklace associated with Senwosret III on the statues of Neferhotep I in particular (Connor 2009, 43; 2020, 59–62, 64–6; Saladino Haney 2020, 317), their statues nevertheless all only attest a youthful face also. When the statues of both the early and mid-Thirteenth Dynasty are considered together, then, they suggest that the youthful type was used consistently and exclusively throughout the Thirteenth Dynasty. It has been hypothesized that the youthful presentation may reflect real-world biology, with the short reigns of most Thirteenth Dynasty kings meaning that that they ‘did not have enough time to mature’ into an aged portrait (Do. Arnold 2015a, 72). However, it has also been argued that the shortness of their reigns could equally be attributed to a series of elderly kings passing in quick succession (Quirke 1991, 138). In the late Twelfth Dynasty, a youthful statue of

Amenemhat III from Hawara is attributed to his mortuary temple and, biologically counter-intuitively, is among the latest dateable statues from his reign (Do. Arnold 2015a, 72; Connor 2020, 42), while Senwosret III is depicted in both youthful and aged style in the same context, such as the series of praying statues from Deir el-Bahri (TR 18.4.22.4, BM EA 684–6: Laboury 2016, 77–9). These suggest that the age variations in royal statuary in the late Twelfth Dynasty did not reflect a biological reality, but were ideologically shaped (Tefnin 1992, 147–56; Do. Arnold 2015a, 70–1; Laboury 2016, 77–84; Saladino Haney 2020, 144–55), and so the continuation of only the youthful type into the Thirteenth Dynasty should also be understood as a deliberate ideological choice, which Dorothea Arnold terms ‘iconic youthfulness’ (2015a, 72). Although early Thirteenth Dynasty royal sculpture demonstrates a return to a more traditional, idealised, image of the king, as attested in the early Twelfth Dynasty (Do. Arnold 2015a, 69; Lorand 2015, 214–5), it also shows pronounced naturalism and subtlety in the modelling of personal features, which may reflect the sculptural techniques developed in the late Twelfth Dynasty (Do. Arnold 2015a, 72). Iconic bodily perfection may assert an absence of deviation from the established norms of kingship, which seemingly contrasts with the actual circumstances of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Assmann 1996, 70–1; Connor 2009, 44; Lorand 2015, 214).

Although the absence of the aged type is a significant point of difference from the mid-Twelfth to the Thirteenth Dynasty, several scholars have noted similarities between the early Thirteenth Dynasty face and that of youthful statues of Amenemhat III (Fay 1988, 68–77; Do. Arnold 2015a, 72; Connor 2020, 56). The treatment of the eye is particularly similar, with its almond shape and pointed outer canthi that do not overlap (Fay 1988, 69 n. 20; Connor 2020, 449). In contrast, the eyes of Senwosret III have a globular shape and overlapping canthi (Fay 1988, 69 n. 20; Connor 2020, 448). Moreover, although a true smile had not been typical of royal statuary since the early Twelfth Dynasty (Lorand 2011, 37; Connor 2020, 447), a restrained hint of a smile is occasionally detected in statues of Amenemhat III (for example: Hermitage 729, JE 42995: Fay 1988, 69–70, pl. 25, 26a; CG 383, BM EA 1063: Connor 2020, pl. 18 fig. 2.5.1.2b–c).

In these specific features then, the early Thirteenth Dynasty face may have been influenced by the youthful self-presentation of Amenemhat III, although overall, the facial physiognomy of early Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary is distinctive from that of the late Twelfth.

6.1.13 The body

Thirteen of the fourteen identified statues in this corpus depict a human body, while the remaining statue is the sphinx of Amenemhat-Senebef. The torsos or legs of eleven of these thirteen statues were preserved to varying extents. The unidentified prayer pose statue also provides a further example of a preserved early Thirteenth Dynasty torso (ÄM 10337: fig. 6.13). Compared to the exaggerated proportions and powerful athletic bodies of late Twelfth Dynasty sculpture, there is a more naturalistic approach to the proportions and modelling of the torso in the early Thirteenth Dynasty (Connor 2009, 53; Do. Arnold 2015a, 71–2; Laboury 2016, 77), although a similarly naturalistic treatment of the body may occasionally also be seen in statuary of Amenemhat III (for example, CG 385: Fay 1996, 127–8, fig. 18). Among the earlier statues of this group, such as the statues of Amenemhat-Senebef and Hor, the waist is narrow but not exaggeratedly so (Fay 1988, 72; Connor 2020, 49–50). The later statues of Khendjer and Imyremesha have larger bodily proportions, with broader shoulders and thicker waists, but still with limited muscle definition (Soliman 2010, 78; Connor 2020, 54–6). The arms are typically smooth and cylindrical with little sculptural detail, while the legs are typically heavy-set with schematized rendering of the knee and calf muscles, and a prominent tibia carved as a thin ridge down the shin (Davies 1981, 5–6; Sourouzian 1988, 242; Soliman 2012, 118–19).

6.1.14 Pose

The pose can be determined in twelve of the thirteen identified anthropoid statues of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, all except for the statuette of Khendjer (JE 53668: fig. 6.9). Of these twelve, the *ka*-statue and statuette of Hor were the only extant striding statues (CG 259: fig. 6.6; CG

1163: fig. 6.7). The remaining ten statues were all seated on thrones. The stylistically attributed statues also add one example of a prayer pose (ÄM 10337: fig. 6.13), while the ‘Osirid’ heads from Medamud were presumably in a standing pose, engaged to pillars (§6.1.9). Several of the statue types attested in this corpus were introduced during the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties, such as the prayer pose and ‘Osirid’ form (§6.1.9).

One detail of particular significance is the position of the hands on seated statues. The statuette of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep has the left hand flat on the thigh and the right gripping a folded cloth (MFA 14.726: fig. 6.1), while all other early Thirteenth Dynasty seated statues with both hands preserved have them placed flat on their thighs (Vienna ÄS 37 + Aswan 1318: fig. 6.2; JE 37466, JE 37467: fig. 6.10). The right hand gripping the cloth is typical of the statuary of Senwosret III and earlier (Connor 2020, 230; Saladino Haney 2020, 195), whereas both hands placed flat is first securely attested in royal statuary under Amenemhat III (Fay 1988, 71; Connor 2020, 230; Saladino Haney 2020, 268). There are two royal colossi with their hands in this position whose identity is uncertain due to later re-use (JE 45975, JE 45976: Connor 2020, 334), which have been attributed on stylistic grounds to Senwosret III (Soliman 2019, 97–105) or Amenemhat IV (Connor 2016, 88–93). If these colossi are to be attributed to Senwosret III, they would be the earliest known royal appearance of both hands flat on the thighs, but even so, this would be a rare or isolated precursor, as there are no other known attestations of this hand position under Senwosret III (Soliman 2019, 98). The position remains most associated with Amenemhat III, and is consistently used from Amenemhat III into the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

6.1.15 Iconography

The iconography of royal statuary in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period has been thoroughly examined in several recent studies (Soliman 2010, 55–76; 2012, 113–19; Connor 2020, 236–41; Saladino Haney 2020, 175–97, 251–69). A comparison of the iconography of the early Thirteenth Dynasty with that of Amenemhat III and Senwosret III is revealing, particularly

in the types and styling of headdresses, beards, jewellery, and the presence or absence of a bull's tail and the nine bows.

The headdresses of the early Thirteenth Dynasty show considerable variety relative to the corpus size: the statuette of Khendjer wears the *kehat* (JE 53668: fig. 6.9), while the statue of Amenemhat-Senebef and both colossi of Imyremesha wear the *nemes* (Vienna ÄS 37 + Aswan 1318: fig. 6.2; JE 37476; JE 37467: fig. 6.10). The *ka*-statue and statuette of Hor both wear a tripartite wig (CG 259: fig. 6.6; CG 1163: fig. 6.7), using divine rather than royal iconography as is appropriate for depictions of the king's *ka* (Nyord 2019, 183). The stylistically attributed statues also add the *kehepresb* and white crown to the corpus (ÄM 13255: fig. 6.14; Louvre E 12924, JE 58926, JE 54857: fig. 6.15). In a similar manner, Amenemhat III is depicted in a variety of headdresses, including the white crown, double crown, *kehat*, the Amun crown, and a unique Nilotic wig, although the *nemes* is still the most common (Saladino Haney 2020, 252–4). In contrast, statues of Senwosret III are depicted in a more restricted number of headdresses, with the *nemes* appearing on an overwhelming majority of his statues, with only the white and double crowns otherwise attested for this king (Saladino Haney 2020, 176–7).

As the most common headdress, the *nemes* provides other detailed points of comparison, such as pattern and shape. All the *nemes* of the early Thirteenth Dynasty have a double-stripe pattern (Soliman 2012, 114). Both double and triple-stripe patterns are common during the reign of Amenemhat III (Saladino Haney 2020, 252–4), whereas the triple-stripe pattern is predominantly used under Senwosret III (Saladino Haney 2020, 177–9). The *nemes* of Amenemhat-Senebef and one of the colossi are only partly preserved, and their overall shape cannot be determined. On the other colossus, the wings of the *nemes* are wide, similar to the late Twelfth Dynasty (Connor 2020, 239). The dome has accentuated peaks which are also common to statues of Amenemhat III from Karnak and in the later Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties (Fay 1988, 68 n. 17; Soliman 2012, 113–14).

A further feature that is related to headdresses is the form of the uraeus. In the early Thirteenth Dynasty, uraei are found on the three statues wearing the *nemes* (Vienna ÄS 37 + Aswan 1318: fig. 6.2; JE 37466, JE 37467: fig. 6.10), as well as the *khat* on the statuette of Khendjer (JE 53668: fig. 6.9). The bodies of the uraei always form a winding s-shape, but may vary in the tightness of their coils, and the direction of the initial coil (Soliman 2012, 115; Connor 2020, pl. 145 fig. 6.3.4.1e). The uraei of Amenemhat III vary in number, tightness, and direction of their coils but are also invariably winding (Saladino Haney 2020, 257–8). On the other hand, a winding body is found on less than half of the extant uraei of Senwosret III. Instead, the most common form of uraeus under Senwosret III has a circular body (Saladino Haney 2020, 180–2). The hoods of the early Thirteenth Dynasty uraei are not preserved. From Senwosret III into the early Thirteenth Dynasty then, the headdresses of royal statuary show a transition from a triple-stripe to a double-stripe pattern in the *nemes*, and from a circular to a winding uraeus body.

Beards are found on three of the six preserved early Thirteenth Dynasty faces: the *ka*-statue of Hor wears a divine beard (CG 259: fig. 6.6), while beards were partially preserved on both the colossi of Imyremesha (JE 37466, JE 37467: fig. 6.10). This seems to be a point of difference from the late Twelfth Dynasty, as beards are uncommon on both the statuary of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III (Saladino Haney 2020, 186–8, 262–3). In this case, however, the types of statues preserved may explain this divergence. Divine iconography including the beard is typically found on anthropomorphic depictions of the royal *ka*, and so it is to be expected on the *ka*-statue of Hor (Nyord 2019, 181–3). Among the statues of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, beards are most commonly found on colossi (Connor 2020, 239–40), including two colossi of Amenemhat III from Bubastis (CG 383, BM EA 1063: Connor 2020, pl. 18 fig. 2.5.1.2b–c; Saladino Haney 2020, 262), and two colossi of Senwosret III from Karnak (CG 42011, CG 42012: Connor 2020, pl. 68 fig. 3.1.9.1a; Saladino Haney 2020, 187). As such, the statistical prevalence of beards in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, in contrast to its limited use in

the late Twelfth Dynasty, may be due to the particular types of statues preserved in the early Thirteenth Dynasty corpus. All the remaining non-colossal, seated statues of the early Thirteenth Dynasty do not wear a beard, consistent with those of the late Twelfth Dynasty.

Three further revealing elements of iconography are jewellery, the nine bows, and ceremonial bull's tail. The statues of Senwosret III typically wear a distinctive amulet necklace, and a bracelet on the right wrist (Saladino Haney 2020, 188–90). The amulet necklace is commonly attested in non-royal relief and statuary of the Old Kingdom, but by the reign of Senwosret III, it had seemingly become an almost exclusively royal privilege (Baines 2006a, 10–13; Connor 2020, 241). Outside of royal statuary, it is otherwise attested in the Middle Kingdom only on a statue of the nomarch Sarenput II (Elephantine 13: Habachi 1985, pl. 30), an unidentified wooden statue from Haragah (Liverpool 1.9.14.1: Connor 2020, pl. 131 fig. 5.15c), and a statue re-used in the Late Period from Tuna el-Gebel (JE 58508: Gabra 1932, pl. 3). Both the necklace and bracelet occur only rarely in the statuary of Amenemhat III and, with one exception, not at all in the early Thirteenth Dynasty (Soliman 2010, 67; Saladino Haney 2020, 263–4). The one exception is the statue of Amenemhat-Senebef, on which the amulet necklace was originally carved but then removed (Fay 1988, 72). Similarly, the bull's tail and nine bows are typically present on the statuary of Senwosret III, but absent on that of Amenemhat III (Saladino Haney 2020, 193–6, 268). In the early Thirteenth Dynasty, the bull's tail is predominantly absent, although it does appear on the statuette of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (Ryholt 1998b, 32; Soliman 2012, 116), and the nine bows do not occur among the extant statuary (Soliman 2010, 76).

A comparison of iconographic elements between the statuary of Senwosret III, Amenemhat III, and the early Thirteenth Dynasty reveals a consistent pattern: where the iconography differs between statues of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III—like the patterning on the *nemes*, the shape of the uraeus' body, and the presence or absence of jewellery, the bull's tail, and the nine bows—the statuary of the early Thirteenth Dynasty consistently follows that

of Amenemhat III. The same is true in the positioning of the hands, where the early Thirteenth Dynasty adopt the flat hands typical of Amenemhat III (Connor 2020, 230; Saladino Haney 2020, 195, 268). The only exceptions to this emulation of Amenemhat III occur on the statuette of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, which has the bull's tail and the folded cloth in the right hand (Ryholt 1998b, 32), and on the statue of Amenemhat-Senebef, which was originally carved wearing the necklace characteristic of Senwosret III (Fay 1988, 72; Saladino Haney 2020, 188). The potential significance of these exceptions will be discussed later (§6.3). The statues of the Thirteenth Dynasty show a similar tendency towards variety in headdresses as those of Amenemhat III, and both introduce innovative iconographic elements such as the unique Nilotic wigs attested under Amenemhat III, or the *kebepresh* crown to statuary in the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

6.1.16 Context

Alongside their physical features and iconography, the context of statuary is also significant. While three-dimensional sculpture may be monumental in its own right, like the colossi of Imyremesha, statues were situated in monumental contexts that may impact the statue as much as the statue impacts the space (Quirke 2010a, 59). The placement of statuary within existing architecture may be a means of appropriating that space, which is particularly significant for kings like those of the early Thirteenth Dynasty with few monuments of their own (McCormack 2008, 112; Nyord 2020, 57–8). Almost every statue in this corpus has a recorded find-spot (table 6.1), with the exception of the stylistically attributed praying statue and *kebepresh* head in the Berlin Museum (ÄM 10337, 13255: Connor 2020, 273–4). However, the original context of almost all these statues is uncertain. Many were relocated in antiquity, such as the movement of the statuette of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep to Kerma (Ryholt 1998b, 32), or the colossi of Imyremesha to Tanis, presumably via Avaris and Piramesse (Hill 2015, 294–5), while others were probably moved to new placements within the same general location, such as the statue of

Amenemhat-Senebef, which was apparently removed from the temple of Satet to the nearby shrine of Heqaib in Elephantine (Fay 1988, 68). Others still were re-purposed entirely post-antiquity, such as the sphinx of Amenemhat-Senebef which had been re-used as building material in a medieval doorway (Connor 2020, 49). Accordingly, the contexts of all these statues and how they may have interacted with their environment is not preserved. For the statues with a known broad provenance, the majority come from Upper Egypt, although this range may be partly or largely due to the preservation conditions that favour Upper Egypt (Quirke 2010a, 59; Soliman 2010, 50–1).

A number of the royal statues of the early Thirteenth Dynasty were seemingly placed in locations associated with the late Twelfth Dynasty, and particularly Amenemhat III. A secure example is the statue of Intef IV that was found in the temple of Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV at Medinet Madi, immediately beside a statue of Amenemhat III (Donadoni 1952, 6–7). Other probable cases are the sphinx of Amenemhat-Senebef which may have been associated with sphinxes of Senwosret III and Amenemhat IV at Heliopolis (§6.1.2), and the praying statue of an unidentified early Thirteenth Dynasty king that may have been added to the sequence of praying statues of Amenemhat III at Karnak (Connor 2020, 51, pl. 69 fig. 3.1.9.1b). The colossi of Imyremesha, and the larger-than-life-size statue of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef have inscriptions which link them to Memphis, where colossi of Senwosret II and Amenemhat III are also attested (Ryholt 1998a, 2; Connor 2020, 56, 135), while the *sed*-statue of Wegaf was plausibly associated with the stela and statue of Senwosret III at Semna (Vercoutter 1975, 278).

Assmann (1996a, 64) suggested that royal statuary may be understood as ‘semiotic’, using physical forms and iconography in self-representations to communicate a specific message. This raises the question of possible audiences: to whom were these statues communicating? Statues were typically housed in cultic or funerary temples—such as the statuettes of Wegaf from Karnak and the temple of Taharqa at Semna (§6.1.5), or the statue of Intef from Medinet Madi (§6.1.8)—places which arguably had highly restricted access (Baines 1990, 6–7; Nyord 2020, 47–

50; Price 2021, 33–8). Such placements in centres of religion and high culture with restricted access are thought to be a means of maintaining social hierarchies and institutional power structures (Baines 1990, 6; Baines and Yoffee 1998, 232–8; Riggs 2014, 163–8), ensuring that their message was conveyed to a targeted audience of the powerful elite. Other statues in this corpus, however, were deposited in sealed tombs, such as the *ka*-statue and statuette of Hor (§6.1.4), or buried in caches, such as the statue of Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef from Qantir (§6.1.3), where their accessibility was not just limited but intentionally non-existent, and their function cannot depend on being viewed by an audience (Nyord 2020, 47–50; Price 2021, 33). There has been a move towards understanding statues not only as representations, but as ontological objects with agency: they do not simply communicate specific qualities through symbols and iconography, but may rather manifest and effect those qualities (Bahrani 2013, 103–8; Frood 2019, 3–17; Nyord 2020, 4–6; Connor 2022, 1–4). Just as a statue of a deity gives physical, worldly form to the intangible divine (Assmann 2001, 46; Meskell 2004, 90), these statues may be understood as ‘a capturing of powers in material form’ (Nyord 2020, 50), able to embody and bestow desired qualities on their referents (Meskell 2004, 7). Thus, the *ka*-statue of Hor did not just convey the king’s legitimacy, the *sed*-statuette of Wegaf did not just symbolise the continuous affirmation of royal authority, and the colossi of Imyremesha did not just portray an image of the king’s strength, but rather, the statues imbued their kings with these qualities. Of course, the statues may also have been viewed and these messages perceived by viewers, especially during process of creation, erection, or later transport and deposition (Meskell 2004, 2–6), but the ontological purpose of the statue did not require an audience to function (Nyord 2020, 50). Connor describes the ‘physical perfection’ and ‘young, smiling, idealized image’ of royal statuary conveying an image of traditional royal power in the Thirteenth Dynasty as ‘a detachment from apparent reality’ of their actual political circumstances (2009, 44). An ontological reading might suggest that the idealised royal figures of early Thirteenth Dynasty statuary did not convey any

ignorance or denial of their historical circumstances, but could instead have served to manifest traditional royal power and stability in response to their circumstances.

6.2 The king in relief

The kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty are even more infrequently attested in relief than in statuary. The most extensive examples of royal reliefs come from a portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep at Medamud (Eder 2002, 87–102). There are also four small stelae: three from Gebel el-Zeit respectively bearing images of Nebnun (JE 98137: Marée 2009, 149–51), Sehotepibre (Bonn L 1628: Marée 2009, 151–5), and Nebmaatre, and one of Wegaf from Mirgissa (Khartoum IM.375: Vercoutter 1975, 222, pl. 22a). Finally, there is a very small object of unknown provenance which depicts the nomen and figure of Hor on one side, and the prenomen of Amenemhat III on the other (Berlin ÄM 7670: Aufrère 2001, 8–10).

6.2.1 The portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep

A portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep from Medamud (PM V, 145–6) is arguably the largest and best-preserved piece of non-funerary architecture to survive from the early Thirteenth Dynasty. More than thirty decorated limestone blocks of the portal were discovered in the 1920s, having been re-used in the foundation of the later Ptolemaic temple at Medamud (Willems 1984, 103; Eder 2002, 85–7, pl. 42–6). The portal is now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (JE 56496: Siesse 2019, 371) and, as reconstructed, measures 6.22 metres tall, 3.5 metres wide, and 5.5 metres thick (Eder 2002, 91, 101). In addition to the front and rear façades, the substantial thickness of the portal created an internal passage (fig. 6.16). Blocks were found from both facades, as well as both the left and right passage walls. The blocks from the walls were only roughly dressed on the outer faces, indicating that the gate was originally embedded into a larger structure (Eder 2002, 87). The 5.5 metre thickness of the gate is the same as that of the temple's main enclosure wall,

suggesting that it was embedded in this wall (Eder 2002, 101, 127, pl. 56; Relats Montserrat 2016, 135).

As previously discussed (§1.2.1), Quirke (2006, 264–5) has questioned whether all the blocks belong to a single monument, particularly the blocks attributed to the right inner wall where the king is identified by the Horus name *mnḥ-ib:f*, rather than by prenomen or nomen (blocks 17 + 32: Siesse 2019, 56 fig. 4). He describes the modern restoration as a ‘superb exhibition piece’ but one which has ‘imposed an emphatic new reality’ (Quirke 2006, 264). Siesse (2019, 57), however, has convincingly demonstrated that the face of *mnḥ-ib:f* on these internal blocks is stylistically consistent with the face of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep on the front and rear façades: the king has limited sculptural detailing of the eye and ear, a prominent nose, a pronounced smile, and square jaw. He also wears a collar with five rows of rectangular beads and no lower border (Siesse 2019, 57, fig. 5). These features distinguish him from the other kings attested at Medamud, Senwosret III and Sobekemsaf I, which suggests that none of these blocks should be attributed to the known monuments of those kings (Siesse 2019, 57–8). The stylistic consistency supports the attribution of all the blocks to a single monument of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, including those where he is not identified by name.

There are six scenes on the inner walls of the portal. Each wall has two registers. On the left wall, there are two scenes in each register (fig. 6.17). On the right, however, there is only one scene in each register (fig. 6.18), with the right side of this wall left as ‘einer breiten undekorierten Wandfläche ein, an der die einflügelige Tür angeschlossen’ (Eder 2002, 95). Although fragmentary, all six scenes can be identified either through diagnostic details or preserved captions. On the left inner wall, the lower register contains a scene captioned ‘introducing the king into the temple of Montu’, with the king led by Horus of Behedet and Thoth, as well as a scene of the king offering *šꜥt* loaves (Eder 2002, 96–8). The upper register contains two scenes

Image redacted

Figure 6.16 Plan of the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, JE 56496 (Eder 2002, pl. 42).

Image redacted

Figure 6.17 Left interior wall of the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (Eder 2002, pl. 45).

Image redacted

Figure 6.18 Right interior wall of the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (Eder 2002, pl. 44).

of the king making offerings, of meat on the left and a *nmst*-vessel on the right (Eder 2002, 98–9). On the right wall, the lower register depicts the king offering incense, while the upper register shows him ‘[praising the god] four times’ (Eder 2002, 95–6).

The king’s figure is depicted in each scene, but is fully preserved only once, in the scene of offering incense, where he wears a pleated kilt with bull’s tail, collar, and the red crown. He also wears a pleated kilt with bull’s tail in the scenes of offering *šꜥt* loaves, a *nmst* vessel, but in the praising scene he wears a short kilt and belt with a decorated hanging panel instead. Headdresses vary across the scenes. In addition to the red crown, the king wears the double crown in the scene of being led into the temple, and the *kebresh* in the offering of *šꜥt* loaves; as previously mentioned (§6.1.9), this is the earliest attestation of the *kebresh* (Davies 1982, 71). The king wears an unusual feathered pattern headdress with uraeus in the scene of offering a *nmst*-vessel, which is shown in a detailed drawing of the headdress (Cottevielle-Giraudet 1933, pl. 14), although it is not shown on either published reconstruction (Cottevielle-Giraudet 1933, pl. 6; Eder 2002, pl. 45). The variety of headdresses on this portal is similar to the variety seen in the extant royal statuary of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§6.1.15).

The rear façade of the portal is unevenly preserved, with the lintel almost entirely preserved and the jambs almost entirely lost (fig. 6.19). However, the extant blocks suggest that the decoration on this façade was organised similarly to that seen on the north façade of a portal of Amenemhat II at Hermopolis (Balcz and Bittel 1932, 27–34, pl. 3), with the lintel decorated with figurative scenes and captions, and the jambs with inscriptions only. The lintel is decorated with a double scene of the king making offerings to Montu, and has mirrored inscriptions (Eder 2002, 99–101). In both scenes, the king is depicted wearing a crown, beard, collar, kilt with uraei panel, and a bull’s tail. On the left, he wears the double-plumed crown, while on the right, he wears the white crown. The central caption on the left identifies the offering as milk, while the offering on the right is identified as wine. Fragments of the jambs show that they were each

Image redacted

Figure 6.19 Rear façade of the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (Eder 2002, pl. 46).

inscribed with two vertical columns of hieroglyphs.

In her study of the legitimation of Senwosret I, Hirsch (2008, 4) draws a distinction between themes which are typical in the repertoire of royal iconography and so represent kingship as an established institution, and themes which are rare or even unique to a particular king and so may offer more insight into the ideology of an individual kingship. The eight scenes from the interior walls and rear lintel of the Medamud portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep are well-attested in the extant temple reliefs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties. For example, although the gods differ appropriate to the context, the motif of the king being led into a temple is also known from the Temple at Tod, where Montuhotep III is shown being led by Montu and Tjanenet (Di. Arnold 1975, 182, pl. 53), and from the temple at Medinet Madi, where Amenemhat III is led by Sobek-Horus and Anubis (Bresciani and Giammarusti 2012, 81). The offering of *šꜣt* loaves is seen on the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, pl. 15 [7–8]), on a lintel of Senwosret III also from Medamud (Cottevielle-Giraudet 1933, pl. 9), and in a wall scene of Amenemhat III from the temple at Medinet Madi (Bresciani and Giammarusti 2012, 95). The motifs of offering meat and praising four times are both known, for example, from the temple of Montuhotep III at Armant (Mond 1940, pl. 88, 94), the White Chapel of Senwosret I (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, pl. 24 [25], 27 [1–2]), and perhaps most significantly, on a portal of Senwosret III also from Medamud (Cottevielle-Giraudet 1933, pl. 2). Scenes of offering a *nmst*-vessel are similarly known from a chapel of Senwosret I also from Karnak (Traunecker 1982, 123), and a relief of Amenemhat IV from the Shrine of the Kings at Serabit el-Khadim (Gardiner, Peet et al. 1917 I, pl. 47 [125a–c]; Pignattari 2018, 173–5, fig 27a), while the offering of incense is known from the White Chapel (Lacau and Chevrier 1956, pl. 21 [19], 37 [22]), and a wall scene of Amenemhat III from Medinet Madi (Bresciani and Giammarusti 2012, 87). Scenes of offering milk and wine are both also known from the White Chapel where, just as in the double scene on this lintel from the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, they share a physical context on different sides of the same column (Lacau and

Chevrier 1956, pl. 20 [17–8]). These scenes thus all seemingly belong to a standard repertoire of royal display.

Notably absent from the decorative programme of this portal is the sort of specific emulation of Amenemhat III observed in other aspects of early Thirteenth Dynasty royal self-presentation such as statuary. Instead, this portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep appears to be particularly influenced by a portal of Senwosret III also from Medamud (Cottevielle-Giraudet 1933, pl. 1–2; Willems 1984, 103–4, pl. 7). The portal of Senwosret III stood 5.9 metres tall and 3.5 metres wide, so the two portals have a similar physical shape and dimensions in addition to their shared provenance from Medamud (Eder 2002, 91–2); both portals are now displayed beside each other in the Egyptian Museum. While the interior decorative programme of the gate of Senwosret III is less well preserved than that of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, with only three identifiable scenes from the left inner wall remaining, at least two scenes are attested on both gates—the offering of meat, and the scene of praising four times (Cottevielle-Giraudet 1933, pl. 2; Eder 2002, pl. 44–5). Most striking, however, are the similarities between the (as yet undiscussed) front façades, where the gate of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep ‘meticulously copied’ that of Senwosret III (Willems 1984, 103). These façades are both largely preserved and decorated with *sed*-imagery (fig. 6.20–1).

The central panel of the lintels from both portals are decorated with double-scenes of their respective kings back-to-back, enthroned in pavilions and wearing the short *sed*-cloak. On the left, the kings wear the red crown and face an emblematic standard with anthropomorphised arms topped with a falcon identified as Horus of Behedet. On the right, they wear the white crown and the standard is topped with an animal identified as Seth of Nubt. In both scenes, the king’s hands and one of the standard’s arms together grasp a palm branch which emerges from the head of the deity Heh, representing a million years, among other signs that are often found in association with *sed*-festival imagery (Eder 2002, 92). The other arm of the standards holds an

Image redacted

Figure 6.20 Front *sed*-façade of the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (Eder 2002, pl. 43).

Image redacted

Figure 6.21 Front *sed*-façade of the portal of Senwosret III (Willems 1984, pl. 7).

object which Eder cautiously identifies as an ‘Opfer(?) gefäß’, while another similar looking object hangs from the crook of the arm, connected to a chain of signs expressing numbers from ‘a million’ to ‘a thousand’ in descending order, which presumably represent an abundance of years. Both pavilions sit on a shared base, beneath a winged sun-disk with double uraei. On either side of the central panels and continuing down the jambs of both monuments are a series of scenes in which a deity standing before a chapel makes offerings to a royal name in cartouche. On the left jamb, the deities appear before northern *pr-nw* chapels, and on the right, before southern *pr-wr* chapels, while the cartouche names alternate vertically between prenomen and nomen down each jamb. This arrangement suggests that the portals of both Senwosret III and Amenemhat-Sobekhotep were located in the western enclosure wall, so that the north chapels on the jamb scenes and the red crown of Lower Egypt in the central scene would be placed on the northern side of the façade, and the south chapels and the white crown on the southern side (Nivet-Sambin 2008, 321–2; Relats Montserrat 2016, 130–1, 135). There is also a single long column of inscription on either side of the central scene of the lintel and continuing down the jambs, running almost the full height of the decorated area and separating the central double-pavilion scene from the vertical scenes on both portals. It is bounded by two vertical lines framing the text in the form of palm branches, visually complementing the texts which promise a long reign.

As with the scenes on the other walls of the portals, the *sed*-imagery used on these façades are well-established motifs in royal monumental display, with parallels found in reliefs of Amenemhat I from his pyramid temple at Lisht (JE 40484: Jánosi 2016, pl. 30), a lintel of Amenemhat III from Bubastis (Farid 1964, pl. 10), and continuing into the New Kingdom (Di. Arnold 1997, 82; Eder 2002, 92 n. 236). Much like the *sed*-statuette of Wegaf, the use of *sed*-imagery on the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep cannot be associated with an actual thirty year jubilee as his highest attested regnal year is Year 4 (Ryholt 1997b, 193), but the iconography may be used to represent the renewal and affirmation of royal authority. Moreover, just as the *sed*-

statuette of Wegaf may have been inspired by the *sed*-statue of Senwosret III at Semna, the use of *sed*-imagery on the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep may have drawn directly on the older portal of Senwosret III at Medamud. This may be particularly evident in one specific detail: the triangular pedestals of the standards in the central scenes of the lintel. In the scenes of Senwosret III, the pedestals obscure the point where the pavilion-base meets the ground. In contrast, in the scenes of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, the pedestals and standards are closer to the king and overlap more with the pavilion-base. The changed angle between the base and the standard then means that the outer line of the base of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep should visibly extend past the pedestal to meet the ground, but it does not. This small error in design or execution may suggest that the scenes do not just derive from a standard corpus of iconography, but that the scene of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep was directly copied from that of Senwosret III, with such details replicated even when not strictly correct for the changed proportions of the later version.

6.2.2 Figural stelae

In addition to the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, there are only four extant relief depictions of other kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty—Nebnun, Sehotepibre, Iwefni, and Wegaf—each found on a single stela. The four stelae are all small and primarily figurative, with most of the surface of each stela given to a depiction of their respective king and limited accompanying inscription.

The stelae of Nebnun and Sehotepibre were both discovered at Gebel el-Zeit, a site established in the Twelfth Dynasty to mine galena (Castel and Soukiassian 1989, 8–9; Pinch 1993, 71). In addition to the mines, a shrine to Hathor was constructed at Gebel el-Zeit. Originally a rock-cut shrine, it was rebuilt as a free-standing shrine in the Eighteenth Dynasty, usually dated to the reign of Amenhotep III (Pinch 1993, 72, 75–6; Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 2–5).

Although Hathor was the chief deity of the region, a number of other deities were also attested

on votive offerings from the site (Pinch 1993, 73; Marée 2009, 147). One limestone stela records a mining expedition during the reign of Amenemhat III (SA 550: Castel and Soukiassian 1985, 288; Pinch 1993, 74; Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 11–12), which indicates at least one official royal expedition to Gebel el-Zeit in the Twelfth Dynasty. However, the majority of material discovered at the shrines reflects local community rather than state-sponsored religious practice (Pinch 1993, 76–7).

Four fragments of a stela of Nebnun were found scattered in and around the shrine (JE 98137: Pinch 1993, 76; Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 10 plan 3). Two of the fragments were joined on site, and a third was attributed to the same stela although it did not join to the other pieces (Stela 3: Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 15). The fourth fragment was originally treated as a separate stela (Stela 6: Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 21), although it was subsequently shown to join with, and connect, the other pieces (Marée 2009, 149–50). It is a miniature round-topped stela, with a full width of 19.5 centimetres, and a preserved height of approximately 23 centimetres, made of faience and decorated with black paint on both faces (Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 15; Marée 2009, 149–51). It is both the only contemporary attestation of Nebnun (Siesse 2019, 375), and the earliest known example of a stela made from faience (Staring 2016, 347 n. 24). Faience is often associated with Hathor due to its turquoise colour, and votive offerings made from it are found abundantly at sites dedicated to Hathor like Gebel el-Zeit (Pinch 1993, 329–31; Miniaci 2018, 142). Faience was also valued for its transformative efflorescing abilities as a symbol of renewal (Miniaci 2018, 141–2; Nyord 2020, 32–3).

The lunette is the same on both faces of the stela. A winged sun-disk fills the curved top, with an accompanying name and title between them. Beneath the lunette on each face is a horizontal line of text, divided roughly centrally, that separates the lunette from the main scene and names the figures below. On the first side (fig. 6.22), the king is identified by his prenomen, Semenkare, and called ‘beloved of Ptah-south-of-his-wall, lord of Maat’. He is depicted offering a *nms*-vessel to Ptah, who is standing in a shrine and holding a *wꜣs*-sceptre. The king wears the

kb̄at-headdress with uraeus, a simple kilt and belt decorated with a triple-stripe pattern and uraei, and the bull's tail. Traces of a column caption between the king and deity read [*nd̄*]-*hr m* [*nm*]*st*, 'presenting a *nmst*-vessel' (Marée 2009, 150). There are two irregular features in this composition: the roof of Ptah's shrine appears to form the lower register line of the left inscription, and the final signs of both inscriptions are not written within the horizontal register lines but instead below them, in the spaces behind the heads of Ptah and Nebnun respectively.

Image redacted

Figure 6.22 Stela of Nebnun, JE 98137 (Marée 2009, 149–50 fig. 1–2).

On the second side of this stela, the king is identified by nomen, Nebnun, and called 'beloved of Horus, lord of the foreign lands'. Horus, lord of the foreign lands, is found frequently on votive material from Gebel el-Zeit (Pinch 1993, 73). Very little of the king's figure is preserved, only his head wearing the *kb̄at* with uraeus, and faded traces of one raised hand. There is also a plume of smoke beside his hand, which presumably rises from an incense bowl held in the king's other hand, although neither bowl nor hand is preserved (Marée 2009, 151; Lorand 2010, 100). Traces

of a caption column between the king and deity read *ir[t s]ntr*, ‘offering incense’ (Marée 2009, 151; Lorand 2010, 102). As with the other side, the final sign on either side of the inscription has not been written within the register lines, but below. Perhaps this initially occurred in one of the four inscriptions because of an error with spacing and was repeated for symmetry. The scenes of offering of incense and a *nmst*-vessel are standard royal motifs that are also attested in monumental royal relief including, for example, on the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (§6.2.1), albeit at a very different scale.

The second stela from Gebel el-Zeit is of Sehotepibre, and is broken into two fragments. The upper portion was unprovenanced, having entered the Egyptian Museum in Bonn from a private collection (Bonn L 1628: Pieke 2006, 61). The lower fragment was found at Gebel el-Zeit, but its precise context was not recorded and its current location is now unknown (Stela 4: Mey, Castel et al. 1980, 303–4; Bennett 1997, 15; Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 17–18). The theoretical join between the two pieces was proposed by Marée (2009, 151–2). There is also some uncertainty over the type of stone of the stela: the lower portion has been described as basalt (Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 17), and the upper as greywacke (Marée 2009, 155; Pieke 2006, 61). It is a miniature round-topped stela, like the stela of Nebnun, measuring 14.5 centimetres high and 6.9 centimetres wide, and is decorated with finely-done incision (Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 17; Marée 2009, 152).

Under a winged sun-disk in the lunette, there are five columns of inscription which identify the two figures below: the king is named by his prenomen, Sewadjentre, and the facing text describes him as ‘beloved of Maat, the daughter of Re’ (fig. 6.23). This fragment allowed Sehotepibre’s prenomen to be identified for the first time (Marée 2009, 151–4). The king is depicted offering a *b3s*-jar to Maat; This scene type is also attested on the stela of Amenemhat III from Gebel el-Zeit (SA 550: Marée 2009, 148–9). His torso is lost in the break between the two pieces, but he wears a simple kilt and belt with double uraei ornament, and bull’s tail. The

Image redacted

Figure 6.23 Stela of Sehotepibre, Bonn L 1628 (Marée 2009, 152 fig. 3).

Image redacted

Figure 6.24 Stela of Nebmaatre, JE 98124 (Marée 2010, 159–60 fig. 7–8).

king also wears a headdress with uraeus, but its lower portion has been lost in the break, making it difficult to distinguish between the *khat* or *nemes*. Two horizontal lines of inscription beneath the scene read '[Living] Horus Sewesekhtawy, bodily son of Re, Sehotepibre, beloved of Maat, daughter of Re'.

In addition to these two stelae, there are three fragments from a third stela at Gebel el-Zeit which may plausibly be attributed to the early Thirteenth Dynasty: the stela of a king with the prenomen Nebmaatre (JE 98124 + SA 556 + 156: fig. 6.24), who may be identified with Iwefni (§1.2.7). Like the stela of Nebmaatre, the three fragments were not initially recognised as belonging to the same stela (SA 49, 556, 156: Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 13, 21–3), and the join was later proposed by Marée (2009, 159–161 figs. 7–8). Its full reconstructed height is approximately 15 centimetres (Marée 2009, 159 n. 46). The stela is round-topped, made of faience, and decorated with scenes on both sides in black paint, also like the stela of Nebnun. On one side, there is a winged sun-disk with hanging uraei in the lunette. Below are three vertical columns of inscription which read '[*ntr*] *nfr* [*nb*] *t3.wy nb-m3c.t-rc di 'nh'*', and a scene of the king, wearing the *khat* headdress, offering a *b3s*-vessel to a deity whose name and figure are not preserved (Marée 2009, 159; Lorand 2010, 105). The second side is poorly preserved and the columns of inscription indistinct. There are traces of the winged sun-disk in the lunette, and the head of an unidentified deity. The king's figure is entirely lost, except for his hand, offering a *nmst*-vessel (Marée 2009, 160; Lorand 2010, 105–6). These two scenes are paralleled on the other early Thirteenth Dynasty stelae from Gebel el-Zeit, with the scene of offering a *nmst*-vessel also found on the stela of Nebnun, and the offering of a *b3s*-vessel also seen on stela of Sehotepibre (Marée 2009, 150–2, 159–60).

The fourth stela of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, of Wegaf, was discovered in a rubble pile in the north-west sector of Mirgissa (Khartoum SNM 18719: Vercoutter 1975, 222, pl. 22), not far from the main north-south street and the New Kingdom shrine of Hathor (Pinch 1993, 41–8). It is a small round-topped stela, made of sandstone, measuring 35 centimetres high, 21

centimetres wide, and 9.4 centimetres thick, and carved in roughly executed relief (Vercoutter 1975, 222). Beneath a winged sun-disk lunette, two lines of inscription give the prenomen and nomen of Khutawyre Wegaf in mirrored orientations. A figure of the king stands below. He is not centred but instead stands below the nomen. There is space on the right hand side of the stela, as if for a second figure, but the space has been left empty (Vercoutter 1975, 222). Blank spaces such as these could be left to later personalise the stela with the name or figure of an individual (e.g. Pinch 1993, 326). The king's figure is carved with little detail, and he has no facial features. He wears a headdress with uraeus, collar, and kilt. Vercoutter (1975, 222) identified the headdress as the *nemes*, although the absence of lappets suggests it is instead the *kebat*, as on the stela of Nebnun and the statuette of Khendjer. He holds a staff in his left hand and a mace or sceptre in his right.

Image redacted

Figure 6.25 Stela of Wegaf, Khartoum IM.375 (Vercoutter 1975, pl. 22a).

This standing pose is also seen in the sculptor's workshop scene from the tomb of Rekhmire, for example, where a carpenter works on a royal statue of a king in a striding position holding a mace and staff (Davies 1943, pl. 55). Examples of actual statues in this pose are also known, such as the Lisht guardian figures (JE 44951: Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, 89; MMA 14.3.17: Do.

Arnold in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 230–2 [168]), and the *ka*-statue of Hor (§6.1.4, fig. 6.6). This pose, then, suggests that the stela depicts a statue of the king (Bolshakov 2003, 135; Quack 2010, 4). The rough execution and blank space before the king's figure may suggest that this was a 'ready-made' votive stela available for private purchase, and that the blank space was to be later filled with an image of the donor interacting with the king's statue.

Materially and visually, these four stelae are varied, from the rough sandstone relief of the Wegaf stela, to the fine lines and dark stone of the Sehotepibre stela, and the use of faience in the stelae of Nebnun and Nebmaatre. All four stelae, however, come from similar contexts of shrines in peripheral locations with significant votive deposits (Pinch 1993, 44–5, 71–7). In such contexts, it is not always immediately clear if objects like these stelae commemorate royal activity at the site, or were privately donated votives (Bardoňová and Khaled 2021, 161). On votive stelae, the donor was typically, but not always, named and/or depicted (Pinch 1993, 96). The stela that depicts Wegaf is seemingly a votive intended to be later personalised with the name and/or figure of the donor, consistent with Pinch's Type B, the most common style of votive where the donor and the deity or king were depicted together in a single register (Pinch 1993, 83), although in this example, no personalisation was added. Votive stelae with royal images typically date from the New Kingdom onwards, and do not seem to have been common during the Middle Kingdom, (Pinch 1993, 94–5). At Serabit el-Khadim, for example, stelae with royal names are typically official records which commemorate mining expeditions rather than being strictly votive (Pinch 1993, 50–1). A votive stela depicting Senwosret III in a triad with Hathor and Sopdu is also known from Mirgissa, but this stela is dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty and represents the later veneration of Senwosret III in Nubia (IM. 173: Vercoutter, 1970, 320–2, pl. 391; Pinch 1993, 89, 95). There is no clear indication of where this stela depicting Wegaf was produced, but as the shrine at Mirgissa is understood as a local community practice, it seems probable that it was locally produced (Pinch 1993, 48, 327). Its design and placement, then, may not represent royal directives.

At Gebel el-Zeit, the undecorated and architecturally simple shrine, as well as the abundance of non-royal votive offerings suggests that mining activity here was primarily coordinated by high officials or local rulers, and that the expeditions largely ‘were not equipped with offerings by the central government’ (Pinch 1993, 76–7). Votive offerings with Twelfth Dynasty royal names from Gebel el-Zeit primarily consist of beads and amulets, and date from Senwosret II through to Amenemhat III (Pinch 1993, 74, 298–9). The four royal stelae from Gebel el-Zeit were probably transported to the site as they are not made of local materials (Pinch 1993, 327). Neither the limestone used for the stela of Amenemhat III, and none of the suggested materials of the stele—basalt, greywacke, or schist—were quarried at Gebel el-Zeit (Pinch 1993, 327; Klemm and Klemm 2008, 36–140, 297–311, 315–19). Likewise, the use of faience in the stelae of Nebmaatre Iwefni and Nebnun indicate central production: although the raw materials for faience were readily available across Egypt, only two centres for production have been certainly identified, at Lisht and Kerma (F. Arnold 1996, 15; Wilde 2011, 124; Miniaci 2018, 145–7). While faience objects are also particularly common across Egypt geographically and in differing social strata, finely detailed, hand-moulded pieces that may be attributed to an ‘expert hand’ are predominantly found at key sites such as Lisht, Lahun, Abydos, and Thebes, suggesting a degree of centralisation in the production of royal and high-elite faience (Miniaci 2018, 150–1). The stelae of Amenemhat III, Iwefni, Nebnun, and Sehotepibre then, probably represent royal images produced in state workshops and transported to Gebel el-Zeit in connection with official activity at the site (Pinch 1993, 74–6, 329–31).

These three stelae of Nebmaatre Iwefni, Nebnun, and Sehotepibre seemingly demonstrate the same association with Amenemhat III seen in other aspects of early Thirteenth Dynasty monumental display, through both their location and their content. Amenemhat III is the only other king of the Middle Kingdom with official activity attested at Gebel el-Zeit (Pinch 1993, 74–7; Régen and Soukiassian 2008, 2, 11–12), and so early Thirteenth Dynasty engagement with this specific site may thus be understood as engagement with a place associated with

Amenemhat III. Moreover, the stelae of Iwefni and Sehotepibre use the same imagery of offering a *bꜣs*-jar that is also seen on the stela of Amenemhat III himself at Gebel el-Zeit (Marée 2009, 149). These three stelae, then, demonstrate the same localised emulation in royal relief of Twelfth Dynasty predecessors also seen in the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep from Medamud. Like the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, these three stelae emulate the royal display of the only Twelfth Dynasty king otherwise attested at their respective sites, Senwosret III at Medamud, and Amenemhat III at Gebel el-Zeit. However, there is one crucial difference. The emulation of Senwosret III by Amenemhat-Sobekhotep is limited to that site, and seems to have been driven by their immediately shared location. In contrast, the Gebel el-Zeit stelae parallel the programmatic and targeted emulation of Amenemhat III that is also seen across a variety of sites and different aspects of monumental display such as funerary monuments and statuary from the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§5.1.6, §6.1.14–15). It is unclear if these kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty chose the site of Gebel el-Zeit because of its connection to Amenemhat III, or only chose to emulate him here as a site of shared activity. However, it would be a striking coincidence for the only extant royal attestations from a mining region during the early Thirteenth Dynasty to have been found at a site where the only prior royal activity is of Amenemhat III.

A further iconographic detail of interest in the stelae is presence of the bull's tail. As previously discussed, the *absence* of the bull's tail is a distinctive feature of both the statuary of Amenemhat III and the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§6.1.15), and yet, the tail appears in depictions of the king's figure in relief on the stelae of Nebnun and Sehotepibre, as well as on the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep I. Amenemhat III, however, is also depicted with a bull's tail in reliefs from the temple at Medinet Madi (Zecchi 2010, 63 fig. 8), and Serabit el-Khadim, including from the Shrine of Kings and the altar of Horwerre (Gardiner, Peet et al. 1917 I, pl. 10 [23], 25 [89], 47 [124a]). As such, its presence in early Thirteenth Dynasty relief is not exceptional and is consistent with relief depictions of Amenemhat III. The stela of Wegaf is the only extant early

Thirteenth Dynasty relief without the tail. However, if this stela depicts a statue of the king, rather than the king himself, the bull's tail does not typically appear on standing statuary (Soliman 2010, 65), and so equally may not appear on relief images of standing statuary.

The three kings attested at Gebel el-Zeit, Iwefni, Nebnun, and Sehotepibre, all reign in close chronological proximity, suggesting that the site was in use for a limited period during the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§1.2.4, §1.2.7). These three kings are situated in the middle of the early Thirteenth Dynasty sequence, when the kings are particularly poorly attested, often with no extant monuments or statuary (see catalogue in Ryholt 1997b, 338–9). These stelae, then, provide another important example of the association with Amenemhat III that is seen in other aspects of early Thirteenth Dynasty monumental display, suggesting that this association occurred consistently throughout the period.

6.2.3 The plaque of Hor

A fifth small object bearing an image of a king in two dimensions from the early Thirteenth Dynasty has been described as a faience plaque or pendant (Berlin ÄM 7670: Aufrère 2001, 8; Siesse 2019, 378). Its dimensions are not recorded, but it is small, rectangular, and drilled through lengthways (Erman 1895, 143). It is similar in appearance to the signet panel on revolving bevel rings, such as a ring of Amenhotep II in the World Museum, Liverpool (M11437: Bienkowski and Tooley 1995, 56 fig. 82), and may well have come from a similar ring. The plaque is double-sided. On one face, the prenomen of Amenemhat III in a cartouche is accompanied by epithets and a figure of Wadjet, while the other face depicts the figure of Hor, identified by nomen, holding a sceptre towards a falcon identified as Horus of Behdet (fig. 6.26). The provenance of the object is unknown. However, the inclusion of both Amenemhat III and Hor makes it plausible that this object originated from the tomb of Hor at Dahshur (Erman 1895, 143; Siesse 2019, 378), which was located in the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III and contained a chest sealed with his prenomen, Nimaatre (§5.3).



Figure 6.26 Plaque of Hor, ÄM 7670 (Erman 1895, 143), Public domain.

Although there are no published photographs of this object, which makes it difficult to distinguish details such as facial features, Hor appears to be depicted wearing the double-crown, beard, collar, and *shendyt* kilt. The use of the double crown, as well as the appearance of both Horus of Behdet and Wadjet, deities representing Upper and Lower Egypt, may allude to the king's authority over the entire land. Horus, as well as Wadjet and the cartouche of Amenemhat III on the reverse, are all oriented towards the figure of Hor, so that Hor is seen to be worshipping both deities and his eminent predecessor. In addition, a particular parallel is drawn between Hor and Horus, with both the king and the falcon wearing the double crown, while the cartouche containing his nomen is placed between his figure and that of the falcon, highlighting the reference to Horus in the king's name (Aufrère 2001, 9–10). Despite its small size, this object articulates a number of statements on royal ideology, such as the king's status as Horus on earth, and the association with Amenemhat III that is so prevalent across many aspects of early Thirteenth Dynasty self-presentation.

6.3 Image and identity

As Kjølbj writes (2009, 35), the visual depiction of the human form in Ancient Egypt was a means of 'negotiating the identity of the person represented'. This identity should be understood not as 'self-preservation', where the concept of the self is portrayed through the accurate replication of physical appearance, but as 'self-presentation', where identity is found in the careful and meaningful use of iconography and physical features but not reliant on actual

physiognomy (Assmann 1996, 61–5; Lorand 2015, 214–15; Laboury 2016, 75–6). For kingship, the depiction of the royal figure was not only a manifestation of individual identity, but also an expression of royal ideology, as a ‘vehicle of a political identity’ that went beyond representing the human body (Lorand 2015, 215), and as potent agents for manifesting and endowing their referents with desired qualities regardless of audience (Meskell 2004, 7; Nyord 2020, 4–6).

As with their titularies and funerary monuments, the statuary and relief of the early Thirteenth Dynasty negotiated an identity that situated them broadly within the continuing traditions of the Twelfth Dynasty, while articulating a specific connection with Amenemhat III. General statue types typical of the Twelfth Dynasty, such as colossi, ‘Osirid’, and prayer pose types continued in use into the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§6.1.7, §6.1.9). They also drew on established motifs of Egyptian royal discourse, such as the royal *ka*, through the funerary statues of Hor (§6.1.4), or the renewal of kingship through *sed*-imagery, in the *sed*-statuette of Wegaf (§6.1.5) and in the *sed*-façade of the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (§6.2.1). The same portal also uses scenes that are otherwise well-attested in other royal reliefs of the Middle Kingdom. These examples demonstrate that although this early Thirteenth Dynasty strategy of emulation was predominantly focussed on Amenemhat III, it was not exclusively so. Where situationally appropriate, such as at sites where Amenemhat III is not attested, the statuary and relief of the early Thirteenth Dynasty also drew upon the monuments of other specific Twelfth Dynasty kings. For example, the *sed*-statue of Wegaf was plausibly placed alongside the *sed*-statue of Senwosret III at Semna (§6.1.5), while the front façade of the *sed*-portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep was directly copied from that of Senwosret III at Medamud (§6.2.1). In both cases, the self-presentation of the early Thirteenth Dynasty drew on local images of royal power.

However, the statuary of the early Thirteenth Dynasty most specifically emulated distinctive features of the statuary of Amenemhat III, such as the positioning of both hands flat on the thighs (§6.1.14), and elements of iconography such as the shape and pattern of the *nemes*, the shape of the uraeus body, and the absence of the bull’s tail, nine bows, and jewellery

(§6.1.15). Even the miniature plaque of Hor asserts an association with Amenemhat III by depicting both kings together on a single object, plausibly with Hor venerating his predecessor (§6.2.3). Such an association may also be displayed contextually through the location of statuary and relief of the early Thirteenth Dynasty at sites associated with Amenemhat III. This is most clearly demonstrated in the placement of the statue of Intef IV beside that of Amenemhat III at Medinet Madi (§6.1.16), but it may also be seen in the addition of the unidentified early Thirteenth Dynasty praying statue to the series of statues of Amenemhat III at Karnak (§6.1.16), and in the Gebel el-Zeit stelae of Nebmaatre Iwefni, Nebnun, and Sehotepibre (§6.2.2). Some facial features of early Thirteenth Dynasty royal statuary, such as the treatment of the eye, also resemble those of Amenemhat III. Predominantly, however, the personal features, such as the distinctive early Thirteenth Dynasty face and naturalistic modelling of the torso, differ from the statuary of the Twelfth Dynasty. This allowed the royal images of the early Thirteenth Dynasty to develop a distinctive individual identity, while they embodied through iconographic symbols of kingship a particular relationship with Amenemhat III as his political successors.

A comparison of the extant royal figures of Sobekneferew and the first kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Amenemhat-Sobekhotep and Amenemhat-Senebef, highlight another significant aspect of this emulation of Amenemhat III by the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Of the five securely identified statues of Sobekneferew, only two preserve elements of iconographic features and pose which differ between the statuary of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. A seated statue of Sobekneferew from Khatana depicts her with both hands flat on her thighs, in the style of Amenemhat III, but with the nine bows beneath her feet, as in the statuary of Senwosret III (Tell el-Dab'a 05: Habachi 1954, 459; Connor 2020, pl. 91 fig. 3.1.30a). A second statue, of which only the torso is preserved, depicts her wearing the amulet necklace characteristic of Senwosret III (Louvre E 27135: Connor 2020, pl. 27 fig. 2.6.2a). These attestations demonstrate that the iconography of Sobekneferew in statuary did not exclusively

follow the conventions of either Senwosret III or Amenemhat III. Similarly, the statuette of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep from Elephantine does not show a particular preference for the styling of Amenemhat III, depicting him wearing the bull's tail and with his right hand closed over the folded cloth (BMFA 14.726: §6.1.1, fig. 6.1), features that are typically found in the statuary of Senwosret III, but not that of Amenemhat III (§6.1.15). The portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep also does not demonstrate the particular emulation of Amenemhat III that is so prevalent in subsequent monumental display of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, but instead drew on that of Senwosret III, presumably due to their immediate shared physical context at Medamud (§6.2.1). Moreover, the Elephantine statue of Amenemhat-Senebef was originally carved wearing the amulet necklace characteristic of Senwosret III, but the necklace was later removed (§6.1.2, fig. 6.2). This statue, and all subsequent extant statues of the early Thirteenth Dynasty followed the conventions of the statuary of Amenemhat III, with both hands placed flat on the thighs, and the bull's tail and nine bows omitted (§6.1.15). The removal of the necklace from this statue of Amenemhat-Senebef then seemingly marks the point at which this strategy of emulation in the early Thirteenth Dynasty became more exclusively focussed on Amenemhat III. The absence of clear and specific emulation in the statuary of Sobekneferew and both statuary and relief of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep suggests that this programmatic emulation of Amenemhat III was a development of early Thirteenth Dynasty royal self-presentation.

Several earlier studies of Thirteenth Dynasty kingship have previously identified specific areas where the self-presentation and monumental display of early Thirteenth Dynasty kings appears to recall features of Amenemhat III. Siesse notes:

c'est certainement que le long règne d'Amenemhat III, a laissé une forte impression dans la mémoire collective de la fin du Moyen Empire et qu'un lien, quel que soit sa nature, serait forcément établi avec tout roi portant le nom de naissance *Jmn-m-ḥꜣt* ...

Par ailleurs, cette référence à leur ancêtre se manifeste dans d'autres domaines, comme la statuaire royale et les rares complexes funéraires connus de la XIII^e dynastie. (2019, 66)

In statuary, for example, parallels have previously been identified between particular statues, such as the Elephantine statue of Amenemhat-Senebef and a statue of Amenemhat III in the Hermitage museum (Vienna ÄS 37 + Aswan 1318, St Petersburg 729: Fay 1988, 68–75, pl. 23–4), while specific features characteristic of the statuary of Amenemhat III, such as the position of both hands flat on the thighs, have also been observed to continue into the Thirteenth Dynasty (Evers 1929 II, 39 [276–7]; Saladino Haney 2020, 268). Similar features can be observed in architecture: the substructural architecture of the post-Hawara pyramids adopted specific elements from the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III, such as the use of portcullises which close from alternating directions and the distinctive monolithic quartzite burial chambers (McCormack 2010a, 376–7; Wegner 2020, 1666). In addition, on a textual level, the name Amenemhat was incorporated into the double nomina that appear in the early Thirteenth Dynasty and this, although not necessarily exclusively linked to Amenemhat III, plausibly articulates the same association with this king that is also visible in the other aspects of already mentioned (McCormack 2010a, 375–6; Siesse 2019, 66).

In addition to examining these factors, this thesis has demonstrated that such an emulation of Amenemhat III by the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty can also be seen in

further features in the fragmentary remains of their monumental display including the continuation of a specific inscriptional tradition begun during his reign in the Nile Flood records at the Second Cataract (§3.3). In statuary, this emulation goes beyond occasional individual features to include a wide range of iconographic features which consistently follow the presentation of Amenemhat III. These include the shape and decoration of the *nemes*, the absence of the bull's tail and nine bows, as well as the hand position (§6.1.15). An association with Amenemhat III in early Thirteenth Dynasty monumental display may also be embodied physically through context in both statuary and architecture. For example, a statue of Intef IV, which used the iconographic conventions of Amenemhat III and was also situated immediately beside a statue of Amenemhat III in the temple that he constructed at Medinet Madi (§5.1.16). While the tomb of Awibre Hor did not follow the architectural conventions of the post-Hawara pyramids, being a shaft tomb, its location created an indisputable connection to Amenemhat III by being placed among the subsidiary burials within his Dahshur pyramid complex (§5.3). Other emulative practices, such as the placement of stelae of Nebmaatre Iwefni, Nebnun, and Sehotepibre at Gebel el-Zeit, can also recall Amenemhat III within site-specific contexts (§6.2.2). The intent of this thesis has been to bring together these numerous examples of emulation and association with Amenemhat III and the Twelfth Dynasty by the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, and to argue that these were not isolated or cursory instances, but an intentional, programmatic, and integral element of early Thirteenth Dynasty self-presentation and monumental display.

7.1 A consistent programme?

One particular challenge of studying the Thirteenth Dynasty is the often fragmentary nature of attestations of its kings. Although there are nearly 150 extant material attestations that can be attributed to the nineteen kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty on the basis of inscriptions or context (catalogued in Ryholt 1997b, 336–43; Siesse 2019, 371–81), many of these are poorly

preserved architectural fragments or isolated objects, frequently inscribed with little more than a king's name. Such a corpus does not lend itself easily to typological analysis and so restricts the possibilities of identifying trends in the development of royal ideology and self-presentation across the period. However, despite the sparse corpus, some attestations form meaningful groups—such as the Second Cataract Nile flood records, the post-Hawara pyramids, statuary, or the Gebel el-Zeit stelae—as well as the titularies themselves. These aspects allow the identification of characteristics of monumental display typical of the early Thirteenth Dynasty within these categories, and an assessment of the developments over the period. Significantly, despite the often limited attestations of individual kings from the early Thirteenth Dynasty, fifteen of these nineteen kings have at least one attestation with emulative or associative features across these categories, as demonstrated in the previous chapters (summarised in table 7.1).

	Nile flood record	Double nomen with Amenemhat	Funerary monument	Statuary iconography	Gebel el-Zeit stelae
Amenemhat-Sobekhotep	x	x			
Amenemhat-Senebef	x	x		x	
Nerikare	x				
Ameny-Qemaw		x	x		
Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef				x	
Iwefni					x
Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat		x			
Nebnun					x
Sehotepibre					x
Sewadjkare					
Nedjemibre					
Amenemhat-Renseneb		x			
Hor			x		
Kay-Amenemhat					

Wegaf		x
Khendjer	x	
Imyremesha		x
Intef		x
Seth		

The only four early Thirteenth Dynasty kings who are not attested with emulative features in any of these areas are Sewadjkare, Nedjemibre, Kay-Amenemhat, and Seth. Of these, Sewadjkare and Nedjemibre have no secure contemporaneous attestations at all, but are only known from the Turin king-list. Both these kings, however, are recorded in the list by their prenomina alone, and so it cannot be known if one or both may have had a double nomina formed with the name Amenemhat. Similarly, the monuments of Seth were seemingly targeted for re-use so that his only extant contemporaneous attestation may be a lintel from Medamud with an erased cartouche that is now only partially legible (JE 44944: Ryholt 1997b, 285 n. 1031; Franke 2008, 271 n. 14). For these kings, then, the absence from this emulative programme may be due to a lack of monumental attestation overall, rather than any deliberate absence of association.

All other early Thirteenth Dynasty kings demonstrate some form of association with Amenemhat III or with the Twelfth Dynasty more broadly, through the features and/or contexts of their monumental attestations, such as stelae, statues, funerary monuments, as well as through their names as preserved on architectural fragments and objects. Given the sparse and fragmentary attestations of these many kings, the fact that features associated with Twelfth Dynasty royal presentation, and most specifically that of Amenemhat III, may be seen in both the extant material of many Thirteenth Dynasty kings and also in a variety of different contexts may suggest that this was a consistent programme.

7.2 An intentional programme?

Engagement with and emulation of the past is widely attested across various aspects of royal monumental display throughout Egyptian history, such as the use of the prenomen Neferkare by

the kings of the Eight Dynasty to evoke a connection with Pepy II (see §4.3), or the careful placement of the pyramids of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties in relation to those of Djoser and the Fourth Dynasty (see §5.1.6). Engagement with the past can also be seen in the veneration of Senwosret III by Tuthmosis III at the Nubian temples (El-Enany 2004, 207–13; Vogel 2017, 268–78), when the sanctuaries of the temples of Dedwen at both Semna and Uronarti were renovated to house the earlier *sed*-statues of Senwosret III (Davies 2017, 81; Vogel 2017, 272–3), while a scene from the vestibule at Kumma depicts Tuthmosis III seated and embraced by Khnum and Senwosret III, and receiving an *ankh* to the nose from Senwosret III (Camino 1998, 49–50, pl. 40). Senwosret III himself had restored the temple of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri, renewing its offerings and dedicating a series of devotional statues (Naville 1907, 58–9, pl. 24; Di. Arnold 1974, 94; Oppenheim in Oppenheim, Arnold et al. 2015, 276–7 [cat. 205]; Saladino Haney 2020, 299–302). The emulation of Amenemhat III and the Twelfth Dynasty in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, then, was situated within an extensive and established tradition of the use of the past in varied aspects of royal display. One challenge of assessing such uses of the past, however, is the need to distinguish between features that are the result of normal artistic and architectural continuity, and those that represent a self-conscious recalling of the past, that ‘should constitute an explicit, and perhaps ideologically pointed, exploitation of the past’ (Baines 2007, 192). Although an intentional, meaningful use of past forms is most easy to detect when there is a clear temporal distance between the emulator and emulated, it does not require it (Tait 2003, 12).

One factor that may suggest intentional emulation is specificity, when ‘the borrowing is clearly visible’ through the replication of particular details (Baines 2007, 192–3), such as can be seen in the immediate juxtaposition of the graffiti of Senwosret III and Neferhotep I at Sehel (§2.4), or the copying of the proportions of the pedestals and standards from the *sed*-façade of the portal of Senwosret III in that of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep at Medamud (§6.2.1). The replication of specific features is one means of creating ‘purposeful connections’ to past forms

(Davis 2017, 203). Specificity can also be demonstrated in the use of the particular iconography of the statuary of Amenemhat III in that of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, seen in the shape and decoration of the *nemes*, the form of the uraeus, the absence of the bull's tail and nine bows, and the positioning of the hands (§6.1.15). The use of supportive structural features from the Hawara pyramid of Amenemhat III in the post-Hawara pyramids may also suggest specific replication, rather than practical continuity, since these features were seemingly unnecessary in the substantially smaller post-Hawara pyramids (§5.1.6). Likewise, a specific association with Amenemhat III is unequivocally embodied in the location of the tomb of Hor within the pyramid complex of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (§5.3).

Another factor which may suggest intentional emulation is consistency, and as already discussed, the use of the past in the early Thirteenth Dynasty is widely attested across a variety of forms, even within the limited extant corpus of the time period (§7.1). As previously noted (§4.3), the use of the name Amenemhat in the double nomina of the early Thirteenth Dynasty is not specific enough on its own to demonstrate a connection with a particular Twelfth Dynasty king of this name, although the absence of the name Senwosret from these double nomina may suggest a more specific target than the Twelfth Dynasty broadly. However, given the emulation of Amenemhat III observable in specific iconographic and architectural detail, it would be a striking coincidence if the overwhelming majority of the known early Thirteenth Dynasty double nomina which include the name Amenemhat do not also invoke Amenemhat III (McCormack 2008, 110; 2010a, 375–6; Siesse 2019, 66).

However, the key factor in identifying intentional emulation rather than continuity remains some form of temporal separation. In the case of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, any assessment of this is complicated by the limited extant attestations of the two final Twelfth Dynasty kings, Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew. Both are attested in the Nile flood record tradition at the Second Cataract, alongside the first three kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty (§3.1). However, neither Amenemhat IV nor Sobekneferew has an identified funerary monument

(Grajetzki 2002, 24–7; Pignattari 2018, 95–7), which could indicate whether or not the post-Hawara pyramid type first emerged in the late Twelfth Dynasty. The only securely identified statue of Amenemhat IV was so heavily remodelled that it does not preserve any of the iconographic features which distinguish the statuary of Amenemhat III from that of Senwosret III (BM EA 58892: Connor 2020, 44, pl. 25 fig. 2.6.1a–b), and so also does not provide any indication if the emulation of Amenemhat III seen in early Thirteenth Dynasty statuary was also seen in that of Amenemhat IV. To this end, the extant figural images of Sobekneferew and Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, as the final Twelfth Dynasty ruler and first king of the Thirteenth Dynasty, are essential in determining if the emulation of Amenemhat III was an innovation of the early Thirteenth Dynasty or a continuation of existing practices established by his late Twelfth Dynasty successors. As previously discussed (§6.3), the statuary of these two kings does not show a preference for the characteristic iconographic features of the statuary of Amenemhat III, while the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep from Medamud directly imitates that of Senwosret III instead. In the subsequent reign of Amenemhat-Senebef, a statue of this king at Elephantine was altered to remove a necklace that was very characteristic of Senwosret III (Fay 1988, 72). This same statue had also adopted features typical of the iconography of Amenemhat III, with the bull's tail and nine bows absent, as well as the positioning of both hands flat on the thighs (§6.1.14–15). This may suggest that even though a specific focus on Amenemhat III is not initially apparent in the emulative strategy of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, it had begun to develop by the reign of its second king, Amenemhat-Senebef, and was exclusive enough in its focus to involve alterations being made to an already completed statue.

Moreover, the two earliest attested categories of associative material from the early Thirteenth Dynasty—namely, the Nile flood records and the double nomina—are also those which are the least specifically focussed on Amenemhat III. The continuity that the Nile flood record tradition demonstrates crosses the dynastic divide between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties more broadly, rather than with Amenemhat III specifically (§3.3), and although the

later consistency in the use of the name Amenemhat in the double nomina may suggest a specific identification with Amenemhat III, this is not necessarily evident from its first use in the name of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep (§4.3). Together with the statuary and relief of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep, these aspects may strengthen the suggestion that while asserting a connection with their Twelfth Dynasty predecessors was a consistent element of early Thirteenth Dynasty self-presentation from the start of the dynasty, it was not initially focussed so exclusively on Amenemhat III. As the dynasty continued, however, these less targeted associative aspects ceased and were replaced by emulation of highly specific architectural and iconographic features which clearly and exclusively derived from the monumental display of Amenemhat III.

There is also commemoration of Amenemhat III attested in the reigns of Amenemhat IV and Sobekneferew, such as in Amenemhat IV's completion of the decoration of the temple at Medinet Madi (§1.4.4), and in the association of the name of Sobekneferew with that of Amenemhat III at Hawara (Callender 1998, 230; Zecchi 2010, 85; Pignattari 2018, 211 fig. 43). These examples suggest that these kings also sought to associate themselves with their predecessor, although not to the same programmatic extent seen in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. However, even if this emulation of Amenemhat III began to some extent in the late Twelfth Dynasty, it continued to be developed in innovative and specific ways during the early Thirteenth Dynasty which suggests that it was not just a continuation of practices established under Amenemhat IV or Sobekneferew but a meaningful and intentional aspect of early Thirteenth Dynasty self-presentation. In turn, this emulative programme raises two further questions: what was the function and aim of emulation in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, and why was it particularly focussed on Amenemhat III?

7.3 The early Thirteenth Dynasty and the use of the past

In the early Thirteenth Dynasty, the use of the past can be detected on a striking variety of different levels. Early Thirteenth Dynasty monumental display drew broadly on Twelfth Dynasty

traditions. In their titularies, for example, the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty overwhelmingly use of two prenomina patterns, *X-k3-r* and *X-ib-r*, which have an extensive royal tradition and were also the most frequently used paradigms of the Twelfth Dynasty kings (Leprohon 1996, 165–71; Siesse 2015, 76; §4.2). The known funerary monuments of the early Thirteenth Dynasty were all located in the Memphite pyramid fields, specifically between South Saqqara and Mazghuna, so that they were surrounded by the pyramids of the Twelfth Dynasty as well as the Old Kingdom, and were situated in a traditional landscape of royal display (map 5.1, §5.1.6). The extant statues of the early Thirteenth Dynasty include examples of types that had become widespread during the Twelfth Dynasty, such as colossi and ‘Osirid’ statues (§6.3). At the same time, however, the early Thirteenth Dynasty emulated highly specific features from the monumental display of Amenemhat III in particular: while early Thirteenth Dynasty titulary patterns evoked traditional paradigms in the prenomina, the nomina also specifically invoked a king with the name Amenemhat; while the early Thirteenth Dynasty pyramids were located at Memphis, they were also modelled architecturally on the pyramid of Amenemhat III at Hawara; while the statues of the early Thirteenth Dynasty used types consistent with Twelfth Dynasty examples, they also employed the specific iconographic presentation of Amenemhat III. All these aspects demonstrate a general pattern in which early Thirteenth Dynasty situated itself in the general developmental trajectory and traditions of the Twelfth Dynasty, while emphasising a connection to one particular king.

However, Davis notes that all material which engages with the past will always manifest both classicizing and modernizing aspects: classicizing in that they look to the past, and modernizing in that they bring that past into the present (2003, 32–3). As such, there are also features of early Thirteenth Dynasty royal self-presentation which differ from that of Amenemhat III or the Twelfth Dynasty more broadly, and which are seemingly innovative. In statuary, this is demonstrated in the return to an iconically youthful presentation of the face in royal statuary but while also using the naturalistic sculptural techniques of the late Twelfth

Dynasty to produce the distinctive early Thirteenth Dynasty face (§6.1.12), and the introduction of new iconographic pieces such as the *kebresh* headdress (§6.1.9). Variations on the past model may also be seen in funerary architecture, in the location of portcullises in the post-Hawara pyramids, or the complete integration of the burial chamber and sarcophagus into one quartzite monolith (§5.1.1). Features such as these allow the early Thirteenth Dynasty to articulate an association both with the Twelfth Dynasty and Amenemhat III, while also establishing an identity that was their own. As such, emulation in the early Thirteenth Dynasty was not simply blind imitation, but a nuanced and programmatic strategy which intertwined them in the recollection and reputation of their predecessor.

7.4 Amenemhat III and the early Thirteenth Dynasty

The above examples demonstrate that engagement with the past was selective. As Alcock states, ‘these links to the past, and the authority and pride they channelled, emerged only in carefully predetermined situations ... not all aspects of the past were equally important: not just any old excavation, in any old place, finding any old artifacts would do’ (2002, 9). This can be exemplified by the Twelfth Dynasty pyramids and their selection of referents for emulation. The pyramid complexes of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I closely replicated superstructural architectural features and relief styles of those of the Sixth Dynasty (Di. Arnold 1988, 17; Baines 2007, 194; Lehner 2008, 172). The mortuary temple of Senwosret I, in particular, is said to follow the Sixth Dynasty models so exactly that it ‘without the evidence of the inscriptions, could be dated to the Sixth Dynasty’ (Di. Arnold 1988, 57). Chronological proximity, here, seems to have been a key factor. Of all the available Old Kingdom complexes in the Memphite landscape to draw on, it seems that ‘Senwosret I deliberately chose to base his on those at the end of the sequence’ (Oppenheim 2015, 3). Their use of this particular form contrasts with the Theban location and styles of the immediately preceding periods, distinguishing them from their Theban predecessors and instead asserting continuity with the final kings of the Old Kingdom,

positioning the Twelfth Dynasty as its heirs and successors despite the intervening years (Baines 2007, 194; Oppenheim 2015, 3). Conversely, the later pyramid complexes of Senwosret III at Dahshur and Amenemhat III at Dahshur and Hawara did not emulate this Sixth Dynasty form. Rather, their layouts and architecture were reminiscent of the Djoser pyramid complex (Di. Arnold 1979a, 2–7; 2002, 121–2; Lehner 2008, 177–81). A similar modelling on Djoser is arguably also seen in statuary of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III (Eaton-Krauss 2003, 17–19). With the Twelfth Dynasty well established at that point, the need to assert continuity with the late Old Kingdom was seemingly reduced. Instead, Dieter Arnold suggests that the pyramids of the late Twelfth Dynasty drew on the older, and arguably more prestigious, model of the Djoser complex in order to revitalise and enhance the perception of their own kingship through association with this eminent and more ancient ancestor (2002, 122).

These examples of emulation in architectural styles in the Twelfth Dynasty pyramid complexes highlight that both chronological proximity, and cultural prestige could be factors in the selection of a referent for emulation. For the early Thirteenth Dynasty, both these factors are relevant, and Amenemhat III sat at the intersection of them. The reign of Amenemhat III was longer and far better attested than either of his immediate successors (Callender 2000, 156–9; Grajetzki 2006, 58–63), and he has been described by modern historians as ‘the last of the great rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty’ (Dorman, Harper et al. 1987, 42). In the Ptolemaic period, Amenemhat III was deified in the Fayyum, an area where much of his monumental display was located (Bresciani 1986, 49–58; Widmer 2002, 377–93), although it has been suggested that a cult of the deified Amenemhat III may be traced back to his own reign or shortly thereafter (Brandl 2005, 29; Saladino Haney 2020, 359). The fact that the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty selected Amenemhat III over Amenemhat IV or Sobekneferew suggests that already by the start of the new dynasty, he was considered to be a figure of greater historical significance and cultural weight than either of his successors.

However, it is striking that Amenemhat III would have been considered a more significant referent than Senwosret III, whose cultural impact was similar to that of Amenemhat III. He was deified shortly after his reign and probably within his own lifetime (El-Enany 2014, 228–31; Vogel 2017, 268; Saladino Haney 2020, 306–7), and he was later chosen for veneration and emulation in the Eighteenth and Twenty-Fifth Dynasties (El-Enany 2004, 207–13; Török 2014, 67–70; Vogel 2017, 268–78). The early Thirteenth Dynasty do not avoid emulating Senwosret III, and in certain locations where Amenemhat III is not attested, the monumental display of the early Thirteenth Dynasty may instead emulate that of Senwosret III, such as the portal of Amenemhat-Sobekhotep at Medamud (§6.2.1), or the *sed*-statue of Wegaf at Semna (§6.1.5). However, there is no widespread and programmatic emulation of Senwosret III comparable to that of Amenemhat III. One conceivable reason for this may simply be local access, as the availability of the model is essential for its emulation (Bács 2020, 157). Much of the later reputation and deification of Senwosret III was focussed on his military accolades in Nubia, and so was centred on this region (El-Enany 2004, 207–13; Vogel 2017, 278; Saladino Haney 2020, 306). While the early Thirteenth Dynasty are thought to have still held control over Nubia (Smith 1995, 64–6; Ryholt 1997, 77; Siesse 2019, 337–60), there is little evidence of their direct involvement in the region. The only extant Nubian attestations of early Thirteenth Dynasty kings are the sealings of Khabaw and Djedkheperew from Uronarti and Mirgissa (Dunham 1967, 38, 40, 57–8, 64, 160; Gratién 1986, 89), and the *sed*-statuette of Wegaf from Semna (§6.1.5). In contrast, the Faiyum was a major centre for Amenemhat III's monumental display and subsequent deification (§3.3). As such, it may seem conceivable that the emulation of Amenemhat III in the early Thirteenth Dynasty could be at least partly due to the location of a key commemorative landscape for him within Egypt, rather than Senwosret III, whose commemorative landscape was externally located in Nubia. However, there is comparably as little evidence for the early Thirteenth Dynasty in the Faiyum as in Nubia, and access to this region may also have been limited during this period (§3.3). As such, geographical location and access

do not appear to be supported as factors in the particular focus on Amenemhat III rather than Senwosret III in early Thirteenth Dynasty emulative practices. Temporal proximity, therefore, seems to be a key factor here, as Amenemhat III, the latter of the two, was more appropriate for the appearance of continuity.

The rapid turnover of kings during the Thirteenth Dynasty and the now unclear mechanism for succession are suggestive of political instability, which in turn may drive a need for greater legitimization of power structures (§1.5). The reproduction of past forms and ideas is often said to be particularly common during or after periods of crisis when this connection to previous power structures, whether actual or only wishful, may be used to legitimise a new ruler by demonstrating continuity with the traditions and principles of Egyptian kingship, (§1.5), so that change may be '[couched] within a broader guise of changelessness' (Newman 2023, 29). It also seems highly probable that the Fourteenth Dynasty emerged as a competing power structure in the early years of the Thirteenth Dynasty (see §1.3), and this may also have provided another reason for the early Thirteenth Dynasty to articulate a particular connection to the Twelfth Dynasty in their monumental display: in a time where authority may be disputed between conflicting groups, a dynasty which aligns itself with the previous rulers may be perceived as the legitimate successors. As the early Twelfth Dynasty looked back to Sixth Dynasty models to establish themselves as the heirs of the Old Kingdom, the early Thirteenth Dynasty similarly asserted their position as the legitimate heirs of the Twelfth Dynasty, against the emerging Fourteenth Dynasty, through programmatic emulation in their self-presentation and monumental display which situated them within the traditions of the Twelfth Dynasty broadly, as well as a particular connection to Amenemhat III. It is also necessary to distinguish between emulative programmes which are 'archaistic', reviving a more distant past and its traditions, with those that assert continuity with a more recent tradition (Bács 2020, 157). If the purpose of this emulative programme is understood as a means of demonstrating continuity, despite actual circumstances, between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, then the difficulties in distinguishing an

intentional and meaningful use of past forms from genuine cultural continuity discussed previously are probably themselves intentional and may reflect the success of this programme.

7.5 The early Thirteenth Dynasty place in history

A persistent question in studies of the Thirteenth Dynasty is whether this dynasty should be attributed to the long Middle Kingdom, or Second Intermediate Period. Continuity in material culture may be used to argue that the Thirteenth Dynasty belongs to the Middle Kingdom, while the difference in reign lengths between the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty might demonstrate a political difference that could equally justify attributing the latter to the Second Intermediate Period entirely. Alternatively, the rise of the Fourteenth Dynasty and the disunification of the Egyptian state leads others to suggest that the transition between the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period occurs during the Thirteenth Dynasty, so that the dynasty may be attributed in part to both periods (§1.1). All of these interpretations are justifiable, based on differing understandings of periodisation. A more important factor is how the kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty might have thought about themselves. The emulation of Amenemhat III by the early Thirteenth Dynasty, and the later emulation of Senwosret III by the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty and Neferhotep I in particular (Wegner and Cahail 2015, 158–9), strongly suggests that the kings of this dynasty sought to align themselves with the Twelfth. In the Ramessid copy of the Turin king-list, the Thirteenth Dynasty is described as ‘*nswt [... hr]-s3 [hrdw sht]p-ib-r^c nḥw wd3w snbw*’, ‘the kings [who were after] the [children of Sehotep]ibre, l.p.h.’ (Ryholt 2004, 142), a heading which both separates the Thirteenth Dynasty from the Twelfth as a distinct entity, but also defines them by their relationship to them (Allen 2010, 1). While this heading may be a later designation formulated during the history of the king-list’s transmission, it arguably echoes the manner in which the Thirteenth Dynasty sought to position themselves in relation to the Twelfth Dynasty. From the continuation of the Nile flood record tradition at the Second Cataract established by Amenemhat III, to the incorporation of his nomen into their own, the

adoption of the post-Hawara pyramid type, and the use of specific iconographic features of the statuary of Amenemhat III, the kings of the early Thirteenth Dynasty programmatically modelled their monumental display and self-presentation on that of Amenemhat III in order to evoke an association with their eminent predecessor and to be perceived as the legitimate successors of his dynasty.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
ADAIK	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe
ÄL	<i>Ägypten und Levante</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
AVDAIK	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo)
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar of New York</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
BMOP	British Museum Occasional paper
BSAEERA	British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account
BSAK	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur, Beihefte
CRIPPEL	<i>Cahiers de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille</i>
CHANE	Culture and history of the Ancient Near East
FIFAO	Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
GM	<i>Göttinger Miscellen</i>
IFAO	Institut français d'archéologie orientale
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KÄT	Kleine ägyptische Texte
LÄ	W. Helck et al. (ed.), 1975–92, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 vol., Wiesbaden, Harrasowitz.
LD	Lepsius, R. 1913, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien Tafelwerke</i> , Leipzig, Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>

MEEF	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund
MEES	Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale
MKS	Middle Kingdom Studies
MMJ	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
NSSEA	<i>Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta.
PdÄ	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PIFAO	Publications de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
PM	Porter, B. and R. L. B. Moss 1927–1951, <i>Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings</i> , 7 vol., Oxford: Oxford University Press.
PMMAEE	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition
PPYE	Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale expedition to Egypt
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SASAE	Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte.
SDAIK	Sonderschrift Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
Wb.	Erman, A. and H. Grapow (ed.), 1925–63, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 13 vol., Berlin and Leipzig, Akademie Verlag, J. C. Hinrichs.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

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Appendix A: titularies of the Thirteenth Dynasty

Horus	Two Ladies	Golden Horus	Prenomen	Nomen
<i>mnh</i> -[...]	-	<i>nh-ntrw</i>	<i>shm-r-hw-t3wy</i>	Amenemhat-Sobekhotep
<i>mh-ib-t3wy</i>	<i>iti-shm:f</i>	-	<i>shm-k3-r</i>	Amenemhat-Senebef
-	-	-	<i>nry-k3-r</i>	-
-	-	-	-	Ameny-Qemaw
-	-	-	<i>htp-ib-r</i>	Qemaw-Sahornedjheritef
-	-	-	<i>nb-m3-t-r</i>	Iwefni
<i>snh-ib-t3wy</i>	<i>shm-hw</i>	<i>hk-m3-t</i>	<i>snh-ib-r</i>	Ameny-Intef-Amenemhat
-	-	-	<i>smn-k3-r</i>	Nebnun
<i>swsh-t3wy</i>	-	-	<i>sw3d-n-r</i>	Schotepibre
-	-	-	<i>sw3d-k3-r</i>	-
-	-	-	<i>ndm-ib-r</i>	-
<i>h3-b3w</i>	<i>whm-dd</i>	<i>nh-rnpwt</i>	<i>shm-r-hw-t3wy</i>	Amenemhat-Renseneb
<i>htp-ib-t3wy</i>	<i>nfr-hw</i>	<i>ntr-ntrw</i>	<i>3w-ib-r</i>	Hor
<i>hry-tp-t3wy</i>	<i>ntr-b3w</i>	<i>3-phity</i>	<i>sdf3-k3-r</i>	Kay-Amenemhat
<i>shm-ntrw</i>	<i>h-b3w</i>	<i>mriy</i> -[...]	<i>hw-t3.wy-r</i>	Wegaf
<i>dd-hprw</i>	<i>w3h-mswt</i>	<i>3-dhwty</i>	<i>wsr-k3-r</i>	Khendjer
-	-	-	<i>smnh-k3-r</i>	Imyremesha
-	-	-	<i>shtp-k3-r</i>	Intef
-	-	-	<i>mr-ib-r</i>	Seth
<i>hw-t3wy</i>	<i>h-m-shm:f</i>	<i>htp-hr-m3-t</i>	<i>shm-r-sw3d-t3wy</i>	Sobekhotep
<i>grg-t3wy</i>	<i>wp-m3-t</i>	<i>mn-mrwt</i>	<i>hi-shm-r</i>	Neferhotep
-	-	-	<i>mn-w3d-r</i>	Sahathor

<i>ḥnh-ib-t3wy</i>	<i>w3d-ḥw</i>	<i>wsr-b3w</i>	<i>ḥi-nfr-r</i>	Sobekhotep
<i>sm3-t3wy</i>	<i>ḏd-ḥw</i>	<i>k3w-ntrw</i>	<i>ḥi-ḥnh-r</i>	Sobekhotep
-	-	-	<i>ḥi-ḥtp-r</i>	Sobekhotep
-	-	-	<i>w3ḥ-ib-r</i>	Ibiaw
-	-	-	<i>mr-nfr-r</i>	Ay
-	-	-	<i>mr-ḥtp-r</i>	Ini/Sobekhotep
-	-	-	<i>sḥ-n-r</i>	Sewadjtew
-	-	-	<i>mr-shm-r</i>	Ined/Neferhotep
-	-	-	<i>sw3d-k3-r</i>	Hori
-	-	-	<i>mr-k3.w-r</i>	Sobekhotep
—Seven entries entirely lost in Turin king-list—				
-	-	-	<i>mr-[...]-r</i>	-
-	-	-	<i>mr-ḥpr-r</i>	-
-	-	-	<i>mr-k3-r</i>	-
—one entry entirely lost in Turin king-list—				
-	-	-	<i>swd-r</i>	Montuhotep
-	-	-	<i>[...]-ms-r</i>	-
-	-	-	<i>[...]m3-t-r</i>	Ibi
-	-	-	<i>[...]-wbn-r</i>	Hor[...]
-	-	-	<i>shk-n-r</i>	Sankhptahi
-	-	-	<i>[...]-[...]-r</i>	-
-	-	-	<i>s[...]-n-r</i>	-
<hr/>				
Unplaced in the Turin king-list but attributed to the Thirteenth Dynasty				
-	-	-	<i>sw3ḥ-n-r</i>	Senebmiew
-	-	-	<i>shḥi-n-r</i>	[...]s