

**GOD'S FATHERS**  
**AND THE ROLE THEY PLAYED**  
**IN THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD**

BY

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To the Memory of  
Professor Vladimir Golénischeff (1857-1948)  
on the Occasion of his Centenary  
This Study is Dedicated

In the spring of his fruitful life, Professor Golénischeff discovered in Papyrus No. 1116 B of Leningrad the prophetic sayings attributed to Neferti and supposed to have been delivered to King Snefru concerning the First Intermediate Period which ended with the rise of the XIIIth Dynasty<sup>(1)</sup>. In this Papyrus the Egyptian sage laments the great disaster which would befall Egypt during that period and welcomes the salvation of the country with the rule of King Amenemḥet I, founder of the XIIth Dynasty, saying « *Up, my heart, and bewail this land whence thou art sprung . . . . . The earth is fallen into misery for the sake of yon food of the Beduins who pervade the country. For foes are in the East, and the Asiatics shall (?) descend into Egypt.* » He ends his prediction by saying : « *There is a king who*

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<sup>(1)</sup> When still less than twenty years old, he was charged with the study of this papyrus and others. He made a report on it in *Ä. Z.* 14 (1876), p. 107, *Rec. Trav.* 15 (1893), p. 88. Later he published it with other papyri in his important book « *Les Papyrus hiératiques N<sup>os</sup> 1115, 1116, 1116 A et 1116 B, de l'Ermitage Imperial à, St. Pétersbourg* », see pls. XXXIII-XXXV

*Annales du Service*, t. LV.

and pp. 6 ff, where he gives an analysis of the contents of this papyrus. The latest translation and commentary is by LEFEBVRE in *Romans et contes égypt. de l'époque pharaonique* (1949), pp. 91 ff; for the references to the papyrus, see pp. 95 f. The translation of the part he quoted is according to GARDINER, « *New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt* » in *J. E. A.*, 1 (1914), pp. 100 ff

*shall come from the south, whose name is Ameny, son of a Nubian woman*<sup>(1)</sup>, *a child of Chen-Khen. . . . . There shall be built the 'wall of the Prince' so as not to allow the Asiatics to go down into Egypt. . . . . He will rejoice who shall behold and who shall serve the king.»*

In the last ten years I have come across a few monuments which deal with some distinguished persons who bore the title «the god's father» and who played quite an important role in this rather obscure period of Egyptian history with which the prophecy of Neferti is concerned.

As is well known, our knowledge about that period is quite limited and somewhat confused, and any information to be gained about it is very important. I am publishing these monuments on the occasion of the centenary of my one-time teacher, Professor V. Golénischeff, to whom Egyptology in general owed a great deal and to whom the first Egyptian students of Egyptology in particular are indebted for their knowledge of the ancient language.

Almost nothing is known about the VIIth Dynasty, and Menetho, who is one of the few sources of information about it, says that the number of its kings was seventy and that they reigned for seventy days. It is very difficult to believe such a statement, and Hayes may be right in saying of the VIIth Dynasty that «if it existed at all, probably represents an emergency regime, set up at Memphis to replace temporarily the kingship which had disappeared with the collapse of the last ruling family of the Old Kingdom»<sup>(2)</sup>. But it may be asked whether these seventy kings were not the nomarchs who lived at the end of the VIth Dynasty and perhaps survived for that interval of seventy days attributed to the VIIth Dynasty. It is known that the kings of the end of the VIth Dynasty were quite weak and that the nomarchs were then kinglets in their centres. It would not be strange, therefore, that Manetho considered

<sup>(1)</sup> More correctly «a woman from the name of the *To-sti*» or the first nome of Upper Egypt as has been shown by POSENER, *BiOr*, 8 (1951), 172.

<sup>(2)</sup> *The Scepter of Egypt, Part I* (1953), 136, see also p. 134. For

other references, see DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Égypte*<sup>3</sup>, 214, 228. According to STOCK, *Die erste Zwischenzeit Aegyptens* (1949), pp. 28 ff, the VIIth Dynasty was composed of the successors of Pepi II, who reigned for 20-30 years.

them as forming the VIIth Dynasty. It is somewhat likely that two generations of these were taken as living and reigning at that period. By the XIIth Dynasty Egypt was divided into 38 nomes<sup>(1)</sup>, but by the end of the VIth there may have been only 35.

With the next dynasty, we are on more solid ground, thanks to monuments left by its kings and their subjects. From the VIIIth Dynasty we have the tombs of a few of its kings at Saqqarah, stelae carved by private persons discovered in various parts of Egypt and royal decrees found at Coptos assuring the maintenance of certain local foundations of kings and queens of the dynasty and those of members of a powerful family residing in Coptos.

According to Manetho the kings of this dynasty resided in Memphis as did those of the previous one. But Sethe, depending on the facts that, apart from the royal decrees, not much bearing the names of kings of the dynasty had been discovered away from Coptos, that the names of two of these kings contain that of Min, the main divinity of Coptos, and that, as a result of local tradition, the names of the kings of this dynasty are found in the Abydos list of kings, believed that they were originally from Upper Egypt and that they resided in Coptos<sup>(2)</sup>. Hayes, on the other hand, rejected these arguments believing that the kings of the dynasty were not powerful enough to leave monuments in many parts of Egypt, that occurrence of the name of Min in the kings' names does not necessarily mean that they were originally from Coptos, since the god was also worshipped elsewhere, and that the presence of the names of kings in the list of the Seti I temple does not prove their Upper Egyptian origin, especially since the pyramids of two of them have been found to the south of Dahshur. He adds also that, as happened in the VIth Dynasty which resided at Memphis, the decrees were delivered to Coptos by an important official of the court, which would not have been the case if the kings of that dynasty resided at Coptos<sup>(3)</sup>.

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<sup>(1)</sup> LACAU-CHEVRIER, *Une Chapelle de Sesostris I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak* (1956), pp. 220 ff and p. 251.

<sup>(2)</sup> *GGA* (1912), 718.

<sup>(3)</sup> « *Royal Decrees from the Temple of Min at Coptos* » in *J. E. A.* 32 (1946), pp. 21 ff.

Stock advocated another theory when he proposed Abydos as the residence of this dynasty. He based his argument mainly on the presence of their names in the Abydos list of kings<sup>(1)</sup>. Posener opposed this theory and emphasized that lists of kings do not necessarily reflect local traditions, and that we must keep to the classical tradition pointing to Memphis as the capital of this dynasty<sup>(2)</sup>.

But if Coptos was not the capital of Egypt in the VIIIth Dynasty, it was by far the most important place in Upper Egypt. Two of its nomarchs at least were appointed vizier and were related to the royal family. These were Shemay married to the eldest king's daughter Nebt, and their son Idy, who, together with other members of their family, were so powerful that royal decrees were especially addressed to them or issued in their favour. The kings of the dynasty depended mostly on the power of this family to keep control of Upper Egypt. Already at the end of the VIth Dynasty funerary foundations were established in Coptos; a policy which was followed on a larger scale during the VIIIth Dynasty<sup>(3)</sup>.

On a tour of inspection which I made in Coptos in the beginning of August 1956, I passed by the small village of Nag' Kôm El-Kuffâr, about one kilometre to the south of the village Qift. In the court of the house of a certain Isran, I was shown a big block of red granite which, as I was told, was found some ten years ago. Digging in front of it on the same day with a couple of men, I found to my surprise and satisfaction that it had a cornice at the top and was polished and inscribed. Thereupon with four workmen I cleared the area in so far as the walls of the house would permit and found that the block of red granite was a false door standing on a pedestal with walls extending from both sides of it.

In the *Annales du Service* we shall give a preliminary report of this discovery which must suffice until such time as it is possible to clear the entire area. Suffice it to say here that the false door belongs to the eldest king's daughter, Nebt, the wife of Shemay and mother of Idy.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 167 f.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 167 f.

<sup>(3)</sup> For the decrees issued in favour of kings and queens of the VIth Dynasty, see HAYES, *Royal Decrees*, 4-5

(decrees a-g), for decrees issued in favour of Shemay and his family or addressed to them, see, pp. 5-6 (decrees h-r).

This is assured by the fact that she bears on the door the titles : « The eldest king's daughter and the sole favourite of the king », given to her in some of the decrees <sup>(1)</sup>. It is to be noted that she also bears the titles : « *The hereditary princess... the priestess of Hathor, Min, Mut and Horus (?)* ».

This false door was found in its original place on a pedestal with walls extending from both sides of it, hence it undoubtedly stands in the tomb of the princess which was thus built in Coptos and not in her original place in Memphis. Nebt was related to the royal family which resided in Memphis and most probably built its tombs there. But she was, at the same time, related to the family of the nomarchs of Coptos, and thus chose it as her burial place. It is very likely that Shemay, her husband, and Idy, her son, and other members of their family had their tombs quite near hers.

Both Shemay and Idy were given the titles : « The god's father, the beloved of the god » <sup>(2)</sup>. These titles are supposed to have been given, especially in early periods, to royal or non-royal fathers, fathers-in-law or elder statesmen of the king <sup>(3)</sup>. According to our present state of knowledge Shemay was the son-in-law of one of the kings of the VIIIth Dynasty, most probably Horus 'Neterbau', king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Neferkauhor'. But he may have been at the same time the father-in-law of one of these kings <sup>(4)</sup>. Could Idy also have had the same relation to some other king? This question, as well as other problems, may be solved by the clearance of the tomb of Nebt and other tombs in Nag' Kôm El-Kuffâr <sup>(5)</sup>. As we shall show below, the title 'god's father'

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 5 (decree *g*), and 13 f. pl. IIIa (lower) and *Urk.* I, 298-299. For the other decree, see *Ibid.*, I, 302-303, where priests were assigned to the *ka*-chapels of the princess and her husband.

<sup>(2)</sup> HAYES, *Royal Decrees*, p. 17 (10) referring to decrees *o* (LI, 5-6), *i* (L, 3), and *d* (L, 6), see also p. 19 (4).

<sup>(3)</sup> BORCHARDT, *Der aeg. Titel 'Vater des*

*Gottes'*, in *Der Sachs. Ges. Wiss.*, (1905) and GARDINER, *Onomastica*, I, 49 (A, 127).

<sup>(4)</sup> HAYES, *Royal Decrees*, p. 19 (4).

<sup>(5)</sup> It is worthy of notice that Weill guessed some fifty years ago the presence of important remains in this village which he called Nag el-Kom, see *Ann. du Serv.*, XI (1911), 115-116.

borne by Shemay and Idy seems to have been given in the First Intermediate Period to persons who played quite an important role in the history of Egypt, especially in establishing new dynasties.

About twenty years ago, ex-king Farouk purchased from England three objects which he presented later to the Cairo Museum and which were published by my colleague Moharram Kamal. One of these objects was an anthropoid coffin dated to the Late Period, perhaps the XXXth Dynasty, the second was an offering table attributed to the Middle Kingdom, while the third was a sort of panel (?) inscribed with the name of king Nubkheperre Antef of the XVIIth Dynasty.

The second of these objects seems to be of particular importance to the subject with which we are dealing <sup>(1)</sup>. It is of red granite and measures 83 × 65 × 28 cm. As can be seen in the photograph (Pl. I, A) and facsimile (fig. 1) which we reproduce here, the front is showed like the *Hetep*-sign. The mat is rather broad and has on it two Hapi-figures, sitting at each end with their legs folded under them and each offering a *hes*-vase. The one on the right has before him a column of inscription reading : « Hapi, he gives all provisions », while in front of the other is the inscription : « Hapi, he gives all offerings ». Above these figures is a horizontal line reading « May the king give offerings (namely), a thousand of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, alabaster (vases) and clothes (to) the overseer of the treasurers, Khety, the blessed », Above the mat is the usual *t*-sign, here marked with the words « The revered Khety ». On each side of this sign is a *hes*-vase marked with the name of the owner, then a round loaf on which there is inscribed twice round the edge « The revered Khety, the blessed ».

Above these signs, but on a recessed level, there is a second horizontal line which reads : « The revered through the great god, lord of Abydos, the god's father, beloved (of the god), the revered Khety, the blessed ». At last come the deep basins connected by a groove which runs through a projecting spout at a level lower than the part with the basins.

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<sup>(1)</sup> *Ann. du Serv.*, XXXVIII (1938), pp. 1 ff. For the second object, see pp. 15 ff, fig. 1, and pl. III.

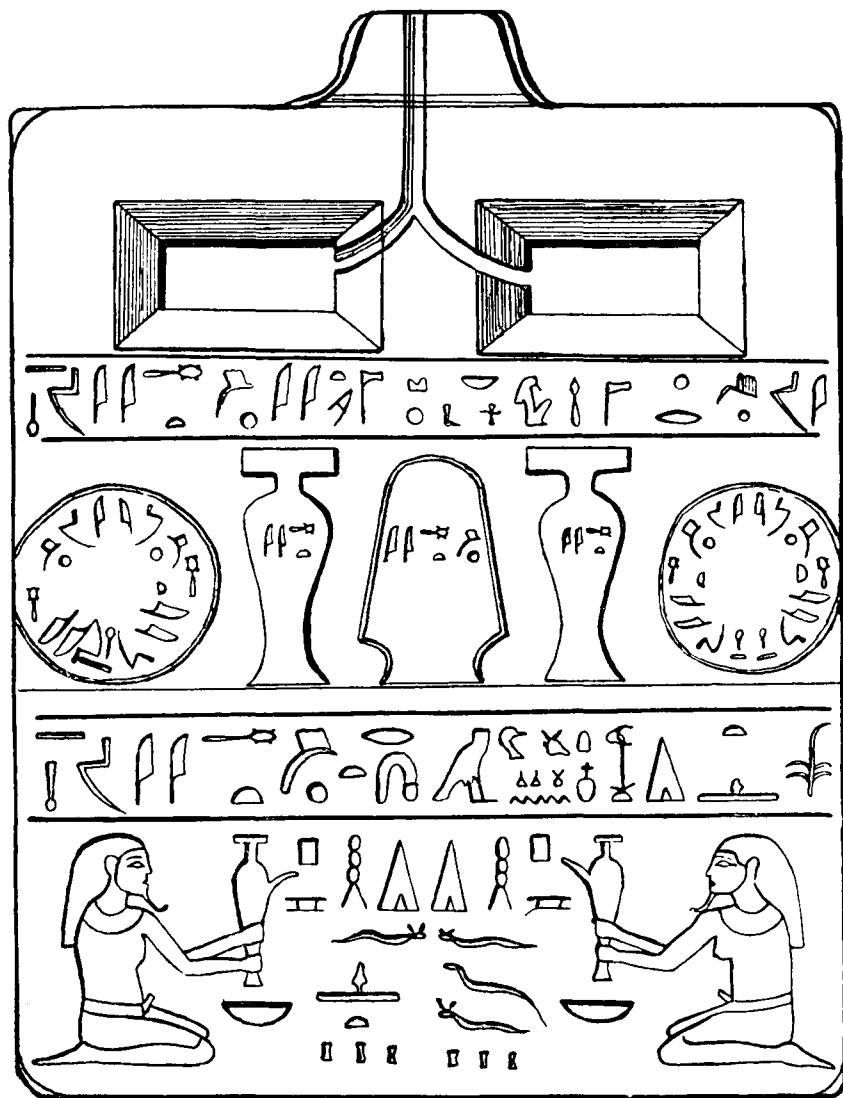


Fig. 1.

We have given a full description of this offering table to be able to discuss its date. Moharram Kamal attributed it to the Middle Kingdom<sup>(1)</sup>, largely perhaps on the basis of its form and the name of the owner.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

Indeed it has so many points in common with similar objects of that period, since we usually have in these the *t*-sign somewhat separated from the mat and two loaves on the sides of the *t*-sign instead of the round vases<sup>(1)</sup>. But we have to point out that the representations of the *t*-sign, the vases and loaves on the sides in high relief may point rather to the XIth Dynasty or even earlier. Ah. Kamal, in his publication of the offering tables of the Cairo Museum, says in the introduction : « Sous l'Empire Memphite, les plats ou plutôt les ustensiles qu'on y voit gravés, ainsi que les objets d'offrandes quand il y en avait, sont ménagés en haut-relief, et ils se reprochent pour la forme des ustensiles actuellement en usage chez nous »<sup>(2)</sup>. Again it may be noted that the form of some of the signs, such as the *h* and *ib* signs would be in place in the XIth Dynasty or even earlier. That the owner was called Khety, which was a name quite popular in the First Intermediate Period<sup>(3)</sup>, and that an invocation is addressed to the 'great god, lord of Abydos'<sup>(4)</sup> seem all to point to this same period.

Such peculiarities led us to date our offering table to a period earlier than the XIth Dynasty, perhaps to the Xth or even the IXth<sup>(5)</sup>. The owner is described once as : « The overseer of treasurers », and once as « the god's father and the beloved (of the god) ». In this early period the first title had some importance, but it is the title 'god's father' which interests us here. Was Khety, who bore the title, related to the royal family? That an offering table in granite of this huge size should have been made for him in the early period in which he lived, when not many offering tables were made, seems to point to his importance.

<sup>(1)</sup> VANDIER, *Manuel d'archéologie ég.*, II (1954), 532-533.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Tables d'offrandes* (Cat. gén.), p. 11.

<sup>(3)</sup> RANKE, *Personennamen*, 277 : 26.

<sup>(4)</sup> In the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, the deceased is often referred to as 'honoured through the great god', undoubtedly signifying Osiris who is sometimes

referred to as 'Lord of Abydos', see offering table of Nebhoptre, Ah. KAMAL, *Tables d'offrandes*, N° 23007. Here the god is designated by the words 'great god, lord of Abydos'.

<sup>(5)</sup> Peculiarities of offering tables of the Middle Kingdom, such as those we spoke of above, began to make their appearance in the XIth Dynasty, see VANDIER, *op. cit.*, II, 552.



But another feature of the table seems to show even more clearly the importance of this man. It has been seen that on the front part there is carved on each side a *Hapi*-figure holding a *hes*-vase. Moharram Kamal says of these : «The representation in relief of the two Niles on an offering-table is, so far as I know, quite unique». He compares them with the dyad offering-bearers of the so-called Hyksos monuments, which are taken to symbolise the Niles of Upper and Lower Egypt bringing the products of both parts of the country<sup>(1)</sup>. *Hapi*-figures are sometimes to be found on offering tables, but this is true only when they were carved for kings as in the case of the offering table of Sesostris I, No. 23001 of the Cairo Museum and that of Nebhopetre Mentuhotep, No. 23246 of the same Museum. The latter table in particular has many points in common with the one we are speaking of here. Apart from the fact that the material is the same and that in both we have the objects shown in high relief, the names of the owners are inscribed on them and *Hapi*-figures are shown on their fronts<sup>(2)</sup> (Pl. I, B). It seems evident then that Khety was given royal privileges and thus was most probably related to the royal family. Now since the table can be dated to the IXth or the Xth Dynasty and since Khety bore the title of god's father given to non-royal fathers of the founders of the dynasties, it may be guessed that he was the father of the founder of one of these dynasties, especially since many of the kings were given the same name. He may have been the father of the founder of the Xth Dynasty; this being nearer the XIth Dynasty where the style of our offering table would appear to be in place. In this case Khety would be the father of Mery-Hathor (?), the founder of the Xth Dynasty, the king who tried to liberate the country from the foreigners in the Delta<sup>(3)</sup>. Perhaps at that time the XIIth Dynasty had begun to lay hold on Southern Upper Egypt, and as a result the kings of the Xth Dynasty directed their attention to the Delta. According to Menetho the Xth Dynasty resided in Heracleopolis as the preceding one had, but Stock, on the basis of the fact that a sarcophagus inscribed with the name of one of its kings was found in Bersheh, tried to show

<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

166-167, respectively.

<sup>(2)</sup> AH. KAMAL, *op. cit.*, pls. 1-2 and

<sup>(3)</sup> HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt*, p. 144

that these kings were originally from Hermopolis, opposite Bersheh, where he supposed that they were buried <sup>(1)</sup>. Posener, because of a demonstration by Lacau that the cartouche of this king was wrongly copied on the sarcophagus, perhaps from a papyrus and then corrected, was against the theory of Stock <sup>(2)</sup>. Apparently we must keep here also to the classical tradition until we can find something decisive against it.

We shall see below in speaking about the founders of the XIIth and the XIIIth Dynasties, who also bore the title of the god's father as did Khety, how it is almost sure that they exercised royal rights, controlling the country for some time before their sons held the kingship. This may have been the case with Khety, although it is difficult for the time being to prove it.

Among the statues or fragments of statues, about 50 in number, which were unearthed in the ruins of the Hekaib Temple at Elephantine <sup>(3)</sup>, three belong to the kings of the beginning of the XIth Dynasty, of whom we have very few remains and practically no statues at all. This gives to the discovery a particular importance which is added to by the fact that the inscriptions figuring on them help us in understanding a part of the history of the dynasty. We shall give here a description of each of these statues.

**STATUE OF AN UNKNOWN KING.** Quartzite, head of the statue and front of the pedestal missing, the surviving part is 53 cm. high (Pl. II, A).

It represents a king sitting in a jubilee attitude. He is dressed in a tightly drawn robe showing no folds and reaching to just above the knees. Thus the garment sheathes the upper part of the body, and only the hands holding the crook and the flail are revealed. The throne is cubic in form, but it has a short back and a dorsal pillar. The torso, legs and figures are rendered in very beautiful detail. There is no inscription on the surviving part of the statue, but quite probably there was a line of inscription on the missing front of the pedestal.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>(3)</sup> For the account of the discovery of the temple, see *Chronique d'Égypte*, 42, 200 ff; for its statues of kings

of the Middle Kingdom, see *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 7, 188 ff; and for the career of the deified saint, see *Archæology*, 8, 8 ff.

STATUE OF WAHONKH ANTEF. Quartzite, upper part missing, the surviving part is 37 cm. high (Pl. II, B). It shows a king sitting on a throne of cubic form without back. The king is dressed in a pleated kilt. The right hand is destroyed and the left one rests on the lap. Here again the muscles of the legs, the fingers and the toes are shown in beautiful detail.

On the top of the pedestal are two cartouches. The one beside the right foot reads : « His son the Horus 'Wahonkh', king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re 'Antef' ». The second cartouche, in front of the feet, continues the inscription in the first cartouche : « Beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine, given life like Re, forever » (fig. 2 and Pl. III, A).

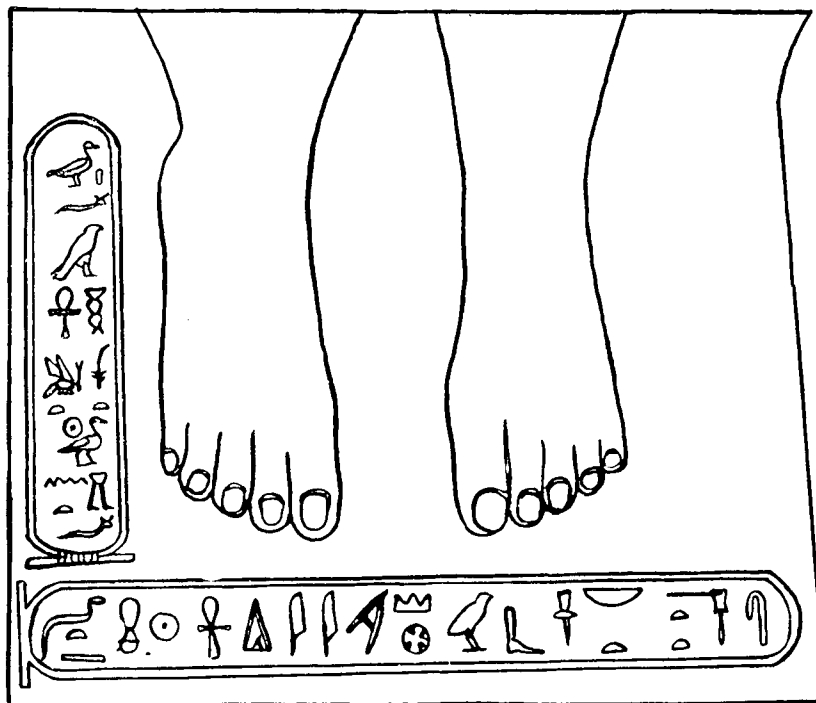


Fig. 2.

STATUE OF THE GODS' FATHER MENTHUHOTEP. Quartzite, the upper part missing, the lower part is 35 cm. high (Pl. II, C).

The owner is shown sitting and dressed in exactly the same manner of the previous statue. The left hand rests on the knee, while the right one clenches an object which looks like a handkerchief or a seal. The hands, legs and toes are quite nicely carved.

Only one cartouche is engraved on the top of the pedestal, this time beside the right foot. It reads as follows : « The gods' father Mentuhotepo, beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine » (fig. 3 and Pl. III, B).

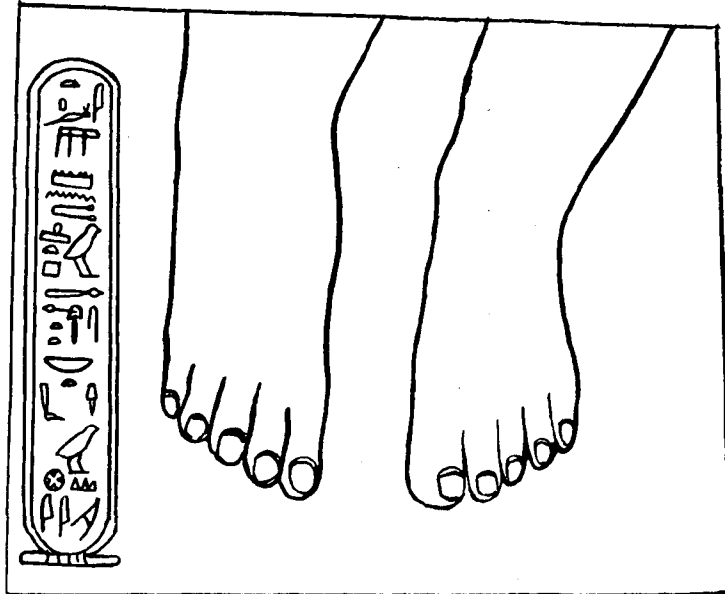


Fig. 3.

It is to be noted that the signs are very lightly incised, somewhat smaller in size than those of the previous statue, though in many places they resemble them closely in style.

There is no inscription on the first of these statues here described and it is difficult to say whom it represented. But the second statue represents king Wahonkh Antef or Antef II of the XIth Dynasty. He is here called 'beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine', which is quite normal for a statue found on the Island where Satis was the main divinity. Wahonkh left on a boulder near the Hakaib Temple a graffito showing

his Horus-name facing his throne name which is preceded by the usual words 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt' and followed by «given life»<sup>(1)</sup>.

But the Horus-name and the throne name are introduced on his statue by «his son». We have to ask ourselves to whom the 'his' refers. The three statues are made of the same material; they show quite beautiful details and are all on almost the same scale; they are shown on thrones about 27 cm. high, while the pedestal in each is 7 cm. high. The fact that these three statues were found close together in the Hekaib Temple in addition to these points which they have in common shows beyond any reasonable doubt that they were carved at the same time and by the same sculptor.

The inscription on the third statue described the owner as : «The gods' father Mentuhotepo, beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine». As has been pointed above, the title 'god's father' was given to non-royal fathers of kings but here Mentuhotepo was given the title 'father of the gods' not met with before. He must have been, therefore, the father of more than one god or king. It is known that the kings who reigned at the beginning of the XIth Dynasty were : Horus 'Schertau', king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Antef' (Antef I); Horus 'Wahonkh', king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Antef' (Antef II); Horus 'Nakhtnebtpefer', king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Antef' (Antef III).

The relationship between the first two kings is not known, but the third was the son of the second one. From the Elephantine statues, we may deduce that Wahonkh, the second king, was the son of Mentuhotepo, who was the father of more than one king. His other son was undoubtedly king Schertau Antef whose name was revealed to us by a block found at Tûd<sup>(2)</sup>. Was this king represented by the third statue of which the surviving part does not bear any inscription? This statue represents a king in jubilee dress, a fact which shows that he reigned long

<sup>(1)</sup> See DE MORGAN... *Cat. des mon. et inscr.*, I (1894), p. 115 (1); PETRIE, *A Season in Egypt* (1888), pl. XII (310).

<sup>(2)</sup> It was Vandier who detected the name of the founder of this dynasty,

but it was not possible to show the relationship between him and his successors. «Un nouvel Antef de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie» in *B. I. F. A. O.*, XXXVI (1936), 101 ff.

enough to celebrate such a feast, but Sehertai undoubtedly reigned for only a short time. As a matter of fact, king Wahonkh Antef was the only king at the beginning of the XIth Dynasty who reigned for any considerable time, and who is likely to have celebrated this feast. It is quite probable then that this statue also represents him. Did the king on the occasion of his jubilee order a statue to be carved for his father and two others for himself, one showing him with the usual dress and the other in the jubilee dress? This is quite probable, although sometimes a king who reigned for only a short time did celebrate his jubilee feast when 30 years had passed since the celebration of his predecessor's feast<sup>(1)</sup>. It is improbable that the first king of the XIth Dynasty would have celebrated such a feast, reckoning 30 years from its occurrence during the reign of some previous king, especially since the dynasty was preceded by an unsettled period. It is, therefore, improbable that the statue in the jubilee dress represents Sehertai, but rather Wahonkh, his brother. There has been in the Berlin Museum a statue attributed to the First Intermediate Period. It is a statue of a king, although his name as well as the provenance of the statue are unknown. It is smaller in dimension than the statues we have described here, but it is also of quartzite and shows a sovereign in the same attitude and dress as the second and third statues. But more important in the fact that the workmanship is strikingly similar and it is very probable that it dates to the same period. It is even tempting to believe that it represents one of the kings of the beginning of the XIth Dynasty and that it was carved in Elephantine as were the other statues<sup>(2)</sup>. From the First

<sup>(1)</sup> This happened in the reign of Nebtauire Mentuhotep, towards the end of the XIth Dynasty. Though this king reigned for two years, he celebrated in his second year his jubilee, which was 30 years after Nebhopetre in the 38th year of his reign celebrated his jubilee. See WINLOCK, *Neb-Hepet-Rē-Mentu-Hotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty*, *J. E. A.*, 26 (1940), p. 48; *Id.*,

*The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, p. 55.

<sup>(2)</sup> EVERS in *Staat aus dem Stein*, publishes a front view of this statue in Vol. I, pl. I and a side view in vol. II, Fig. 33, while he studies it and compares it with other statues in Vol. II, 628-631. He dates it to a period between the end of the VIth and the beginning of the XIth Dynasty,

Intermediate Period no statues are known of any king except Nebhopetre and Seonkhare Mentuhotep<sup>(1)</sup> and the kings before them of the XIth Dynasty spoken of here. Kings of the VIIth-Xth Dynasties were not powerful enough to make statues especially of that high standard of art<sup>(2)</sup>.

But whether the Berlin statue was carved at the beginning of the XIth Dynasty or not, it is sure, judging by the three statues of Wahonkh and his father, that the art at the beginning of the XIth Dynasty had attained a high standard. Were the artists who modelled these statues from Thebes or from Aswan? The latter town seems to have been more likely to produce the artists since granite and diorite are found only near it and there they were quarried and carved. Again it may be said that before the XIth Dynasty, Thebes was an ordinary nome with no great past, unlike Aswan where the nomarchs had great power especially during the XIth Dynasty and perhaps later.

Apart from their artistic value, the three statues we have described here have great historical importance. According to the inscriptions on them, Schertau Antef and his successor Wahonkh Antef must have been brothers, being the sons of the gods' father Mentuhotepo. But the name of this man is inscribed within a cartouche, a privilege reserved for kings and queens and sometimes their sons<sup>(3)</sup>. He must, therefore, have been granted some royal rights. Again it is to be noted that he is described as 'beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine'. On statues

p. 629. But nothing much was known about the latter period before the discovery of the three statues which we are publishing here and which markedly resembles the Berlin statue in workmanship. Dr. Morentz was kind enough to look up for me the latter statue on which he saw the words: « king of Upper and Lower Egypt. . . ». Unluckily nothing can be seen in the following cartouche.

<sup>(1)</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Pls. 12 and 13, and the statue of Cairo Museum No. 42006.

<sup>(2)</sup> The Berlin statue was the only statue attributed to a king who reigned from the end of the VIth Dynasty to the beginning of the XIth Dynasty, though references to other statues are found in the Egyptian texts, cf. *Urk.* I, 304 : 16-18.

<sup>(3)</sup> Of kings' sons a few had their names enclosed in cartouches, such as Amenmose, son of Amenophis I (Gauthier, *Livre des rois*, II, 211, and note 1), but these may have assumed some royal rights for a short time.

of commoners unearthed in the Hekaib Temple, the owner is usually styled as 'honoured by Hekaib or beloved of Hekaib' <sup>(1)</sup>, the saint to whom the temple was consecrated. On their statues, the sovereigns, on the other hand, are described usually as 'beloved of Khnum, lord of the Cataract region' or 'beloved of Satis, mistress of Elephantine' <sup>(2)</sup>, as in the case with the statue of Mentuhotepo. Thus again he was treated less as a commoner than a ruler. This leads us to believe that he assumed royal rights for some time and this seems to conform with some of the lists mentioning kings of the XIth Dynasty.

In the list of kings which originally stood in the Festival Hall of Tuthmosis III in Karnak and which is now in the Louvre, the king is shown four times, each time before two registers of cartouches of his predecessors. No order is followed in the arrangement of these cartouches. The kings of the XIIth for example are to be found in both registers with names of other kings interspersed. But the kings of the beginning of the XIth Dynasty which are in the second register to the (spectator's) left seem to have been correctly arranged in the following order :

No. 12. The prince and governor, Antef, the deceased.

No. 13. Horus 'Tp(y)'', 'Mentuhotepo', the deceased.

No. 14. Horus '(Se)he(rtaui)', 'An(tef)', the deceased.

No. 15. Horus '(Wahonkh)', 'Antef' the deceased.

No. 16. Horus '(Nakhtnebtpeofer)', 'Antef', the deceased <sup>(3)</sup> (fig. 4).

Vandier accepts this order, but regards N° 13' as standing for king Horus 'Seonkhibtaui' Mentuhotep and thus places him after No. 16 <sup>(4)</sup>. But this latter king could not be called 'tep(y)'' the 'ancestor'; which title could well designate our gods' father Mentuhotepo. Again Seonkhibtaui Mentuhotep seems to have been considered as an usurper and was not included in the known kings' lists.

If we now turn to the Turin Royal Papyrus, we can arrange the beginning of the XIth Dynasty in the following order :

No. 12. (Mentuhotepo).

<sup>(1)</sup> *Archaeology*, 8, 10.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Revue d'Égyptologie*, 7, 189.

<sup>(3)</sup> PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Monuments égypt-*

*tiens* (1847), Pl. I; *Urk.* IV, 608-610.

<sup>(4)</sup> VANDIER, *B. I. F. A. O.*, XXXVI,

106 ff.



No. 13. Se(hertai.)

No. 14. (Wahonkh) reigned for 49 years.

No. 15. (Nakhtnebtpeofer) reigned for 8 years <sup>(1)</sup>.

They are followed by Nebhopetre Mentuhotep and his successor Seonkhkare Mentuhotep of the end of the dynasty. These two latter kings are the most important kings of the dynasty, and in the lists of Saqqarah <sup>(2)</sup> and Abydos <sup>(3)</sup> they are the only ones named for the dynasty.

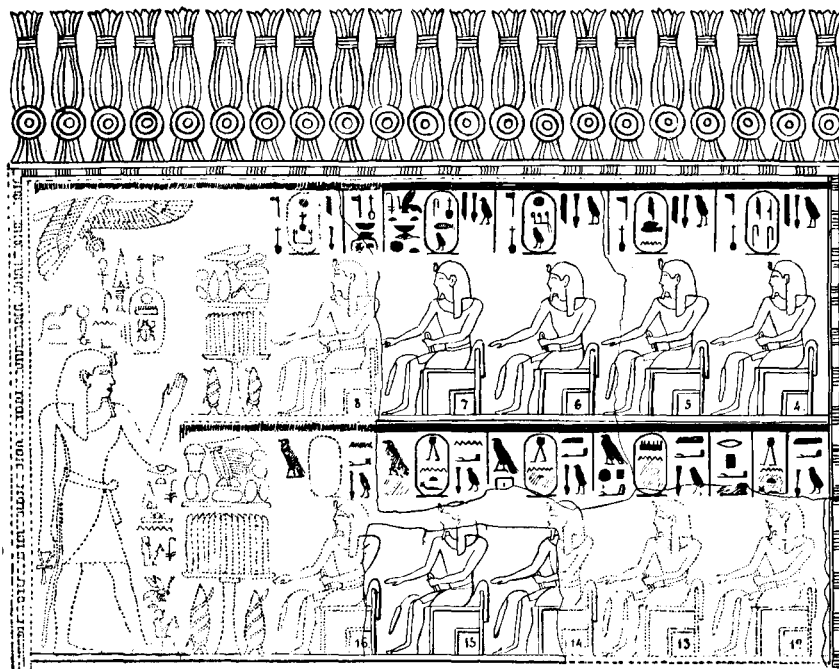


Fig. 4.

But the kings at the beginning of the dynasty whom we have enumerated here under Nos. 12-15 are not accepted by scholars as proposed here. While Farina restores them thus : No. 12 (Nekhtnebtpeofer) ; No. 13, Se(onkhibtai) ; No. 14 (Nebtauire) No. 15 (Nebhopetre) <sup>(4)</sup>, Winlock

<sup>(1)</sup> FARINA, *Il papyro' dei Re*, Pl. V, p. 35.

<sup>(2)</sup> For references to this list, see Por-

*Annales du Service*, t. LV.

TER-MOSS, *Bibliography*, III (1931), 192.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ibid.*, VI (1939), 25, 229-230.

<sup>(4)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

thinks that the three Antefs come first to be followed by Seonkhibtaui<sup>(1)</sup>. But the order which we are proposing fits well with the number of years which the last two kings ruled. Stock gives them in the same order as we have given them here with the sole difference that No. 12 may be 'the prince and governor, Antef' or 'the ancestor Mentuhotep'<sup>(2)</sup>. We believe that it was the latter king who was mentioned there; it was he who was known to us through the Karnak list of kings and his statue at Elephantine as 'Mentuhotep'. In the list of Karnak his name comes after that of the prince and governor, Antef. But this latter could be omitted in a list like the Turin Royal Papyrus, while Mentuhotepo, who was the father of the first two kings of the dynasty and whose name, unlike that of Antef, was inscribed inside a cartouche in the Karnak list, could not be overlooked.

In the facsimile of the Turin Papyrus made by Sir Alan Gardiner, the relevant portion of which we are reproducing here (fig. 5), Sir Alan sees in the cartouche at the beginning of this dynasty traces of the sign  $\text{h}^c$ ,  $w^3\text{h}$ , but these may be rather of the  $mn$ -sign of the name Mentuhotepo or traces of  $tp$  of the epithet  $tp(y)^c$ <sup>(3)</sup>. Thus it is quite possible that the name of the gods' father Mentuhotepo was included in this papyrus, and it is certain that it preceded at least two Antefs in the Karnak list. This would assure the fact which we pointed out previously that he was granted royal rights. He undoubtedly controlled Thebes and some other nomes in the neighbourhood before his son assumed the royal duties and inaugurated the prosperous days of the XIth Dynasty. That Wahonkh Antef left three statues in the Hakaib Temple is a fact which shows that he was a powerful king and that he, like other kings of the dynasty, directed great care to the region of Aswan.

<sup>(1)</sup> *J. E. A.*, 26 (1940), 119.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Op. cit.*, chronological summary opposite p. 81. For an account of all these ideas, see DRIOTON-VANDIER, *L'Égypte*<sup>3</sup>, 278.

<sup>(3)</sup> Sir Alan spent some time studying this papyrus and the result was the

making of an accurate facsimile of which a few copies were sent to certain libraries. For this part of the papyrus, see his article «The First King Menthotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty» in *MDIK*, 14, 43. For reference to our statue, see p. 51.

In our study on «The Buildings of Amenophis I in Karnak» which we shall publish shortly, we shall show that in one of these buildings we had list of the kings, whose offerings were diverted to the divine offerings of Amenre, another list perhaps of the same kings, a third of festivals, and a fourth with names of towns which afford offerings for the festivals. It will be seen that under these lists, is an inscription of two horizontal lines, the upper part has the surviving text : . . . . . (de)ceased, king of Upper and Lower Egypt 'Nebhopetre', the deceased, king

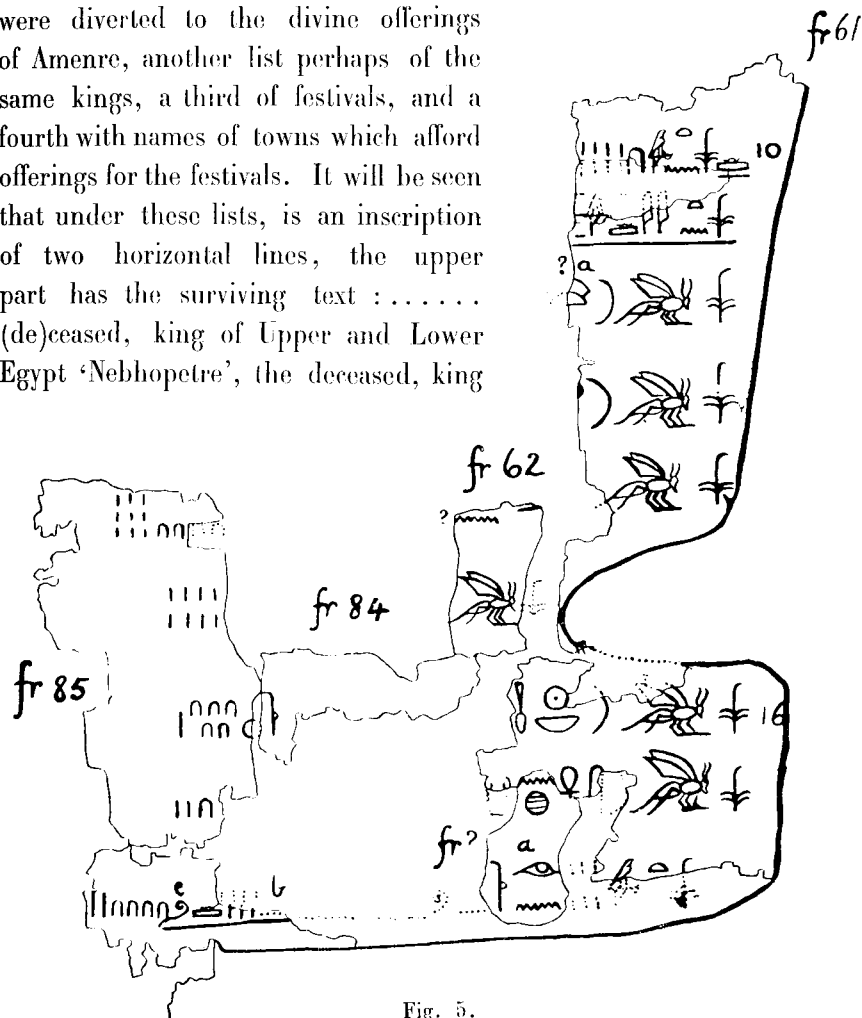


Fig. 5.

of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Seonkhkare', the deceased, the gods' father, Sesostris, the deceased (Pl. IV) <sup>(1)</sup> Winlock <sup>(2)</sup>, followed by Hayes <sup>(3)</sup>,

<sup>(1)</sup> This is seen on a block of this building, see *Ann. du Serv.*, XXXVIII (1938), 601,

<sup>(2)</sup> *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom*, pp. 53-54; *Jnes*, 2.

<sup>(3)</sup> *The Scepter of Egypt*, p. 167.

believed that Sesostris was the son and heir of Seonkhkare-Menthuhotep. The former scholar proposed that he disappeared, perhaps being assassinated, before the death of his father. Stock asks whether he was related by marriage to one of the last Mentuhotepts and thus had great influence which helped Amenemhēt I, who was perhaps his son, in launching a new dynasty<sup>(1)</sup>. Thus Stock discredits the prophecy of Neferti to the effect that the founder of the XIIth Dynasty was not of royal blood<sup>(2)</sup>. Posener, on the other hand, finds no reason to doubt the information of the prophecy. He states that the founder must have been the son of the god's father Sesostris, who had no relation with the previous royal family<sup>(3)</sup>. Clère believes that Sesostris may have been the father of Amenemhēt I and may have been the first to try to seize power for the new dynasty<sup>(4)</sup>. In their history of Egypt, Drioton and Vandier speak of this man as a pretender to the throne of Egypt before the rise of the XIIth Dynasty<sup>(5)</sup>.

On the block the name of this man immediately follows the last legitimate king of the XIth Dynasty<sup>(6)</sup>. It cannot be determined whether the sovereigns, whose names are found in this line and are continued in the next one, are those whose offerings were diverted to Amenre or whether these kings were the deified ones who were given certain privileges so as to partake in the offerings of the gods<sup>(7)</sup>; in either case there is no doubt that the presence of the name of the god's father Sesostris among those of kings gives him a certain importance. That he may have been the son

<sup>(1)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90, n. 1.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 171-172.

<sup>(4)</sup> « *Histoire des XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> dynasties égyptiennes* » in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* (Janvier 1954), vol. I, 649.

<sup>(5)</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

<sup>(6)</sup> After Seonkhkare, Nebtauire ascended the throne, but this latter king has been considered as an usurper, see below p. 189.

<sup>(7)</sup> It is unlikely that we have had

in these two lines the names of all kings whose offerings were diverted to Amenre's cult. These were rather in the lines of the top, but the kings whose names were in the bottom lines were rather those who were given certain privileges. For deified kings, see *Ann. du Serv.*, XL (1940) 37 ff, Seonkhkare is not included, but see PETRIE, *Nebesheh in Tanis*, II, pl. XLII, p. 45.

of Seonkhkare, who died before his father, would not entitle him to be included among the kings. Posener, who took him to be the father of Amenemhēt I, referred to GARDINER, *Onomastica*, I, 49. In that paragraph Gardiner shows that this title was given to the non-royal fathers, fathers-in-law or elder statesmen of kings. This is a strong argument that Sesostris was rather the father of Amenemhēt I and not the son of Seonkhkare. We can add that Sesostris as a name is not found among those of the royal family of the XIth Dynasty, but in the following dynasty; kings of that name alternated with those named Amenemhet. Again the occurrence of this Sesostris among the kings shows that he was highly honoured even in the time Amenophis I. This fact would be understandable if he was the father of the founder of the glorious XIIth Dynasty. It is to be noted that this dynasty was looked upon by later Pharaohs with great respect. There is scarcely a list which does not include all of its kings. In the Royal Papyrus of Turin the kings of the various dynasties follow each other without a word of introduction, but in the case of the XIIth Dynasty, the situation is different. There we have the introductory words «Kings of the capital *Ithet-tawi*» and at the end of the list «The total of the kingship of the capital *Ithet-tawi*. . . .» The following dynasty is introduced as «Kingship after (the successors of) king of Upper and Lower Egypt ‘Sehetepibre’, il, p, h<sup>(1)</sup>. This shows that the later kings of Egypt looked upon that dynasty as one of the most flourishing in Egyptian history.

It would not be strange, therefore, that Sesostris, the father of the founder of the dynasty, should have his name inscribed among kings. But who was this Sesostris and from whence did he come? According to Neferti's prophecy, a part of which we quoted at the beginning of this study, Amenemhēt I, designated there as Ameny, was «the son of a woman from the first nome of Upper Egypt and a child of Chen-Khen». The latter town is not easy to locate, although it must have been in the South, meaning as it does ‘interior of Hieraconpolis’ or ‘interior of Thebes’<sup>(2)</sup>. But the location of *To-sti* is certain. It was the first nome of

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<sup>(1)</sup> FARINA, *op. cit.*, p. 38, 39, 42. 198 and POSENER, *op. cit.*, p. 171

<sup>(2)</sup> GAUTHIER, *Dict. géog.*, IV, 197-

Upper Egypt or its capital Elephantine Island. It was from this Island then, according to the Neferti prophecy, that Sesostris must have come. As a matter of fact it appears that kings of the XIIth Dynasty, the descendants of Sesostris, concerned themselves a great deal with the district of Aswan and its governors. On the entrance to his tomb at Qubbet El-Hawa, Sirenput I says : « I made my tomb by favour of king Kheperkare . . . . . I was not allowed to lack what is required, the treasure-house was (the place) whence things were asked for me »<sup>(1)</sup>, and on one of his stelae in the Hakaib Temple on Elephantine, he states : « His Majesty gave me hundreds of people from Lower Egypt »<sup>(2)</sup>. In this Temple, kings of this dynasty left some statues<sup>(3)</sup> and they helped in building parts of it. It may be added also that among the objects found in the temple there was a statue of « the chief of the district, Onkhu, son of the king's sister, Merestekh » (Pl. III, C)<sup>(4)</sup>. This statue was found inside the shrine of Sirenput I, and Onkhu must have lived in Elephantine. Thus one of the people of this Island was related to one of the members of the royal family.

It is quite probable, therefore, that Sesostris and Amenemhēt I came from the capital of the first nome of Upper Egypt and that the information about the founder of the XIIth Dynasty in the Neferti prophecy is true. Stock thinks that Amenemhēt I came rather from a place like Thebes or Hermopolis, where Amūn had an old cult<sup>(5)</sup>. But Amenemhēt as a name was known before the beginning of the XIIth Dynasty, even in the region of Thebes<sup>(6)</sup>. We have to add that in Aswan some of the

<sup>(1)</sup> GARDINER, in *Ä. Z.*, 45, 185 and Pl. VII.

<sup>(2)</sup> This is one of the four stelae left by this nomarch in the Hekaib Temple at Elephantine, which we hope to publish shortly.

<sup>(3)</sup> Apart from a statue of Sesostris III (*Revue d'Égyptologie*, 7, 189 : 1), there is a second statue, of which the name of the owner is destroyed. Sesostris I left a triad and Ptahnofru left a statue,

see WEIGALL, *Ann. du Serv.*, VIII (1908), 47-48.

<sup>(4)</sup> No princess with this name is known, but to judge from the location of the statue and its style, Onkhu may have lived in the first half of the XIIth Dynasty.

<sup>(5)</sup> *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>(6)</sup> WINLOCK, *The Rise and Fall...*, pp. 87-88.

kings of the XIth Dynasty were shown in the form of Amûn and his ithyphallic form Amen-Kamutef<sup>(1)</sup>. Sesostris, as a name, means ‘the man of Usert’<sup>(2)</sup>, but what Usert was is not known for certain. Could it be an epithet of the goddess Satis, mistress of Elephantine, whose name means «the huntress» and who is shown as an archer in late times?<sup>(3)</sup>

At any rate it seems that Elephantine was favoured by and related somehow to the XIIth Dynasty, while Hermopolis did not have such a connection, and we have, therefore, to believe the information in the Neferti prophecy about the origin of this dynasty. It remains now to determine the role played by Sesostris. After the reign of Seonkhkare Mentuhotep and before Amenemhēt I ascended the throne, there intervened seven years of anarchy. Nebtauire Mentuhotep must have ruled the country at the beginning of this period with Amenemhēt as his vizier. After the second year of his reign nothing is known about him, and it is not unlikely that he then disappeared through some accident, since he was considered to be an usurper<sup>(4)</sup>. As vizier, Amenemhēt would have been the most powerful man at that time and his father could easily control the country. This is most probably what happened in the remaining interval of the seven years before the start of the glorious days of the XIIth Dynasty.

Sesostris as god’s father, like Mentuhotepo, father of the first two kings of the XIth Dynasty and Khety who was perhaps the father of the founder of the XIIth Dynasty, ruled the country for a short time before his son assumed kingship. In a discussion of the god’s fathers of the First Intermediate Period and their career, we cannot omit mention of «the god’s father, the beloved of the god, the son of Re, ‘Antef’» who is shown before king Nebhopetre in the famous graffito of Shatb El-Rigaleh.

<sup>(1)</sup> These we shall publish in a study about king Nebhopetre Mentuhotep.

<sup>(2)</sup> SETHE, «Der Name Sesostris» in *Ä. Z.*, 41, 43 ff. Usually it is given to lion-headed goddesses, such as, Sekhmet, Bastet, Pacht and Tefnut,

see *Id.*, *Amun und die Acht Urgottes von Hermopolis*, p. 29.

<sup>(3)</sup> ROEDER, «Sothis und Satis» in *Ä. Z.*, 45, pp. 22 ff, cf. 26 (6).

<sup>(4)</sup> *J. E. A.*, 26, 118 f; *JNES*, 2, 281 ff.

Some scholars believe that he was the son of this great nomarch<sup>(1)</sup>, but others take him to have been his father. The latter theory was proved to be true by Gardiner, who has shown that the person opposite the king stood for Horus 'Nakhtnebtpeofer' the son of Re 'Antef'<sup>(2)</sup>. With this Antef ends the list of the god's fathers of the First Intermediate Period who played so important a role in that rather obscure period of the history of Egypt.

Labib HABACHI.

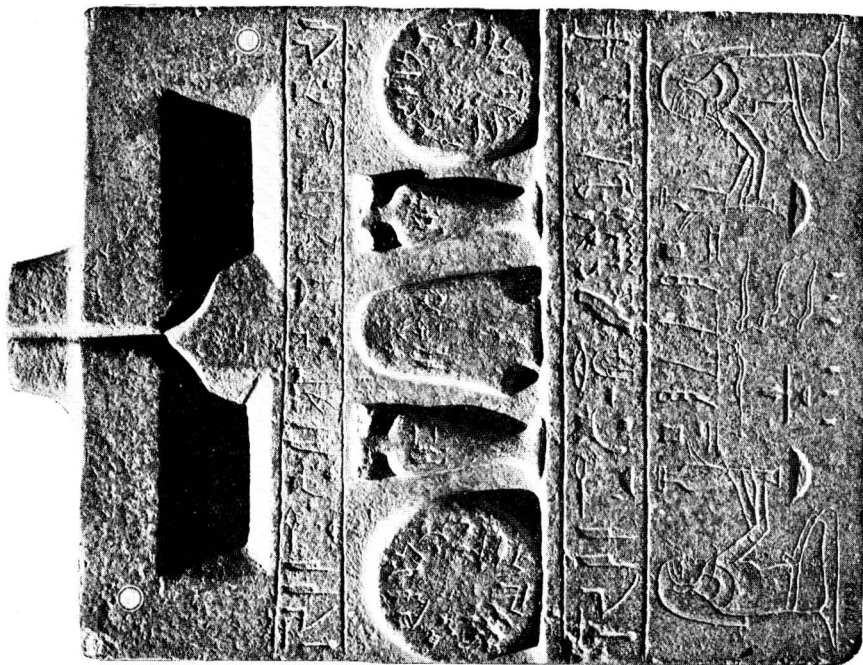
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<sup>(1)</sup> WINLOCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-64; and Pls. 12 and 36. See also CLÈRE, *op. cit.*, p. 648 and n. 18. The former scholar takes him as having been a son of this great Pharaoh, while the latter believes

that he was the same as king Nakhtnebtpeofer Mentuhotep who was the father of Nebhotep.

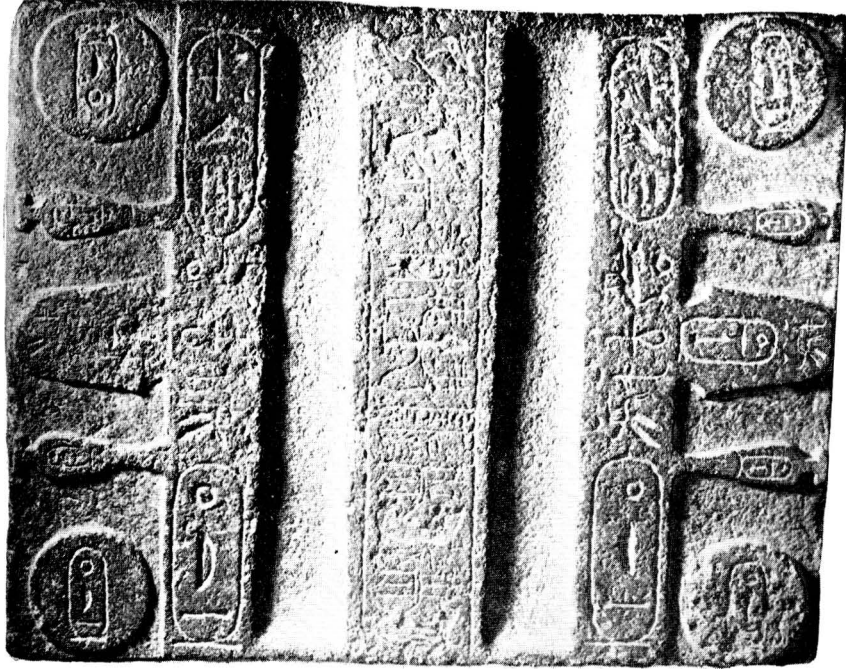
<sup>(2)</sup> In *MDIK*, 14, 45-46.





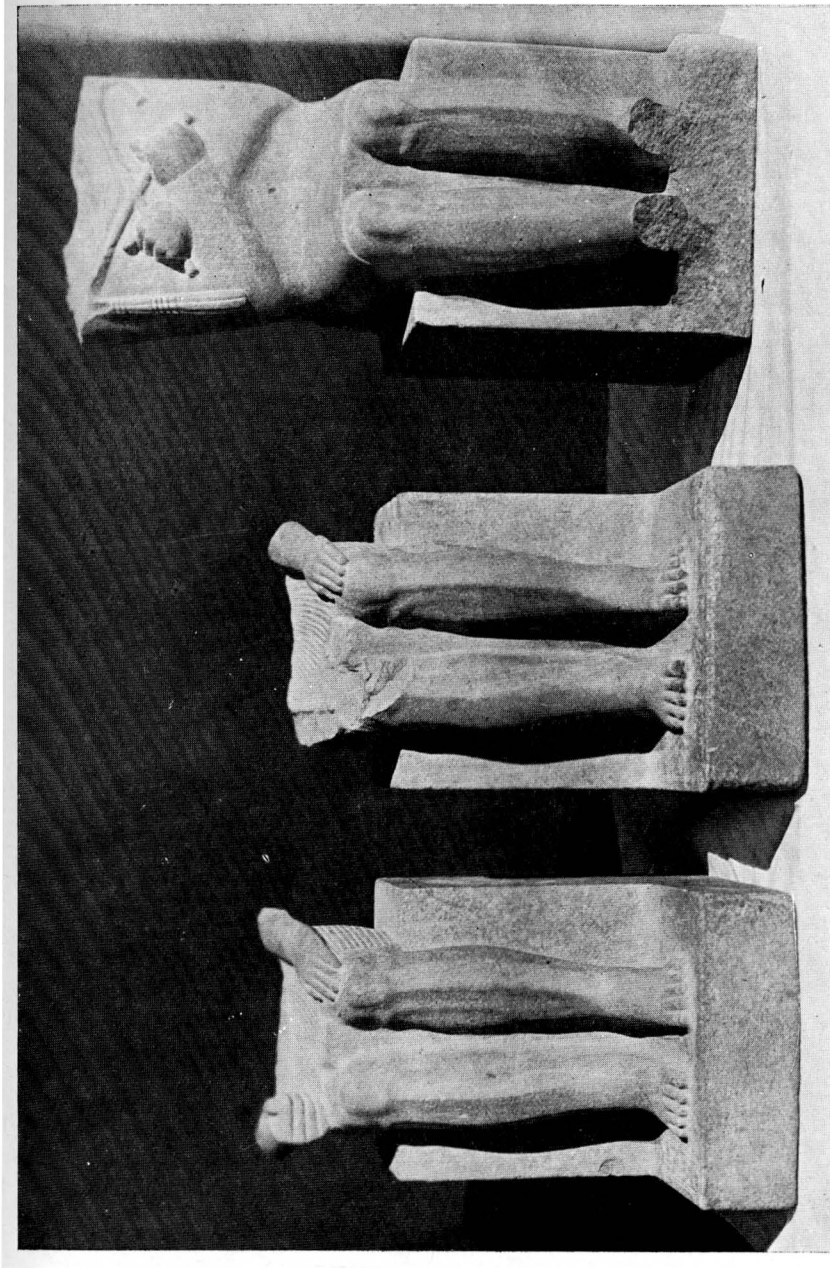
A

Offering table of Kheoty.



B

Offering table of Nebhoptre.



A

Statue of an unknown king.

B

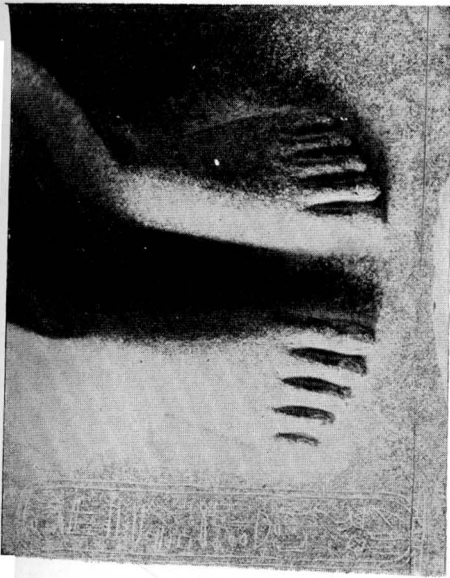
Statue of Wahnkh Antef.

C

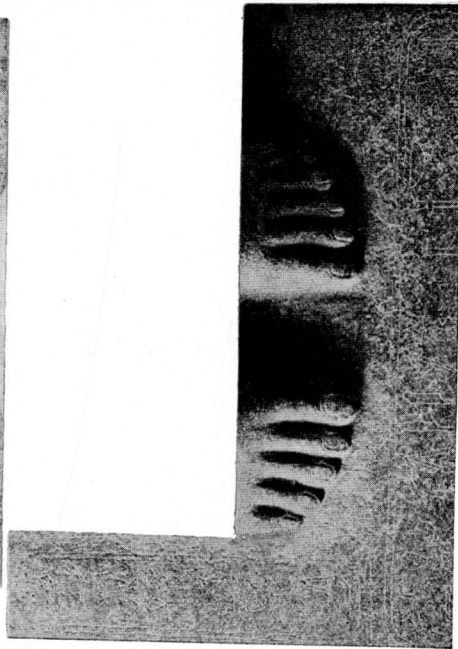
Statue of Mentuhotpo.



C  
Statue of Onkhu.



B  
Inscr. of  
Mentuhotpo.



A  
Inscr. of Wahnkh  
Antef.



Block from a Building of Amenophis I in Karnak.