

RE-VISUALIZATION OF THE LIBERATION WAR

BY (KING AHMOSE I)

[Through the autobiography of the crew- commander Ahmose, son of Abana]

By

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ABSTRACT

[AR] إعادة تصور لحرب التحرير التي قام بها الملك (أحمس الأول)، من خلال السيرة الذاتية للقائد البحرية (أحمس ابن ابانا) . اعتبر المصري القديم حادثة غزو الهكسوس للبلاد كارثة كبرى قد حلت بالبلاد ، وذلك كون المصري القديم لم يصادف مثل هذا العدوان من قبل ، والذي بسببه أصبحت جميع خيرات البلاد في قبضة الأجنبي المحتلين. ونظرا لطبيعة شخصية المصري القديم ، فقد أبى على نفسه معايشة ومهادنة هذا الاحتلال ، فقام بأولى محاولات التخلص من نير احتلال الهكسوس منذ حدوثه ، وبدأت تصاعديّة ، حيث بلغت ذروتها ابان ملوك التحرير (سقن رع – كامس – أحمس). وبالرغم من الجهود العسكرية الكبيرة التي قام بها كل من (سقن رع) ، وابنه الملك (كامس) ، لاتمام عملية اجلاء الهكسوس من البلاد ، الا أن كليهما لم يفلح في بلوغ تلك الغاية ، ليطرأ الدور للملك (أحمس) لينول هذا الشرف العظيم. وبالرغم من كون العمليات العسكرية التي قام بها (أحمس) والتي نتج عنها تمكنه من طرد الهكسوس من البلاد، ملحمة عسكرية عظيمة ، الا أننا نفتقد للوثائق الملكية المدونة المكتملة التي تسجل أحداث تلك المعارك ، لتكوين فكرة كاملة وواضحة عن كيفية انجاز هذا الحدث الجلل. فما كان من الباحث الا أن يجد ضالته في وثيقة غير ملكية عاصرت تلك الأحداث، ألا وهي السيرة الذاتية للقائد البحرية للقائد (أحمس بن ابانا) المسجلة على جدران مقبرته الصخرية بمنطقة الكاب.

[EN] The Hyksos invasion, which happened in the Nile valley during the late 13th Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom, was considered a major blow to the country. However, the ancient Egyptians did not allow and accept this brutal occupation for a long time. This operation took a gradual upward curve until they achieved and culminated the salvation from the invaders through the hard-military efforts initiated by the liberation kings (Seqenenre, Kamose, and Ahmose I). Ancient Egyptian history had many archaeological sources that depicted the stages of struggle and liberation wars against Hyksos, especially during the reign of king Seqenenre and his son Kamose. Although the operation of Hyksos expels was always attributed to king Ahmose, who had completed the tale of the liberation war, we have not discovered (till now) any official sources documenting his reign containing the sequence of his liberation and struggle wars against Hyksos in detail. It seems that the ancient Egyptian civilization did not allow us to disappoint that we can accurately trace the liberation war of king Ahmose indirectly through analyzing the autobiography of the crew commander Ahmose, son of Abana, inscribed on the walls of his local tomb in El-Kab (north Edfu). The crew commander Ahmose son of Abana documented the liberation war through only his own role that he was not considered or appointed as one of the official scribes who were positioned to document the war diaries. He mentioned his role in the battle, and we rebuilt a scenario of the battle in the absence of the main royal sources.

KEYWORDS: Hyksos, Ahmose I, the crew commander Ahmose son of Abana, liberation, struggle wars

I. INTRODUCTION

The Hyksos invasion that happened in the Nile valley during the late 13th Dynasty of the Middle Kingdom is considered a major blow to the country. However, the ancient Egyptians did not allow and accept this brutal occupation for a long time. This operation took a gradual upward curve until they achieved and culminated the salvation from the invaders through the hard-military efforts initiated by the liberation kings (Seqenenre, Kamose, and Ahmose I). Ancient Egyptian history had many archaeological sources that depicted the stages of struggle and liberation wars against Hyksos, especially during the reign of king Seqenenre and his son Kamose.

Although the operation of Hyksos expel was always attributed to king Ahmose, who had completed the tale of the liberation war, we have not discovered any official sources documenting his reign period that contained the sequence of his liberation and struggle wars against Hyksos in details. It seems that the ancient Egyptian civilization did not allow us to disappoint that we could accurately trace the liberation war of king Ahmose indirectly by analyzing the autobiography of the crew commander Ahmose, son of Abana, which was inscribed on the walls of his local tomb in El-Kab (north Edfu).

The crew commander Ahmose son of Abana documented the liberation war through only his own role that he was not considered or appointed as one of the official scribes who were positioned to document the war diaries. He mentioned his role in the battle, and we rebuilt a scenario of the battle in the absence of the main royal sources.

II-THE POLITICAL MAP OF THE COUNTRY DURING THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

The Second Intermediate period was determined when the Hyksos¹ invasion took place and overthrew the central government of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom (the 13th dynasty), which governed from its capital in «*Itt-t3wy*» (el-Lisht). Depending on great support from the Canaanite kings of the minor 14th dynasty who governed and separated the Delta since the mid of the 13th dynasty rule². After the fall of the capital, the remaining monarchies of the 13th dynasty continued to rule from the south (city of Thebes). Thus, king (Tutymaeus), whose reign was contemporary with the Hyksos invasion, fled to the fourth Nome of Upper Egypt (*w3st*) and its city center Thebes (Luxor now), where he was hosted together with his royal family by the Nome governor. The country was divided into three contemporary dynasties: The invaders (the Hyksos) and their 15th dynasty³, who ruled from their capital, «*hwt-w^crt*» (Avaris – Tell el-Dab'a), the remains of the 13th dynasty in Thebes, and the Kushite dynasty in Nubia, see [MAP 1].

¹A term was used for the first time by the Jewish writer Josephus from Manetho' *Aegyptiaca*, See WADDELL 1948:14, § 82.

²RYHOLT 1997: 75.

³ There was a small Canaanite dynasty, which took the number 14th among the ancient Egyptian dynasties and separated the Delta from the authority of the Egyptian 13th dynasty.

A short time passed, the 13th dynasty fell and was succeeded by the Theban governor's line, who claimed the kingship and authority in Upper Egypt and established the 16th dynasty, which was also contemporary to the Hyksos 15th dynasty, those minor kings of the Theban 16th dynasty began the early skirmishes against the invaders «Hyksos» (Asiatics) and their alliance among the Egyptians.

III-THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE EGYPTIANS AND THE ASIATICS (HYKSOS) BEFORE KING AHMOSE I

The first witness of the struggle between the Egyptians and the Asiatics can be found on a damaged stela of king («Sekhem-sankh-tawy-re»– Neferhotep the 3rd)⁴ of the 16th dynasty, who claimed that he expelled (*hftyw*) «the enemies» out of Thebes and managed to fortify the city walls to prevent any future attacks. It is suggested that the term (*hftyw*) was used here in the texts, referring to the traitors among Egyptians who allied with the Asiatics more than the Asiatics (Hyksos) themselves. Although there were no archival sources to prove a direct struggle against Hyksos till the reign of king (sqnn-Ra- Seqenenre), the penultimate of the 17th dynasty, indirect witnesses referred to the skirmishes that happened between the Egyptians and the Asiatics through the 17th dynasty and before the obvious struggle in the reigns of the kings (sqnn-Ra - «Seqenenre»- Kamose, and Ahmose)⁵.

During the reign of the king (*nwb-hpr-Ra-NwbkheperreIntef VII*)⁶ of the 17th dynasty, a royal decree was issued specially to punish the high priest of Min Temple in Koptos because of allying with the enemies (*hftyw*)⁷.

Also, the papyri of the great royal tombs' robberies⁸, dated to the reign of the king (Ramses IX), revealed the situation of the royal tombs of the 17th dynasty after breaching it. The inviolability of the mummies⁹ revealed warfare weapons kept with these royal bodies, like swords, arrows, daggers, and axes, denoting the warfare atmosphere that dominated the country at the time.

By the reign of king sqnn-Ra- Seqenenre, the political situation of the country became clearer and more detailed, thanks to the discoveries belonging to this king¹⁰, like papyrus Sallier 1, the archaeological site in Deir El-Ballas¹¹, and his mummy, which reflected a brutal death of the king and proved that the king was attacked by Asiatics. All those latter sources clarified that a true conflict and challenge between the Egyptians and the Asiatics started. King sqnn-Ra- Seqenenre was killed violently on the battlefield by an Asiatic axe. His son, Kamose, continued the struggle, and our view of the details of the wars between the Thebans and Hyksos became clearer after

⁴ VERNUS 1982: 129-35.

⁵ REDFORD 1970: 37.

⁶ E. MARTIN-PARDEY 1990: 185-197.

⁷ The term refers here to the Asiatics more than the Egyptian traitors.

⁸ PEET 1930: 57.

⁹ As the mummy of the king Sobek-em-saf

¹⁰ GOEDICKE 1986: 39.

¹¹ LACOVARA 1981: 136.

Here, Ahmose, son of Abana, enumerates the second phase of his official life, when he informed us of the name of his second military Barque,¹⁹ «the Northern one»²⁰, declaring the principal reasons for his upgrading of his skills and courage at fighting.

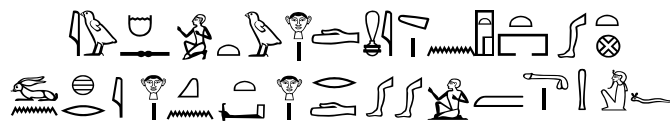


*Wn hr.i hr šms ity ʿ w s hr rdwy.i m-ht swtwf hr wrwt.f*²¹

«Then, I existed upon following the sovereign on foot, at his tour upon his chariot»

Ahmose, son of Abana, explains his military tasks, that he was appointed to be one of the personal bodyguards of the king Ahmose himself, that he was marching on foot and surrounding the king and his royal chariot in anticipation of a possible offensive against the king.

It was here the first time that the royal chariot was mentioned in the texts²². It is noticeable that the term was written without a horse image to drag the royal chariot²³, which means that the Egyptians were taking into consideration a new method of warfare weapons and used a new technology system to defeat the Hyksos²⁴. Still, it seemed to be used on a small scale. The chariot is depicted with wheels of four spokes²⁵. The term *swtwf* (tour) means that the commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, followed king Ahmose during peace and war.



iw hms.tw hr dmi n hwt-wʿrt wn hr.i hr knt hr rdwy.i m-b3h hm.f

«When the city of Avaris was besieged, then I fought bravely on foot, in front (presence) of his majesty»

Here, the first paragraph related to the liberation war begins. Ahmose, son of Abana, informs us that the Egyptian army did a besiege around the fortified Hyksos capital (*hwt-wʿrt*)Avaris.

¹⁹Up through the reign of Kamose, the naval contingent remained in the key position of the Egyptian army.

²⁰ The first military Barque, which Ahmose, son of Abana had been served, was called «*sm3 k3*, the fighting Bull».

²¹Urk 1905: vol.4, 3.

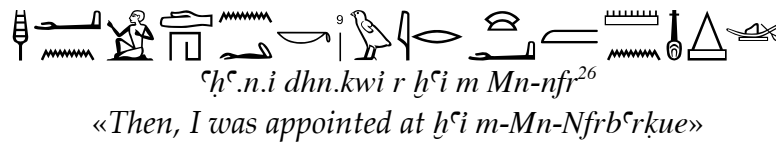
²² Prior to the discovering image of king Ahmose chariot in 1993 at the fragment scenes of his cult temple in Abydos, the earliest known scene of horse and chariot warfare from fragments of the ruins of the Temple of king Thutmose II (ca. 1492-1479 BC.) in western Thebes, see; BRUYERE 1952.

²³LORET 1910: 34.

²⁴SPALINGER 1997: 19.

²⁵YADINE 1963: 87.

Ahmose, son of Abana, fights as a brave man in the presence of king Ahmose. It is not clear whether he fights as a defender of the king at the battle or with his military phalanx. It should be noted that the commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, was rewarded and elevated to another military bark titled «*h^ci m-Mn-Nfr- rising at Memphis*»:



Through the latter paragraph, we could plan a re-visualization of the first part of the liberation war, when the crew commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, finishes his speech saying, a Ha .n.idhn.kwi r h^ci m-Mn-Nfr, I was promoted to serve upon a new bark, for the third time, this bark named (Rising at Memphis),

It should be noted that the name of the latter bark must be an important meaning. It may be associated with the commemoration of a great victory performed by the Egyptian army over the Asiatics, at a battle proceeded around the old stronghold city of Memphis to take it²⁷, so the name of this military bark may be related to that victory²⁸.

This hypothesis can be proved through another important source, Papyrus Rhind, a papyrus now kept at the British Museum (pBM 10057 and pBM 10058), dated to the year 33 of Apophis' reign²⁹. This papyrus is considered one of the best-known and great examples of Egyptian mathematics.



(Year 33, the fourth month of inundation season under the majesty of the king of upper and lower Egypt (Aaweser – Ipeppi)

The date of Year 33 written upon the recto of the vast mathematical treatise is considered the original date of the papyrus³⁰, while we can find another date added later upon its verso³¹ [FIGURE 2], relating to the struggle between king Ahmose and the Hyksos, and linked to the latter assumption of existing an acquisition around the stronghold Memphis;



«Year 11, the second month of the harvest season, Iwnw (Heliopolis) was entered (captured)»

²⁶Urk 1905: vol.4, 3.

²⁷VANDERSLEN 1971: 31.

²⁸BUZBY 1967: 3.

²⁹PEET 1964: 270-279.

³⁰DESSOUDEIX 2010: 62-64.

³¹LALOUETTE 1986: 125.

Here, the priest responsible for keeping the papyrus in the temple's library added an important event that related to the unsteady situation of the country. There were occasional reports of the fighting progress between the Egyptians and the Asiatics, so he would like to document this exciting news.

The scribe began his observations by assigning only the date of a year (11), without letting us know, who is the king³², but with a consideration of excluding king Ahmose when he was titled before as «*the southern prince*». According to the original papyrus recto dated by the 33rd year of Hyksos's ruler (Apophis), this date may belong to his successor (Khamudy)³³.

The remaining date (the second month of the harvest season) refers to the exact timing of releasing one of the most famous strongholds of the country, the fort of Heliopolis. Apart from the old capital Memphis, it seems that the fall of Heliopolis fort by king Ahmose and the Egyptians had a great impact. I assumed that the name of the military bark, which the crew commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, served upon it, was derived from its name concerning the memory of this great event³⁴.

Once again, we return to analyze the speech of the commander, Ahmose, son of Abana



Tw ḥms.tw ḥr dmi n ḥwt-Wꜣrt
 «when the city of Avaris was besieged ...»

Then, after the fall of Memphis, we can assume that the Egyptian army was navigating northward toward the Hyksos capital (Avaris), passing the Pelusiac course³⁵, while the Asiatics were retreating to their fortified city-state. So, what the crew commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, said, agreed with the sequence of the events, that a siege³⁶ was done by the king Ahmose around the fortified Hyksos capital Avaris.

We know that a previous siege happened around the Hyksos capital (Avaris) by Kamose's army, but Kamose did not manage to conquer it for two reasons. First, Avaris had strong fortification. Second, that siege happened after the Egyptian army fought against the Hyksos and their traitors among Egyptians at several battles till Avaris, so the Egyptian army became mostly weakened. Thus, Kamose and his army could not withstand it for a long time and did not manage to penetrate the fortified city of Avaris and had to return to Thebes without capturing Avaris.

³² FRANKE 1988: 245 ff.

³³ BARBOTIN 2008: 78.

³⁴ The Asiatics considered Memphis the first defense line against the Egyptians. By its fall, the way of the Egyptians to attack their stronghold city «Avaris» became open and possible; See HELK 1962: 122 ff.

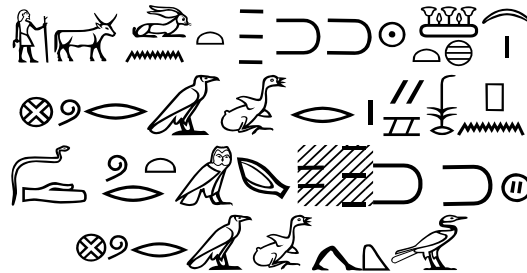
³⁵ Which was documented in king Ahmose's funerary temple in Abydos that a small fragment of sunk relief bears the word ḥwt wꜣrt; See HARVEY 2008: FIG. 80 G.

³⁶ It seemed that the operations of besieging cities and forts by the Egyptian army were known since the Middle Kingdom, so, they gained an expertise to manage them.

He was content with the seizure of the commercial port of Avaris and seized about 300 boats filled with precious materials³⁷.

According to two main sources, I suppose that the siege of king Ahmose and his army around Avaris did not take long. First, in the previous verso of Rhind papyrus, we can estimate the time between the fall of Heliopolis fort and capturing Tharu³⁸ fort in Avaris;

ḥ3t-sp 11 3pd 2šmw ʕk.tw Twnw
 (year 11, the 2nd month of the Harvest, Heliopolis was entered!)



3bd 1 3ḥt hrw 23 twn wr | p3 n rsyt r t3 rw | hrw 25 sdm.tw r dd | ʕkw t3rw
 «2/I Akhet 23; the mighty dignitary - 3/of the South attacked Tjaru - 4/ [day] 25, we heard that -
 5/we had entered Tjaru»

So, we find that the timing between the two events (the fall of Heliopolis fort and the fall of Tharu fort) was nearly three months; two months were during the harvest season.

The fragments³⁹ discovered among the ruins of the funerary cult temple of king Ahmose I in Abydos⁴⁰ revealed a lot of military scenes depicting and narrating the events of the liberation war in order to perform the Hyksos evacuation.

We can trace the remains of the Egyptian archer images when they were firing the besieged fortified city with their Nubian arrow styles⁴¹, Avaris, and making harvest around the citadel of Tharu⁴² [FIGURE 3].

The consideration of the fortified city of Avaris gave the Asiatic advantage at their position.

³⁷ HABACHI 1975: 48.

³⁸ The strongest fort of the Hyksos «Tharu», now located in Tell el-Hebwa.

³⁹ The stone walls of King Ahmose Temple were reduced to rubble, probably in antiquity. As a result, only a tiny percentage of any wall scenes has been preserved, which were usually only edges of blocks.; See HARVEY 2008: 223.

⁴⁰ HARVEY 2008: 35.

⁴¹ BIETAK 1994: 255.

⁴² BIETAK 1994: 328, FIG 82 A.

VI-THE SECOND PART (THE MINOR BATTLE)



*Wn.in.tw hr ḥ3 hr mw m P3-dd-kw n hWt-Wrt / ḥc.n hf.n.i in.i drt smi.tw n nsw whmw nswt
wn.in.tw hr rdit.n.i nwb n knt⁴³*

«After that, there was fighting upon the water of (p3dd-kw) canal of Avaris, then I fought and brought one hand, that was reported to the king again, so I was awarded the gold of valor»

The crew commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, continues his speech concerning his role and participation in the liberation war, saying that after besieging Avaris, warfare happened at a specific channel called (*P^c-djed-kw*)⁴⁴. The topography of Avaris proved the true speech of the commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, that the Hyksos capital was located on the easternmost branch of the River Nile at Delta⁴⁵, on the Pelusaic branch of the Nile course⁴⁶, so it was a harbor town⁴⁷.

It seemed that, after a long siege, the Egyptian army tried to penetrate a part of the fortified city through the latter channel (*p^c-djed-kw*), which linked the river course to the interior parts of the city to capture Avaris.

This naval battle was proven by many fragments discovered at the ruins of the mortuary temple of king Ahmose in Abydos⁴⁸, which depicted scenes of the bark's navigation. Among those scenes, an extensive painted scene depicted traces of the «vulture royal ship «with its after castle and rudder, which can be compared with the better-preserved representations of the models that appeared in the 18th dynasty⁴⁹, below the hull of this «vulture royal ship«, a traces of another bark. It is noticeable that the two barks did not represent the same sailing direction. Everyone was facing the reverse way of the other, i.e., the two ships were tangled together at a part of a whole scene depicting a naval battle that happened between the Egyptian army and the Hyksos one⁵⁰.

But it seemed that this was a minor war, not a decisive one, which every army tried to probe the strength of the other. The result of this speculation is according to the following facts:

⁴³Urk 1905: vol.4, 3, 10-15.

⁴⁴CLINE 1998: 22.

⁴⁵BIETAK 1975: 77ff.

⁴⁶This small river course and four others had been dried, only the largest twice branches are running.

⁴⁷HABACHI 1975: 37.

⁴⁸HARVEY 2008:332.

⁴⁹LANDSTORM 1970: FIGS 106, 327, 330.

⁵⁰HARVEY 2008: 334, FIG.84.

First, the number of numbered enemies counted by the commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, in this war was limited, as he mentioned in the following sentence: *ḥꜥ.nḥꜥḥꜥ.n.iin.idrt* (then, I fought and brought one hand). Here, Ahmose, son of Abana, managed to kill only one enemy of the Asiatics⁵¹. Despite killing only one enemy, he was rewarded with gold conferment for his serenity and valor.

Second, this limited war did not allow the Egyptian army to penetrate the fortified Hyksos capital. On the other hand, the Asiatics did not succeed in unlocking the siege made by the Egyptian army.

The third part



*ḥꜥ.n whmw ḥ3 m st tn / wn.in.i hr whm ḥꜥ im in.i drt1*⁵²

«Again, fighting had been repeated, then, I was fighting there, and brought one hand»

Here, the crew commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, begins his speech with a transitive verb *whm* «repeat» by its passive form «*whmw*», which demonstrates to resume doing something. We are unsure what he means by using verb *whm*, (the resume of fighting again between the two armies generally), or (the resume of fighting again between the two armies at the same latter place of the canal of (*pꜥ-djed-kw*)). I think that Ahmose, son of Abana, means the second suggestion when he finishes his speech by saying «*m sttn*» at that place in the same sentence without naming the place.

This assumption proved that the previous fighting which happened between the Egyptian army and the Hyksos upon the (*pꜥ-djed-kw*) canal was not decisive, so the fight was renewed. Analyzing the next sentence shows what happened, whether it will be like the latter or one of the two armies will gain an advantage at the position of the other.

A series of relief fragments, quoted from the cult temple of king Ahmose in Abydos, revealed images of horses, chariots warfare, fallen Asiatic enemies, royal ships, and troops of archers, which probably depicted the military operations of the Egyptian army against Hyksos at latter minor wars before capturing Avaris at the great war of evacuation⁵³.

⁵¹The murdered enemy was referred to him by the palm of the hand at ancient Egyptian scenes and texts.

⁵²Urk1905: vol.4, 3, 16-17.

⁵³ HARVEY 2008:227.

The fourth part(storming of the fortified city)



Wn.in.tw hr ḥ3 m t3 kmt rsyt n dmi pn / ḥḥ.n in.n.i skr ḥnh s h3.n.i r p3 mw d3.n.i hr:f hr mw smiw
n whm nsw ḥḥ.n.tw m iwḥ.i m nbw hr snnw.sy⁵⁴

«Again, there was fighting «happened «at the southern Egypt of this city !!, Therefore, I brought a living captive, a man, then, I went down to the water «the river or the canal», bring him as holding to the «other» side «part» of the city «Avaris», «by» crossing upon the water on his back!, again I was reported to the king, that I was rewarded by gold for the second time !»

This is the longest and the most important sentence, which is related to the tale of Hyksos expel in the autobiography of general Ahmose, which was considered an essential point in the war and provided the sequence of the events about the operation of storming Hyksos city, Avaris.

Before analyzing this sentence in detail, we can review the situation of the battlefield, which began with storming Heliopolis fort, and advantaging marching through the Hyksos capital Avaris. At that time, the Asiatics closed the portals of their fortified city not to let the Egyptian army penetrate it, so the war surrounding the Hyksos city began with a sturdy siege by the Egyptian army under the leadership of king Ahmose. After that, minor warfare happened in a specific channel called (*P^c-djed-kw*), which led to the interior parts of the city. This minor war looked like an exhaustion war between the two armies.



Wn.in.tw ḥ3 m t3 kmtr syt n dmi pn

«Again, there was fighting «happened» at the southern Egypt of this city!! »

Here, the commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, continues the sequence of his speech concerning the liberation war' phases.

General Ahmose begins his paragraph talking about a decisive phase in the war when he mentions for the first time a specific part located inside the Hyksos city (Avaris)⁵⁵, specifically one of its suburbs, called according to the texts by «tAKmtrsyt – southern Egypt⁵⁶». It seems something wrong was written by the scribe that the

⁵⁴Urk 1905: vol.4, 3-9.

⁵⁵A far meaning of the translation of the term *dmi* was written by Silverman, that it refers here to town El-Kab!

⁵⁶SILVERMAN 1981: 59-65.

Egyptian army existed then in the far northern territories of Egypt and around Avaris city, not at all in the south! And the term «tAKmtrsy» «was written unlikely, the regular term «t3Kmt» which referred to the land of Egypt.

So, the sequence of the events of placing a country like «Egypt» in a suburb located south of the city «Avaris»! is not agreeable and harmonic with the meaning and logic. I think that the site «tAKmtrsy» seemed to be one of the suburbs of Avaris⁵⁷, derived its name from «Egypt, and may be located on the outskirts of the city».

The ability to enter a part of the fortified city, Avaris, by the Egyptian army was considered a great turning point in the war, and an indicator of the invaders' end, especially when we read the following sentence;



ḥꜥ.n in.n.i skr-ḥnh s

«Therefore, I brought a living captive, a man»

Here, the crew commander, Ahmose, does not end his speech concerning his champion role at the battle, as in the previous one, where he usually ends his speech saying; *I brought «a murdered enemy»*, but here, he manages to bring «a living captive». I think this was a big difference between a soldier who combated until he was killed and a soldier whose spirit was shattered and who preferred to surrender when he realized that his army would inevitably be defeated.

We can see some Asiatic captives depicted upon the remains of the fragments discovered in the Funerary Temple of king Ahmose in Abydos. They appear with shaved heads, full beards, and fillets⁵⁸.

It seemed through this sentence that the fighting at this stage was not decisive in gaining victory. It looks like sporadic or exhaustion warfare because the attempts to penetrate the fortified city of Avaris happened by the courageous soldiers; among them was the crew commander Ahmose, son of Abana.



h3.n.i r p3 mw mk in.tw.f m mh hr t3 hrt p3 dmi d3.n.i hr.f hr mw

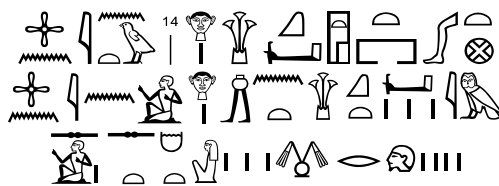
«Then, I went down to the water «the river or the canal», Behold! He was brought and caught to the «other» side «part» of the city «Avaris», I crossed him upon the water on his back!»,»

Here, Ahmose, son of Abana, sheds light on what he did do with the Asiatic captive. Thus, we can realize the topography of the battlefield and the city of Avaris.

⁵⁷ As nowadays, we can find some of the suburbs of the capital Cairo, taking the name of Egypt, like, New Egypt and Old Egypt ...etc)

⁵⁸HARVEY 2008: 322.

After capturing the Asiatic soldier, he wants to transfer him to the Egyptian camp on the other «west» side of the river of Avaris, so he must be crossing the river water with the captured soldier. According to this hard mission, the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana, depicts this marvel in some detail. He uses the verb «*h3*» (to express the meaning of descending), which means the place that overlooks the river bank, usually a high place (an elevated place), as assured by the following sentence; *mkln.tw.f m mhhrtp3hrtp3dmi* (he was brought by the crew-commander Ahmose as holding at **the plateau** of the Avaris city). Here, the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana, indirectly gives us the topography of a specific part of the city of Avaris, which is close to the battlefield. The crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana, finally manages to cross the river course, holding the captive upon his back, till arriving at the Egyptian camp safely. Because of this marvel, he was rewarded by the king for the second time.



Wn.in.tw hr h^cw hwt-W^crt / wn.in.i hr int h3kt im / s st hmt 3 dmd 4

«Then, when Avaris was looting, then, I had been brought lootings there, a man and three women, the total was 4 persons»

This sentence is considered the last phase of capturing the city of Asiatics (Avaris) in the autobiography of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana. Here, he summarizes the operation of capturing Avaris and the fall of the city. As the natural result of any war, the defeated will leave their belongings to be looted by the victorious ones. Therefore, the participation of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana, in these lootings proved that the Egyptian army defeated the Asiatic in an overpowering defeat.

Also, we have a bronze lance, which was acquired by Golenischeff in Luxor in 1888-89 (now at Pushkin Museum, Moscow), with an inscription of king Ahmose indicating that lootings were brought by him from Avaris after capturing the Hyksos capital, (...which was brought by him from his victories at vile Avaris)⁵⁹. It should be noted that the latter sentence is considered the unique one among all the whole sentences related to the Hyksos expel, did not contain any verb or terms expressing the fighting or the war. At the same time, the sequence of the events necessitated mentioning the war before the operations of lootings. So, what made the commander Ahmose omit the existence of a war if it had not occurred, in fact? According to his speech, the operation of Avaris falling was expressed by the title of «Taking of Avaris» more than the expression of «Capturing of Avaris», that the lootings of the city resulted from surrenders convention, not resulted from war.

⁵⁹HODJACHE 1977: 22-37.

To substantiate this claim, we should explore the excavations campaigns in the archaeological strata in Tell el-Dab'a and the archaeological evidence concerning this vital point, which showed no signs of conflagration and destruction, but a gradual abandonment of the city⁶⁰. This finding agreed with the speech of Flavius Josephus that the Egyptians would have concluded a treaty by which all the «shepherds» were to leave Egypt, taking their possessions and households on a desert trip to Syria⁶¹. Bietak⁶² assured this assumption, and the excavation campaigns in the strata dated to the early 18th dynasty; nothing suggests that there was an interruption of destructions⁶³.

The preceding war of storming the fortified city of Avaris was the key to victory. The Hyksos recognized the defeat by king Ahmose's army, while the Egyptian army was convinced of their evacuation outside the country forever. So, king Ahmose strongly besieged the Asiatics around the city of Sharuhem in Palestine.

⁶⁰BIETAK 2004: 65-182.

⁶¹JOSEPHUS: 1, 14, Σ 88.

⁶²BIETAK 2008: 24.

⁶³BIETAK 2010: 164.

VII-CONCLUSION

The autobiography of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana, is highly important. It depicted his glorious role at the walls of his rocky tomb in El-Kab. Although he documented his unique role, we managed to re-visualize the liberation war by king Ahmose according to the sequence of events of the wars.

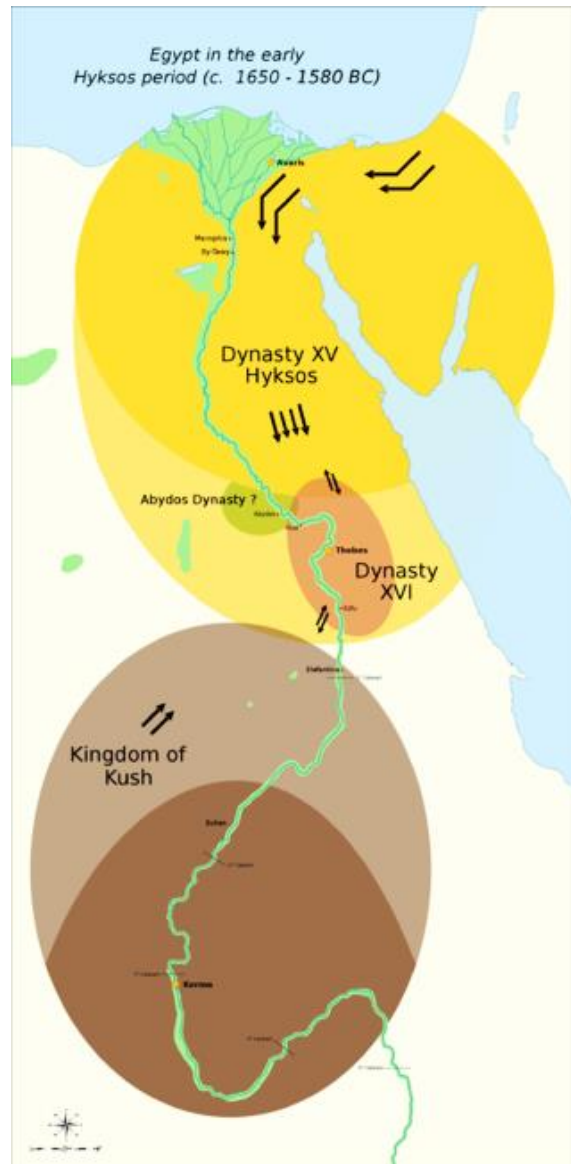
Results (Major facts related to that me as follows)

- A- After the fall of Memphis, we can assume that the Egyptian army navigated northward toward the Hyksos capital (Avaris), passing the Pelusaic course while the Asiatics were retreating to their forts. Thus, the commander, Ahmose, son of Abana, started his speech concerning the liberation war by saying that a sturdy blockade was made by king Ahmose (the Egyptian army) around the fortified Hyksos capital (*hwt-w^crt*) Avaris.
- B- After a long siege, it is supposed that the Egyptian army tried to penetrate a part of the fortified city to capture it through a minor navy war through the channel (*p^c-djed-kw*), which linked the river course to the interior parts of the city.
- C- The previous fighting of the navy battle seemed to be not decisive, so the fighting was renewed, maybe in the same place of the channel, so it was an exhaustion war between the Egyptian army and the Asiatics.
- D- The ability to enter a part of the fortified city, Avaris, by the Egyptian army was considered a great turning point of the war and the beginning of the invaders' end, and the operation of capturing the fortified city was not easy at all.
- E- At last, the fortified Avaris fell from its southern suburb. The archaeological evidence showed that the Hyksos capital was taken (not captured), so the invaders were evacuated outside the country forever.

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[Map 1]: The political map of ancient Egypt in the early 2nd Intermediate Period (Hyksos era)

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Intermediate_Period_of_Egypt#/media/File:Egypt_Hyksos_Period.png (Accessed on 01-02-2021)

FIGURES

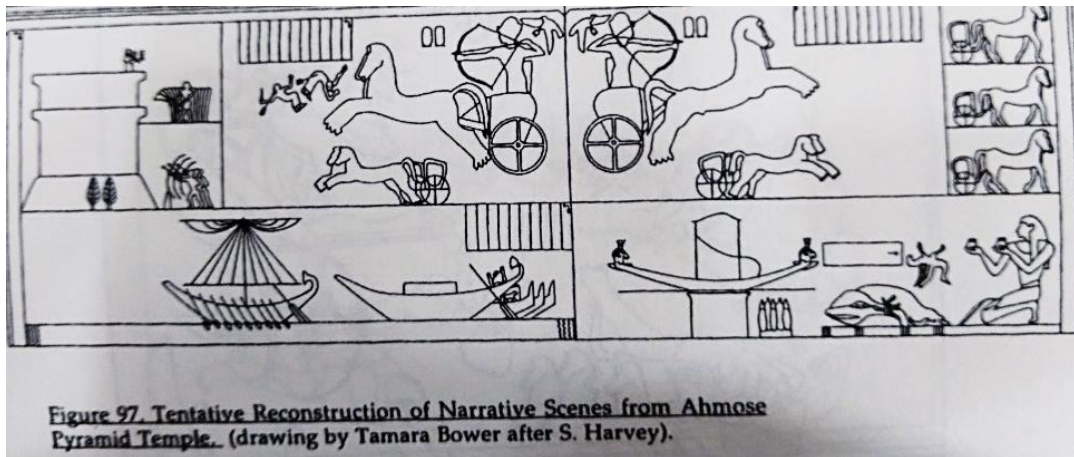


[FIGURE 1]: The autobiography of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana in his tomb in El-Kab,

https://www.osirisnet.net/popupImage.php?img=/tombes/el_kab/ahmes/photo/ahmes_abana_02



[FIGURE 2]: The verso of papyrus Rhind depicting the capture of the fort of Tharu
ROBINS & SHUTE 1887: PL.34



[FIGURE 3]: Tentative reconstruction of the narrative scenes from Ahmose Pyramid Temple
HARVEY 2008: 227