

# RISE OF THE HYKSOS

EGYPT AND THE LEVANT FROM THE  
MIDDLE KINGDOM TO THE EARLY  
SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

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*For Mum and Dad*



## Preface and Acknowledgements

Egypt and the Levant: two areas that have continually shaped societies and the advancement of civilisation in both the past and the present. Throughout the last few years, I have been lucky enough to delve into their ancient cultures, searching for hints of intercultural contact. I offer this body of work as a small contribution to their histories and their people, with the hope that it will inspire many more.

This study is based on a doctoral dissertation submitted in 2014 at Australia's Macquarie University. As its title suggests, it concentrates on the rise of the Hyksos, exploring relations between Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period. This period is characterised by the destabilisation of the Egyptian state, when the *hk3.w h3s.wt* 'rulers of foreign lands', or 'Hyksos', extended their control over parts of Egypt. Investigations into how the Hyksos gained such control was dependent on Manetho's affirmation of an Asiatic invasion until recent excavations at Tell el-Dab'a revealed new and significant data on their dynasty. Since then, much debate has circulated on the rise of the Hyksos, with scholars advocating one of three models: (1) invasion; (2) gradual infiltration and peaceful takeover; or (3) gradual infiltration and violent takeover. The Hyksos have also been argued to be from either the Northern or Southern Levant, the confusion partly due to the lack of an up-to-date study assessing Levantines, their growing influences on Egypt, and whether this influence helped the Hyksos establish their rule.

The present work is a response to this need. It outlines the development of the status of Levantines in Egyptian society, and reassesses the changing nature of Egyptian-Levantine relations. The approach is holistic, gathering archaeological, textual and artistic evidence that reveals intercultural contact. Special focus is placed on archaeological ethnic markers to identify the presence of Levantines in Egypt as well as the Egyptian concept of ethnicity.

This book would never have been possible without the generosity and advice of several individuals. As a doctoral student at Macquarie University, I was supervised by Professor Naguib Kanawati, who has been a valuable source of guidance and counsel. I also thank my associate supervisor, Associate Professor Boyo Ockinga, for his insights and constructive comments, especially on some of my translations, and Dr Ann McFarlane for proofreading the manuscript. Inherent errors are, however, my own. I would also like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the following for their support and encouragement: Dr Susanne Binder; Dr Linda Evans; Dr Jana Jones; Dr Miral Lashien; Dr Joyce Swinton; Dr Alexandra Woods; Robert and Kathy Parker; and to Archaeopress for publishing this work, particularly Dr David Davison for his support.

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Unless noted, all images were photographed, inked or redrawn by the author. Thanks are due to Professor Naguib Kanawati for permission to include images of wall scenes from the Australian Centre for Egyptology's work at Beni Hassan and Meir, Professor Hélène Sader for permission to include images of Tell el-Burak's wall scenes, and the National Museums Scotland for copyright approval for Plate 3.

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## List of Abbreviations

### Books, journals, publication series and institutions

<i>AAALiv</i>	<i>Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology</i>
<i>AAS</i>	<i>Annales archéologiques de Syrie</i>
<i>AASOR</i>	<i>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>ÄA</i>	<i>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen</i>
<i>ÄAT</i>	<i>Ägypten und Altes Testament</i>
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>The Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
ACE: Reports	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports
ACE: Studies	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies
<i>ADAJ</i>	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
<i>AHL</i>	<i>Archaeology and History in the Lebanon</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJBA</i>	<i>Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>AJSL</i>	<i>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
<i>Akk</i>	<i>Akkadica</i>
<i>ANES</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
<i>AOF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>
<i>ARCE</i>	American Research Centre in Egypt
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv orientální</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>ASOR</i>	American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>AsPn</i>	<i>Asiatische Personennamen</i> (T. Schneider, <i>Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches</i> , OBO 114 [Gottingen, 1992])
<i>AV</i>	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen
<i>BA</i>	<i>The Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>BAAL</i>	<i>Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture Libanaises</i>
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
<i>BAR</i>	British Archaeological Reports
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BdE</i>	Bibliothèque d'Étude
<i>BES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
<i>BIA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology</i>
<i>BiAe</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca</i>
<i>BIES</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</i>
<i>BiOr</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i>
<i>BMB</i>	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</i>
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société d'égyptologue, Genève</i>
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la société Française d'égyptologie</i>
<i>CAH</i>	<i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CASAE</i>	<i>Cahiers. Supplément aux Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>CCE</i>	<i>Cahiers de la céramique Égyptienne</i>
<i>CCEM</i>	Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean
<i>CdE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CRAIBL</i>	<i>Comptes-rendus des séances de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
<i>CRIPEL</i>	<i>Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'egyptologie de Lille</i>
<i>DAIAK</i>	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo
<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
<i>DFIAFO</i>	Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire

<i>E&amp;L</i>	<i>Ägypten und Levante/ Egypt and the Levant</i>
<i>EA</i>	<i>Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>FIFAO</i>	<i>Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i>
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel Oriental Society</i>
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</i>
<i>JAEI</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections</i>
<i>JAIGB</i>	<i>Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JANER</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JAS</i>	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBS</i>	<i>Journal of Black Studies</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian History</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het vooraziat-egyptisch Genootschap, Ex Oriente Lux</i>
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
<i>JMA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JÖAI</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JPOS</i>	<i>Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society</i>
<i>JPR</i>	<i>Journal of Prehistoric Religion</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal African Society</i>
<i>JSA</i>	<i>Journal of Social Archaeology</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
<i>JSOT –Suppl.</i>	<i>Journal of the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo</i>
<i>MIFAO</i>	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire</i>
<i>MMA</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</i>
<i>MMJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
<i>NARCE</i>	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>NEA</i>	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
<i>ÖAW</i>	<i>Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</i>
<i>OIMP</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Museum Publications</i>
<i>OIP</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
<i>OIS</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Seminars</i>
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
<i>OLP</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i>
<i>PAM</i>	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i>
<i>PEFA</i>	<i>The Palestine Exploration Fund Annual</i>
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>PM</i>	<i>B. Porter and R. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> (Oxford, 1927-52; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition J. Málek, 1960-)</i>
<i>PT</i>	<i>A. B. Mercer, <i>The Pyramid Texts</i> (New York, London and Toronto, 1952)</i>
<i>QDAP</i>	<i>Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
<i>RT</i>	<i>Recueil de traveaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
<i>SAGA</i>	<i>Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens</i>
<i>SAHL</i>	<i>Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization</i>
<i>SBAW</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
<i>SMA</i>	<i>Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology</i>

SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities
<i>TeD</i>	<i>Tell el-Dab'a</i> (series)
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen. Internationales Jahressbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas</i>
<i>Urk</i>	K. Sethe, <i>Urkunden des Alten Reichs</i> (Leipzig, 1933)
<i>VA</i>	<i>Varia aegyptiaca</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>Wb</i>	A. Erman and H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache</i> , 7 vols (Berlin, 1926-1971)
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft</i>
<i>ZBA</i>	Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie
<i>ZDPV</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>

#### Other terms

Chron.	Chronology
EBA	Early Bronze Age
Lat.Lon.	Latitude and Longitude
LBA	Late Bronze Age
MBA	Middle Bronze Age
NAA	Neutron Activation Analysis
Ref(s)	Reference(s)

## SECTION 1: STUDYING THE HYKSOS

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# 1. Introduction

'... unexpectedly, from the regions of the East,  
invaders of obscure race marched  
in confidence of victory against our land.  
By main force they easily seized it,  
without striking a blow.'

Manetho, *Aegyptiaca*, frg. 42, 1.75-1.76.

## 1.1 Introduction

Manetho's obscure reference to a race of invaders has been a constant source of debate and controversy. But who are they and where did they come from? They are named the 'Hyksos' – a Greek modification of the Egyptian expression *hk3 h3s.wt* 'ruler of foreign lands'. The Hyksos are correlated with the Fifteenth Dynasty of the Second Intermediate Period, a time characterised by the destabilisation and regionalisation of the Egyptian state. Several scholars have pondered over their victory and rule in Egypt, from the manner in which they entered Egypt and the means with which they claimed the throne to their final expulsion from the land. The present work assesses their rise to power, exploring the preliminary stages that enabled the Hyksos to gain control over a portion of Egyptian territory and thus to merit a small mention in Manetho's history.

## 1.2 Research Problems

The Fifteenth Dynasty has provoked much discussion on the role of foreigners in Egypt. Manetho's account originally led historians to search for traces of northeastern warriors violently succeeding the Egyptian regime.<sup>1</sup> Over the past few decades, excavations in the Delta have caused scholars to propose that the Hyksos takeover may not have been wholly violent, but that it was partly or even completely facilitated by a northeastern population already living in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Archaeological evidence from Tell el-Dab'a (Avaris) has revealed that the population largely derived from a Levantine ethnic group, one which is represented in the Egyptian corpus as that of the 'Asiatics'. A study on the rise of the Hyksos must therefore entail an assessment of Levantines in Egypt during the period before their rule, that is, the Middle Kingdom and the early Second Intermediate Period.

This exercise is well reflected in the available literature but is marked by a lack of a thorough and recent examination of the varying representations of northerners within Egyptian society. A few attempts have been made in tracing their presence in Egypt, yet the studies mostly focus on a particular body of evidence, such as textual

references to Asiatics or specific forms of archaeological data. Often, the representations are removed from their context and utilised to support circumstantial evidence, with an inherent disregard for the influence of the Egyptian concept of the *other* that permeates representations and incorporates ideological affirmations of Egyptian supremacy. Consequently, a land in the Levant is equated to one with 'fuzzy-wuzzies in some godforsaken outback'<sup>3</sup> while depictions of Asiatics in the Middle Kingdom become scenes of wandering nomadic tribes. With such conclusions, scholars have discounted the nature of the evidence, its purpose and the context in which it appears.

In addition, many researchers have concentrated on developments within a specific category of evidence, effectively omitting data that can significantly alter their findings.<sup>4</sup> The reliance on scarab analysis, for instance, has led some to assert that the Hyksos and their people originated from the Southern Levant. While this may be correct, correlating the distribution of scarabs and seals with ethnic origins is subject to error, much like the equation of particular ceramics at a site with the presence of the people behind its production (i.e. the 'pots equal people' contention). The presence or absence of these finds may instead be related to commercial activities.

Another research problem is that the literature is primarily concentrated on evidence from one specific area, namely the Delta or the Southern Levant. Although of utmost significance, such areas should not overshadow the equally important regions of Middle Egypt, Upper Egypt, the Northern Levant and the Eastern Desert.

A further research dilemma is the reliance on finds from unclear contexts and/or later periods. An example is the use of the aforementioned history of Manetho which should instead be utilised as supporting data. Scholars' dependence on such evidence has resulted in misinterpretations in the chronology, ethnic origins, and nature of the Fifteenth Dynasty that still resonate in current scholarly literature.

Evidently, the research problems highlight the need for a new study that examines the rise of the Hyksos through a reappraisal of various forms of evidence across Egypt and the Levant. Such a study would surely advance

<sup>1</sup> For example, Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 96-97; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 98-106. For more on past scholarship, see Chapter 2.2.

<sup>2</sup> For example, see Bietak, *Avaris*; Bietak, in *Second Intermediate Period*, 139-181.

<sup>3</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 85.

<sup>4</sup> Baines, in *Study of the Ancient Near East*, 344.

our knowledge of the ambiguous Fifteenth Dynasty in Egyptian history and address the 'warm and ongoing debate'<sup>5</sup> surrounding the Hyksos's emerging reign.

### 1.3 Research Goals

In an attempt to shed new light on the socio-political developments associated with Asiatics and the accession of the Fifteenth Dynasty, this study aims to examine the rise of the Hyksos by tracing Egyptian-Levantine contact from the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period via a holistic approach of the evidence.

The primary objective is to investigate how the Hyksos were able to form an independent state in the north of Egypt. The nature and development of Egyptian-Levantine relations is assessed to examine the validity of proposed theoretical models explaining the rise of the Hyksos, including: (1) the invasion model; (2) the gradual infiltration and peaceful takeover; and (3) the gradual infiltration and violent takeover.

The study secondarily aims to explore the origins of the Fifteenth Dynasty. Scholarly consensus agrees that the Hyksos are from West Asia. However, a more precise area of origin has been fervently debated. This aim is linked with that of the rise of the Hyksos and is largely dependent on which of the aforementioned models is supported by the evidence.

The third aim entails a reanalysis of Egyptian relations with the Levant. Changes in the status and role of foreigners from the northeast are to be examined with a reassessment of developments in the Egyptian concept of and reaction to foreigners. The latter further encompasses an investigation into the influence of context and genre on the collected data.

### 1.4 Research Methodology

The main method is to trace elements of a West Asiatic ethnic group(s) and culture in Egypt and the Eastern Desert. These markers may be revealed through:

1. *Archaeological evidence*, gathered from sites featuring non-Egyptian elements encompassing: (a) secular and sacral architecture; (b) burial customs; (c) characteristic non-Egyptian vessels; and (d) small material goods. The evidence is compared to and supplemented by archaeological finds from the Levant;
2. *Textual evidence*, including contemporary texts preserved on (a) stelae, (b) royally-instigated inscriptions, (c) tomb inscriptions, (d) scarabs, seals and seal impressions, (e) papyri, and (f) graffiti. Asiatics can be identified by the use of terms designating Asiatic groups, Levantine toponyms

<sup>5</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 101.

and non-Egyptian names. Literary and linguistic perspectives are utilised, the former of which is used to assess the influence of genre and style while the latter focuses on terminology; and

3. *Artistic evidence*, which embraces depictions of Asiatics on (a) wall scenes in funerary contexts; (b) scarabs, seals, and seal impressions; (c) stone, ceramic and wooden three-dimensional figures; and (d) small material goods. These are evaluated according to their context and aspects of composition. The contextual study includes an artefact's overall decorative scheme, immediate context as well as its contemporary socio-political and religious circumstances, whereas aspects of composition embrace artistic details such as posture, colour and clothing.

The second method is to examine the development of Egyptian-Levantine relations as expressed by evidence in the Levant. The same three abovementioned bodies of data are collected, focussing on that which displays contact with the Egyptian culture. Results are then compared with evidence from Egypt and the Eastern Desert.

All forms of evidence are presented geographically and, where possible, chronologically. Such an analysis helps identify the development of Egyptian-Levantine relations for each particular site and region, as well as the progression of foreigners' status in Egyptian society. It further provides a holistic approach to help determine how the Hyksos emerged as a dominant power in Egypt and the Mediterranean.

### 1.5 Research Parameters

#### 1.5.1 Geographical scope and terminology

Three areas are investigated: (1) Egypt; (2) the Eastern Desert; and (3) the Levant (Figure 1.1). Sites considered in each area are those which bear traces of Egyptian-Levantine relations and/or are heavily featured in the literature. Egypt is divided into four regions of the Delta, the Memphite region, Middle Egypt and Upper Egypt. The Eastern Desert has been selected as a peripheral zone frequented by Egyptian expeditions and includes the Sinai Peninsula. Contacts with the Libyans to the west,<sup>6</sup> the Nubians and Puntites to the south,<sup>7</sup> as well as the civilisations further north<sup>8</sup> are only discussed in relation to Egyptian-Levantine relations.

<sup>6</sup> See Booth, *Role of Foreigners*, 9-10, 38-44; Forbes, *KMT* 16/1 (2005), 73.

<sup>7</sup> See Booth, *Role of Foreigners*, 9, 45-53; Bourriau, in *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, 25-41; Bourriau, in *Egypt and Africa*, 129-144; Bourriau, in *Ancient Egypt*, 194-197; Liszka, *Medjay and Pangrave*; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 2, 82-104, 110-111, 179-181; Lacovara, in *Hyksos*, 69-86.

<sup>8</sup> For example, the Minoan and Cypriote cultures. See Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 2, 183-184; Merrillees, *Trade and Transcendence*; Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*; Maguire, *Td* 21; Warren, in *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, 1-18.

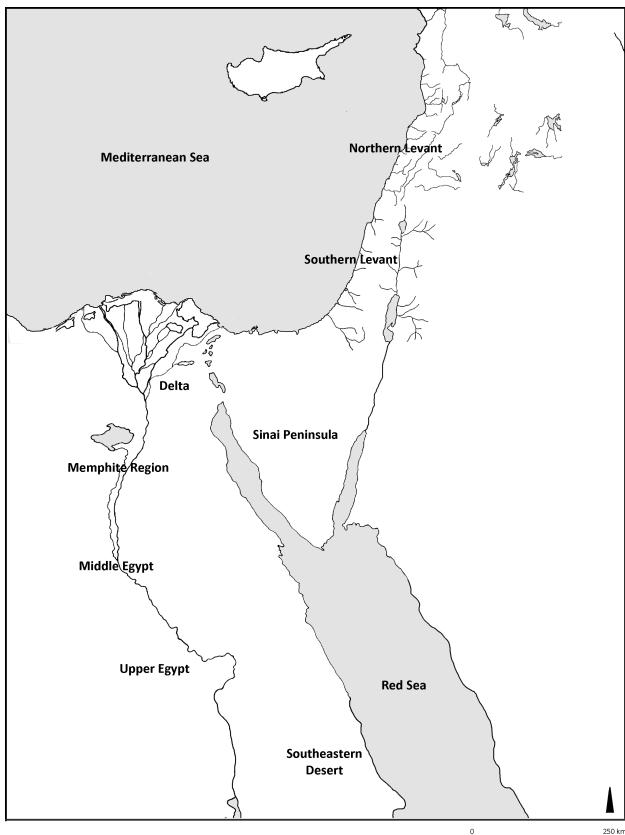


FIGURE 1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL SCOPE: EGYPT, THE EASTERN DESERT AND THE LEVANT.

The Levant is presented as two main geographical regions (Figure 1.1): (1) the Northern Levant, including modern western Syria and Lebanon; and (2) the Southern Levant, including present-day Israel, the Palestinian occupied territories and Jordan. The division is simply a geographical differentiation that is commonly found in the literature. Levantine cultural traits were often shared across the region, but can appear in the archaeological record at slightly different periods, especially following the collapse of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) and the rise of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA). Thus, the terms used in this work are derived from geographical terminology rather than ethnic identifiers (e.g. Amorite or Canaanite). The expression 'Syria-Palestine' is only utilised to refer to a type of Levantine vessel typically classified as the 'Syro-Palestinian store-jar'.

### 1.5.2 Chronological scope and terminology

A detailed investigation into chronological correlations between Egypt and the Levant would be too vast to explore in the present work. As such, the monograph is dependent on other chronological analyses and does not aim to offer revisions of synchronised chronologies. Instead, the study sheds new insights on the socio-political changes that may have led to an independent Fifteenth Dynasty in Egypt. Further discussion into chronological correlations that are adopted in the study may be found in Chapter 2.3.

The Egyptian period under examination is the Twelfth to early Fifteenth Dynasties, the sequence of dynasties and rulers cited here adhering to Ryholt (Figure 1.2).<sup>9</sup> Due to the unclear nature of the absolute chronology of the Middle Kingdom, and the absolute and relative chronology of the Second Intermediate Period, absolute dating is not utilised or discussed.<sup>10</sup> While the Middle Kingdom includes Dynasty 12, the Thirteenth Dynasty has been proposed to belong fully or partially to the Second Intermediate Period, the beginning of which remains conjectural. The present work follows Ryholt's division of the Second Intermediate Period into two stages: (1) a weakened Egyptian state and its disintegration into two main kingdoms, the Fourteenth Dynasty in the north and the Sixteenth Dynasty in the

DYNASTY	NOMEN	PRENOMEN
12	Amenemhat I	Sihotepibra
	Senwosret I	Kheperkara
	Amenemhat II	Nebkaura
	Senwosret II	Khakheperra
	Senwosret III	Khakaura
	Amenemhat III	Nimaatra
	Amenemhat IV	Maakherura
	Sobeknofru	Sobekkara
13*	Sobekhotep I	Sekhemrakhotawy
	Amenemhat V	Sekhemkara
	‘ <sup>3</sup> mw/Qemau	-
	Sihornedjheritef	Hotepibra
	Siweskhtawy	Sihotepibra
	Hor	Awibra
	Khendjer	Weserkara
	Noferhotep I	Khasekhemra
	Sihathor	Menwadja
	Sobekhotep IV	Khaneferra
	Sobekhotep V	Merhoteptra
	Sobekhotep VI	Khahotepra
	Ibiaw	Wahibra
	Aya	Mernoferra
14*	Sobekhotep VII	Merkaura
	<i>Ykbm</i>	Sekhaenra
	<i>Y<sup>3</sup>mw</i>	Nebweserra
	<i>K<sup>3</sup>rh</i>	Khaweserra
	<i>‘<sup>3</sup>mw</i>	Aahotepra
	Šši (Sheshi)	Maaibra
15*	Nehsy	Aasehra
	<i>Smkn</i>	-
	<i>pr-‘nti</i>	-
	<i>Skrhr</i>	-
	<i>Hy<sup>3</sup>n</i> (Khayan)	Siweserenra
	<i>Ippi</i> (Apophis)	Aaweserra
	<i>H<sup>3</sup>mwdi</i>	Hotepibra

FIGURE 1.2. KINGS OF DYNASTY 12 AND SELECTED RULERS OF DYNASTIES 13-15. AFTER RYHOLT, *POLITICAL SITUATION*.  
\* The sequence of rulers is not fixed.

<sup>9</sup> Ryholt, *Political Situation*.

<sup>10</sup> For a brief overview of chronological issues, see Chapter 2.3.

PRESENT WORK	SOUTHERN LEVANT (OLD)	SOUTHERN LEVANT (NEW)	NORTHERN LEVANT
EBIV/MBI	Intermediate BA or MBI	EBIVA	EBIVa
		EBIVB	EBIVb
		EBIVC	
MBIIA	MBIIA	MBI	MBIa MBIb
MBIIB	MBIIB	MBII	MBIIa
MBIIC	MBIIC	MBIII	MBIIb

FIGURE 1.3. TERMINOLOGY OF DIVISIONS IN EBA-MBA LEVANTINE CHRONOLOGY.  
AFTER BURKE, *MBA FORTIFICATION STRATEGIES*, 19, TABLE 1.

south; and (2) the rise of the Fifteenth Dynasty in the north, with its capital at Avaris, and the Seventeenth Dynasty in the south, with its capital at Thebes.<sup>11</sup> Overlap between Dynasties 13–17 is not unfeasible.

Correlating with the Egyptian period is the Levantine MBA, for which a number of terminologies exist. The traditional tripartite division, namely MBIIA–C, is employed in this work.<sup>12</sup> It is recognised that this terminology is not commonly applied by researchers studying the Northern Levant, who typically divide the MBA into MBI (MBIIA) and MBII (MBIIB–C). However, for continuity's sake, the tripartite division is utilised in discussion to finds from the north. The various terminologies for describing Levantine chronology and their correlations can be found in Figure 1.3.

Synchronisations of the MBA with the Egyptian chronology follow Bietak's low chronology.<sup>13</sup> The MBIIA would thereby generally correlate with the Twelfth Dynasty and the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the MBIIA–B to the third quarter of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the MBIIB to the end of the Thirteenth and first half of the Fifteenth Dynasty, and the MBIIC to the late Fifteenth and possibly early Eighteenth Dynasty (Figure 1.4). Based on these correlations, only Levantine material from the MBIIA to MBIIB period is examined. Evidence from the MBIIC is only included in the clarification or reassessment of traditional relative dates.

### 1.5.3 Evidential scope

The translation of titles and epithets predominantly follow Ward's study on Middle Kingdom terms, unless otherwise specified.<sup>14</sup> For emphasis, toponyms and personal names of postulated non-Egyptian origin, including those of Fourteenth and Fifteenth kings,<sup>15</sup> are left untranslated. Pottery fabrics are classified according to the Vienna

System.<sup>16</sup> The typology of Tell el-Yahudiyah ware is reliant on its most recent study by Aston and Bietak<sup>17</sup> and scarab seal typology adheres to Ben-Tor's classifications.<sup>18</sup>

Evidence of clear provenance and context is selected, relying on the basis that only such provenanced artefacts can securely reflect contemporaneous Egyptian–Levantine contact. Examples of material of uncertain provenance or date of deposition include scarabs bought from antiquity dealers and surface finds. Some are included to signal possible intercultural contact but are clearly marked as questionable pieces or are only given a general chronological attribution. Exceptions are a few unprovenanced artefacts, such as the Tale of Sinuhe or the Berlin Execration Bowls, that justifiably reflect a Middle Kingdom date or Middle Kingdom Egyptian–Levantine relations. Non-contemporary sources, however, are not analysed. These include the Kamose 'victory' stela, the Turin King-List, Manetho's history, as well as Canaanite and Biblical stories, such as those of Io, Joseph, and the Exodus, which have been related to the Fifteenth Dynasty.

Lastly, it is important to note the fragmented nature of the evidence itself, particularly as a small percentage of it survives.<sup>19</sup> The presence of variability and the possibility that the evidence only concerns a small percentage of the population should be recognised.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the collected evidence is dependent upon the methodologies followed by excavation teams in preliminary surveys, consequent excavations and the final publication of data.<sup>21</sup> Many sites have also been subjected to looting and mutilation in both ancient and modern times.

<sup>11</sup> Ryholt, *Political Situation*.

<sup>12</sup> Albright, *Archaeology of Palestine*; Mazar, *Land of the Bible*.

<sup>13</sup> See Chapter 2.3.

<sup>14</sup> Ward, *Index*.

<sup>15</sup> The origin of the name *Ippi 'Apophis'* is uncertain and could be either Egyptian or foreign in origin. For more, see von Beckerath, *Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, 127, n. 2; Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 129; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 1, 36–39.

<sup>16</sup> Nordström and Bourriau, in *Ancient Egyptian Pottery*, 147–190.

<sup>17</sup> Aston and Bietak, *TxD* 8

<sup>18</sup> Ben-Tor, *IEJ* 47/3 (1997), 162–189; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs*.

<sup>19</sup> Clarke, *Antiquity* 47 (1973), 16; Renfrew and Bahn, *Archaeology*, 54–72.

<sup>20</sup> O'Connor, in *Population Growth*, 81–83; Baines and Eyre, *GM* 61 (1983), 65–67; Baines and Lacovara, *JSA* 2 (2002), 12.

<sup>21</sup> For more on problems in excavations and publications of Egyptian material, see Richards, *Society and Death*, 67–69.

EGYPTIAN DYNASTY	BC*	TELL EL-DAB'A	LEVANT*
12	A I	1980	N/2-3
	S I	1950	N/1
		1920	HIATUS
	A II		M
		1890	L
	S II		K
	S III	1860	I
	A III	1830	
	A IV	1800	H
	SOBEK.	1770	G/4
13	14 (?)	1740	G/1-3
		1710	F
		1680	E/3
		1650	E/2
		1620	E/1
15		1590	D/3
		1560	D/2
		1530	D/1
18			

FIGURE 1.4. CHRONOLOGICAL CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EGYPT, TELL EL-DAB'A AND THE LEVANT. AFTER BIETAK, IN *CITIES AND URBANISM*, FIG. 7.

\* Following Bietak's low chronology.

#### 1.5.4 Other limitations

The scope of the present work has been specifically tailored to provide the best results for its aims. Therefore, some topics could not be examined in detail, despite their significance for the study of the Hyksos. These include: absolute and relative dating methods determining the chronological point when the Hyksos took over; the genealogy of Hyksos rulers and the etymology of the names of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasty kings; shifts in the ceramic sequence across Egypt; and developments in scarab typology. Such studies deserve entirely different research projects and have, in some form, been dealt with in other works.<sup>22</sup>

Any reflection on the names and sequence of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasty kings is limited by evidential scope. Much of the evidence for these kings is from non-contemporaneous sources like the Turin King-List or unprovenanced scarabs. Therefore, the study only refers to Dynasty 14 if an item from a selected site clearly relates to a Fourteenth Dynasty king.

As a final note it should be stressed that some regions have been more favoured by archaeological researchers than others. Such regions as the Egyptian western Delta or the Beqa' Valley of Lebanon, for instance, have not been adequately explored. The current political situation in all examined areas also continues to restrict personal inspection of sites and artefacts. Thus, future archaeological and historical research will only help clarify and contribute to the present work's findings, enriching our general understanding of the Second Intermediate Period.

#### 1.6 Research Outline

The study is divided into three sections: (1) *Studying the Hyksos*, with three chapters offering introductory information on previous scholarship and current understandings; (2) *Evidence for Contact*, investigating the data for Egyptian-Levantine relations from the regions of Egypt, the Eastern Desert and the Levant, each explored in a separate chapter; and (3) *Observations and Findings*, with two chapters, one on Asiatic representations in text and art, and the other on the origins and rise of the Hyksos. Appendices include *Ambiguous Data from the Levant* which could not be featured in Section 2 due to its questionable nature, as well as *Translations* of lengthy texts examined in the present work.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, von Beckerath, *Zweiten Zwischenzeit*; Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens*; Schneider, in *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 168-196; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 1; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs*; Ryholt, *Political Situation*.