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RE-VISUALIZATION OF THE LIBERATION WAR

BY (KING AHMOSE 1)

[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 لقائد البحرية (أحمس ابن ابانا) أعتبر 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 تصاعدياً ، 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) ، لانتهاء عملية اجلاء الهكسوس من البلاد ، الا أن كليهما لم يفلحا في بلوغ تلك الغاية ، ليعتبرا 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 was happened into 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 long time, and of course this operation took gradually upward curve, until they achieved and culminated the salvation from the invaders by the hard-military efforts which initiated by the liberation kings (Seqenenre – Kamose, and Ahmose I), the ancient Egyptian history had many archaeological sources that depicted the stages of struggle and liberation wars against Hyksos, especially at the reign of king Seqenenre and his son Kamose. Although the operation of Hyksos expel always attributed to the king Ahmose, who had been completed and finished the tale of liberation war, we discovered (till now) not of any official sources documented at his reign period, that contain the sequence of his liberation and struggle wars against Hyksos in details, it seems that the ancient Egyptian civilization does not allow us to disappoint, that we can accurately trace liberation war of king Ahmose indirectly, through the analyzing of the autobiography of the crew commander Ahmose son of Abana, which inscribed on the walls of his local tomb at 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, just he mentioned his role at the battle, and we rebuild a scenario of the battle at 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 which was happened into 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 long time, and of course this operation took gradually upward curve, until they achieved and culminated the salvation from the invaders by the hard-military efforts which initiated by the liberation kings (Seqenenre – Kamose, and Ahmose I), the ancient Egyptian history had many archaeological sources that depicted the stages of struggle and liberation wars against Hyksos, especially at the reign of king Seqenenre and his son Kamose.

Although the operation of Hyksos expel always attributed to the king Ahmose, who had been completed and finished the tale of liberation war, we discovered (till now) not of any official sources documented at his reign period, that contain the sequence of his liberation and struggle wars against Hyksosin details, it seems that the ancient Egyptian civilization does not allow us to disappoint, that we can accurately trace liberation war of king Ahmose indirectly, through the analyzing of the autobiography of the crew commander Ahmose son of Abana, which inscribed on the walls of his local tomb at 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, just he mentioned his role at the battle, and were build a scenario of the battle at 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 Hyksos¹invasion took place at the country and over throwed the central government of the Egyptian Middle kingdom (the 13th dynasty), which governed from its capital at «*Itt-t3wy*» (el-Lisht).depending on a great support by the Canaanite kings of the minor 14th dynasty who governedand separated the Delta since the mid of the 13th dynasty rule²,and after the Despite fallen of the capital, the remain monarchies of the 13th dynasty were continued to rule from the south (city of Thebes), so, the king (Tutymaeus), whose reign was contemporaneous with the Hyksos invasion, when he 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, at that time, the country divided into three contemporary dynasties, the invaders (the Hyksos) and their 15th

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

²RYHOLT 1997: 75.

dynasty³ who ruled from their capital «*hwt-w^crt*» (Avaris – Tell el-Dab'a), the remain of the 13th dynasty at Thebes, and the Kushite dynasty in Nubia see [MAP 1]

A short time passed, the 13th dynasty had been fallen, and succeeded by the numbers of Theban governor's line who claimed the kingship and authority at Upper Egypt and they established the 16th dynasty, which 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 1

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 16th dynasty, who claimed that he expelled (*hftyw*) «the enemies» out of Thebes, and he managed to fortify the city walls, to prevent any attack against his city again, it is suggested that the term (*hftyw*) was used here at the texts, referring to the traitors among Egyptians who allying with the Asiatics, more than the Asiatics (Hyksos) themselves, although there is no any of archival sources to prove a direct struggle against Hyksos till the reign of king (sqnn-Ra- Seqenenre), the penultimate of the 17th dynasty, there were an indirect witnesses referred to the skirmishes that had been happened between the Egyptians and the Asiatics through the 17th dynasty and before the obvious struggle at the reigns of the kings (sqnn-Ra - «Seqenenre»- Kamose and Ahmose)⁵.

At the reign of the king (*nwb-hpr*-Ra-NwbkheperreIntef VII)⁶ of 17th dynasty, issued royal decree which was ordered specially to punish the high priest of Min temple at Koptos, because of allying with the enemies (*hftyw*)⁷

Also through the papyri of the great royal tombs robberies⁸, dated to the reign of the king (Ramses IX), which 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, all of them refer to a warfare atmosphere dominated the country nowadays.

By the reign of king sqnn-Ra- Seqenenre, the political situation of the country became more clear and detailed, thanks to the discoveries which belong to this king¹⁰, like papyrus Sallier 1, the archaeological site at Deir El-Ballas¹¹, and his mummy, which

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

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.

reflects a brutal death of the king, and proved that the king must have been attacked by Asiatics. All those latter sources clarified that a true conflict and challenge between the Egyptians and the Asiatics had started, the king sqnn-Ra- Seqenenre had killed violently at 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 clear, after discovering his three royal stelae, the 1ststela /Lord Carnarvon tablet¹², the 2ndstela¹³, and the third one¹⁴.

The wars of Kamose against Hyksos were not decisive, and he did not manage to capture Avaris and expel the Hyksos, leaving this glory and responsibility to his young brother Ahmose 1.

Although we don't have royal sources which talked in details about the struggle between the king Ahmose and the Hyksos' king Apophis as Kamose' royal sources, we can follow that struggle and the sequence of liberation war by making a re-visualization and the sequence of the liberation battle, manifested in the autobiography of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana¹⁵.

IV-METHODOLOGY

The procedures of the research, making re-visualization plan of the liberation war by king Ahmose against Hyksos, through the role of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abanaat this battle, when he depicted his war in 31 lines of texts chronicles at his tomb at El-Kab (near Edfu), which was engraved and equipped by his grandson, Paheri¹⁶[FIGURE 1].

The crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abanadocumented and enumerated the events of his participation at this liberation war in a chronological order¹⁷, giving the proceedings of the war events, the credibility and the effectiveness.

Also, the value of the great texts of the twice stelae of king Kamose, will not absence far from the scene, with its details, that will be useful to understand the sequence of the battle till its end. Last, the search will not care with the crew commander Ahmose, son of Abana' life or his official career.

¹²CARTER 1912: 58; GARDINER 1916: 45-78.

¹³HABACHI 1975: 68.

¹⁴GABOLDE 2010: 355-358.

¹⁵DAVIES 2009: 139-75.

¹⁶CHAMPOLION 1851; BREASTED 1906; LORET 1910; SETHE 1927-1930.

¹⁷VANDERSLEYEN 1995: 213-216.

V-THE FIRST PHASE OF THE BATTLE

The crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana begins his speech; ش



hr m-ht grg.n.i prh^c.n.i itt.kwi r p3 dpt mhty hr knn.i

Then, after establishing a house «I was married», I was upgraded into the «Northern Barque», because of my courage

Here Ahmose, son of Abana, enumerates the second phase of his official life, when he informed us, the name of his second military Barque¹⁹ «the Northern one»²⁰, which he served upon it, declaring the principle reasons of his upgrading to it, that his skills and courage at fighting.



Wn hr.i hr šms ity^c w s hr rdwy.i m-ht swtwt.f hr wrrt.f²¹

«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 charioting anticipation of a possible offensive against the king.

It was here the first time that the royal chariot was mentioned at the texts²², it is noticeable that, the term was written without a horse image to drag the royal chariot²³, that is mean, the Egyptians were taking into consideration a new method of warfare weapons, and used a new technology system to defeat the Hyksos²⁴, but it seemed used on a small scale, it is noticeable that the chariot is with wheels of four spokes²⁵, as for the term *swtwt* (tour), means that the commander, Ahmose son of Abana, followed the king Ahmose, both at the days of peace and war.



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

¹⁸Urk vol.4, 3. Leipzig 1905.

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 vol.4, 3. Leipzig 1905.

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

²³LORET 1910: 34.

²⁴SPALINGER 1997: 19.

²⁵YADINE 1963: 87.

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

Here, the first paragraph which related to the liberation war begins, Ahmose son of Abanain formed us that a besiege had been done by the Egyptian army around the fortified Hyksos capital (*hwt-w^crt*)Avaris.

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

*h^ci.n.i dhn.kwi r h^ci m Mn-nfr*²⁶
«Then, I was appointed at *h^ci m-Mn-Nfr* *r^cḳue*»

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

It should be noted that the name of the latter Braque must had been an important meaning, may be associated with the commemorative of a great victory performed by the Egyptian army over the Asiatics, at a battle had been proceeded around the old stronghold city of Memphis to take it²⁷, so the name of this military barque 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), which was dated to the year 33 of Apophis' reign²⁹, this papyrus is considered one of the best-known and great examples of Egyptian mathematics.

h3t-sp 33 3pd 4 3ht hr hm n nswt-bity (3 wsr)

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

The date of Year 33 which was written upon the recto of the vast mathematical treatise considers the original date of the papyrus³⁰, while we can find another date was added later upon its Verso³¹ [FIGURE 2], relating to the struggle between the king

²⁶Urk vol.4, 3. Leipzig 1905

²⁷VANDERSLEN 1971: 31.

²⁸BUZBY 1967: 3.

²⁹PEET 1964: 270-279.

³⁰DESSOUDEIX 2010: 62-64.

³¹LALOUETTE 1986: 125.

Ahmose and the Hyksos, and linked to the latter assumption of existing an acquisition around the stronghold Memphis;



ḥ3t-sp 11 3pd 2 šmw ḳ.tw Iwnw

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

Here, the priest who was responsible to keep the papyrus at the temple' library, added a very important event which related to the unsteady situation of the country nowadays, 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*», but according to the original papyrus recto which had been dating by the 33th year of Hyksos ruler (Apophis), therefore may be this date belong to his successor (Khamudy)³³.

The remaining date, (second month of the harvest season) refers to the exact timing of releasing one of the most famous stronghold of the country, the fort of Heliopolis, apart from the old capital Memphis, it seemed that the fall of Heliopolis fort at the grip of the king Ahmose and the Egyptians reflexed a great echo, so I assumed that the name of the military barque which the crew commander, Ahmose son of Abana served upon it, was derived its name concerning the memory of this great event³⁴.

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



Iw ḥms.tw ḥr dmi n ḥwt-W^crt

«when the city of Avaris was besieged ...»

Then, after 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 had been done by the king Ahmose around the fortified Hyksos capital Avaris.

We know a previous siegihad happened around the Hyksos capital (Avaris) by Kamose' army, but Kamose did not manage to unlock it, for two reasons; the first ; the

³²FRANKE 1988: 245 ff.

³³BARBOTIN 2008: 78.

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

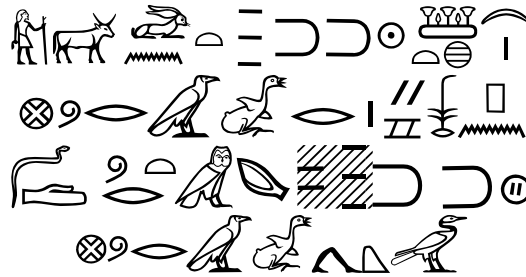
³⁵Which had been documented at king Ahmose funerary temple at Abydos, that a small fragment of sunk relief bears the word *ḥwt w^crt*; See HARVEY 2008: FIG. 80 G.

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 it.

strong immunization of Avaris, the second; that siege had happened after the Egyptian army was fighting against the Hyksos and their traitors among Egyptians at several battles till arriving Avaris, so the Egyptian army became as a result of that mostly weakened, so Kamose and his army could not withstand for a long time and did not manage to penetrate the fortified city of Avaris, so he had to return to Thebes without capturing Avaris, he was content with seizure the commercial port of Avaris, and he seized about 300 boats filled with precious materials³⁷.

So I supposed that the siege of king Ahmose and his army around Avaris did not spend for long time, my assumption based on two main sources, The first is at the previous verso of Rhind papyrus, that we can account the time between the fall of Heliopolis fort and the capturing of Tharu³⁸ fort at Avaris;

ḥ3t-sp 11 3pd 2šmw ʿk.tw ʿIwnw
 (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 / ʿkw 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 of them were being at the harvest season.

Thanks to the fragments³⁹which discovered among the ruins of the funerary cult temple of the king Ahmose 1 at Abydos⁴⁰, which revealed a lot of military scenes depicting and narrating the events of the liberation war in order to perform the Hyksos evacuation.

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

The consideration of the fortified city Avaris had been gained the Asiatic advantage at their position.

³⁷HABACHI 1975: 48.

³⁸The strongest fort of the Hyksos «Tharu», now located at 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 have been preserved, and the fragments preserved are usually only edges of blocks.; See HARVEY 2008: 223.

⁴⁰HARVEY 2008: 35.

⁴¹BIETAK 1994: 255.

⁴²BIETAK 1994: 328, FIG 82 A.

VI-THE SECOND PART (THE MINOR BATTLE)



*Wn.in.tw hr ḥ3 hr mw m P3-dd-kw n ḥWt-Wrt / ḥḥ.n ḥf.n.i in.i drt smi.tw n nsw ḥmw 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»

Here, the crew commander, Ahmose son of Abana continues his speech concerning his role and participation at liberation war, saying; after besieging Avaris, a warfare had been 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 located at the eastern most 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 in order to capture Avaris.

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

But it seemed that this war 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:

1-first; the quantity of the numbered enemies who were counted by the commander, Ahmose son of Ebanas at this war were limited, as he mentioned at the following

⁴³Urk vol.4, 3. Leipzig 1905: 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.

4- 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 ḥḥ 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 related to the tale of Hyksos expel at the autobiography of general Ahmose, that was considered an essential point at the war, as well as providing us the sequence of the events about the operation of storming Hyksos city, Avaris.

Before analyzing this sentence in details, we can review together the situation of the battlefield, which began by storming Heliopolis fort, and advantaging marching through the Hyksos capital Avaris, at that time the Asiatics closed the portals of their fortified city to do not let the Egyptian army to 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, a minor warfare had been happened at a specific channel called (*Pḥ-djed-kw*)which leads to the interiors parts of the city, this minor war was looks 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, was continuing the sequences of his speech concerning the liberation war' phases.

The general Ahmose began his paragraph talking about a decisive phase in the war, when he mentioned 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 – the southern Egypt⁵⁶», it seemed something wrong was written by the scribe, that the

⁵⁴Urk vol.4, 3-9 Leipzig 1905.

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

So, as the sequences of the events of placing a country like «Egypt» to be a suburb located at the south of the city «Avaris»! is not agreeable and harmonic with the meaning and logic, my point of view, the site «tAKmtrsyt» seemed to be one of the suburbs of Avaris⁵⁷, derived its name from «Egypt and maybe located on the outskirts of the city».

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



ḥꜥ.n in.n.i skr-ḥ s

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

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

We can see some of those Asiatics captives depicted upon the remains of the fragments which discovered at the funerary temple of the king Ahmose at Abydos, they appeared with shaved heads and a full beard and a fillet⁵⁸.

It seemed through this sentence that the fighting at this stage was not decisive to gain victory; it looks like sporadic exhaustion warfare, because of the attempts of penetrating the fortified city of Avaris had been happened by the efforts of the couragesoldiers; among them was the crew commander Ahmose, son of Abana.



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

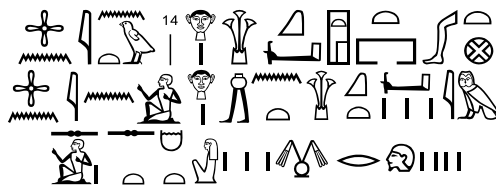
«Then, I went down to the water «the river or the canal», Behold! He was brought and caught to the «other» side «part» of the city «Avaris», I crossed him upon the water on his back!»,»

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.

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

After capturing the Asiatic soldier, he wanted to transfer him to the Egyptian camp at the other «west» side of the river of Avaris, so he must be crossing the river water with him. According to this hard mission, we find the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana depicted this marvel in some detail, so, he used the verb «h3» (to express the meaning of descending), that is means the place which overlooks the river bank is usually was being an high place (elevated place), which assured by the following sentence; *mk.in.tw.f m mhrt3hrtp3dmi* (he was brought by the crew-commander Ahmose as holding at **the plateau** of the Avaris city), here we find the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana gives us by an indirect manner, the topography of a specific part of the city of Avaris, which close to the battlefield, the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana, finally managed to cross the river course, holding the captive upon his back, till arrived the Egyptian camp save, and because of doing 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 were 4 persons»

This sentence is considered the last phase of capturing the city of Asiatics, (Avaris), at the autobiography of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana, here, he summarized the operation of capturing Avaris and the fall of the city, by the natural result of any war, that the defeated will left their belongings to be looted by the victorious ones, so the participation of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana at these lootings proved that the Egyptian army had defeated the Asiatic an over powering defeat.

Also, we have a bronze lance, was acquired by Golenischeff, in Luxor between 1888-89, (now at Pushkin museum, Moscow) bears an inscription of king Ahmose indicating that lootings were brought by him from Avaris, after capturing the Hyksos capital, (...that whichbrought by him from his victories at vile Avaris)⁵⁹, it should be noted that the latter sentence considered the unique one among all the whole sentences which related to the Hyksos expel, did not contain any verb or terms expressed the fighting or the war, while the sequence of the events is necessitating to mention the war before operations of lootings, so, what made the commander Ahmose omitted the existence of a war, if it had not been occurred in fact?, according to his speech, the operation of Avaris fall, expressed by the title of «Taking of Avaris», more than the expression of

⁵⁹HODJACHE 1977: 22-37.

«Capturing of Avaris», that the lootings of the city resulted by surrenders convention, not resulted by a war.

To substantiate this claim, we should explore the excavations campaigns at the archaeological strata at the site of Tell el-Dab'a and the archaeological evidence concerning this vital point, which show no signs of conflagration and destruction, but rather a gradual abandonment of the city ⁶⁰, and this agreeable with speech of Flavius Josephus before, 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 at the strata which dated to the early of the 18th dynasty; nothing suggests that there was an interruption of destructions⁶³.

The precede war of storming the fortified city of Avaris was the key of victory, that the Hyksos were recognizing the defeat by king Ahmose' army and at the other side, the Egyptian army convinced with their evacuation outside the country forever. So, king Ahmose made a strong besieged upon the Asiatics around the city of Sharuhen at 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 the utmost importance, when he depicted his glory role at the walls of his rocky tomb at el-Kab, although he documented his unique role, we managed to re-visualization of the liberation war by king Ahmose, according to the sequence events of the wars.

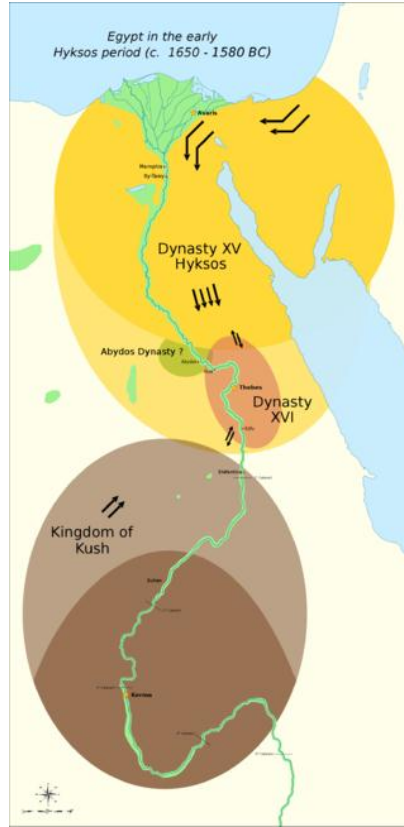
Results (Major facts related to that me as follows)

- A- After the fall of Memphis, we can have assumed that the Egyptian army was navigating northward toward the Hyksos capital (Avaris) passing the Pelusaic course, while the Asiatics were retreating to their forts, so the commander, Ahmose son of Abana started his speech concerning the liberation war by saying that a sturdy blockade had been done by the king Ahmose (the Egyptian army) around the fortified Hyksos capital (*hwt-w^crt*) Avaris.
- B- It is supposed, after a long siege, the Egyptian army tried to penetrate a part of the fortified city to capture it, by 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 was seemed to be not decisive, so the fighting was renewed again, may be at the same place of the channel, so it looks like an exhaustion war between the Egyptian army and the Asiatics.
- D- The ability of entering 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, that the operation of capturing the fortified city was not easy at all.
- E- At last, the fortified Avaris was fallen, from its southern suburb, and it is suggested that through the archaeological evidences, 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 at the early 2nd intermediate period (Hyksos era)

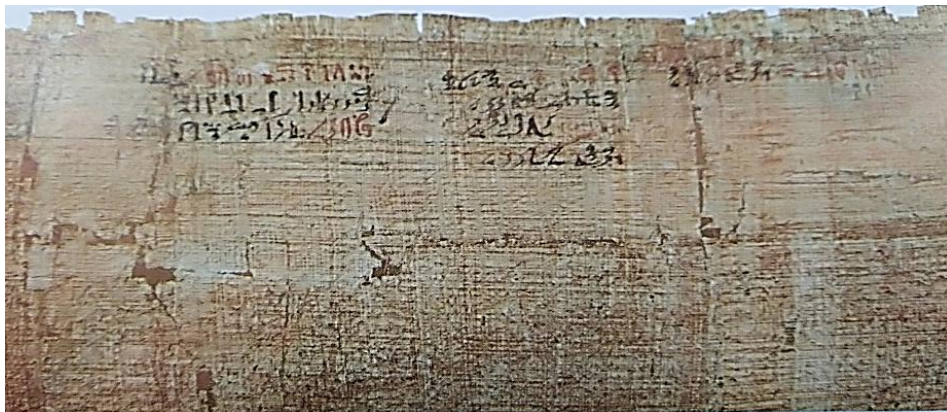
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_Intermediate_Period_of_Egypt#/media/File:Egypt_Hyksos_Period.png

FIGURES

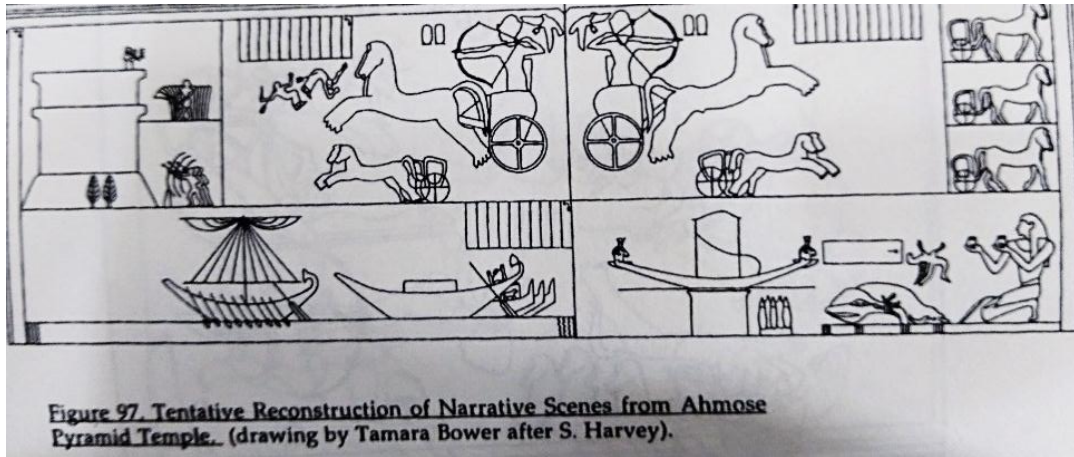


[FIGURE 1]:The Autobiography of the crew-commander Ahmose, son of Abana at his tomb at El-Kab,

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



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



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