

TABLE 1 (continued)

Date	Pharaoh	Highlights of the reign
1479–1425 BC	Thutmose III <i>Menkheperre</i>	Successive military campaigns over seventeen years establish Egyptian spheres of influence in Palestine and southern Syria Establishment of a policy for administration of the 'empire' Huge increase in Egyptian wealth from exploitation of spheres of influence—divided between king, Amun cult and loyal officials The king builds throughout Egypt especially at Karnak Later many of Hatshepsut's monuments are redesigned to honour Thutmose I and Thutmose II
1427–1400 BC	Amenhotep II <i>Aakheperure</i>	Amendment of Hatshepsut's monuments continues Widespread building especially at Karnak and Giza Two campaigns fought in Syria where rebellious vassals were severely punished Peace negotiated with Naharin
1400–1390 BC	Thutmose IV <i>Menkheperure</i>	'Dream Stele' erected between the paws of the Sphinx possibly indicates irregularity in the succession of this king The sun cult of Heliopolis is favoured during this reign Northern Egypt is important as the administrative centre Building construction takes place at most major sites in Egypt and Nubia King marries a Mitannian princess to cement diplomatic relations with Naharin Military activity against rebellious vassals in Syria and Palestine while police action takes place in Nubia

Activity: Terms and meanings

- 1 You will need to have a clear understanding of the following key terms for this topic. In your own words, write definitions for these terms: establishment, consolidation, expansion, empire, imperialism, maintenance, administration.
- 2 Construct a diagram using these terms as your category headings. Now, summarise the text you have read so far by recording bullet point notes under each of the headings.

Activity: Summary

Read through the overview of the period presented in Table 1.

- 1 Make a copy of the table and label each point with one of the following key words: pharaohs, queens, royal family, bureaucracy, military, trade, diplomacy, foreign affairs, building programs, political development, religious development.
- 2 Create a summary of the overview of the period choosing the categories that you consider to be most important.

INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS

The work you have now done has introduced you to some of the significant developments, forces and issues that shaped Egypt in the early New Kingdom. The sections to come will enable you to study these in more detail and develop a deep knowledge and understanding.

Impact of the Hyksos

The Second Intermediate Period was a time of great disunity in Egypt. There was no centralised rule with the country being broken up into independently administered regions. Evidence for this period is very problematic. We are largely dependent on Egyptian sources to reconstruct the events of this time. Hyksos sources are archaeological rather than written and are incomplete.

Excavations at Tell el-Dab'a in the north-eastern delta by Manfred Bietak, a Czech archaeologist, have identified this site as ancient Avaris, the capital of a foreign people known as the Hyksos. Contrary to earlier views that these people were invaders, it is now thought that they gradually migrated to Lower Egypt and settled over a period of time when central authority was not strong enough to maintain control of Egypt's borders.

Who were the Hyksos? The name comes from the Greek version of the Egyptian *hekau khasu*, an epithet meaning ‘rulers of foreign countries’. The Egyptians reserved this name for Asiatic rulers to denote a lower status than the Egyptian king and the Hyksos rulers used it themselves. The west **Semitic** origins of the personal names used by both common and royal Asiatics in Egypt at this time indicate that these people came from the region of Palestine. By the end of the 18th century BC, the Hyksos had extended their rule westward, eventually capturing Memphis, the Egyptian capital. However, despite such gains they maintained Avaris as their base and extended the territory under their control as far south as Cusae. Evidence from the period also indicates that they established diplomatic and trading relations with the Nubians from Kerma. Excavations at Tell el-Dab’a and the Turin Canon reveal a Hyksos Dynasty that lasted for about a hundred years and ended with Awessere Apopi who reigned at the time of the Hyksos–Theban wars.

The Hyksos occupation produced significant cultural and technological developments in Egypt. Among the most important of these were innovations in weaponry, notably the horse-drawn chariot and the composite bow, which the Egyptians were later able to use successfully against them. The Hyksos also established extensive diplomatic and trading contacts with the eastern Mediterranean region and Nubia. Figure 2 summarises the areas of contribution made by the Hyksos.

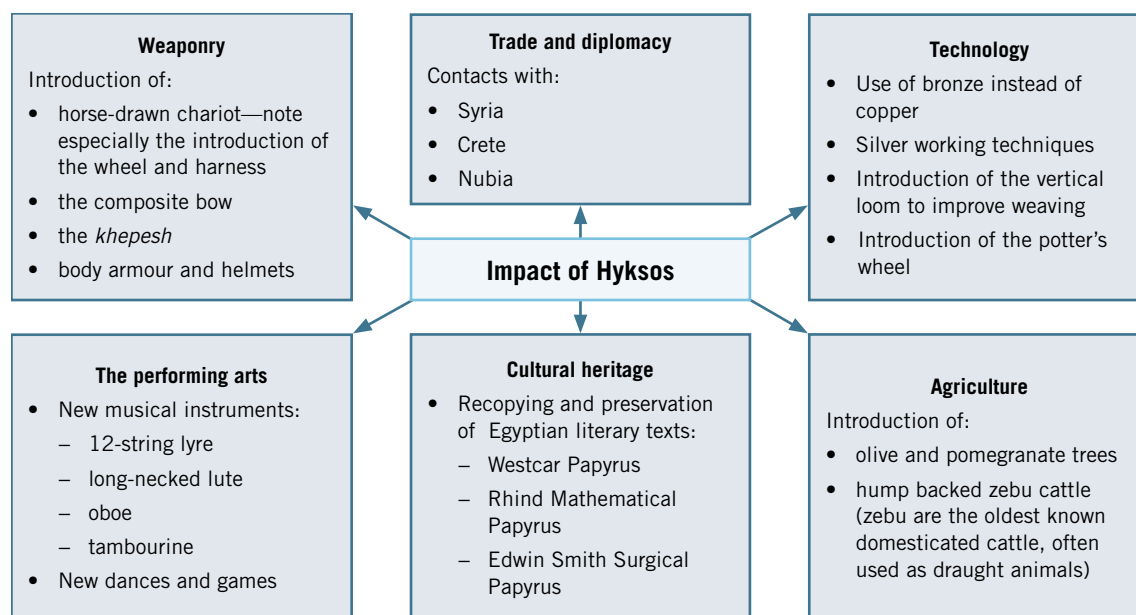


FIGURE 2
Diagram showing the impact the Hyksos had on Egyptian society

Hyksos trade and diplomacy

The following secondary source suggests the extent of Hyksos influence at the time of the wars of expulsion.

SOURCE 1

Kamose's description of the harbour at Avaris during the reign of Apophis ... refers to the 'hundreds of ships of fresh cedar which were filled with gold, lapis, silver, turquoise, bronze axes without number, not to mention the moringa-oil, fat, honey, willow, box-wood, sticks, and all their fine woods—all the fine products of Syria!'

Though meager, this evidence cannot be misinterpreted. Military conquest, clearly in the north, the status of a great king, vast amounts of tribute—all this accrued to the great Apophis, and perhaps to his forebear Khayan as well. The latter's name is known from a number of small objects—a weight from Baghdad, an unguent vessel from Boghaz Keui [the later Hittite capital], and the lid of an alabaster vessel from Knossos—which at one time was enough to conjure up to some scholars the vision of a world empire. There was nothing of the sort, of course during Hyksos times; but these scattered objects do tell us something. When combined with the vessel inscribed for a princess and sister of Apophis, from Spain, and the plate of a daughter of Apophis, from Amenhotep I's tomb at Thebes, can we catch a glimpse of an active court at Avaris, with international interests, sending diplomatic presents and perhaps arranging marriages with the city-states of Palestine and Syria and the Aegean?

Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, p. 120

Technological impact of the Hyksos

The traditional weaponry of the Egyptians consisted of bows and arrows, shields, spears, axes and throwing sticks, and an array of impact weapons such as maces, cudgels and clubs. During the Hyksos wars, the Egyptians added to their armoury by adopting the superior military technology of the enemy, chief among which were the horse-drawn war chariot and the composite bow. Another innovation also introduced from Asia at this time was the **khepesh**.

The chariot

The victory **stela** set up by Kamose after his sack of Avaris lists chariots among the booty collected, so it is therefore likely that the horse and chariot were introduced into Egypt at this time. Archaeological and written evidence indicates that the Egyptians were using the horse and chariot during Ahmose's reign. Newly found relief fragments at Abydos dating to his reign depict horses hitched to chariots.⁴ This is supported by inscriptional evidence from the tomb of a famous soldier of the time, Ahmose son of Ebana: 'I followed the king [Ahmose] on foot when he rode abroad in his chariot.'⁵

The chariot consisted of a light, wooden semi-circular framework with an open back attached to an axle and a pair of four- or six-spoked wheels with leather tyres. Two horses were yoked to the chassis by a long pole attached to the centre of the axle (see Figure 2.13 in the textbook). It was manned by two soldiers, the charioteer (driver) and the warrior armed with a bow and spear and shield.

The composite bow

The bow and arrow was the most important long-range weapon in the Egyptian armoury. The traditional wooden 'self' or simple bow, between 1 and 2 metres long, consisted of a wooden rod that narrowed at either end and was strung with twisted gut (Figure 2.13). An innovation in the design and construction of this bow involved a technique of adding laminated materials, which made it more elastic and gave it greater range and penetration. This new, recurved or composite bow (Figure 2.13) like the chariot, was also introduced by the Hyksos. The composite bow together with the chariot were the main weapons responsible for Egyptian military success during this period.

Other weapons and armour

More sophisticated versions of weapons included a longer, narrower battleaxe blade. The ceremonial battleaxe blade shown in Figure 2.13 was found in the tomb of Queen Ahhotep the Younger (see the section 'Role of queens'). It has a gold-plated copper head and cedarwood handle and is decorated with **electrum**, jewels and Egyptian **motifs**. The workmanship is clearly of Aegean origin, characterised by the **niello**-inlaid blade. Less elaborate versions were used in battle.

A new form of dagger introduced from Asia was the **khepesh** (Figure 2.13) with a curved blade. Both the battleaxe and the **khepesh** were used in close hand-to-hand fighting. Other early New Kingdom developments included upper body armour made of leather or linen to which small bronze scales were attached (Figure 2.13) and a smaller type of shield that was tapered in its lower half. Another development deriving from the Hyksos helmet was the protective headgear worn by the pharaoh. This helmet, called the 'blue war crown', became an important part of the pharaoh's regalia. It consisted of metal discs sewn onto a leather headpiece (see Figure 2.13).

⁴ Harvey, 'Tribute to a Conquering King', p. 53

⁵ Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Vol. 2, p. 6

Understanding and using the sources

Source 1

- List the following: goods captured by Kamose in the siege of Avaris; places where the Hyksos had trading or diplomatic contacts.
- Why does Redford reject the view of some scholars that these are evidence of a Hyksos 'world empire'?
- What more reasonable conclusion can be drawn from the evidence about the extent of Hyksos influence before their expulsion from Egypt?
- Suggest ways in which the victorious Egyptians might have exploited the benefits of the Hyksos occupation outlined in this source.

For further investigation

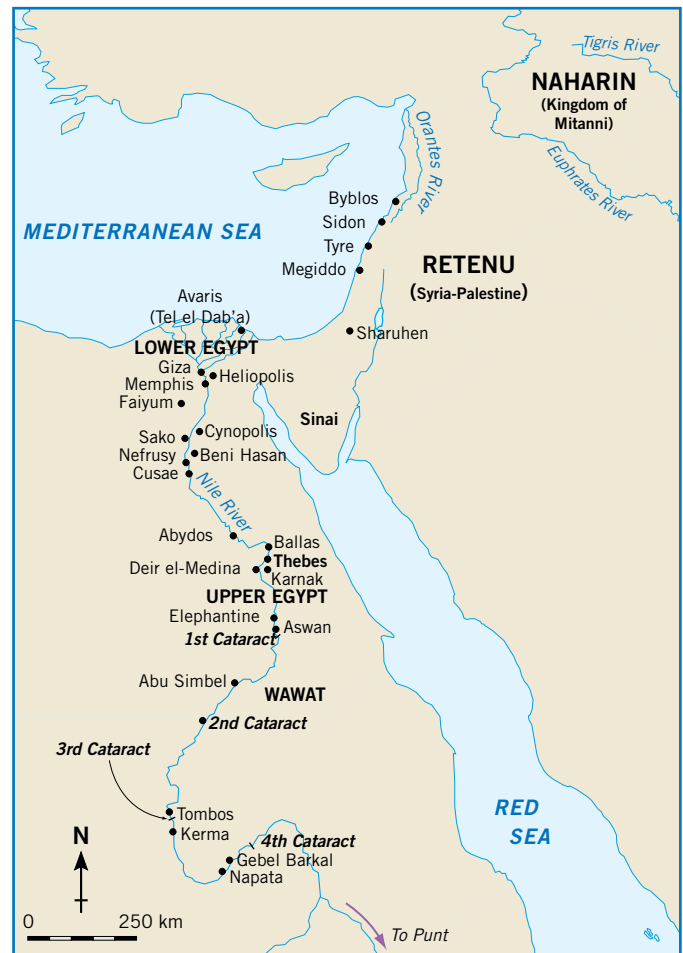
- For a survey of the latest scholarship on all aspects of the Hyksos period, including an analysis of key historiographical issues, see Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos*.
- Undertake further research on the features of the affects of Hyksos discussed in this section. Useful sources for this activity include:
 - Shaw & Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*
 - Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*
 - Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt*
 - website: <http://www.touregypt.net/featurestories/hyksos.htm>.

Establishment of the 18th Dynasty: Wars against the Hyksos

While the Hyksos had established their rule in the north of Egypt from Avaris to Cusae, Upper Egypt from Abydos to Elephantine came under the control of a line of native kings, centred at Thebes. King Lists from Thebes, recycled **stelae** and their tombs and burial goods reveal nine kings who constituted the 17th Dynasty. Their chief god was the local god of Thebes, Amun. Little is known about this period, especially about Theban contact with the north. We do know, however, that the Hyksos taxed Thebans travelling north of Cusae and no doubt limited their access to valuable resources such as cedar from Lebanon and limestone from the northern quarries.

The Thebans would also have felt hemmed in from the south. The Hyksos controlled the route to Nubia via the western oases and so had access to the goldmines and trade of the region. The Theban kings could only use the Nile for trading expeditions to Nubia. They also had to pay a tax to the Nubian king of Kush who controlled the region south of Elephantine at the First Cataract. This helps to explain the Theban military action against both north and south in the coming Hyksos–Theban wars.

FIGURE 3 Map of Egypt and its neighbours in the early New Kingdom



The coming of war

A civil war between the rulers of the north and the increasingly belligerent southerners was inevitable. This conflict is not usually portrayed as a civil war, but evidence suggests that this is the appropriate term to use. Primary written sources from Thebes depict the Hyksos as hated foreign oppressors, an affront to *maat*, the Egyptian concept of the right order of things. However, evidence from Tell el-Dab'a shows that the Hyksos by this time had become thoroughly Egyptianised. Their king had the titles of a traditional Egyptian king and pursued the usual concerns of an Egyptian king, including the worship of Seth, local god of Avaris, whose cult was merged with the Asiatic deity Baal Zephon.

Steps to war

The Hippopotamus affair

Hostilities seem to have begun in the reign of Seqenenre Taa, King of Thebes. A partially preserved 19th Dynasty papyrus records Apopi's challenge to the Theban king. It appears that he complained of losing sleep due to the noise made by the hippopotami in Thebes. The distance between Avaris and Thebes of about 600 kilometres makes it obvious that either Apopi possessed superhuman hearing or he was being openly provocative. Seqenenre could not ignore the insult. The remains of the papyrus unfortunately do not record the outcome of the incident, although other evidence indicates further trouble in this reign.

Seqenenre, perhaps in preparation for future conflict, built a mudbrick palace and fort at Ballas to the north of Thebes. According to Janine Bourriau: 'It seems hard to avoid the conclusion that the purpose of the settlement, deliberately built in a remote place, was military, perhaps intended for the mustering of an army containing a large contingent of Kerma Nubians.'⁶

6 Bourriau, 'The Second Intermediate Period' in Shaw (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, p. 211

The death of Seqenenre

We lack specific evidence of open warfare between the Thebans and the Hyksos in the aftermath of the Hippopotamus affair. However, it seems most likely that Seqenenre met a violent death in battle against the Hyksos. His mummy, now on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, bears the marks of wounds inflicted by a dagger, an axe, a spear and even a mace. The axe marks on his forehead match Hyksos weapons found at Tell el-Dab'a.



FIGURE 4
Head of the mummy of Seqenenre showing his fatal wounds

Kamose at war: Enemies in the north and south

Kamose, successor of Seqenenre, took the war to the Hyksos. Before heading north, however, he had to deal with a major threat from the south. Evidence indicates that he attacked and captured the fort of Buhen (at the Second Cataract) from the Kushites, who ruled a powerful Nubian kingdom with its capital at Kerma, and who were allies of the Hyksos.

A remarkable inscription relating to the attack on the south has recently been revealed in the tomb of Sobeknakht, governor of ElKab, an important provincial capital of Upper Egypt in the late 17th Dynasty. The discovery was made during work undertaken by British and Egyptian conservators led by W. Vivian Davies of the British Museum. The inscription contains evidence of a previously unknown attack on Egypt by a coalition of Nubian and southern allies led by the Kingdom of Kush. Source 2 is from a report published in the Cairo *Al-Ahram Weekly* in mid-2003.

SOURCE 2

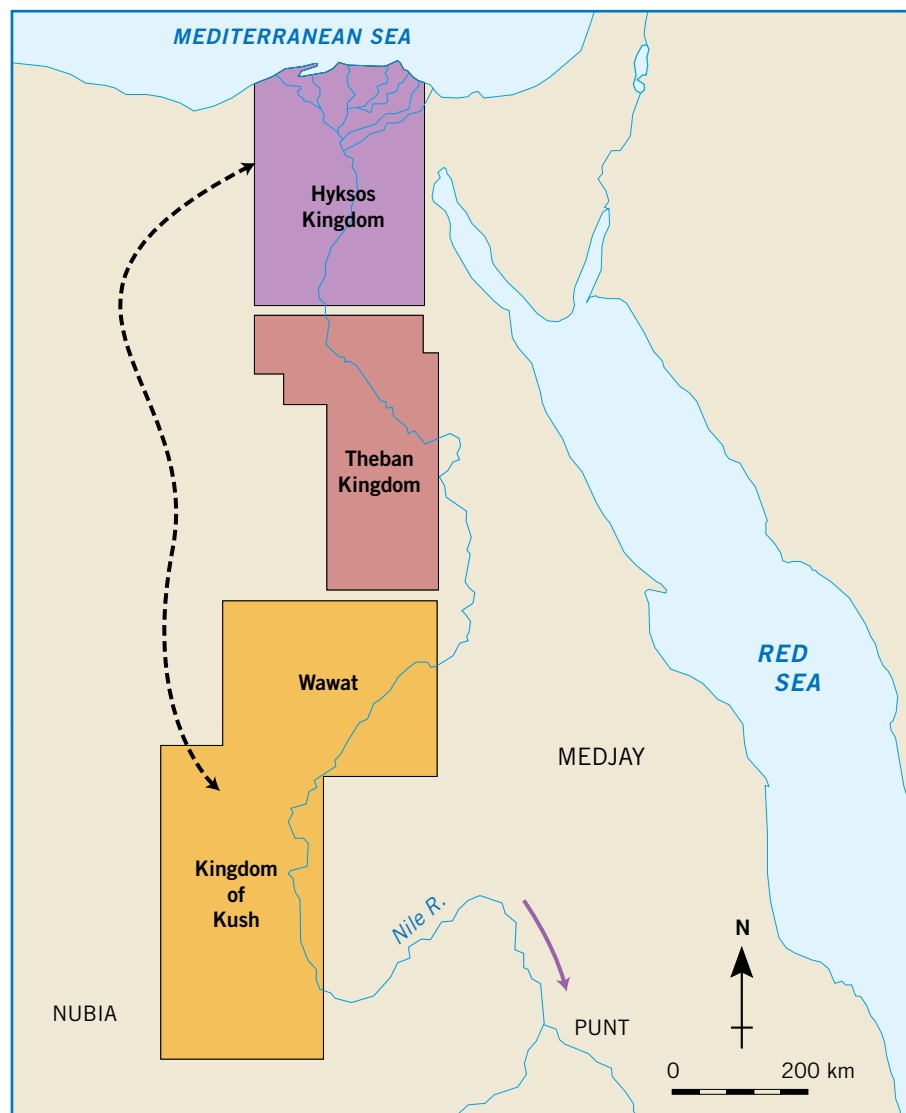
The text recounts his [Sobeknakht's] role in the crisis, from his command to strengthen the defences of ElKab to his mustering of a force to combat the Nubians, to his successful counter-attack southwards which destroyed an enemy force through the aid of ElKab's vulture goddess, Nekhbet. The inscription ends with an account of celebration in the presence of the Egyptian king, who is not identified by name, and of the temple of Nekhbet's endowment with a sacred boat ... Davies stated 'We always thought that the Hyksos were the greatest of Egypt's enemies but Kush was as well.' The defeat of the Kush-led invasion represented in Sobeknakht's tomb may come to be interpreted as a critical event in Egypt's subsequent defeat of the Hyksos and expansion of its nascent empire into Palestine and Sudan.

Al-Ahram Weekly Online: 31 July–6 August 2003 (Issue No. 649) located at: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2003/649/he1.htm>

This new evidence indicates that the Kushite kingdom was a far more dangerous threat than was previously thought and that a Kushite army had penetrated perhaps as far north as ElKab in the region of Thebes. Taking into account this evidence and our prior knowledge of the Hyksos–Nubian alliance, Kamose’s attack on Buhen would have made good sense strategically in order to secure his rear from attack.

Two texts from Kamose’s reign give accounts of what happened next. Kamose’s own account explains his reasons for the proposed attack to his council of nobles:

FIGURE 5 Map showing Hyksos, Theban and Kushite spheres of influence at the end of the Second Intermediate Period—the dotted line shows the desert routes of contact between the Hyksos and Kush



SOURCE 3

‘To what end do I know my [own] strength? One chief is in Avaris, another in Kush, and I sit [here] associated with an Asiatic and a Nubian! Each man has his slice in this Egypt and so the land is partitioned with me! None can pass through it as far as Memphis [although it is] Egyptian water! See he [even] has Hermopolis! No one can be at ease when they are milked by the taxes of the Asiatics. I shall grapple with him that I might crush his belly, [for] my desire is to rescue Egypt which the Asiatics have destroyed.’

Redford, ‘Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period’ in Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos*, p. 13

His councillors were reluctant to support the plans for the reasons given in Source 4.

SOURCE 4

See, as far as Cusae it is Asiatic water ... We are doing all right with our [part of] Egypt: Elephantine is strong, and the interior is with us as far as Cusae. Their free land is cultivated for us, and our cattle graze in the Delta ... while corn is sent for our pigs. Our cattle have not been seized ... He has the land of the Asiatics, we have Egypt. Only when comes one who [acts against us] should we act against him.

Redford, ‘Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period’, pp. 13–14

Kamose chose to ignore their arguments and launched an attack. The Source 5 is his own account of the events that brought him to the eve of the attack on Avaris.

SOURCE 5

I sailed north ... to repel the Asiatics through the command of Amun, exact-of-counsel, with my brave army before me like a flame of fire and the Medjay archers [contingents of Nubian bowmen fighting on the side of the Thebans] ... on the lookout for the Asiatics in order to destroy their places. East and West proffered their abundance, and the army provisioned itself everywhere ... [I besieged] Tety the son of Pepy in the midst of Nefrusy. I was not going to let him escape, once I had repelled the Asiatics who had defied Egypt, so that he could turn Nefrusy into a nest of Asiatics.

I passed the night in my ship, my heart happy; and when day dawned I was upon him like a hawk. When breakfast time came I overthrew him having destroyed his walls and slaughtered his people, and made his wife descend to the river bank. My army acted like lions with their spoil—chattels, cattle, fat, honey—dividing their things, their hearts joyful. The district of Nefrusy came down [in submission] ...

I put in at Per-djedken ... so that I might let Apopy experience a bad time, that Syrian prince with weak arms ... I espied his women upon his roof, peering out of their windows towards the harbor. Their bellies stirred not as they saw me, peeping from their loop-holes upon their walls like the young of *inh*-animals in their holes, saying: he is swift!

Behold! I am come! ... Does your heart fail, O you vile Asiatic? Look! I drink of the wine of your vineyards which the Asiatics whom I captured pressed out for me. I have smashed up your resthouse, I have cut down your trees, I have forced your women into ships' holds, I have seized [your] horses; I haven't left a plank to the hundreds of ships of fresh cedar which were filled with gold, lapis, silver, turquoise, bronze axes without number, over and above the moringa-oil, incense, fat, honey, willow, box-wood, sticks and all their fine woods—all the fine products of Retenu—I have confiscated all of it! I haven't left a thing to Avaris to her [own] destitution: the Asiatic has perished!

Redford, 'Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period', p. 14

During Kamose's campaign, his soldiers captured a messenger carrying a message from the Hyksos king to the king of Kush.

SOURCE 6

I captured his messenger in the oasis upland, as he was going south to Kush with a written dispatch, and I found on it the following, in writing by the hand of the Ruler of Avaris:

'[Aweserre] son of Re, Apophis greets my son the ruler of Kush. Why have you arisen as ruler without letting me know? Do you see what Egypt has done to me? The Ruler which is in her midst—Kamose-the-Mighty, given life!—is pushing me off my [own] land! I have not attacked him in any way comparable to all that he has done to you; he has chopped up the Two Lands ... my land and yours ... Come north! Do not hold back! See, he is here with me: There is none who will stand up to you in Egypt. See, I will not give him a way out until you arrive! Then we shall divide the towns of Egypt, and [Khent]-hen-nofer shall be in joy.'

Redford, 'Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period', pp. 14–15

Having intercepted the letter, Kamose returned it to the Hyksos king as a gesture of contempt. He then returned to Thebes, conducting mopping up operations against centres of Hyksos resistance in Cynopolis, the Bahariah Oasis and Sako. Reaching Thebes in time for the annual festival of Inundation, Kamose held victory celebrations and gave thanksgiving offerings to Amun. He instructed his chief official to record his triumph on a stela to be set up at the temple of Amun at Karnak.

FIGURE 6 The great stela of king Kamose (limestone, 2.31 m high) found in the first court of the temple of Amun at Karnak



Understanding and using the sources

Sources 3, 4, 5 and 6

- What reasons does Kamose give for his planned attack?
- What does Kamose's language reveal about his attitude to his neighbours?
- Explain what is meant by 'as far as Cusae it is Asiatic water'.
- What reasons do the councillors give for their opposition to Kamose's plans?
- What do the sources suggest about Kamose as king? About the Council's attitudes to the Hyksos? About Kamose's claim that he wishes to 'rescue Egypt'?
- Using the map in Figure 5, outline the sequence of events in Kamose's campaign against the Hyksos.
- What role does Kamose give to Amun? Why?
- What conclusions could you draw about the significance of the goods captured by Kamose in the sack of Avaris for the Thebans?
- What does the intercepted letter reveal about relations between the Hyksos and the Nubians, and the justification for Kamose's campaign?
- Assess the reliability and usefulness of these sources for understanding Egypt's role in the Hyksos–Theban wars.

Ahmosé and the siege of Avaris

Despite Kamose's victory celebrations, the final expulsion of the Hyksos was left to Ahmosé, the successor and possible brother of Kamose. Ahmosé was very young when he came to the throne so the queen-mother, Ahhotep, acted as regent. At this time of great instability, she maintained the Theban dynasty's control of Upper Egypt by suppressing rebels. When Ahmosé finally came of age, he turned his attention to the unfinished business in the north and launched a direct attack on Avaris.

Archaeological evidence for this campaign comes from:

- reliefs from Ahmosé's temple at Abydos discovered in 1993 by Stephen Harvey, which show scenes of both land and naval warfare, fallen Hyksos soldiers and fragments inscribed with Apopi's name⁷
- excavation at Tell el-Dab'a which reveals abandonment of the site rather than wholesale slaughter; a distinct change of material culture occurs at this time with no further evidence of Hyksos re-occupation of the site.⁸

Expulsion of the Hyksos

A written account of the final victory over the Hyksos comes from Ahmosé son of Ebana, a soldier whose career spanned the reigns of Ahmosé, Amenhotep I and Thutmose I. This source is an example of tomb biography genre, in which successful elite officials recorded the achievements of their careers on the walls of their tombs. The purpose of such biographies was to immortalise their deeds both for future generations and for their own afterlives.

The following extract records the role of Ahmosé son of Ebana, in the final campaigns. These included the siege and capture of Avaris and a later assault on Sharuhen, in southern Palestine—the last stronghold of the retreating Hyksos.



FIGURE 7

Shabti figure of King Ahmosé—one of the very few surviving images of the founder of the 18th Dynasty, he is depicted wearing the royal **nemes** headdress, **uraeus** and **false beard**

⁷ Harvey, 'Tribute to a Conquering King', p. 53

⁸ Bourriau, 'The Second Intermediate Period', p. 214

SOURCE 7

The Autobiography of Ahmose son of Ebana

... When the town of Avaris was besieged, I fought bravely on foot in his Majesty's presence. There was fighting on the water in 'Pjedku' of Avaris. I made a seizure and carried off a hand.⁹ When it was reported to the royal herald the gold of valor¹⁰ was given to me. Then they fought again in this place: I again made a seizure there and carried off a hand. Then I was given the gold of valor once again.

Then there was fighting in Egypt to the south of this town and I carried off a man as a living captive. I went down into the water ... and crossed the water carrying him. When it was reported to the royal herald I was rewarded with gold once more. Then Avaris was despoiled, and I brought spoil from there: one man, three women; total four persons. His majesty gave them to me as slaves.

Then Sharuhen was besieged for three years. His majesty despoiled it and I brought spoil from it: two women and a hand. Then the gold of valor was given me, and my captives were given to me as slaves.

Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Vol. II: The New Kingdom*, pp. 12–13

Reasons for the Hyksos defeat

Part of the explanation for the Hyksos defeat was the ability of the Theban princes to unite the native Egyptians against them. The Egyptians also adopted the horse and chariot and Hyksos weaponry and used them very effectively. Another reason is suggested by archaeological evidence from the excavations at Tell el-Dab'a, the former Hyksos capital.

SOURCE 8

Some explanation for the defeat may be found in a clue that suggests that the ideal of a warrior elite among the Hyksos did not correspond to reality by the time of the Thebans' final assault. Battle axes and daggers from stratum D/3 [i.e. period of Egyptian attacks] were of unalloyed copper, whereas weapons from earlier strata were made of tin bronze, which produced a weapon with a far superior cutting edge. It has been suggested that an interruption in the supply of tin can be ruled out and the explanation lies rather in a change in the function of weapons from practical use to one of status and display. In contrast, weapons of the same period from Upper Egypt were made of tin bronze and this would have given the Thebans a clear advantage in hand-to-hand fighting.

Bourriau, 'The Second Intermediate Period', p. 214

Understanding and using the sources

Source 8

- How were Hyksos weapons inferior to Egyptian ones at the time of the Thebans' final assault?
- What is meant by 'the ideal of a warrior elite among the Hyksos did not respond to reality'?
- What explanation for the decline in the quality of Hyksos weaponry is suggested here?
- What implications does this evidence have for our understanding of the wars against the Hyksos?

Reunification of Upper and Lower Egypt

Ahmose's final expulsion of the Hyksos paved the way for the reunification of Upper and Lower Egypt under a new dynasty with its capital at Thebes. Egypt was once again a united land for the first time since the end of the Middle Kingdom.

Ahmose now turned to the task of consolidating his reign in a campaign against the Nubian allies of the Hyksos. Ahmose son of Ebana tells us he 'made a great slaughter among them'. With this victory, Ahmose had 'conquered southerners and northerners', completing the work begun by Kamose to free Egypt from the forces that had hemmed it in.

The threats to the new dynasty were not only external. Rebellions in Upper Egypt indicate that Ahmose had to defeat rival claimants to his throne. Ahmose son of Ebana's account describes a rebellion led by a man called Aata. This was speedily put down by the new king who captured the rebels alive. A further threat came from a man called Teti-an, leader of another rebel group. This time the king showed no mercy and executed Teti-an and his entire troop.

⁹ A common practice of Egyptian soldiers was to cut off a hand of a slain enemy as a record of numbers killed

¹⁰ A decoration for service in the form of golden flies (see Figure 16)