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نهاية عصر الدولة الوسطى

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LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM

نهاية عصر الدولة الوسطى

Wolfram Grajetzki

Spätes Mittleres Reich
Fin du Moyen Empire

In the Egyptian late Middle Kingdom (from Senusret III in the mid 12th to the 13th Dynasty), innovations are visible at all levels of Egyptian culture and administration. At this time, the country was heavily centralized, and there are several indications of a wish for tighter control in administration, while local governors lost much of their power. Royal activities were mainly focused on the Memphis-Fayum region, with Abydos and Thebes being two other important centers. At Avaris in the east Delta, the population grew substantially, also due to the influx of many foreigners from the Near East. Senusret III launched military campaigns against Nubia and Palestine, on a scale not attested before. In addition to his pyramid at Dahshur, he had a great funerary complex at Abydos. Amenemhat III is mainly known for his huge funerary complex at Hawara, later called the ‘Labyrinth’ by the ancient Greeks. In sculpture, a new style of portraiture for both kings shows them at an advanced age, rather than the usual idealized young ruler. The 12th Dynasty ends with the little known ruling queen Neferusobek. The transition to the following dynasty remains enigmatic. In stark contrast to the 12th Dynasty, the 13th Dynasty consisted of about 50 kings ruling for just 150 years. Culture and administration went on without any major break. Many kings still built pyramids in the Memphite region. Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV belong to the better attested kings of the dynasty: production of Abydos stelae seems to peak under them, and a dense network of officials is attested on the stelae. Far fewer sources survive for later rulers, but a stark decline on all levels is visible, perhaps related to the takeover of the east Delta fringe by foreigners living there.

ظهرت خلال نهاية عصر الدولة الوسطى (من عصر سنوسرت الثالث منتصف الأسرة الثانية عشرة إلى الأسرة الثالثة عشرة) تطورات ملحوظة على كل مستويات الثقافة والإدارة المصرية، في ذلك الوقت كانت الدولة شديدة المركزية، ويوجد العديد من المؤشرات التي تشير إلى رغبة في احكام السيطرة في الإدارة، حيث فقد الكثير من الحكام المحليين الكثير من سلطتهم. تركزت النشاطات الملكية بشكل أساسي في منطقة منف والفيوم، في حين كانت أبيدوس وطيبة مركزين آخرين مهمين. زاد التعداد السكاني بأفاريس (تل الضبعة) بشرق الدلتا جزئياً بسبب تدفق الأجانب القادمين من الشرق الأدنى. بدأ الملك سنوسرت الثالث عمليات عسكرية

ضد النوبة وفلسطين على مدى أكبر مما كان عليه قبل ذلك. بالإضافة إلى هر مه بدشور، كان له مجموعة جنازية عظيمة بأبيدوس. أما أمنمحات الثالث، فهو يشتهر بمجموعته الجنازية العظيمة بهواره، والذي أطلق عليها اليونانيون «المتاهة». وبالنسبة إلى النحت اسلوب جديد لفن التصوير يصور وجه الملوك بسن متقدمة عوضاً عن الشكل الشاب المثالي المتعارف عليه. إنتهت الأسرة الثانية عشرة بالملكة نفروسوبك التي لا يعرف عنها الكثير. ولا يزال التحول ما بين الأسرة الثانية عشرة والثالثة عشرة مبهم، وبعكس الأسرة الثانية عشرة، حكم بالأسرة الثالثة عشرة خمسون ملك على مدى 150 عاماً، واستمرت الثقافة والإدارة دون اضطرابات، واستمر العديد من الملوك في بناء الأهرام بمنطقة منف، يعتبر الحاكمين نفروحتب الأول وسوبك حوتب الرابع من ضمن الملوك المعروفين المنتمين لهذه الأسرة حيث ازدهرت صناعة اللوحات بأبيدوس خلال حكمهم، وتذكر هذه اللوحات شبكة كثيفة من الموظفين الرسميين. يوجد مصادر أقل بكثير تذكر الحكام اللاحقين، ولكن يمكن رؤية إضمحلال على جميع المستويات، من المحتمل أن يكون ذلك نتيجة سيطرة الأجانب المقيمين بشرق الدلتا هناك.

In terms of culture, administration, and to some extent politics, the Middle Kingdom can be divided into two main periods. The early Middle Kingdom comprised the late 11th Dynasty to approximately the middle of the 12th Dynasty. The late Middle Kingdom was the time after Senusret II and included the 13th Dynasty when Egypt was most likely still a unified country ruled by one king.

Definition and Research History

Under the reign of Senusret III (1887 - 1848 BCE), changes in art, administration, and religious beliefs are visible. They justify separating the late 12th Dynasty to 13th Dynasty from the early Middle Kingdom as new cultural and also political phase. The change has long been recognized because the governors in Middle Egypt no longer built impressive tombs (Meyer 1913: 276) and royal sculpture was introduced that no longer showed an ideal young king but one with a mature face, closer to modern expectations of a portrait (Evers 1929: 76). Geoffrey Martin (1971: 3) noticed the appearance of scarabs with names and titles. Janine Bourriau (1988) distinguished two separate cultural phases in

Middle Kingdom burial customs. However, earlier works treat the whole Middle Kingdom, especially the 12th Dynasty, as one period (for example, Helck 1958). Only more recently one has recognized that the late Middle Kingdom is in many ways totally different from the early Middle Kingdom. This division into two phases is now accepted by most scholars working on the period (Franke 2008: 269).

The 13th Dynasty is treated by several authors as still belonging to the Middle Kingdom (Bourriau 1988; Callender 2000: 171 - 172; Grajetzki 2006: 63 - 75), while others regard it as belonging to the Second Intermediate Period (von Beckerath 1964: 30 - 108; Ryholt 1997: 69 - 93). The different approaches are easily explained by the authors' different foci. Studies on Middle Kingdom arts and culture include the 13th Dynasty as there is no break visible after the 12th Dynasty. Studies focusing on the political history incorporate the 13th Dynasty into the Second Intermediate Period as the dynasty consisted of many short-ruling kings, in stark contrast to the long-ruling kings of the 12th Dynasty.

Changes in Administration

The early Middle Kingdom was one of the most decentralized periods of Egyptian history, with many flourishing local centers. In the late Middle Kingdom, these local centers still existed, but the big governors' tombs and the well-equipped burials of the officials working for them have disappeared (Franke 1991). In the late Middle Kingdom, the focus of the royal activities within the country was the Memphite-Fayum region, where all of the royal pyramids were built. Abydos (Wegner 2007: 365 - 393) was an important religious center. Especially in the 13th Dynasty, Thebes became the second royal residence of the country. Furthermore, an important population center developed at Avaris (modern Tell el-Dabaa) at the edge of the eastern Delta, where many people coming from the Near East settled.

The typical titles of Middle Kingdom local governors (*ḥꜣty-ꜥ* and *jmj-r ḥmw-nṯr*) are still well attested in the late Middle Kingdom, signifying that the general administrative structures continued and it is unclear what really changed (Franke 1991: 55). However, under Senusret III the last bigger tombs for local governors were built, but they are no longer securely attested under Amenemhat III (Melandri 2011). In the administration new titles appeared (Quirke 2004), while the long strings of titles for high officials common in almost all other periods of ancient Egyptian history are often just reduced to one title, the function title (Grajetzki 2009: 4). Only highest state officials could bear additional ranking titles announcing their social position at the royal court. Titles became more precise: while the title "steward" was common in the other periods, now it often had an extension, such as "steward who counts the ships" or "steward who counts the cattle" (Quirke 1996). The largest number of scarab seals with name and titles of officials can be dated to the late Middle Kingdom, especially to the 13th Dynasty. Seal impressions of scarabs appear from that time on in great quantities at settlement sites (fig. 1; Ben-Tor 2007: 39 - 40; Martin 1971: 3). This seems to reflect a

demand for tighter control of commodities (von Pilgrim 1996: 234 - 274).

From the late Middle Kingdom, a significant number of administrative documents survive, providing valuable insights into parts of the administration (Quirke 1990). The large number of papyri found at el-Lahun (the pyramid town of Senusret II) also includes religious, mathematical, medical, and literary papyri (Collier and Quirke 2002, 2004, 2006).

From administrative documents, but also from contemporary monuments, it becomes clear that having double names was common in this period (Vernus 1986). This may be seen in relation to the general trend of this period toward greater control, already visible in the more precise titles and the larger number of sealings used in administration.



Figure 1. Seal impression found at el-Lahun mentioning the office of a vizier. UC 6710.

Changes in Culture and Religion

Royal and private sculpture often no longer show an idealized image of young men (or women), but depict people of advanced age, maturity, and wisdom (Freed 2010: 900). Burial customs underwent a change presumably reflecting development in religious beliefs (Bourriau 1991; Grajetzki

2004). Coffins were no longer provided with inner decoration or coffin texts. No wooden models showing food and craft production were placed into the burials, while magical objects used in daily life (magical wands, faience figures) were now included as burial goods. Other objects placed into tombs, such as papyri or gaming boards, were taken from work and leisure in daily life. The first shabtis in mummy form and heart scarabs are attested. In contrast, at the highest social level the deceased were equipped with royal insignia otherwise best known from the context of the underworld god Osiris (Gardiner 1917; Grajetzki 2004: 23 - 29). Mainly from the texts included in these tombs (but also from New Kingdom finds), several literary compositions are known. A number of them were most likely composed in the late Middle Kingdom. Especially several works of “pessimistic” literature, such as the Dialogue Between a Man and His Ba (Allen 2011) or the Admonitions of Ipuwer (Enmarch 2008), should be mentioned.

In private inscriptions mainly on stelae, biographical inscriptions became rare (collection of biographical inscriptions of the 13th to 17th Dynasties, see Kubisch 2009). Now the stela owner is often shown together with colleagues including officials on the same social level, but also socially inferior colleagues working in lower ranks of the administration under the stela owner (Leprohon 1978), while the core family—typical for the early Middle Kingdom—appears less often. Depictions of deities in private context are rare in the early Middle Kingdom. In the late Middle Kingdom, they can appear in the roundel in the uppermost part of private stelae or are depicted in front of the stela owner (fig. 2). The latter stela type often bears hymns to gods (Franke 2003).

These new features do not appear at exactly the same time; instead, they are a general development over several reigns, from about Senusret III (or even earlier) to the end of the 12th Dynasty and peaking in the early 13th Dynasty (Gestermann 1995).

Several late Middle Kingdom town sites have been at least partly excavated and provide valuable information on the living conditions of the population. Hetepsenusret (el-Lahun) and Wahsut (at Abydos) were planned towns on a grid pattern with large houses for the ruling class in one quarter and smaller ones in others (Quirke 2005; Wegner 1997).



Figure 2. Stela of Shetepirra showing a deity in the roundel. Dated to Amenemhat III. Cairo CG 20538.

For the rulers of the late 12th Dynasty, expeditions to the Eastern Desert including Sinai and the Red Sea (Pirelli 2007) are well attested. These enterprises left many inscriptions. For the 13th Dynasty, there is less evidence. Expeditions to Sinai are unattested. Only at Wadi el-Hudi, there are a number of inscriptions datable to Sobekhotep IV (Sadek 1980: 46 - 52, nos. 22 - 25, 1985: 5 - 7, no. 155). There is also some evidence for ongoing activity at Gebel Zeit on the Red Sea coast, covering the late 12th and 13th Dynasties (Regen and Soukiassian 2008).

Political History

The kings of the 12th Dynasty are well known from many contemporary sources. The length of their reigns is partly preserved in the Ramesside king list known as the Turin Canon and are also known from Manetho, although there are problems in the details of these numbers. In recent Egyptological literature there has been some debate over whether 12th Dynasty kings cemented the succession from one reign to another with coregencies (most recently Schneider 2006: 170 - 171). The absolute dates of the reigns rely heavily on astronomical data in temple documents found at el-Lahun, particularly one papyrus, which mentions the rising of Sothis in year 7 of Senusret III. However, there is no consensus yet on how to interpret the data (Schneider 2008).

The names of the 13th Dynasty kings are omitted from the Ramesside king lists at Abydos and Saqqara and the copies of Manetho's work. The only preserved king list for the dynasty is the Turin Canon, but this is incomplete (Ryholt 1997: 69 - 71). The order in the papyrus seems essentially correct, although the placement of single kings is debatable, and most year dates are lost. The length of the whole 13th Dynasty is only preserved in Manetho, who gives 453 years. It is generally agreed that this number might be a mistake and should be 153 years (Schneider 2006: 181).

Late 12th Dynasty: Senusret III

King Senusret III (Tallet 2005) seems to have reigned alone for 19 years and perhaps had a further coregency with his son Amenemhat III for about 20 years, although this is far from certain (Tallet 2005: 270 - 271; Wegner 2007: 36 - 40; Willems 2010: 93). He is mainly known for his military campaigns in Lower Nubia (Tallet 2005: 40 - 52). Enterprises in South Palestine are less well known; the evidence includes the biographical texts of Sobekkhū on his Abydos stela (Baines 1987) and of the "high steward" and vizier Khnumhotep in his mastaba at Dahshur (Allen 2008). Close contacts are attested to Byblos for the 12th but also for the 13th Dynasty (Tallet 2005: 181 - 182). Lower Nubia was placed under permanent Egyptian control, and a chain of fortresses was (re)built (Vogel 2004), most of which have been excavated. Nothing similar has so far been attested for Palestine, and the character of Egyptian rule there remains enigmatic. Senusret III built a pyramid at Dahshur (Arnold 2002), but also a vast funerary complex at Abydos. Perhaps the king was even buried there. From Abydos also comes the biographical inscription of the "treasurer" Ikhernofret, in office under this king (Wegner 2007: 40). He reports the arrangement of processions and festivals at Abydos.

Amenemhat III and the End of the 12th Dynasty

Amenemhat III (fig. 3; Grajetzki 2006: 58 - 61) reigned for about 45 years (1868 - 1822 BCE). He is mainly known for his building activities, while few military campaigns have been attested during his rule so far. He built two pyramids. The one at Dahshur, erected during the first part of his reign, was abandoned as king's tomb because of technical problems (Arnold 1987). Instead it was used as burial ground for his closest female kin. The second pyramid was built during the second part of his reign at Hawara, at the entrance to the Fayum, where there is some further evidence for royal buildings (Medinet Madi, Biahmu). The underground burial chamber of the pyramid at Hawara was

protected by an elaborate closing system with huge blocks closing the gangways and a burial chamber made of two monolithic blocks. Most pyramids of the 13th Dynasty copied this system (Theis 2009). The pyramid complex included a huge building, later known as the “Labyrinth” and described by several classical authors (Blom-Böer 2006).



Figure 3. Head of a statue showing Amenemhat III. Petrie Museum UC14363.

The last two rulers of the 12th Dynasty were Amenemhat IV (1822 - 1812 BCE); Grajetzki 2006: 61) and the ruling queen Neferusobek, perhaps a son and a daughter of Amenemhat III. Amenemhat IV reigned nine and Neferusobek three years, 10 months, and 24 days (according to the Turin Canon). Amenemhat IV is still well attested within Egypt, although big building projects are missing, which might relate to his short reign. Neferusobek (1812-1809 BCE; Grajetzki 2006: 61 - 63) appears in some inscriptions in the funerary complex of Amenemhat III at Hawara and is known from some additional objects. The end of the 12th Dynasty and the succession to the 13th Dynasty are still not fully understood. It is most often assumed that Amenemhat IV did not leave any male heir and that Neferusobek also died without an heir so that a new, unrelated line of rulers ascended the throne.

13th Dynasty

The 13th Dynasty kings continued to build pyramids in the Memphite area. They were smaller than the earlier Middle Kingdom pyramids, but were equipped with elaborate security systems (Theis 2009). Art and craft production went on without a break, so that it is often impossible to determine whether an object belongs to one or the other dynasty (Hayes 1953: 344). Some of the finest works of Middle Kingdom private sculpture were made during the 13th Dynasty (Freed 2010: 909 - 910). The royal residence was still at Itytawy (Hayes 1947).

The Succession and Origin of Kings

The 13th Dynasty (1809 - 1656 BCE) consisted of a line of about 50 kings ruling for a total of c. 150 years. The names of the first 31 rulers of the dynasty are preserved in the Turin Canon (Allen 2010; Ryholt 1997: 71, 73). Although there are some problems with the details, the general order of the king list seems to be correct and provides a rough guideline. However, the lengths of the reigns are most often destroyed in the papyrus. The names of the following kings are lost for the most part. A number of rulers only known from archaeological attestations seem to belong to this dynasty, and, although their exact placement within the dynasty often is highly speculative, the majority may have ruled towards the end of the dynasty. It remains unknown why so many kings ruled during such a relatively short period, and all suggestions are pure speculation (von Beckerath 1964: 86 - 87). The kings of the dynasty are not a line of rulers connected by family ties. The term dynasty, used by Manetho, evidently refers to a group of kings belonging to the same period, perhaps with the same capital. Nevertheless, some family connections within the dynasty are visible. The kings Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Sobekhotep IV were brothers and ruled together for about 20 years (Ryholt 1997: 225 - 231). Another, although indirect, attestation for kings connected by family ties is Nubhetepi, who is titled both the “king’s

wife” and the “king’s mother.” Her name is not yet linked to any particular kings’ names although several possibilities have been proposed (Quirke 2006: 264; Ryholt 1997: 36, fig. 4, and 218).

A number of kings, especially of the early 13th Dynasty, have a double- and one even a triple-name: Amenemhat Antef Ameny (Ryholt 1997: 338). Especially Spalinger (1984: 1038) and Ryholt (1997: 207 - 209) have argued that these names represent filiations: “X’s (son) Y.” However, the evidence for this type of filiation is not conclusive and others have argued against it (Franke 2008: 268, n. 9; Quirke 2006: 263) because giving double-names was a common practice in the late Middle Kingdom at all social levels (Vernus 1986).

For some kings there is evidence that they were high state officials before becoming king. King Wegaf was perhaps “great overseer of troops” before ascending the throne, an official with that rare name is known from a scarab seal (Franke 1988: 249, n. 5). King Sekhemra-sewadjtawi Sobekhotep III is perhaps identical with a “commander of the ruler’s crew” known from about 15 scarab seals (Ryholt 1997: 222). Family ties to leading officials are visible via the queens of the dynasty. Queen Aye, mentioned in Papyrus Boulaq 18, was related to the family of the vizier Ankhu; Nubkhaes came from a family of leading officials (Berlev 1974; Spalinger 1980). The name of King Mermesha translates as “overseer of troops.” His name was often taken as an example of a military leader coming to power. However, Mermesha is also attested as a proper name. Therefore the evidence does not seem conclusive (Franke 1988: 268, n. 60; Ryholt 1997: 221 - 222). It has often been claimed that also foreign usurpers ascended the throne, but the evidence is vague. King Khendjer has perhaps a foreign name, but even though the word

khendjer, meaning “boar,” is foreign, it was incorporated in the Egyptian language (Ryholt 1997: 220 - 221; Schneider 2004: 157 - 159).

A new feature is the mentioning of non-royal parents in royal inscriptions for several kings of the middle of the dynasty. On monuments and scarabs, Sobekhotep III refers to his non-royal parents Mentuhotep and Iuhetibu. The brothers Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV refer to their father Haankhef and mother Kemi (Ryholt 1997: 34 - 37, 222 - 231).

First Kings of the 13th Dynasty

There is some confusion about the first king of the 13th Dynasty. In the Turin Canon, King Khutawyra is named. This is the throne name of King Wegaf known from contemporary monuments (Ryholt 1997: 341 - 342). However, there is also King Khutawy-Sekhemra Sobekhotep (Ryholt 1997: 336), appearing as 19th king of the dynasty in the Turin Canon. This king is known from rock inscriptions in Lower Nubia recording the highest Nile level of certain years, and he is mentioned in the Lahun papyri. In both types of documents, mainly kings of the late 12th and early 13th Dynasties appear, but no rulers of the advanced 13th Dynasty. For that reason it has been assumed that the copyist of the papyri confused King Khutawyra with Khutawy-Sekhemra, both with a similar throne name. However, other Egyptologists do not follow this assumption; without further evidence, the question of the first king of the 13th Dynasty remains open (Schneider 2006: 175). The following rulers of the 13th Dynasty were a large number of kings with brief reigns. They are not known from many contemporary monuments, although King Ameny Qemau and King Auibra Hor are attested by their tombs (fig. 4). It is possible

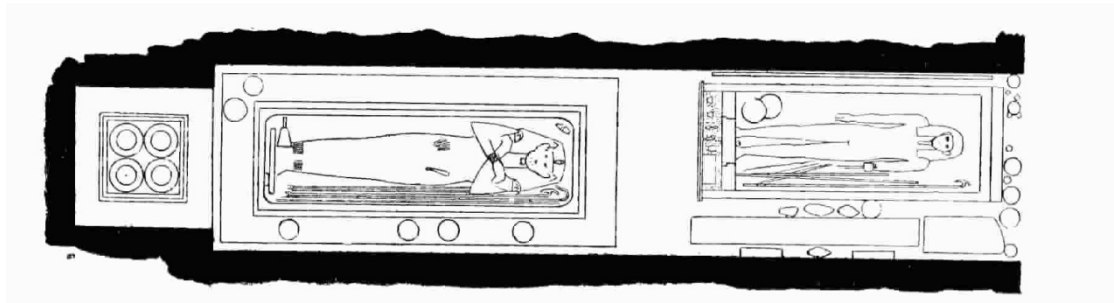


Figure 4. The burial of the early 13th Dynasty King Hor.

that many of them just ruled for a short time, perhaps even less than one year (Quirke 2010: 62), and several are only known from the Turin Canon.

The Middle of the 13th Dynasty: Stabilization and End

The core of the 13th Dynasty starts with some well-attested kings with brief reigns, known from their temple building activities (Amenemhat Sobekhotep II at Medamud) or pyramids (Khendjer). The vizier Ankhu (fig. 5) and the treasurer Senebsumai were in office under these kings (Grajetzki 2009: 38, 59 - 63). These officials are well known from many monuments and were most likely in office under several rulers. With over 30 scarab seals mentioning his name and title, Senebsumai is one of the best attested Egyptian officials on this type of source. He also appears on more than ten Abydos stelaes making him the best attested Middle Kingdom official mentioned on this object type (Grajetzki 2001: 12 - 25). Papyrus Boulaq 18 belongs to this approximate period (Quirke 1990: 10 - 121; Scharff 1922). It is an account of the Theban palace written on the occasion of the king's visit to Thebes and lists the court officials, headed by the vizier Ankhu, and the rations they receive. Under the vizier was a small group of other leading officials with the ranking title "royal sealer," and the bulk of middle and lower officials working at the royal palace appears in the papyrus. The king's wife and family are mentioned, but not the king himself. Another important document from about this time is Brooklyn Papyrus 35.1446

also from Thebes (Hayes 1955; Quirke 1990: 127 - 154), dealing with the "great enclosure" (*hnrt wr*), the name of the institution that organized corvée. This document is one of the main attestations for corvée, i.e., labor. It seems that most Egyptians had to work for a certain time span in different types of state projects. The back of the document lists about ninety serfs including a large number of textile weavers. The great amount of Asiatic names in that list is remarkable and demonstrates how many foreigners from that region seem to have lived at Thebes. Although one has to be careful with concluding ethnic identity from a list of names only, the large number of foreigners in late Middle Kingdom Egypt is also attested by other sources (Schneider 2004).

Four long-reigning kings followed, with two or three short-reigning kings in between. Neferhotep I (fig. 6), Sobekhotep IV, Ibia, and Aye ruled a total of about 50 years (Ryholt 1997: 297 - 298). While the first two kings are well known from monuments throughout the country, the two others are mainly known from a large number of scarab seals. Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV, who reigned together for about 20 years, were brothers coming from a family of officials. Their grandfather Nehy was "soldier of the town regiment," a military official from a mid level of command. A copious amount of private stelaes is datable under these two kings. They no longer bear the king's name in the roundel of the stelaes or a date, but some officials are featured in rock inscriptions together with the kings under which they



Figure 5. Statue of a 13th Dynasty vizier. He was the father of vizier Ankhu, but his name is lost. Cairo CG 42034.

served, and that enables the reconstruction of a dense network of officials (Franke 1984: 16).

No such evidence is available for the reigns of Wahibra Ibia (Ryholt 1997: 353 - 354) and Merneferri Aye (Ryholt 1997: 354 - 356). The latter king is the last attested on monuments from Upper and Lower Egypt. The pyramidion of his pyramid was found in Tell el-Dabaa. All following kings assigned to the 13th Dynasty are only known from monuments found in Upper Egypt (Franke



Figure 6. Statue of King Neferhotep I. Cairo 42022.

2008: 272 -273). Parts of the eastern Delta with Tell el-Dabaa as center were taken over by local kings—perhaps of Near Eastern origin—and the unity of the country ended. However, the timing of the development is uncertain (Bietak 1984: 60; Ben-Tor et al. 1999; Franke 2008: 273 - 275). The end of the 13th Dynasty and its relation to the following dynasties remains highly enigmatic. It can only be said with certainty that at one point the court moved from Itytawy in the north to Thebes in the south, while the Hyksos seem to have ruled in the north.

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The political and cultural changes from the early to the late Middle Kingdom are described in Gestermann (1995) and in terms of burial customs and change in material culture by Bourriau

(1988). General summaries on the political history of the late Middle Kingdom are found in Callender (2000), Grajetzki (2006), and Willems (2010). The reign of Senusret III and the end of the 12th Dynasty are also covered in Tallet (2005). The reigns of Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV, and Sobeknofru are presented by Matzker (1986). The most recent chronological survey of the late Middle Kingdom is Franke (2008). The kings of the 13th Dynasty are listed in von Beckerath (1964) and in Ryholt (1997); compare also the review for the latter book: Ben-Tor et al. (1999). The material culture is covered in Bourriau (1988) and Hayes (1953), both works with many photographs. The administration and the several important hieratic documents are discussed by Quirke (1990 and 2004); for the highest court officials see Grajetzki (2003 and 2009).

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- Figure 1. Seal impression found at el-Lahun mentioning the office of a vizier. Petrie Museum UC 6710. Photograph by the author. (Cf. Martin 1971: no. 1846.)
- Figure 2. Stela of Shetepirra showing a deity in the roundel. Dated to Amenemhat III. Cairo CG 20538. Photograph by the author.
- Figure 3. Head of a statue showing Amenemhat III. Petrie Museum UC14363. Photograph by the author.
- Figure 4. The burial of the early 13th Dynasty King Hor. (De Morgan 1895: fig. 211, on p. 91)
- Figure 5. Statue of a 13th Dynasty vizier. He was the father of vizier Ankhu, but his name is lost. Cairo CG 42034. Photograph by the author.
- Figure 6. Statue of King Neferhotep I. Cairo 42022. Photograph by the author.