RISE OF THE HYKSOS

EGYPT AND THE LEVANT FROM THE
MIDDLE KINGDOM TO THE EARLY SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

VOLUME I

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For Mum and Dad
I certify that the work in this thesis titled *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period* has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

The research and findings within this work are my own. Any help or assistance received in its compilation have been duly acknowledged where used. Also, all sources of information and literature utilised in the period of writing this work have been acknowledged and referenced where appropriate.

Dated this day of 2014

Anna Latifa Mourad

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ABSTRACT

The Second Intermediate Period of Egypt is characterised by the destabilisation of the Egyptian state. It is recognised as the time in which the $h\text{k}s.w \ h\text{js.wt}$ ‘rulers of foreign lands’, or ‘Hyksos’, extended their control over Egypt during the Fifteenth Dynasty. Investigations into how the Hyksos were able to gain such control remained dependent on Manetho’s affirmation of an Asiatic invasion until recent excavations at Tell el-Dab’a disclosed new data on their dynasty. Since then, much debate has circulated on the rise of the Hyksos, with scholars advocating one of three models: (1) invasion; (2) gradual infiltration and peaceful takeover; or (3) gradual infiltration and violent takeover. The Hyksos have also been argued to be from either the Northern or Southern Levant, the confusion partly due to a lack of an up-to-date study assessing Levantines, their growing influences on Egypt, and whether this influence helped the Hyksos establish their rule.

The thesis is a response to this need and focuses on the rise of the Hyksos by tracing Egyptian-Levantine contact from the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period. It outlines the development of the status of Levantines in Egyptian society, and reassesses the changing nature of Egyptian-Levantine relations. The approach is holistic, gathering archaeological, textual and artistic evidence that reveals intercultural contact. Special focus is placed on archaeological ethnic markers to identify the presence of Levantines in Egypt. The Egyptian concept of ethnicity is also utilised as a means to differentiate between Egyptians and a Levantine ethnic group in Egyptian textual and artistic compositions.

The methods are proven to be well-suited in determining the rise of the Fifteenth Dynasty, offering significant insight into its origin. Consequently, current knowledge surrounding Egyptian-Levantine relations and the collapse of the Middle Kingdom are illuminated, and new light is shed on the enigmatic Hyksos dynasty of Egypt.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Egypt and the Levant: two areas that have not only continually shaped societies throughout the ages, but have also largely impacted on my professional and personal life. Throughout the past few years, I have been lucky enough to delve into their ancient cultures, searching for the slightest hint of intercultural contact that indeed revealed how similar the past is to the present. So, I offer this body of work as a small contribution to their histories and their people, with the hope that the future will bear many more.

The work would never have been possible without the generosity and advice of several individuals. My supervisor, Professor Naguib Kanawati, has been a constant source of guidance, unceasing in his valuable support and counsel. I am extremely fortunate to be his student, in whom he has fostered the virtues of hard work and dedication, and instilled a (unrelenting!) passion for ancient Egypt from my very first class in hieroglyphs to the present day. I wholeheartedly thank him for offering his knowledge and expertise, and for the many opportunities he has presented me, including the unforgettable season when I was lucky enough to assist in the recording of the most beautiful tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan and its momentous scene of the Asiatics. I also thank my associate supervisor, Dr. Boyo Ockinga, for his thoughtful insights and valuable comments, especially on some of my translations, and Dr. Alexandra Woods for her initial mentoring in this thesis and her heartfelt encouragement. I would also like to extend my sincerest gratitude to the following for their constant support and wisdom: Dr. Joyce Swinton, who generously edited some chapters of this thesis; Miral Lashien, whose friendship, advice and support will not be forgotten; Dr. Ann McFarlane, who showed me the charms and dangers of the English language; as well as Dr. Susanne Binder; Dr. Linda Evans; Dr. Jana Jones; and Robert and Kathy Parker. I am honoured to call them all my friends and wish them the greatest in, as the ancient Egyptians used to say, ‘life, prosperity, and health’.

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CONTENTS

VOLUME I

DEDICATION i
DECLARATION iii
ABSTRACT v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vii
CONTENTS ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xv
LIST OF TRANSLATIONS, TABLES AND MAPS xvii
LIST OF FIGURES ix

SECTION 1 STUDYING THE HYKSOS 1

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 3
  1.1 Introduction 3
  1.2 Research Problems 3
  1.3 Research Goals 5
  1.4 Research Methodology 6
  1.5 Research Parameters 7
    1.5.1 Geographical scope and terminology 7
    1.5.2 Chronological scope and terminology 8
    1.5.3 Evidential scope 9
    1.5.4 Other limitations 10
  1.6 Research Outline 10

CHAPTER 2 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP 11
  2.1 Introduction 11
  2.2 The Origins and Rise of the Hyksos 11
  2.3 Chronological Considerations 17

CHAPTER 3 ETHNICITY AND ITS REPRESENTATION 21
  3.1 Introduction 21
  3.2 Defining Ethnicity 21
  3.3 Ancient Egyptians on Ethnicity 23
  3.4 Ethnicity in Archaeology 25
  3.5 When Ethnic Groups Interact: Theories of Cultural Mixing 28
## CONTENTS

### SECTION 2 Evidence for Contact

### CHAPTER 4 Tracing Asiatics in Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Delta Region</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1</td>
<td>Basta, Tell (Bubastis)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2</td>
<td>Dab’a, Tell el- (Avaris)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.1</td>
<td>Area R/I (‘Ezbet Rushdi)</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.2</td>
<td>Area R/III</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.3</td>
<td>Area F/I</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.4</td>
<td>Area A/II</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.5</td>
<td>Area F/II</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.6</td>
<td>Area A/IV</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.7</td>
<td>Area A/V</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.8</td>
<td>Scientific analysis of characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.9</td>
<td>Anthropological analysis of skeletal remains</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.10</td>
<td>Significance of Tell el-Dab’a</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.3</td>
<td>Farasha, Tell (Tell el-Maghud)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4</td>
<td>Habwa I, Tell el- (Tjaru)</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.1</td>
<td>Area B, Level 5b</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.2</td>
<td>Areas A and B, Level 5a</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.3</td>
<td>Area B, Level 4c</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.4</td>
<td>Area B, Level 4b</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.5</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.5</td>
<td>Inshas</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.6</td>
<td>Khata’na, el-</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7</td>
<td>Maskhuta, Tell el- (Tjeku)</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.1</td>
<td>Phases 1 and 2</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.2</td>
<td>Phase 3</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.3</td>
<td>Phase 4</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.4</td>
<td>Phase 5</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.5</td>
<td>Phase 6</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.6</td>
<td>Characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.7</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.8</td>
<td>Muqdam, Tell el- (Leontopolis)</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.9</td>
<td>Retaba, Tell el-</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.10</td>
<td>Sahaba, Tell el-</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.11</td>
<td>Yahudiyah, Tell el-</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.11.1</td>
<td>The ‘Hyksos’ camp</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.11.2</td>
<td>Burial customs</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.11.3</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Memphite Region</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1</td>
<td>Dahshur</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.1</td>
<td>Mid-Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat II</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.2</td>
<td>Mid-Late Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Senwosret III</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.3</td>
<td>Late Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.4</td>
<td>Thirteenth Dynasty</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2</td>
<td>Harageh, el-</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3</td>
<td>Hawara</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4</td>
<td>Kom Rabi’a</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.5 Lahun, el-
   4.3.5.1 The settlement 113
   4.3.5.2 The papyri 116

4.3.6 Lisht, el-
   4.3.6.1 Early Twelfth Dynasty 120
   4.3.6.2 Late Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty 123
   4.3.6.3 Characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics 125
   4.3.6.4 Other 128

4.3.7 Mit Rahina 130

4.3.8 Saqqara 133

4.4 Middle Egypt 135

4.4.1 Beni Hassan 135
   4.4.1.1 Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), reign of Amenemhat I 137
   4.4.1.2 Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), reign of Senwosret I 139
   4.4.1.3 Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), reign of Senwosret II 141
   4.4.1.4 Other 153

4.4.2 Bersha, Deir el-
   4.4.2.1 Tomb of Djehutyhotep, reign of Senwosret III 157
   4.4.2.2 Organic products 158

4.4.3 Hatnub 158

4.4.4 Meir 160
   4.4.4.1 Tomb of Wekhhotep (B2), reign of Senwosret I 160
   4.4.4.2 Tomb of Wekhhotep (B4), reign of Amenemhat II 160
   4.4.4.3 Tomb of Wekhhotep (C1), reign of Senwosret III 162

4.4.5 Rifeh, Deir 164

4.5 Upper Egypt 167

4.5.1 Abydos 167
   4.5.1.1 The stelae 168
   4.5.1.2 Other 172

4.5.2 Aswan 176

4.5.3 Dra’ Abu el-Naga’ 177

4.5.4 Edfu, Tell 179
   4.5.4.1 Stela 180
   4.5.4.2 Administrative complex 180
   4.5.4.3 Other 183

4.5.5 Hol, Wadi el-
   4.5.5.1 Egyptian texts 185
   4.5.5.2 Proto-Alphabetic texts 186

4.5.6 Karnak 187

4.5.7 Medamud, Nag’ el-

4.5.8 Mostagedda 190

4.5.9 Rizeiqat, el-

4.5.10TJauti, Gebel 193

4.5.11Tod 195
   4.5.11.1 Inscription of Senwosret I (?) 195
   4.5.11.2 The Tod Treasure 197

4.6 Unprovenanced Artefacts 201

4.6.1 Berlin Execration Bowls 201

4.6.2 Instructions of Amenemhat I 203

4.6.3 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 204
CONTENTS

4.6.4 Papyrus Leiden 1.344 (Admonitions of Ipuwer) 206
4.6.5 Prophecies of Noferty 209
4.6.6 Stela Louvre C 21 210
4.6.7 Stela Moscow I.1.a.5349 (4161) 211
4.6.8 Stela Musée Joseph Déchelette, Roanne Nr 163 212
4.6.9 Tale of Sinuhe 213

4.7 Conclusions 221
4.7.1 The First Half of the Twelfth Dynasty – Amenemhat I to III 221
4.7.2 The Second Half of the Twelfth Dynasty 224
4.7.3 The Thirteenth Dynasty 227
4.7.4 The First Half of the Fifteenth Dynasty 231

CHAPTER 5 BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE LEVANT: THE EASTERN DESERT 235
5.1 Introduction 235
5.2 Mount Sinai and the Red Sea Coast 236
  5.2.1 Ayn Sukhna 236
  5.2.2 Gawasis, Wadi / Mersa (Saww) 237
  5.2.3 Maghara, Wadi 240
  5.2.4 Serabit el-Khadim 242
    5.2.4.1 Egyptian texts 242
    5.2.4.2 Proto-Alphabetic texts 247
    5.2.4.3 Other 251
  5.2.5 Zeit, Gebel el- 252
5.3 Southeastern Desert 254
  5.3.1 Hammamat, Wadi el- 254
  5.3.2 Hudi, Wadi el- 256
5.4 Conclusions 258
  5.4.1 The Twelfth to the Early Thirteenth Dynasty 258
  5.4.2 The Thirteenth Dynasty to the Second Intermediate Period 259

CHAPTER 6 CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIAN IN THE LEVANT 261
6.1 Introduction 261
6.2 The Southern Levant: Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Territories 264
  6.2.1 ‘Ajju, Tell el- 264
    6.2.1.1 Vessels 265
    6.2.1.2 Scarabs and seal impressions 265
  6.2.2 Ashkelon 266
    6.2.2.1 Phase 14 – Mid-MBIIB Period 267
    6.2.2.2 Transitional Phase 13 to 12 – Late MBIIB to MBIIB-B Period 268
    6.2.2.3 Phase 11 – MBIIB Period 268
  6.2.3 Beth Shean / Hosn, Tell el- 270
    6.2.3.1 Stratum R-5 – MBIIB Period 271
    6.2.3.2 Stratum R-4 – Late MBIIB Period 272
  6.2.4 Gezer / Jazari, Tell 274
    6.2.4.1 ‘Alabaster’ and faience vessels 274
    6.2.4.2 Scarabs 275
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.2.5</td>
<td>Ifshar, Tell / Hefer</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.5.1 Phase A</td>
<td>277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.5.2 Phase B</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.5.3 Phase C</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.6</td>
<td>Jericho / Sultan, Tell el-</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.6.1 Late MBIIA or MBIIA-B Period</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kenyon’s Group I; University of Rome’s Phase IVa)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.6.2 MBIIB Period</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Kenyon’s Groups II-III; University of Rome’s Phase IV)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.7</td>
<td>Megiddo / Mutasallim, Tell el-</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.7.1 Stone vessels</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.2.7.2 Scarabs and seal impressions</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.8</td>
<td>Nagila, Tell</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>The Northern Levant: Lebanon and West Syria</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.1 ‘Arqa, Tell</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.2 Burak, Tell el-</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.3 Byblos / Jbeil</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.3.1 The cultic buildings</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.3.2 The royal tombs</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.3.3 Other</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.4 Ebla / Mardikh, Tell</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.4.1 Mardikh IIIA2 – Late MBIIA Period</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.4.2 Mardikh IIIB – MBIIA-B to MBIIC Period</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.5 Fad’ous, Tell / Kfarabida</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.6 Sakka, Tell</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.7 Sidon</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.7.1 Level 1 – MBIIA Period</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.7.2 Level 2 – MBIIA Period</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.7.3 Level 3 – MBIIA Period</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.7.4 Level 4 – MBIIA-B Period</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.7.5 Level 5 – Early-mid MBIIB Period</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.3.7.6 Level 6 – MBIIB Period</td>
<td>318</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.4.1 The MBIIA Period and the Early to Mid-Twelfth Dynasty</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.4.2 The MBIIA Period and the Mid-Twelfth to Early Thirteenth Dynasty</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.4.3 The Late MBIIA to Early MBIIB Period and the Thirteenth Dynasty</td>
<td>322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6.4.4 The MBIIB to MBIIB-C Period and the First Half of the Fifteenth Dynasty</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SECTION 3 OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS** 329

**CHAPTER 7 REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT** 331

7.1 Introduction 331

7.2 Context and Genre: Interpreting the Evidence ‘Between the Lines’ 332

7.2.1 Category 1: Inscriptions and Texts from Royal and Administrative Complexes 332

7.2.2 Category 2: Royal Funerary Complexes 333

7.2.3 Category 3: Temple and Religious Texts 333

7.2.4 Category 4: Non-Royal Settlements and Occupation Levels 334

7.2.5 Category 5: Non-Royal Inscriptions and Graffiti 334
## CONTENTS

7.2.6 Category 6: Non-Royal Cemeteries and Tombs of Officials  
7.2.7 Category 7: Literary Pieces

7.3 Textual Representations
   7.3.1 Terms Relating to Levantine Ancestry and Ethnicity  
   7.3.2 Toponyms  
   7.3.3 Personal Names  
   7.3.4 Titles of Officials

7.4 Artistic Representations
   7.4.1 Artistic Elements  
   7.4.2 Artistic Differentiation of Asiatics and Mixed Egyptian-Asiatics

7.5 Conclusions

### CHAPTER 8 RULERS OF FOREIGN LANDS

8.1 Introduction  
8.2 Origins and Rise of the Hyksos
   8.2.1 Rise of the Fifteenth Dynasty  
   8.2.2 Ethnicity and Ethnic Markers

8.3 A Final Glance
   8.3.1 An Overview of the Research  
   8.3.2 Research Limitations and Prospective Areas of Research  
   8.3.3 A New Light on Manetho

### SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

### APPENDIX A AMBIGUOUS DATA FROM THE LEVANT

A.1 ‘Ajul, Tell el-  
A.2 Gezer / Jazari, Tell  
A.3 Megiddo / Mutasallim, Tell el-  
A.4 Nami, Tell  
A.5 Hizzin, Tell  
A.6 Ugarit / Shamra, Ras

### VOLUME II

| CONTENTS | i |
| LIST OF TRANSLATIONS, TABLES AND MAPS | vii |
| LIST OF FIGURES | ix |

| TRANSLATIONS | 1 |
| TABLES | 73 |
| MAPS | 159 |
| FIGURES | 175 |
# List of Abbreviations

**Books, Journals, Publication Series and Institutions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A&amp;L</td>
<td>Ägypten und Levante / Egypt and the Levant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AASOR</td>
<td>Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACE Reports</td>
<td>Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADAJ</td>
<td>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AISL</td>
<td>The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANES</td>
<td>Ancient Near Eastern Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AOF</td>
<td>Altorientalische Forschungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARCE</td>
<td>American Research Centre in Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ArOr</td>
<td>Archiv orientální</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASAE</td>
<td>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV</td>
<td>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BA</td>
<td>The Biblical Archaeologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAAL</td>
<td>Bulletin d’Archéologie et d’Architecture Libanaises</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BACE</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</td>
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<td>BAR</td>
<td>British Archaeological Reports</td>
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<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>BdE</td>
<td>Bibliothèque d’Étude</td>
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<td>BES</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</td>
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<td>BIES</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society</td>
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<td>BIFAO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BSFE</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Société Française d’Égyptologie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMB</td>
<td>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMMA</td>
<td>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAH</td>
<td>The Cambridge Ancient History</td>
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<td>CASAE</td>
<td>Cahiers. Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCE</td>
<td>Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne</td>
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<td>CdE</td>
<td>Chronique d’Égypte</td>
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<td>CRAIPEL</td>
<td>Comptes-rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</td>
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<td>CRIPEL</td>
<td>Cahiers de Recherches de l’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille</td>
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<td>DAIAK</td>
<td>Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo</td>
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<tr>
<td>DE</td>
<td>Discussions in Egyptology</td>
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<td>DFIFAO</td>
<td>Documents de Fouilles de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire</td>
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<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td>Egyptian Archaeology</td>
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<tr>
<td>FIFAO</td>
<td>Fouilles de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire</td>
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<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>Göttinger Miscellen</td>
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<td>IEJ</td>
<td>Israel Exploration Journal</td>
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<td>IOS</td>
<td>Israel Oriental Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAC</td>
<td>Journal of Ancient Civilizations</td>
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<td>JAEI</td>
<td>Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections</td>
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<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
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<td>JANER</td>
<td>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</td>
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<td>JARCE</td>
<td>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAS</td>
<td>Journal of Archaeological Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>JBL</td>
<td>Journal of Biblical Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JBS</td>
<td>Journal of Black Studies</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
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<tr>
<td>JCS</td>
<td>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEOL</td>
<td>Jaarbericht van het vooraziat-egyptisch Genootschap, Ex Oriente Lux</td>
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<tr>
<td>JESH0</td>
<td>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</td>
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<tr>
<td>JMA</td>
<td>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JOAI</td>
<td>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts</td>
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<tr>
<td>JPOS</td>
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<td>JRAS</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal African Society</td>
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<td>JSS</td>
<td>Journal of Semitic Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSSEA</td>
<td>Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities</td>
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<tr>
<td>LÄ</td>
<td>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</td>
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<td>MDAIK</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo</td>
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<tr>
<td>MMJ</td>
<td>Metropolitan Museum Journal</td>
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<td>NARCE</td>
<td>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEA</td>
<td>Near Eastern Archaeology</td>
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<td>OBO</td>
<td>Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis</td>
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<td>RdE</td>
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<td>RT</td>
<td>Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l’Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</td>
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<td>SAK</td>
<td>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</td>
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<td>SAOC</td>
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<td>SBAW</td>
<td>Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEA</td>
<td>Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</td>
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<td>UF</td>
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<td>Urk</td>
<td>K. Sethe, Urkunden des Alten Reichs (Leipzig, 1933)</td>
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<td>VA</td>
<td>Varia aegyptiaca</td>
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<td>VT</td>
<td>Vetus Testamentum</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZÄS</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für ägyptische und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft</td>
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<td>ZDPV</td>
<td>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</td>
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**Other terms**

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<td>Chron.</td>
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<td>EBA</td>
<td>Early Bronze Age</td>
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<td>Lat.Lon.</td>
<td>Latitude and Longitude</td>
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<td>MBA</td>
<td>Middle Bronze Age</td>
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<tr>
<td>LBA</td>
<td>Late Bronze Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ref(s)</td>
<td>Reference(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TRANSLATIONS, TABLES AND MAPS

List of Translations

1 Inscription of the Tomb of Khnumhotep III. 5
2 El-Lahun Papyri. 9
3 Mit Rahina Daybook. 16
4 Brussel Figurines. 21
5 Abydos Stelae and a Shrine. 27
6 Aswan Graffiti. 38
7 Berlin Execration Bowls. 40
8 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446. 45
9 Papyrus Leiden I.344 (Admonitions of Ipuwer). 53
10 Prophecies of Noferty. 55
11 Stela Moscow I.1.A.5349 (4161). 57
12 Tale of Sinuhe. 58
13 Egyptian Texts at Serabit el-Khadim. 66

List of Tables

1 Rulers of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties. 77
2 Terminology of the divisions in Levantine chronology. 78
3 Chronological correlations between Egypt, Tell el-Dab‘a and the Levant. 78
4 Number of samples analysed from Petrographic Groups A-K of imported vessels from Tell el-Dab‘a according to the site’s stratigraphy. 79
5 Summary of pertinent architectural elements identified at Tell el-Dab‘a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 80
6 Summary of pertinent funerary elements identified at Tell el-Dab‘a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 82
7 Summary of pertinent cultic elements identified at Tell el-Dab‘a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 85
8 Summary of pertinent administrative elements identified at Tell el-Dab‘a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 87
9 Summary of pertinent elements identified at settlements at Tell el-Dab‘a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 89
10 Kom Rabi’a, the Middle Kingdom levels, their features and associated Levantine pottery. 93
11 Summary of petrographic groups identified in an analysis of imported vessels from Kom Rabi’a. 93
12 Summary of el-Lahun papyri representing Asiatics, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references. 94
13 Battle scenes at Beni Hassan: similarities and differences. 99
14 Abydos stelae representing Asiatics and Levantine toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references. 100
15 Egyptian sites examined in Chapter 4. 108
16 Egyptian sites examined in Chapter 4.1-4.5 with a summary of pertinent evidence for Egyptian-Levantine relations. 109
17 Selected literary texts and unprovenanced artefacts in Chapter 4.6. 118
18 Egyptian texts at Serabit el-Khadim featuring Asiatics and Levantine toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references. 119
19 Egyptian texts at Wadi Hammamat featuring Asiatics, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references. 123
List of Translations, Tables and Maps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Egyptian texts at Wadi el-Hudi featuring Asiatics and Asiatic toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Selected sites in the Eastern Desert examined in Chapter 5 with evidence for direct contact between the Egyptian and Levantine cultures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Some Levantine sites not discussed in the text bearing scarbs, seal impressions and cylinder seals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mediterranean and Near Eastern sites not discussed in the text bearing Egyptian-type statuary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Proposed chronologies for Tell el-‘Ajul strata I-III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Selected Levantine samples examined in Chapter 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Selected Levantine sites with Egyptian (influenced) items from MBA contexts examined in Chapter 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Chronological correlations between selected Levantine sites, Egypt and Tell el-Dab’a, based on Egyptian material in the Levant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 1: Inscriptions and texts from royal and administrative complexes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 2: Royal funerary complexes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 3: Temples and religious texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 4: Non-royal settlements and occupation levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 5: Non-royal inscriptions and graffiti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 6: Non-royal cemeteries and tombs of officials.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 7: Literary pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Terms relating to Levantine ancestry and ethnicity recorded in studied texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Levantine toponyms recorded in studied texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Named individuals of Levantine ancestry recorded in studied texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Egyptian titles of Levantine individuals recorded in studied texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Selected artistic portrayals of Levantine individuals with a summary of observed foreign features and unique stances.</td>
</tr>
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</table>

List of Maps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Geographical scope: Egypt, the Eastern Desert and the Levant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sites examined in Egypt (Chapter 4.1-4.5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Geographical designates of Groups A-K from Cohen-Weinberger and Goren’s petrographic analysis of Tell el-Dab’a’s imported ceramics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Geographical designates of Groups 1-4 from Ownby’s petrographic analysis of Kom Rabi’l-a’s imported ceramics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during the first half of Dynasty 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during the second half of Dynasty 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 13.</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sites examined in the Eastern Desert (Chapter 5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sites in the Eastern Desert with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 12 to early Dynasty 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sites in the Eastern Desert with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 13 to the Second Intermediate Period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sites examined in the Levant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIA Period and the early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIA Period and the mid-Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the late MBIIA to early MBIIIB Period and the Thirteenth Dynasty.</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIIB to MBIIIB-C Period and the early Fifteenth Dynasty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**LIST OF FIGURES**

Cover image: Detail, southeast face, Inscription Nr 405, Serabit el-Khadim (see Figure 5.22).

**Chapter 4**

4.1 Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware, Tell Basta.
4.2 Map of Tell el-Dab’a as revealed by geographical surveying.
4.3 Stratigraphy of Tell el-Dab’a.
4.4 Near Eastern types of houses. Area F/I, stratum d/2, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.5 Tomb F/I-o/19-Nr 8. Area F/I, stratum d/2, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.6 Egyptian style compound with associated tombs. Area F/I, stratum d/1, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.7 Haematite cylinder seal picturing a striding figure. Area F/I, stratum d/1, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.8 Grave goods of Tomb F/I, m/18-Nr 3. Area F/I, stratum d/1, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.9 Statue of a dignitary. Area F/I, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.10 Tomb F/I-i/22-Nr 43. Area F/I, stratum b/3, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.12 Plan of Area A/II, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.15 Seal impression with title $hks \, n(y) \, R\,m\,w$. Area F/I, stratum d, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.16 Seal 9373. Area F/I, stratum c/2, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.17 Cuneiform inscription. Area F/I, stratum c/2, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.18 Plan of Area A/IV, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.19 Seal 8314. Area A/IV, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.20 Seal 7669. Area A/IV, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.21 Plan of Area A/IV-p/19, stratum E/1, Tell el-Dab’a.
4.22 Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware, Tell Farasha.
4.23 Plan of Tell el-Habwa I.
4.24 Plan of Area B, Tell el-Habwa I. Second Intermediate Period levels are in green.
4.25 Location of tombs within settlement, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.26 Lintel inscription of "pr-B’$sr\, L\,n\,w$. Area B, level 5b, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.27 Seated limestone statue. Level 5a, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.28 Selected ceramics, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.29 Selected ceramics, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.30 Vaulted mudbrick tomb, Intras.
4.31 Excavated items, el-Khata’na.
4.32 Location and plan of Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.33 Plan of Phase 1, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.34 Plan of Phase 2, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.35 Plan of Phase 3, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.36 Burial items from R1.1138. Phase 4, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.37 Plan of Phase 5, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.38 Burial items from R2.2054. Phase 5, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.39 Burial items from R8.8060. Phase 5, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.41 Selected ceramic items, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.42 Platter bowls, thin-walled and thick-walled carinated bowls, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.43 Burial L2.2040, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.44 Selected scarabs, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.45 Selected scarabs, Tell el-Retaba.
4.46 Plan of tombs, Tell el-Retaba.
4.47 Plan of tombs, Tell el-Retaba.
4.48 Selected ceramic items, Tell el-Sahaba.
4.49 Map of Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.50 Plan of the so-called ‘Hyksos camp’, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.51 Items from Grave 2, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.52 Items from Grave 3, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.53 Items from Grave 407, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.54 Items from Grave 4, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.55 Items from Grave 19, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.56 Items from Grave 16, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.57 Items from Grave 20, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.58 Items from Grave 37, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.59 Items from Grave 5, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.60 Items from Grave 1, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.61 Items from Grave 6, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.62 Items from Grave 43, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.63 Selected scarabs, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.64 A. Scarabs bearing royal names;
4.65 B. Scarabs bearing MBA-B / late Middle Kingdom features;
4.66 C. Scarabs bearing MBA-B features.
4.67 Fragment uncovered at the Pyramid of Amenemhat II, Dahshur.
4.68 Allen’s reconstruction of Niche 1, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.69 Allen’s reconstruction of Niche 2, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
LIST OF FIGURES

4.67 Allen’s reconstruction of Niche 3, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.68 Allen’s reconstruction of Niche 4, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.69 Allen’s reconstruction of the north side of the obelisk, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.70 Allen’s reconstruction of the east side of the obelisk, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.71 Allen’s reconstruction of the south side of the obelisk, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.72 Marl C jar with hieratic text labeling wine from abroad, Burial of Sitweret, Tomb of Horkherti, Dahshur.
4.73 Pectorals, Tomb of Mereret, Dahshur.
4.74 Wooden statuette, Tomb of Nubhetepti-Khered, Dahshur.
4.75 Graffito, north wall, Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
4.76 Graffito, north doorframe of serdab, Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
4.77 Graffito, east wall, Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
4.78 Graffito, south wall, Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
4.79 Tell el-Yahudiyah ware, el-Harageh.
4.80 Dipper juglet, el-Harageh.
4.81 Fragment, Tomb of Imenysenebnebyw, Hawara.
4.82 Synchronisation of stratigraphies of Tell el-Dab’a and Kom Rab’a.
4.83 Plan of el-Lahun.
4.84 Selected ceramics, el-Lahun.
4.85 Copper torque, el-Lahun.
4.86 Inscriptions on heddle-jack, el-Lahun.
4.87 Fragment MMA 13.235.1, Mortuary Temple of Amenemhat I, el-Lisht.
4.88 Wall scene fragments with Syro-Palestinian store-jars, el-Lisht.
4.89 Seshat recording a possible smiting scene, Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I, el-Lisht.
4.90 Fragment MMA 09.180.54 and 09.180.50, altar court, Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I, el-Lisht.
4.92 Excavation figurines MMA 33.1.66-147, el-Lisht.
4.93 Statuette MMA 22.1.162S, el-Lisht.
4.94 Plan of settlement, el-Lisht.
4.95 Selected ceramics, el-Lisht.
4.96 The so-called dolphin jar, Tomb 879, el-Lisht.
4.97 Inscribed block, Mit Rahina.
4.98 Inscribed block, Mit Rahina.
4.99 Excavation figurines, Saqqara.
4.100 Siege scene, east wall, Tomb of Baqet III (Nr 15), Beni Hassan.
4.101 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Baqet III (Nr 15), Beni Hassan.
4.102 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Baqet III (Nr 15), Beni Hassan.
4.103 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Baqet III (Nr 15), Beni Hassan.
4.104 Siege scene, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.105 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.106 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.107 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.108 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.109 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.110 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.111 East wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.112 East wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.113 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.114 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.115 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.116 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.117 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.118 Siege scene, east wall, Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), Beni Hassan.
4.119 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), Beni Hassan.
4.120 Hunting scene, north wall, Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), Beni Hassan.
4.121 Pottery-making scene, east wall, Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), Beni Hassan.
4.122 North wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.123 North wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.124 Procession of foreigners, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.125 Papyrus roll of Noferhotep, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.126 Thoth, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.127 Detail of the ‘gazelle tamer’, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.128 Detail of foreigners, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.129 Detail of the musician, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.130 Detail, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.131 ‘Fair-skinned man’, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.132 ‘Fair-skinned men’, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.133 ‘Fair-skinned man’, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.134 ‘Fair-skinned man’, west wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.135 Pottery-making scene, west wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.136 An offering of a fruit, south wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.138 West wall, Tomb of Djehutyhotep, Deir el-Bersha.
4.139 Detail of bottom register, west wall, Tomb of Djehutyhotep, Deir el-Bersha.
4.140 East wall, Tomb of Wekhhottep (B2), Meir.
4.141 North wall, west end, Tomb of Wekhhottep (B4), Meir.
4.142 North wall, east end, Tomb of Wekhhottep (B4), Meir.
4.143 North wall, Tomb of Wekhhottep (C1), Meir.
4.144 Detail of north wall, Tomb of Wekhhottep (C1), Meir.
4.145 Detail of east wall, Tomb of Wekhhottep (C1), Meir.
4.146 Detail of south wall, Tomb of Wekhhottep (C1), Meir.
4.147 Selected ceramics, Deir Rifeh.
4.148 Button-shaped seal amulet (UC 51354) with pseudo-hieroglyphs, Deir Rifeh.
4.149 Stela Louvre C1, Abydos.
4.150 Stela CG 20539, Abydos.
4.151 Stela Rio de Janeiro 627 (2419), Abydos.
4.152 Stela Manchester 3306, Abydos.
4.153 Stela CG 20231, Abydos.
4.154 Stela E.207.1900 Abydos.
4.155 Stela CG 20125, Abydos.
4.156 Genealogy mentioning Asiatics as described in Stela CG 20421, Abydos.
4.157 Stela AS 169, Abydos.
4.158 Stela AS 99, Abydos.
4.159 Shrine AS 186, Abydos.
4.160 Stela Liverpool E.30, Abydos.
4.161 Stela AS 204, Abydos.
4.162 Stela AS 143, Abydos.
4.163 Stela AS 160, Abydos.
4.164 Stela CG 20281, Abydos.
4.165 Stela EA 428, Abydos.
4.166 Stela Marseille 227, Abydos.
4.167 Stela CG 20028, Abydos.
4.168 Stela CG 20062, Abydos.
4.169 Genealogy mentioning Asiatics as described in Stela CG 20158, Abydos.
4.170 Stela CG 20164, Abydos.
4.171 Stela CG 20392, Abydos.
4.172 Stela CG 20520, Abydos.
4.173 Stela CG 20549, Abydos.
4.174 Stela CG 20550, Abydos.
4.175 Stela CG 20571, Abydos.
4.176 Genealogy mentioning Asiatics as described in Stela CG 20650, Abydos.
4.178 Rio de Janeiro 680 (Nr 21), Abydos.
4.179 Anchor axe-head, Abydos.
4.180 Selected ceramics, Abydos.
4.181 Ivory sphinx (British Museum Nr 54678), Shaft Tomb 477, Abydos.
4.182 Inscription A, Aswan.
4.183 Inscription B, Aswan.
4.184 Plan of Tell Edfu.
4.185 Stela Warsaw 141.266, Tell Edfu.
4.186 Plan of the southern and northern columned halls of the administrative complex with noted significant concentrations of sealings, Tell Edfu.
4.187 South profile of the southern columned hall with detail of matrix and stratigraphy, Tell Edfu.
4.188 Profile of southwest corner of northern columned hall with detail of matrix and stratigraphy, Tell Edfu.
4.189 Selected ceramics, Tell Edfu.
4.190 Map showing Wadi el-Hol and Gebel Tjauti.
4.191 Inscription A, Wadi el-Hol.
4.192 Inscription B, Wadi el-Hol.
4.195 Selected Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware, Karnak.
4.196 Broken slab with inscription of Senwosret III, Temple of Montu, Nag` el-Medamud.
4.197 Fragments with bound captives, Temple of Montu, Nag' el-Medamud.
4.198 Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglet from Tomb 3146, Mostagedda.
4.199 Selected scarabs, Mostagedda.
4.200 Silver torques, Mostagedda.
4.201 Stela Berlin 22.708, el-Riziaqat.
4.202 Stela Bremen 4558, el-Riziaqat.
4.203 Inscription 14, Gebel Tjauti.
4.204 Inscription 15, Gebel Tjauti.
4.205 Inscription 16, Gebel Tjauti.
4.206 Plan showing position of the treasure, Tod.
4.207 Chests and some items of the treasure, Tod.
4.208 Stela Moscowl I.a.5349 (4161).
4.209 Stela Musée Joseph Déchelette, Roanne Nr 163.
Chapter 5

5.1 Site plan, Wadi/Mersa Gawasis.
5.2 Excavation units on the western terrace, Wadi Gawasis.
5.3 Inscription Nr 24-24a, Wadi Maghara.
5.4 Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 348, Wadi Maghara.
5.5 Inscription Nr 81, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.6 North face, Inscription Nr 85, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.7 West face, Inscription Nr 87, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.8 South face, Inscription Nr 92, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.9 Inscription Nr 93, Serabit el-Khadim.
   a. South face
   b. East face
   c. North face
   d. West face
5.10 Detail, west face, Inscription Nr 103, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.11 Inscription Nr 54, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.12 Inscription Nr 108, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.13 Inscription Nr 109, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.14 Inscription Nr 97, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.15 Inscription Nr 94, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.16 Inscription Nr 96, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.17 Inscription Nr 110, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.18 Inscription Nr 95, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.19 Inscription Nr 98, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.20 Inscription Nr 112, Serabit el-Khadim.
   a. West face
   b. South face
5.21 Detail, south edge, Inscription Nr 114, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.22 Southeast face, Inscription Nr 405, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.23 Inscription Nr 402, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.24 West face, Inscription Nr 115, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.25 Inscription Nr 414, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.26 North face, Inscription Nr 120, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.27 Inscription Nr 121, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.28 West face, Inscription Nr 136, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.29 Inscription Nr 163, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.30 East face, Inscription Nr 411, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.31 Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 345, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.32 Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 346, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.33 Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 347, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.34 Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 347a, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.35 Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 351, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.36 Inscription Nr 47, Wadi Hammamat.
5.37 Inscription Nr 43, Wadi Hammamat.
5.38 Inscription Nr 17, Wadi Hammamat.
5.39 Inscription Nr 23-24, Wadi Hammamat.
5.40 Inscription WH143, Wadi el-Hudi.
5.41 Inscription WH17, Wadi el-Hudi.

Chapter 6

6.1 Selected scarabs, Tell el-‘Ajjul.
6.2 City gates and moat, Ashkelon.
6.3 Selected ceramics, Ashkelon.
6.4 Selected scarabs, Beth Shean.
6.5 Selected stone vessels, Beth Shean.
6.6 Finds from Burial 38201, Beth Shean.
6.7 Selected Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware, Beth Shean.
6.8 Selected stone vessels, Gezer.
6.9 Selected scarabs, Gezer.
6.10 Selected ceramics, Tell Ifshar.
6.11 Selected scarabs, Jericho.
6.12 Selected stone vessels, Jericho.
6.13 Selected stone vessels, Megiddo.
6.14 Selected scarabs, Megiddo.
6.15 Scarabs and vessels, Tell Nagilia.
6.16 Selected ceramics, Tell ‘Arqa.
6.17 Layout of complex, Tell el-Burak.
6.18 Wall paintings, Tell el-Burak.
6.19 Inscribed obelisk, Temple of Obelisks, Byblos.
6.20 Dagger and sheath, Temple of Obelisks, Byblos.
6.21 The Montet Jar and selected items found within, Syrian Temple, Byblos.
6.22 Funerary goods, Royal Tomb I, Byblos.
6.23 Cylindrical jar, Royal Tomb I, Byblos.
6.24 Funerary goods, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.25 Pectoral, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.26 Pendant, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.27 Scimitar sword, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.28 Cylindrical jar, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.29 Chest, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.30 Hieroglyphic text, faience vase, Royal Tomb VII, Byblos.
6.31 Selected inscribed funerary goods, Royal Tomb IX, Byblos.
6.32 Stela inscription, Byblos.
6.33 Selected scarabs, Byblos.
6.34 Vessels, Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, Ebla.
6.35 Selected scarabs and seals, Ebla.
6.36 Ceremonial mace, Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, Ebla.
6.37 Ivory plaques, Northern Palace, Ebla.
6.38 Tell Fad’ous’s hemispherical cup and Tell el-Dab’a’s cup seriation.
6.39 Scarab, Tell Fad’ous.
6.40 Selected ceramics, Tell Fad’ous.
6.41 Wall paintings, Tell Sakka.
6.42 Selected scarabs, Sidon.
6.43 Cylinder seal, Sidon.
6.44 Selected ceramics, Sidon.
6.45 Selected stone vessels, Sidon.
SECTION 1
INTRODUCTION

‘... unexpectedly, from the regions of the East, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily seized it, without striking a blow.’

Manetho, Aegyptiaca, Frg. 42, 1.75-1.76.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Manetho’s obscure reference to a race of invaders has been a constant source of debate and controversy. But who are Manetho’s invaders? They are named the ‘Hyksos’ – a Greek modification of the Egyptian expression ḫkꜣ wꜣ ḫꜣš.wt ‘ruler of foreign lands’. The Hyksos are correlated with the Fifteenth Dynasty of the Second Intermediate Period, a time characterised by the destabilisation and regionalisation of the Egyptian state. Several scholars have pondered over their victory and rule in Egypt, from the manner in which they entered Egypt and the means with which they claimed the throne to their final expulsion from the land. This thesis assesses their rise to power, exploring the preliminary stages that enabled the Hyksos to gain control over a portion of Egyptian territory and thus to merit a small mention in Manetho’s history.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The Fifteenth Dynasty has provoked much discussion on the role of foreigners in Egypt. Manetho’s account originally led historians to search for traces of northeastern warriors violently succeeding the Egyptian regime. Over the past few decades, excavations in the Delta have led scholars to propose that the Hyksos takeover may not have been wholly violent, but that it was partly or even completely facilitated by a northeastern population already living in Egypt. Archaeological evidence from Tell el-Dab’a (Avaris) has revealed

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2 For example, H. E. Winlock, The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes (New York, 1947), 96-97; D. B. Redford, Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times (Princeton, 1992), 98-106. For more on past scholarship, see Chapter 2.2.
3 For example, see M. Bietak, Avaris: The Capital of the Hyksos. Recent Excavations at Tell el-Dab’a (London, 1996); M. Bietak, ‘From Where Came the Hyksos and Where did they Go’, in M.
that the population largely derived from a Levantine ethnicity, one which is represented in the Egyptian corpus to be of the ‘Asiatics’. A study on the rise of the Hyksos must therefore entail an assessment of Levantines in Egypt during the period before their rule, that is, the Middle Kingdom and the early Second Intermediate Period.

This exercise is well reflected in the available literature but is marked by a lack of a thorough and recent examination of the varying representations of northeasterners within Egyptian society. A few attempts have been made in tracing their presence in Egypt, yet the studies mostly focus on a particular body of evidence, such as textual references to Asiatics or specific forms of archaeological data. Often, the representations are removed from their context and utilised to support circumstantial evidence, with an inherent disregard for the influence of the Egyptian concept of the other that permeates representations and incorporates ideological affirmations of Egyptian supremacy. Consequently, a land in the Levant has been equated to one with “fuzzy-wuzzies in some godforsaken outback”4 where depictions of Asiatics in the Middle Kingdom became scenes of wandering nomadic tribes. With such conclusions, scholars have discounted the nature of the evidence, its purpose and the context in which it appears.

In addition, many researchers have concentrated on developments within a specific category of evidence, effectually omitting data that can significantly alter their findings.5 The reliance on scarab analysis, for instance, has led some to assert that the Hyksos and their people originated from the Southern Levant. While this may be correct, correlating the distribution of scarabs and seals with ethnic origins is subject to error, much like the equation of particular ceramics at a site with the presence of the people behind its production (i.e. the ‘pots equal people’ contention). The presence or absence of these finds may be a matter of trade.

Another research problem is that the literature is primarily concentrated on evidence from one specific area, namely the Delta or the Southern Levant. Although of utmost significance, they should not overshadow the equally important regions of Middle Egypt, Upper Egypt, the Northern Levant and the Eastern Desert.

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4 D. B. Redford, Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times (Princeton, 1992), 85.
A further research problem is the reliance on finds from unclear contexts and/or later periods. An example is the use of the aforementioned history of Manetho which should instead be utilised as supporting data. Scholars’ dependence on such evidence has resulted in misinterpretations in the chronology, ethnic origins, and nature of the Fifteenth Dynasty that still resonate in current scholarly literature.

Evidently, the research problems highlight the need for a new study that examines the rise of the Hyksos through a reappraisal of various forms of evidence across Egypt and the Levant. Such a study would surely advance our knowledge of the ambiguous Fifteenth Dynasty in Egyptian history and address the “warm and ongoing debate” surrounding the Hyksos’s emerging reign.

### 1.3 Research Goals

In an attempt to shed new light on the socio-political developments associated with Asiatics and the accession of the Fifteenth Dynasty, this thesis aims to study the rise of the Hyksos by tracing Egyptian-Levantine contact from the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period via a holistic approach of the evidence.

The primary objective is to investigate how the Hyksos were able to form an independent state in the north of Egypt. The nature and development of Egyptian-Levantine relations is assessed to examine the validity of proposed theoretical models explaining the rise of the Hyksos, including: (1) the invasion model; (2) the gradual infiltration and peaceful takeover; and (3) the gradual infiltration and violent takeover.

The thesis secondarily aims to explore the origins of the Fifteenth Dynasty. Scholarly consensus agrees that the Hyksos are from West Asia. However, a more precise area of origin has been fervently debated. This aim is linked with that of the rise of the Hyksos and is largely dependent on which of the aforementioned models is supported by the evidence.

The third aim entails a reanalysis of Egyptian relations with the Levant. Changes in the status and role of foreigners from the northeast are to be examined with a reassessment of developments in the Egyptian concept of and reaction to foreigners. The latter further encompasses an investigation into the influence of context and genre on the collected data.

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1.4 **Research Methodology**

The main method is to trace elements of a West Asiatic ethnic group(s) and culture in Egypt and the Eastern Desert. These markers may be revealed through:

1. *Archaeological evidence*, gathered from sites featuring non-Egyptian elements encompassing: (a) secular and sacral architecture; (b) burial customs; (c) characteristic non-Egyptian vessels; and (d) small material goods. The evidence is compared to and supplemented by archaeological finds from the Levant;

2. *Textual evidence*, including contemporary texts preserved on (a) stelae, (b) royally-instigated inscriptions, (c) tomb inscriptions, (d) scarabs, seals and seal impressions, (e) papyri, and (f) graffiti. Asians can be identified by the use of terms designating Asiatic groups, Levantine toponyms and non-Egyptian names. Literary and linguistic perspectives are utilised, the former of which is used to assess the influence of genre and style while the latter focuses on terminology; and

3. *Artistic evidence*, which embraces depictions of Asians on (a) wall scenes in funerary contexts; (b) scarabs, seals, and seal impressions; (c) stone, ceramic and wooden three-dimensional figures; and (d) small material goods. These are evaluated according to their contexts and aspects of composition. The contextual study includes an artefact’s overall decorative scheme, immediate context as well as its contemporary socio-political and religious circumstances, whereas aspects of composition embrace artistic details such as posture, colour and clothing.

The second method is to examine the development of Egyptian-Levantine relations as expressed by the evidence in the Levant. The same three abovementioned bodies of data are collected, focussing on that which displays contact with the Egyptian culture. Results are then compared with evidence from Egypt and the Eastern Desert.

All forms of evidence are presented geographically and, where possible, chronologically. Such an analysis helps identify the development of Egyptian-Levantine relations for each particular site and region, as well as the progression of foreigners’ status in Egyptian society. It further provides a holistic approach to help determine how the Hyksos emerged as the dominant power in the region.
1.5 RESEARCH PARAMETERS

1.5.1 Geographical scope and terminology

The thesis focuses on three areas: (1) Egypt; (2) the Eastern Desert; and (3) the Levant (Map 1). Sites considered in each area are those which bear traces of Egyptian-Levantine relations and/or are heavily featured in the literature. Egypt is divided into four regions of the Delta, the Memphite region, Middle Egypt and Upper Egypt. The Eastern Desert has been selected as a peripheral zone frequented by Egyptian expeditions. Contacts with the Libyans to the west, the Nubians and Puntites to the south, as well as the civilisations further north are only discussed in relation to the Egyptian-Levantine relations.

The Levant is presented as two main geographical regions (Map 1): (1) the Northern Levant, including modern western Syria and Lebanon; and (2) the Southern Levant, including present-day Israel, the Palestinian occupied territories and Jordan. The division is simply a geographical differentiation that is commonly found in the literature. Levantine cultural traits were shared across the region, but often appear in the archaeological record at slightly different periods, especially following the collapse of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) and the rise of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA). Thus, the terms used in this thesis are derived from geography rather than ethnicity (e.g. Amorite or Canaanite). The expression ‘Syria-Palestine’ is only utilised to refer to a type of Levantine vessel typically classified as the ‘Syro-Palestinian store-jar’.

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1.5.2 Chronological scope and terminology

A detailed investigation into chronological correlations between Egypt and the Levant would be too vast to include in this thesis. The absolute chronology of the Middle Kingdom, and the absolute and relative chronology of the Second Intermediate Period remain unclear. As such, absolute dating is not utilised or discussed.\textsuperscript{10}

The Egyptian period under examination is the Twelfth to early Fifteenth Dynasties. This thesis adheres to Shaw’s sequence of pharaohs for Dynasty 12,\textsuperscript{11} and Ryholt’s reconstruction of the sequence of Thirteenth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period kings (Table 1).\textsuperscript{12} While the Middle Kingdom includes Dynasty 12, the Thirteenth Dynasty has been proposed to belong fully or partially to the Second Intermediate Period, the beginning of which remains conjectural. The thesis follows its division by Ryholt into two stages: (1) a weakened Egyptian state and its disintegration into two main kingdoms, the Fourteenth Dynasty in the north and the Sixteenth Dynasty in the south; and (2) the rise of the Fifteenth Dynasty in the north, with its capital at Avaris, and the Seventeenth Dynasty in the south, with its capital at Thebes. Overlap between Dynasties 13-17 is not unfeasible.

Correlating with the Egyptian period is the Levantine MBA, for which a number of terminologies exist. This study employs the traditional tripartite division, namely MBIIA-C.\textsuperscript{13} It is recognised that this terminology is not commonly applied by researchers studying the Northern Levant, who typically divide the MBA into MBI (⁻MBIIA) and MBII (⁻MBIIB-C). However, for continuity’s sake, the tripartite division is utilised in discussion to finds from the north. Table 2 provides the various terminologies used in describing Levantine chronology.

Synchronisations of the MBA with the Egyptian chronology follow Bietak’s low chronology. The MBIIA would thereby generally correlate with the Twelfth Dynasty and the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the MBIIB to the third quarter of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the MBIIB to the end of the Thirteenth and first half of the Fifteenth Dynasty, and the MBIIC to the late Fifteenth and possibly early Eighteenth Dynasty (Table 3). Based on these correlations, this thesis only examines Levantine material from the MBIIA to MBIIB period. Evidence from the MBIIC is only included in the clarification or reassessment of traditional relative dates.

\textsuperscript{10} For a brief overview on chronological issues, see Chapter 2.3.
\textsuperscript{12} K. S. B. Ryholt, The Political Situation in Egypt During the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 BC, Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20 (Copenhagen, 1997).
\textsuperscript{13} W. F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine (Harmondsworth, 1949); A. Mazar, The Archaeology of the Land of the Bible (New York, 1992).
1.5.3 Evidential scope

The translation of titles and epithets predominantly follow Ward’s study on Middle Kingdom terms, unless otherwise specified.\(^\text{14}\) Pottery fabrics are classified according to the Vienna System.\(^\text{15}\) The typology of Tell el-Yahudiyah ware is reliant on its most recent study by Aston and Bietak\(^\text{16}\) and scarab seal typology adheres to D. Ben-Tor’s classifications.\(^\text{17}\)

The thesis selects evidence of clear provenance and context and relies on the basis that only provenanced artefacts can securely reflect contemporaneous Egyptian-Levantine contact. Examples of material of uncertain provenance or date of deposition include scarabs bought from antiquity dealers and surface finds. Some are included to signal possible intercultural contact but are clearly marked as questionable pieces or are only given a general chronological attribution. Exceptions are a few unprovenanced artefacts that justifiably reflect a Middle Kingdom date or Middle Kingdom Egyptian-Levantine relations. These include texts like the Tale of Sinuhe or the Berlin Execration bowls. Non-contemporary sources, however, are not analysed. These include the Kamose ‘victory’ stela, the Turin King-List, Manetho’s history as well as the Canaanite and Biblical stories of Io, Joseph, and the Exodus.

Lastly, it is important to note the fragmented nature of the evidence itself, particularly as a small percentage of it survives.\(^\text{18}\) The presence of variability and the possibility that the evidence only concerns a small percentage of the population should be recognised.\(^\text{19}\) Moreover, the collected evidence is dependent upon the methodologies followed by excavation teams in preliminary surveys, consequent excavations and the final publication of data.\(^\text{20}\) Many sites have also been subjected to looting and mutilation in both ancient and modern times.

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\(^{14}\) W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982).


\(^{16}\) D. A. Aston and M. Bietak, *Tell el Dab’a, vol. 8: The Classification and Chronology of Tell el-Yahudiya Ware*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 12 (Vienna, 2012).


For more on problems in excavations and publications of Egyptian material, see J. Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2005), 67-69.
1.5.4 Other limitations

The scope of this thesis has been specifically tailored to provide the best results for its aims. Therefore, the following topics are not examined: absolute and relative dating methods determining the chronological point when the Hyksos took over; the genealogy of Hyksos rulers and the etymology of the names of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasty kings; shifts in the ceramic sequence across Egypt; and developments in scarab typology. Such studies deserve entirely different research projects and have, in some form, been dealt with in other works.21

Any reflection on the names and sequence of Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasty kings is limited by evidential scope. Much of the evidence for these kings is from non-contemporaneous sources like the Turin King-List or unprovenanced scarabs. Therefore, this thesis only refers to Dynasty 14 if an item from a selected site clearly relates to a Fourteenth Dynasty king.

As a final note it should be stressed that some regions are more favoured by archaeological researchers than others. The current political situation in all examined areas also restricted personal inspection of sites and artefacts. Thus, future archaeological and historical research will help clarify findings of this thesis and the Second Intermediate Period in general.

1.6 Research Outline

The thesis is presented in two volumes. The first is divided into three sections: (1) Studying the Hyksos, with three chapters offering an introductory background to the thesis topic; (2) Evidence for Contact, investigating the data for Egyptian-Levantine relations. It includes three chapters, each for the regions of Egypt, the Eastern Desert and the Levant; and (3) Observations and Findings, with two chapters, one on Asiatic representations in text and art, and the other on the origins and rise of the Hyksos.

Volume II makes the data on which the arguments are based available to the reader, should they need to be consulted. It includes Translations of lengthy texts examined in the thesis, Tables with supplementary and complementary material, Maps of the studied regions and Figures of line drawings, photographs and other visual aids that correspond to the evidence.

21 See, for example, J. von Beckerath, Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten (Glückstadt, 1964); H. W. Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (2nd edition, Wiesbaden, 1971); T. Schneider, ‘The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period (Dyns. 13-17), in E. Hornung, R. Krauss, and D. A. Warburton, Ancient Egyptian Chronology (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 168-196; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 1; Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections; Ryholt, Political Situation.
'In Egyptian memory the Hyksos episode clearly stands out as a unique phenomenon, previously unparalleled, a time when foreign lords imposed their rule on Egypt.'

E. D. Oren.1

2.1 INTRODUCTION

For over a century, scholars of Egyptology and Near Eastern history have mused on Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period relations with the Levant. From the events culminating in the defragmentation of Middle Kingdom rule to the establishment of the New Kingdom, the period has attracted much attention and debate. The focus of this thesis, the rise of the Hyksos, has not escaped the scholarly gaze. This chapter presents an overview of scholarly contributions. It first outlines the literature on the origins and rise of the Hyksos and then offers a brief discussion on the chronological issues inherent in the examination of the Second Intermediate Period.

2.2 THE ORIGINS AND RISE OF THE HYKSOS

Before the discovery of Tell el-Dab’a, few sources were available to discern the origins and rise of the Hyksos. Often utilising the term ‘Hyksos’ for the rulers of the Fifteenth Dynasty and their people, scholars relied on mostly non-contemporaneous evidence in their discussion of a so-called ‘Hyksos culture’, traces of which were seemingly found in Egypt, the Levant and – in a few cases – further east.

The most well-known non-contemporaneous text on the Hyksos is Manetho’s history. In Josephus’s Contra Apionem, Manetho is quoted writing about an ‘obscure race’ of invaders from the East who ‘unexpectedly’ overpowered the Egyptian rulers ‘without striking a blow’.2 They destroyed cities and temples, massacred the local population, and then appointed one

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2 Manetho, Aegyptiaca, Frg. 42, 1.75-1.76 (Josephus, Contra Apionem, I.14.75-76). Translation in Waddell, Manetho, 77-79.
of their own as a pharaoh who reigned from Memphis, levied tribute from the Egyptians, installed garrisons along the land, and built the fortified Avaris. The king and his successors were Hyksos, which was translated by Josephus to read ‘shepherd kings’ or ‘captive kings’. Josephus then mentions that some called them ‘Arabs’. Africanus contrarily notes that the Hyksos were from ‘Phoenicia’ and, after founding Avaris, ‘subdued’ Egypt.

Other references in non-contemporaneous texts come from Egypt’s Pharaonic history. The first stela of Seventeenth Dynasty Kamose mentions Avaris’s king and people as a "²m group who had desecrated Egypt. Kamose’s second stela adds that the Hyksos king was a ḫkš n(y) Rtnw ‘ruler of Rtnw’, his city at Avaris holding 300 ships of ³ṣ-wood filled with ‘all the fine products of Rtnw’. The Eighteenth Dynasty inscription of Hatshepsut at Speos Artemidos, Egypt, records that the queen had restored the ruins caused by the Hyksos "²m.w in Avaris. The Nineteenth Dynasty literary Quarrel between Apophis and Seqenenra also associates the Hyksos with "²m.w who worshipped Seth at Avaris. The mention of Seth complements the Stela of the Year 400 that commemorates the worship of the god as a king in the Delta. The stela was set up in Dynasty 19 and has been used to support Dynasty 15’s reverence to Seth.

Maspero and Tomkins were among the first to question the origins of the Hyksos. They looked to the Elamite region east of Babylon for the invaders and analysed the names of Manetho’s kings to identify their ethnicity. Tomkins additionally proposed some relations

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4 Manetho, Aegyptiaca, Frg. 42, 1.82-1.83 (Josesphus, Contra Apionem, I.14.82-83). Translation in Waddell, Manetho, 82-85.
6 According to Africanus and Eusebius, the Hyksos were also from Phoenicia. Manetho, Aegyptiaca, Frgs 43 (Syncellus, 113), 48 (Syncellus, 114; Eusebius, Chronica, I.1, 99). Translation in Waddell, Manetho, 90-97.
8 L. Habachi, The Second Stela of Kamose and His Struggle Against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital (Glückstadt, 1972).
14 Maspero, History of Egypt, 161; Tomkins, JAIGB 19 (1890), 182-199.
between the Levantines and the Hyksos.\textsuperscript{15} Petrie utilised the archaeological findings at Tell el-Yahudiyyeh as proof of a ‘Hyksos culture’ in the Delta, offering the site as a possible location for Avaris.\textsuperscript{16} The topic was again addressed by Labib, who grouped the available Egyptian textual sources.\textsuperscript{17} He was followed by Engberg, who contributed his study of archaeological sources from the Levant to assess Hyksos ‘life and habits’.\textsuperscript{18}

Engberg argued that the Fifteenth Dynasty rulers were Hurrian or ‘Indo-Aryan’ despite the “clearly recognised Semitic element enmeshed in what is called the Hyksos movement”.\textsuperscript{29} The Hurrian group would have been part of the last segment of a migration across the Near East, their strength in archery and chariotry assisting their victorious outcome in Egypt. This Hurrian element was later favoured by Ward,\textsuperscript{20} von Beckerath,\textsuperscript{21} and Helck,\textsuperscript{22} but has since been refuted on chronological grounds, with the Hurrian movement emerging after the Hyksos’s rise to power.\textsuperscript{23} Van Seters also asserted that Helck’s association of Hyksos names with Hurrian personal names was not justified by the evidence.\textsuperscript{24}

Van Seters’s study was one of the first to offer a detailed examination on the Hyksos. Not only recognising the errors caused by searching for a ‘Hyksos culture’, he attempted to balance the archaeological evidence with textual sources.\textsuperscript{25} His investigation was not without faults, with an over-reliance on the Admonitions of Ipuwer\textsuperscript{26} as well as an assertion that the MBA Levant was under Hyksos control. Nevertheless, van Seters rightly contended that Manetho’s history should be approached cautiously.\textsuperscript{27} He theorised that the Hyksos did not invade Egypt, but that they gained power through “a fifth-column movement” of Amorites who eventually affected a political or violent coup d’état.\textsuperscript{28} Säve-Söderbergh took a similar approach, debunking Manetho’s invasion and arguing for a peaceful takeover by

\textsuperscript{15} Maspero, \textit{History of Egypt}, 161; Tomkins, JAIGB 19 (1890), 182-199.
\textsuperscript{17} P. Labib, \textit{Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz} (Glückstadt, 1936).
\textsuperscript{18} R. M. Engberg, \textit{The Hyksos Reconsidered}, SAOC 18 (Chicago, 1939).
\textsuperscript{19} Engberg, \textit{Hyksos Reconsidered}, 42.
\textsuperscript{21} von Beckerath, \textit{Zwischen Zweisamenzeit}.
\textsuperscript{22} Helck, \textit{Die Beziehungen}.
\textsuperscript{24} Van Seters, \textit{Hyksos}, 181-190.
\textsuperscript{25} Van Seters, \textit{Hyksos}.
\textsuperscript{26} See Chapter 4.6.4.
\textsuperscript{27} Van Seters, \textit{Hyksos}, 192.
\textsuperscript{28} Van Seters, \textit{Hyksos}, 192-193.
Levantines. He contended that Levantines had migrated to the Delta during the Thirteenth Dynasty when political unrest led to lax border control. Following the fall of the Thirteenth Dynasty, they were then able to form their own dynasty.

Evidently, the literature before Tell el-Dab‘a’s excavations had formulated varying arguments. The Hyksos could be Hurrian, Indo-European or Levantine, and the three basic models for their rise to power had been theorised as: (1) the invasion model; (2) the gradual infiltration and peaceful takeover; and (3) the gradual infiltration and violent takeover.

The discoveries at Tell el-Dab‘a have greatly refined theories on the Hyksos. Scholarly consensus now agrees that the site marks the location of Avaris. Its material culture supports the presence of a large Levantine population and vindicates that the origins of the Hyksos should be sought in the Levant. The exact point of origin remains a matter of debate. Scholars are typically split in opinion with those favouring a Southern Levantine origin and those looking to the Northern Levant.

Bietak, the director of Tell el-Dab‘a’s excavations, argues for both in different publications. At first, following McGovern’s analysis of Tell el-Dab‘a’s ceramics, he asserted that the Hyksos rose to power after a “massive movement of population out of southern Canaan”. McGovern also supports a Southern Levantine origin. Disregarding the problems in his pottery analysis, his relation between trade commodities and the origins of Tell el-Dab‘a’s rulers (that is, his ‘pots equal people’ contention) is highly problematic, especially as it is used as the sole basis of his argument. Nevertheless, a peaceful rise to power by Southern Levantine rulers is advocated by: Kempinski, based on the Hyksos’s apparent Semitic names; Tubb, who identifies a cultural continuum with Southern Levantine sites; and Gardiner.

30 Säve-Söderbergh, JEA 37 (1951), 53-71.
31 Säve-Söderbergh, JEA 37 (1951), 53-71.
33 See Chapter 4.2.2.8.
36 See Chapter 4.2.2.8.
Weinstein notes that the Hyksos were “simply southern and inland Palestinian princes”.\(^{40}\) He maps the geographical spread of Second Intermediate Period scarabs and observes that the majority are located south of the Carmel Ridge.\(^ {41}\) With little supporting evidence, he remarks that the early New Kingdom kings focussed their military efforts on this southern region following the expulsion of the Hyksos. These two points lead him to infer a Southern Levantine origin for the Hyksos. Yet, the nature of early New Kingdom rulers’ campaigns remains unclear and the very notion of a Hyksos expulsion deserves reconsideration. Furthermore, the geographical spread of scarabs, many of which are from unclear or non-contemporaneous contexts, does not necessarily correlate to the spread of Hyksos control or to their ethnicity. Instead, it is more suggestive of access to Dynasty 15 commodities.\(^ {42}\)

Employing scarab seal typology, D. Ben-Tor additionally favours a Southern Levantine origin.\(^ {43}\) She claims that the beginning of Dynasty 15 is marked by the termination of commercial relations with the north and the commencement of significant relations with the Southern Levant.\(^ {44}\) Accordingly, the resurgence of contact with the latter is indicative of the origins of Tell el-Dab’a’s settlers,\(^ {45}\) while the absence of MBIIIB-C scarabs in the Northern Levant and their presence in the south supports kin relations between the Southern Levantines and the Hyksos.\(^ {46}\) A few problems occur in D. Ben-Tor’s argument: her corpus of analysed scarabs is largely, if not wholly, derived from the Southern Levant,

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42 As also argued in Bietak, in *Second Intermediate Period*, 150.
44 See n. 43.
45 See n. 43.
46 See n. 43.
CHAPTER 2: PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

thereby skewing the data in favour of relations with the south; the remark that the north comprises no evidence for contact with Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period ignores recent findings from Tell el-Dab’a as well as modern Lebanon;\(^{47}\) and the premise of relating scarab seal production with the origins of Fifteenth Dynasty rulers is the same as the ‘pots equal people’ theory which, alone, does not make a strong argument for ethnic origins.

In recent years, Bietak has shifted his stance in favour for the Hyksos’s Northern Levantine origin. He uses the architectural, ceramic and burial elements at Tell el-Dab’a to show close cultural influences from the Northern Levant.\(^{48}\) Uniquely, he combines the artistic data with the archaeological evidence to support his claim, yet few textual sources are utilised. This is also the case with Kopetzky, who supports close relations with the Northern Levant based on the MBIIB ceramic corpus at Tell el-Dab’a. She does not make assertions on the origins of the Hyksos, simply observing that “the northern regions of Palestine and Lebanon were more closely connected to Hyksos Empire than to southern Palestine”.\(^{49}\) Hourany’s study utilises toponomy and classical Arab histories to reach the same conclusion, further suggesting that the Hyksos originated in the south of modern Lebanon.\(^{50}\)

While publications over the past two decades have evidently altered in focus on Hyksos origins to either the Northern or Southern Levant, the mechanisms behind the Hyksos’s accession still encompass the three aforementioned models. Scholars such as Bietak\(^ {51}\) and Booth\(^ {52}\) maintain that the Hyksos rulers gradually and peacefully took control of Egypt, others such as Quirke\(^ {53}\) and Knapp\(^ {54}\) argue for a gradual increase in a Levantine population that forcibly took control over the Thirteenth Dynasty through, for instance, a bucolic (pastoralist) revolt, and Redford\(^ {55}\) and Ryholt\(^ {56}\) advocate an invasion into Egypt. Redford

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47 See Chapters 4.2.2 and 6.3.3.
49 Y. Hourany, المجهول والمهم من تاريخ الجنوب اللبناني (جبل عاملة) من سجلات الفراعنة للفترة الثانية في م (The Unknown and the Neglected History of Southern Lebanon [Mount ‘Amilat] from the Pharaonic Records to the Second Millennium B.C.) (Beirut, 1999).
52 S. Quirke, ‘Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty’, in S. Quirke (ed.), Middle Kingdom Studies (New Malden, 1991), 123-139.
53 A. B. Knapp, The History and Culture of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt (Belmont, 1988), 168-170.
54 Redford, Egypt, Israel, and Canaan, 101-113.
55 Ryholt, Political Situation in Egypt, 302-304.
asserts that the invasion was caused by weakened border control and the sudden appearance of urban communities in the Delta.\textsuperscript{57} He also relies on stelae of questionable or later date.\textsuperscript{58} Ryholt, on the other hand, notes Redford’s circumstantial and non-contemporaneous evidence.\textsuperscript{59} He argues that the transition in material culture at Tell el-Dab’a between the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties is marked by major changes in ceramic typology, cylinder seal use and a new imperialistic outlook.\textsuperscript{60} Such developments are employed to justify an invasion by a ‘Canaanite chieftain’ who took advantage of an Egypt severely affected by famine and political unrest.\textsuperscript{61}

The many theories regarding the origin and rise of the Hyksos clearly favour one form of evidence or one site analysis over another. This thesis seeks to address the inherent problems in scholarly literature by providing a more holistic examination of the evidence across Egypt and the Levant. Such a task will surely contribute to our knowledge on the Hyksos, further clarifying their predecessors’ relations with the Middle Kingdom and their consequent rise to power.

### 2.3 Chronological Considerations

Problems in correlations between Egypt and the Levant are largely caused by inherent issues in the two regions’ respective chronologies. The expression ‘Second Intermediate Period’ implies that it began with the fragmentation of Egypt. However, the period of transition has been subject to much discussion, its relative and absolute dating constantly being revised.\textsuperscript{62} Von Beckerath and Ryholt produced significant studies collating the textual and archaeological evidence for the reconstruction of Dynasties 13-17.\textsuperscript{63} Both argue that the Second Intermediate Period began in the Thirteenth Dynasty, but Ryholt places its emergence at the beginning of the dynasty, postulating the land’s possible division as early as the late Twelfth Dynasty. He also includes a dynasty in Abydos which, although firstly opposed in the literature,\textsuperscript{64} is possible considering recent archaeological findings.\textsuperscript{65} While

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{57} Redford, \textit{Egypt, Israel, and Canaan}, 101-102.
  \item \textsuperscript{58} Redford, \textit{Egypt, Israel, and Canaan}, 111-113.
  \item \textsuperscript{59} Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation in Egypt}, 302, n. 1057.
  \item \textsuperscript{60} Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation in Egypt}, 302-303.
  \item \textsuperscript{61} Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation in Egypt}, 304.
  \item \textsuperscript{62} For the most recent chronological summary of the period, see Schneider, in \textit{Ancient Egyptian Chronology}, 168-196.
  \item \textsuperscript{63} Von Beckerath, \textit{Zweiten Zwischenzeit}; Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation in Egypt}.
\end{itemize}
Ryholt’s reconstruction of the Turin King-List, which has since been refined by Allen\(^{66}\) and Polz,\(^{67}\) provides a significant benchmark in relative dating, his use of scarab typology as well as questionable archaeological data has received criticism.\(^{68}\) The Fourteenth Dynasty, for example, is lengthened from the beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty to the Fifteenth Dynasty, the latter agreeing with Bietak’s chronology at Tell el-Dab‘a.\(^{69}\) However, neither the Turin King-List nor the archaeological evidence inform us how the Fourteenth Dynasty kings relate to the preceding and succeeding kingdoms, the possibility of overlap being very likely.\(^{70}\) Nonetheless, Rhylot’s meticulous assessment of the historical data remains the most recent detailed investigation of Second Intermediate Period chronology. Other studies, focussing on ceramic developments\(^{71}\) and genealogies,\(^{72}\) have also produced notable insights into the chronology of Dynasties 16 and 17.

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\(^{65}\) The tomb of pharaoh Senebkay was uncovered at South Abydos by the University of Pennsylvania. The discovery has not yet been published but was released to the media by the Egyptian Ministry of State of Antiquities in January 2014. See N. el-Aref, ‘The Tomb of Abydos Dynasty King Found’, ahramonline, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/9/40/91651/Heritage/Ancient-Egypt/The-tomb-of-Abydos-dynasty-king-found-Gallery.aspx (accessed 18/01/2014).


\(^{69}\) Rhylot, Political Situation in Egypt, 94-117, 299-300.

\(^{70}\) As Franke writes, “the Fourteenth Dynasty seems to be chronologically “floating” and the extent and nature of its territorial power is unclear”. D. Franke, ‘The Late Middle Kingdom (Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties): The Chronological Framework’, Journal of Egyptian History 1/2 (2008), 274.


As the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period remains unclear, chronologically identifying the beginning of the Fifteenth Dynasty and its kings is problematic. Tell el-Dab’a’s excavation has identified the early Fifteenth Dynasty stratigraphically through slight changes in the material culture, but its beginning in the rest of Egypt is more difficult to assess. Similarly, the sequence of kings is hampered by their few archaeological attestations in secure and contemporary contexts. Damaged entries in the Turin King-List and a reliance on the Manethonian tradition have resulted in further discrepancies and several reconstructions. The length of Dynasty 15 is also unclear: the Turin King-List lists a total of 108 years while Manetho’s copyists record 190-284 years. Recent archaeological findings at Edfu have shed light on some aspects of the chronology. The Upper Egyptian site yielded sealings of Fifteenth Dynasty Khayen alongside those of mid-Thirteenth Dynasty Sobekhotep IV in a secure context containing early Second Intermediate Period ceramics. The discovery indicates that the reigns would have been close to one another. Accordingly, the length of the Fifteenth Dynasty could be altered while an overlap between the mid-Thirteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties may have existed. The find also emphasises that the chronology of the Second Intermediate Period is in no way fixed, but remains to be enhanced and refined by new archaeological data.

Studies in MBA chronology are faced with a dilemma regarding the emergence of the period following the end of the EBA. The MBA’s absolute dating is debated by scholars advocating a high, middle or low absolute chronology, the three closely linked with Egyptian and Mesopotamian chronologies. Albright was the first to propose an ultra-low chronology for the beginning of the MBIIA which he correlated with the Twelfth Dynasty. He encountered much objection due to his reliance on the finds at Byblos, many of which

73 For more on the names of the Hyksos kings, see Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 1.
74 Ryholt, Political Situation in Egypt, 118-119, fig. 11.
75 Manetho, Aegyptiaca, Frgs 43 (Syncellus, 113), 44 (Syncellus, 114; Eusebius, Chronica 1, 99), 46 (Syncellus, 116). Translation in Waddell, Manetho, 90-93.
76 N. Moeller and G. Marouard, ‘Discussion of Late Middle Kingdom and Early Second Intermediate History and Chronology in Relation to the Khayan Sealings from Tell Edfu’, A&L 11 (2011), 87-121. See Chapter 4.5.4.2.
are of uncertain date.\textsuperscript{80} Higher dates were supported by Gerstenblith,\textsuperscript{81} Kenyon,\textsuperscript{82} and Mazar,\textsuperscript{83} and a middle chronology was advocated by Dever.\textsuperscript{84} After excavating at Tell el-Dab’a, Bietak proposed a low chronology that synchronises the MBIIA with the Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties, MBIIA-B to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, and MBIB to the late Thirteenth and first half of the Fifteenth Dynasties (Table 3).\textsuperscript{85} Bietak relied on hemispherical cup seriation, MBA ceramic types, and scarabs, noting that the earliest MBIIA phase was not represented at Tell el-Dab’a.\textsuperscript{86} Disagreement ensued by Levantine scholars including Dever\textsuperscript{87} and Weinstein,\textsuperscript{88} but many have now accepted his dating.\textsuperscript{89} The low chronology has further been supported by the results of the SCIEM 2000 project that investigates the chronological correlations between the Mediterranean, Egyptian and Near Eastern civilisations.\textsuperscript{90} Pertinent material at, for instance, the Southern Levantine sites of Ashkelon\textsuperscript{91} and Tel IIfchar,\textsuperscript{92} and the Northern Levantine site of Sidon,\textsuperscript{93} corroborates the evidence from Tell el-Dab’a. As the SCIEM 2000 project is still underway, its final results are expected to clarify the chronology of the Hyksos dynasty. Nonetheless, it is the low chronology which is followed in this thesis.

\textsuperscript{80} For a discussion, see P. Gerstenblith, \textit{The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age}, American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series 5 (Winona Lake, 1983), 41, 103; W. G. Dever, ‘The Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age in Syria-Palestine’, in F. M. Cross, W. E. Lemke and P. D. Miller (eds), \textit{Magnolia Dei. The Mighty Acts of God} (Garden City, 1976), 1-38. For the finds at Byblos, see Chapter 6.3.3.

\textsuperscript{81} Gerstenblith, \textit{Levant at the Beginning of the MBA}.

\textsuperscript{82} K. M. Kenyon, \textit{Amorites and Canaanites} (London, 1966), 35.


\textsuperscript{86} Bietak, \textit{AJA} 88 (1984), 471.


\textsuperscript{91} See Chapter 6.2.2.

\textsuperscript{92} See Chapter 6.2.5.

\textsuperscript{93} See Chapter 6.3.7.
'I have subjugated lions and I have caught crocodiles. I have suppressed the $W\text{iw}.yw$ and I have caught the $M\text{dj}.yw$. I caused that the $St.tyw$ do the walk of the dogs.’

Instructions of Amenemhat, 68-70.

### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

A study on Egyptian-Levantine relations entails the differentiation between Egyptian elements and non-Egyptian elements. This idea of difference is a fundamental concept that forms a group’s identity, whether self-identified or applied by others. Chapter 3 presents theories on the idea of difference as reflected through ethnicity. It begins with a definition of the term and discusses how the Egyptians represented the concept of otherness. This is followed by comments on determining ethnicity through the analysis of archaeological remains as well as a brief overview of various approaches to cultural mixing.

### 3.2 DEFINING ETHNICITY

Although a modern term, ethnicity is not a modern concept. Derived from the Greek ‘ethnos’ to define a group of animals or humans sharing common attributes, the term is related to such concepts as ethnic identity and ethnic group. Ethnic identity is associated with an individual’s self-identification as a member of a broader ethnic group of people who define themselves (the ‘us’), or are defined by others (the ‘them’), by a set of environmental, cultural and physical characteristics and/or common descent. Accordingly, ethnicity is “all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity”.

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Ethnicity has been a subject of different anthropological approaches. The ‘primordialists’ distinguish ethnicity as an inherent social bond characterised by bounded ties of blood, religion, language, custom and territory. As the ties are a biological and psychological part of an ethnic identity, ethnicity would be a static, uniform, and naturalistic phenomenon. Primordialism has since been criticised for its simplified approach and failure to explain historical developments in ethnic groups. It was ousted by the ‘instrumentalists’, who propose that ethnicity is mutable, dynamic, self-defining and diachronically influenced by economic and socio-political relations. Individuals could display, manipulate or develop ethnicity in response to changing situations. This focus on self-interest was critiqued by some scholars, who stress the importance of an ethnic group and an individual’s psychological ties to it. Current theories instead attempt to fuse the primordial and instrumental approaches.

This thesis follows one of these theories, namely the minimalist approach of Hutchinson and Smith that interprets an ethnic group as one featuring six main elements in varying degrees: a common name; a myth of common ancestry; shared historical memories; common cultural elements; a link with a homeland; and a sense of solidarity.

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5 Shils, in Selected Papers, 111-126; Geertz, in Old Societies, 105-157; Hutchinson and Smith, in Ethnicity, 8.
9 Jones, Archaeology of Ethnicity, 76-79; Lucy, in Archaeology of Identity, 96-97; Smith, Wretched Kush, 6, 17-19.
11 Hutchinson and Smith, in Ethnicity, 6-7. Dever has also proposed a similar set of qualities in W. G. Dever, ‘Ethnicity and the Archaeological Record: The Case of Early Israel’, in D. R. Edwards
3.3 Ancient Egyptians on Ethnicity

Ethnicity’s inherent idea of difference, the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ concept, is well reflected in Egyptian textual and artistic representations of the other. The Egyptians defined themselves and the other by geographical borders: the Levantines were to the north and east, the Libyans were to the west, and the Nubians were to the south. Each group was assigned a proper name and a phenotype that would have been immediately recognisable to the Egyptians. Northeasterners were typically portrayed with yellow skin, a hooked nose, long or coiffed hair, a full beard, non-Egyptian weaponry and non-Egyptian dress. Textually, individuals were identified by their non-Egyptian names or with the ethonym ḫm, a term which may derive from the Semitic Ǝm ‘people’ or Egyptian ḫm ‘throw-stick’. ḫm was also utilised to designate the ethnic group(s) of Levantines. Other ethnonyms are concerned with environmental dispositions, such as ḫr.yw-Ṣ ḫm ‘those who are on/across the sand’, ḫ3s.tyw ḫm ‘those of the foreign lands’ and Ṣm.ī.w-Ṣ ḫm ‘those who traverse the sand’. A few ethnonyms are more open to interpretation due to uncertain derivation, and include Mnt.tyw, Pd.tyw, St.tyw and Twn.tyw.

Loprieno’s study on Egyptian literary representations of the foreign provides a useful differentiation between topos (rhetoric) and mimesis (reality). Topos denotes the idealised and stereotypical view of foreigners as inferior and subordinate ethnic groups. It

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14 For studies on the etymology of these names, see Helck, Die Beziehungen, 44-86; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2.
15 Also Ǝm ‘people’ as it is in Ugaritic and modern Arabic. Other suggestions are ʤm ‘Arab’ (the inclusion of the bet is problematic) and Akkadian ẖammu (utilised by Saretta to associate the group with the Amorites). See A. F. Rainey, ‘Review: Remarks on Donald Redford’s “Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times”’, BASOR 295 (1994), 81-82; D. B. Redford, ‘Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom’, JARCE 23 (1986), 127, n. 19; P. Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites in Art and Literature during the Middle Kingdom (PhD Dissertation, University of New York, 1997), 18-28.
16 For references, see Redford, JARCE 23 (1986), 127, n. 21.
17 For the different interpretations, see Redford, JARCE 23 (1986), 125; Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, 18-34.
19 Loprieno, Topos und Mimesis, 10-13.
was employed in cosmic, royal and elite power assertions to emphasise Egyptian solidarity and superiority, and highlight the king’s maintenance of cosmic *misʿ.t* ‘order’ within Egypt and *isf.t* ‘chaos’ within and beyond Egypt.\(^{20}\) *Mimesis* represents the reality and individuality of situational encounters with foreigners,\(^ {21}\) who, for instance, could be included in lists of Egyptian household members. Despite the dichotomy, the two representations could be manipulated according to purpose and context. When this is not identified, it could result in Liszka’s so-called ‘secondary ethnocentrism’, where present-day scholars often and involuntarily absorb and perpetuate Egyptian views.\(^ {22}\)

This is apparent in instances where representations of Asiatics have been utilised to validate theories on Egyptian-Levantine relations with little reflection on their nature and context.\(^ {23}\) An example is Redford’s selective interpretation of textual references where he notes bellicose activity rather than inherent ideological dogma to justify punitive action against the Levant.\(^ {24}\) This approach is largely inspired by early theories of Egyptian empirical control over the Levant,\(^ {25}\) as well as notions reliant on biblical patriarchal traditions.\(^ {26}\) The concept of the other was also uncritically utilised to support the notion that all Levantines were nomadic herdsmen entering Egypt as refugees or slaves.\(^ {27}\) Weinstein’s processual study proposes that the Levant was “*an economic, political, and military backwater*”\(^ {28}\) while


\(^{22}\) Liszka, *Medjay and Pangrave*, 76.


\(^{24}\) The selectivity is apparent when, in discussion of the Instructions of Amenemhat I and its comparison of Asiatics with dogs, Redford clearly notes that the text reflects ideologically kingly duties. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 75-76.


\(^{26}\) Genesis 12:10 and 42:1, for example, record a famine in the land of Canaan that led to the patriarchs’ journey from Canaan to the powerful and more stable Egypt.


\(^{28}\) J. M. Weinstein, ‘Egyptian Relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom’, *BASOR* 217 (1975), 9.
the term ‘bedouin’ is still used by scholars to refer to Asiatics.29 This particular misnomer has led Saretta to identify the ḫm.w as nomadic, warlike, uncivilised breeders of cattle who can consequently be related to the Mesopotamian Amuru, despite her lengthy treatment on Egyptian representations of the foreign.30 Because of such inaccuracies, this thesis offers a reappraisal of textual and artistic evidence by acknowledging Egyptian and modern understandings of ethnicity and its varied representations.

3.4 Ethnicity in Archaeology

If representations of Asiatics are influenced by Egyptian beliefs of the other, then the archaeological data may provide less subjective traces of ethnic groups. Scholars initially adhered to a culture-history and primordialist approach that identified fixed artefact assemblages as markers for the presence of the people who produced them (i.e. the pots equal people concept).31 The assemblages were thereby used to support ethnic groups’ migration, assimilation or disappearance,32 as in the aforementioned ‘Hyksos culture’ of Chapter 2.2. Processual archaeologists and instrumentalists refuted this association and inferred that archaeology could not be productively used as a means to assess ethnicity: the multidimensional nature of a flexible ethnic identity would theoretically result in a qualitatively and quantitatively varied material culture that would be impossible to trace.33 Jones contrarily proposed that ethnicity could be identified in archaeology.34 She demonstrated that its implied cultural traits would not be randomly deposited within socio-historical contexts.35

29 Albright, BASOR 184 (1966), 26-35; Redford, Egypt, Canaan, and Israel, 82-93; D. B. Redford, ‘A Response to Anson Rainey’s “Remarks on Donald Redford’s Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times”’, BASOR 301 (1996), 77-81; A. F. Rainey, ‘The World of Sinuhe’, IOS 2 (1972), 369-408; Rainey, BASOR 295 (1994); M. Bártá, Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs (Prague, 2003), 177-184; Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, 63-65, 70, 105.
30 Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, especially 65-66.
31 For an overview of culture-history, see Jones, Archaeology of Ethnicity, 15-29.
32 An example is Petrie’s ‘dynastic race’ that founded the Egyptian civilisation in W. M. F. Petrie, Prehistoric Egypt (London, 1920). For more, see Jones, Archaeology of Ethnicity, 26-29; Lucy, in Archaeology of Identity, 86, 88, 91; Smith, Wretched Kush, 14-15.
34 Jones, Archaeology of Ethnicity, 119-127.
35 Jones, Archaeology of Ethnicity, 125. As also argued in K. A. Kamp and N. Yoffee, ‘Ethnicity in Ancient Western Asia during the Early Second Millennium B.C.: Archaeological Assessments and Ethnoarchaeological Prospectives’, BASOR 237 (1980), 85-104.
CHAPTER 3: ETHNICITY AND ITS REPRESENTATION

The minimalist approach to ethnicity that is favoured here acknowledges that these traits or *ethnic markers* embrace objects, their function, and their contexts. They can be divided into material reflecting ritual custom (e.g. temple architecture or offering pits), funerary belief (e.g. grave goods or body disposition), culinary practices (e.g. utilitarian ceramics or organic products), foreign dress (e.g. toggle-pins for one-shouldered fringed garments) and private and communal architecture. In regards to the Hyksos and Asictics in Egypt, some archaeological markers are open to various interpretations. For instance, simple or double vaulted mudbrick tombs have been identified as Hyksos or MBA constructions. While rare in Egypt, Schiestl has recently argued that barrel and domical vaults may be traced to Old Kingdom traditions. Intra-mural burials in Egypt, including those of infants, have similarly been approached as Levantine or ‘Hyksos traditions’. The customs were indeed practiced in the MBA Levant; however some cases in Predynastic, Old and Middle Kingdom sites such as Merimde, Tell Basta and el-Lahun suggest that they were also known in Egypt. Only when such customs occur with other MBA elements, such as an MBA funerary kit, can the burial be more definitively assessed as one of a Levantine ethnic group.

Another example is the so-called ‘Hyksos tradition’ of the burial of equids. These interments occur at such Fifteenth Dynasty Eastern Delta sites as Tell el-Dab’a, Tell el-Maskhuta and Tell el-Yahudiyyah, but also at Levantine sites like Tell el-‘Ajjul, Jemmeh and

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38 E. C. M. van den Brink, *Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a and their Cultural Relationship to Syria-Palestine during the Second Intermediate Period*, Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien 23 (Vienna, 1982).
39 R. Schiestl, ‘Tomb Types and Layout of a Middle Bronze IIA Cemetery at Tell el-Dab’a, Area F/1. Egyptian and Non-Egyptian Features’, in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds), *The Bronze Age in the Lebanon: Studies on the Archaeology and Chronology of Lebanon, Syria and Egypt*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 50 (Vienna, 2008), 246-250.
42 See, respectively, Chapters 4.2.2, 4.2.7 and 4.2.11.
Jericho, and the Mesopotamian Tell Brak, Kish and Ur. Wapnish correctly affirms that the practice is a region-wide MBA to LBA phenomenon, with each expression being “both a syncretism and an innovation”. This explains the lack of exact parallels for equid burials in the Eastern Delta, and implies other ethnic, cultic or religious associations with equids. From an Egyptian perspective, the donkey is connected to Seth, but from a Levantine, Anatolian and Mesopotamian perspective, equids are associated with socio-economic status, particularly as they are typically ridden by the elite. Mari texts refer to their slaughter for treaty ratification and Ugaritic texts note their sacrificial offering to deities such as Baal and El. Therefore, the equid burials, their function and their context suggest that they reflect a hybrid tradition (see below) in which Seth, possibly synonymous with Baal, is honoured with equid interments that also express status and, perhaps, an association with trade. The archaeological, cultic and religious elements of such a tradition thereby support its use as a marker for cultural mixing (see below) rather than the presence of Hyksos rulers. However, if it occurs with other goods such as Levantine ceramics, scarabs and weaponry, the combined assemblage may be critically used as an archaeological ethnic marker.

The burial of equids, as with other cultic, culinary or architectural traditions, can represent opportunities to reinforce ethnic identity. While not all cultural elements are ethnic markers, determining agent and activity can evidently help identify ethnicity. Based on its

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44 Wapnish, in Hyksos, 360.


48 For similar propositions, see Maeir, DE 14 (1989), 64; Way, Donkeys in the Biblical World, 39.

49 Smith, Wretched Kush, 7.

50 Smith, Wretched Kush, 7.

51 Culture is regarded as a set of cognitive and socially transmitted ideas, values and understandings that contribute to the formation of ethnicity while the latter is demarcated from culture by its idea of difference. For more, see Jones, Archaeology of Ethnicity, 119-120; Smith, Wretched Kush, 17-18; S. T. Smith, ‘Ethnicity and Culture’, in T. Wilkinson (ed.), The Egyptian World (London and New York, 2007), 218-241; R. Ballard, ‘Race, Ethnicity and Culture’, in M. Holborn (ed.), New Directions in Sociology (Omskirk, 2002), 93-124; Kamp and Yoffee, BASOR 237 (1980), 96-97.
idea of difference, ethnicity becomes more pronounced in areas of contact, like the Eastern Delta, and instances of environmental, economic or historical shifts, such as those witnessed during the Second Intermediate Period. As such, an investigation employing archaeology for the study of ethnicity must rely on provenanced and contextual material, as followed in this thesis, and take into account theories of cultural mixing.

3.5 When Ethnic Groups Interact: Theories of Cultural Mixing

Ethnic identities are not only more apparent in areas of contact, but their cultural elements are also subject to change. The nature and rate of change has been determined by several terms in the literature. Due to their vast number, not all are examined here. Nevertheless, three pertinent concepts are briefly discussed below.

Acculturation

Acculturation is a multi-faceted process through which individuals adopt cultural elements of their host country (the ‘dominant’ group). It embraces several degrees beginning with the use of the dominant group’s material goods and resulting in the assumption of its beliefs and, lastly, ethnic identity. Individual and group acculturation vary: individuals may be acculturated rapidly for private gain or if isolated in a dominant group; and non-dominant groups require a willingness and ability to acculturate in a majority group that favourably receives them. The non-dominant group could subsequently have two ethnic

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54 Schneider, in *Egyptian Archaeology*, 145.


identities, choosing to express one or the other according to changing circumstances. Schneider utilises the theory of acculturation to explain the growing population of Asiatics and shifts in their textual representation. However, he interprets the preservation of cultural elements as ‘relics’ of ‘symbolic ethnicity’ rather than as an expression of an individual’s multi-ethnic identity.

**Hybridity**

In social sciences, hybridity refers to individuals or groups of diverse origins that are reflexively and self-consciously mixed. Stockhammer suggests that the process leading to this mixed identity, or entanglement, results in new materially entangled objects reflecting elements of diverse origins, such as the possible religious and cultic affiliations discussed in the abovementioned equid burials. Egyptologists favour the terms ‘hybridised’ or ‘hybrid’ objects to identify the fusion of different cultural elements, such as those at Tell el-Dab’a.

**Creolisation**

Creolisation refers to the “social encounter and mutual influence between/among two or several groups” that result in a dynamic exchange of cultural elements and, eventually, new creole qualities. First used to describe the cultural mixing at Carribean colonies and plantations, the creole culture is relatively stable and often pervasive, commonly based in trade zones where new allegiances are developed. Creoles, or individuals utilising creole cultural elements, are of mixed origins and ethnic groups and assume the creole identity in a variety of ways: by birth; achievement; or force. Unlike acculturation, there are no dominant groups as creolisation is the outcome of reciprocal cultural, political and

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58 Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 316-338; Schneider, A&L 8 (2003), 155-161; Schneider, in Egyptian Archaeology, 144-146.
59 Schneider, in Egyptian Archaeology, 145.
60 The term is a biological one referring to the cross-breeding of two different species. Bader, Archaeological Review from Cambridge 28/1 (2013), 261; Eriksen, in Creolization, 172.
63 Eriksen, in Creolization, 172-173.
65 Eriksen, in Creolization, 175.
commercial interactions. Bader’s most recent study posits that hybridity and creolisation are almost synonymous and may be represented by elements at Tell el-Dab’a. She infers that the process of creolisation is countered by Dynasty 15’s dominance in Egypt and Avaris’s role as a core rather than a periphery area. Nonetheless, the concept could provide some insight into the social mechanisms that may have occurred during the period leading to Hyksos rule, when no particular dominant group held power.

This thesis explores the evidence in view of these three processes and their insight into the interaction of different cultures. Worthy of note is that an ethnic group could experience all three processes at various stages. Section 2’s assessment could thereby offer some insight into the connection between ethnicity, its expression, and its relation to cultural mixing.

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67 Bader, in *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28/1 (2013), 262, 277-278. For more on the similarities between hybridity and creolisation, see Abrahams, in *Creolization as Cultural Creativity*, 287-291.

Section 2
4.1 INTRODUCTION

Identifying Levantine ethnic markers in a largely Egyptian context necessitates an assessment of the various sites and locations deemed by scholars to be ‘Hyksos settlements’ or to have a Levantine presence. To assess the spread of Levantines and their culture across Egyptian terrain, sites are divided into four geographical regions including the Delta, the Memphite region, Middle Egypt and Upper Egypt (Maps 1-2). Each site is examined chronologically to identify (a) the emergence of an Asiatic culture; (b) possible shifts in the number of Asiaties; (c) possible changes in the status of Asiaties; and (d) Levantine influence. A selection of unprovenanced texts, such as the Tale of Sinuhe or Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, are included at the end of this chapter for their unique insight into Egyptian-Levantine relations as well as their reliance by scholars.

Sites with little evidence of contact (for instance, a few Tell el-Yahudiyyah vessels or scarabs with Levantine designs) are not included. Such artefacts most probably reached their destination via the flow of traded goods and therefore should not be confused with ethnic markers. A few exceptions are examined due to their frequent treatment in the literature. These include Mostagedda and Deir Rifeh, two sites theorised to be on the border between the northern and southern dynasties, but each with different political affiliations.

The sites are listed alphabetically, their geographical location provided in Map 2. Each entry includes the location of the site by Latitude and Longitude (Lat.Lon.), a list of selected references (Refs) as well as a general temporal placement within the investigated period utilising the Egyptian chronology (Chron.). This is followed by a succinct description of each location with a summary of the evidence relating to a possible Asiatic presence, Levantine influences and the Egyptian treatment of Levantines. Depending on both their significance and publication, some finds will be analysed in greater detail than others. This presents one major difficulty encountered during the compilation of this chapter, which was largely determined by the publication of archaeological reports. Some sites noted to have elements
of a ‘Hyksos culture’, such as Tell el-Kabir,\(^1\) Ghita (Tell Yehud),\(^2\) Tell Fawziya and Tell Geziret el-Faras,\(^3\) have no published material.

A similar case can be discerned for the Wadi Tumilat. The Wadi is situated between the Delta and the Sinai Peninsula, an area which, following an initial survey and consequent excavations by the University of Toronto, proved to be most fruitful in relation to MBA materials.\(^4\) Out of the 21 sites recorded to have remnants dating to the Second Intermediate Period,\(^5\) only a few have been excavated and it is understood that only one has been reasonably published (Tell el-Maskhuta). It is useful to note that other sites may include significant remnants of a non-Egyptian culture, such as Tell el-Ku’a and Qaudrant 25 at Birak el-Nazzazat.\(^6\) Again, due to the lack of published evidence, these sites cannot be examined in this investigation. Therefore, complete publications and further archaeological work on the Wadi Tumilat and other regions in Egypt would significantly add to this thesis’s findings.

The criteria for dating a number of artefacts and texts are not as refined as for other periods in Egyptian history. Some of the evidence investigated in the following pages could only be assigned to the general period of the late Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period which, despite the shortcomings, still provides a wealth of evidence for the circumstances influencing the rise of the Fifteenth Dynasty. To observe chronological correlations, parallels with Levantine(-influenced) artefacts from sites comprising well-excavated stratigraphic sequences, such as Tell el-Dab’a, are included where possible.

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4.2  DELTA REGION

4.2.1  Basta, Tell (Bubastis)

Lat. Lon.  30°34′N 30°31′E

Refs  LÅ 1, 873-874; PM 4, 27-35; Naville, Bubastis; Habachi, Tell Basta; Farid, ASAE 58 (1964), 85-98; el-Sawi, Excavations at Tell Basta; van Siclen III, in Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen kongresses, 187-194; van Siclen III, in Haus und Palast, 239-246; Tietze and Abd el-Maksoud, Tell Basta.

Chron.  Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasty

Tell Basta lies south of the northeastern Delta, between the Pelusiac and Tanitic branch and the beginning of Wadi Tumilat. Several excavations have been directed by Naville,7 Habachi,8 Farid,9 el-Sawi10 and, more recently, Tietze.11 Despite being the finding location of several Hyksos monuments,12 archaeological remains pointing to a foreign culture are minimal. In fact, what van Siclen has described as evidence for “the increasing influence of and intrusion by the foreigners in the area”,13 is heavily reliant on an interpretative exploration of data, including: a scarab of the king’s son Nehsy in the Mayoral cemetery; the name of Mayor Maheshotep’s daughter, Iunisetekh, which features the element ‘Seth’; the destruction of the Mayor’s Residence by fire during the early Thirteenth Dynasty; and two Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglets from a burial (Figure 4.1).

Firstly, the scarab of Nehsy, which remains unpublished in detail,14 only testifies to the scarab’s use as a funerary item.15 Secondly, the name Iunisetekh and the reverence to Seth support other material from the site for the worship of Seth, which can be traced back to at

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8  L. Habachi, Tell Basta, Supplément aux ASAE 22 (Cairo, 1957).
9  Farid, ASAE 58 (1964), 85-98.
12  The so-called Hyksos monuments of Khayan and Apophis. See PM 4, 28-29; Tietze and Abd el-Maksoud, Tell Basta, 51.
15  Based on its find-spot in a Middle Kingdom cemetery, van Siclen has dated the scarab to the period before the fall of the Middle Kingdom, thus giving support to the argument that the king’s son Nehsy belongs to this era rather than the late Second Intermediate Period. Van Siclen III, in Haus und Palast, 245.
least Amenemhet III’s reign.\textsuperscript{16} Thirdly, the destruction of the largest administrative palace in the Delta following the last mayor, Maheshotep, during early Dynasty 13, can only reveal political turmoil, the instigators of which are unknown. More significant is that the palace remained deserted,\textsuperscript{17} suggesting a power shift in the region from Tell Basta to another site, most probably Tell el-Dab’a. However, Burial 9’s Tell el-Yahudiya juglets (Figure 4.1), a globular vessel\textsuperscript{18} and a piriform vessel,\textsuperscript{19} point to access to foreign commodities. Based on the vessels’ styles, the simple pit grave would coincide with Tell el-Dab’a’s stratum E/2, or early Dynasty 15.\textsuperscript{20} Other Second Intermediate Period tombs were unearthed at the site, but none appear to contain any indicators of a foreign populace.\textsuperscript{21}

This evidence suggests political changes in the Delta region. Tell Basta continued in its function as a cultic centre for the worship of Bastet, but its role as administrative centre significantly altered. The shift in power may be dated to Mayor Maheshotep’s rule, after which the Mayor’s Residence was abandoned and the first signs of imported goods begin to appear. In view of the political events of the time,\textsuperscript{22} this may be interpreted as evidence of a schism between the capital Itjtawy and the Delta during the early Thirteenth Dynasty.

\textsuperscript{16} This is evident in a lintel from the Middle Kingdom Mayor’s Residence upon which a Seth animal is depicted to be offering life to Amenemhet III in celebration of his Heb-sed festival. Farid, \textit{ASAE} 58 (1964), 94-95; Tietze and Abd el-Maksoud, \textit{Tell Basta}, 19 (top figure).

\textsuperscript{17} Although some theorise that the building was intended for royalty, the architecture of the palace points to an administrative function. It includes a storage area, a colonnaded courtyard (perhaps for public use) and a private residential area. Also, the nearby cemetery with tombs of individuals holding the \textit{k3ny}-\textsuperscript{2} title highly suggests that the palace was for counts, or mayors, rather than royalty. See van Siclen III, in \textit{Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologen kongresses}, 193-194, pl. 1; van Siclen III, in \textit{Haus und Palast}, 245-246, figs 1, 3, 5, 8; W. Grajetzki, \textit{The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: History, Archaeology and Society} (London, 2006), 131; B. J. Kemp, \textit{Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization} (2\textsuperscript{nd} edition, London and New York, 2006), 341, fig. 117.

\textsuperscript{18} Item no. 1535. Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Group L.9. The vessel finds parallels with a globular juglet from Tomb 77 at Tell el-Yahudiya. Aston and Bietak, \textit{TeD} 8, 254-257, fig. 189; M. F. Kaplan, \textit{The Origin and Distribution of Tell el Yahudiya Ware}, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 62 (Gothenburg, 1980), 18, fig. 18 [d].

\textsuperscript{19} Item no. 1536. The juglet is similar to others from el-Khata’na and Tell el-Dab’a (Tomb A/II-e/12-Nr 2, item 170). Kaplan, \textit{Tell el-Yahudiye}, 19-22, figs 48 [a, f], 50 [f].

\textsuperscript{20} Bietak, \textit{BASOR} 281 (1991), fig. 12; Kopetzky, in \textit{Bronze Age in the Lebanon}, 212, figs 2, 16-17.

\textsuperscript{21} The publication of tomb finds does not provide enough detail for further examination. However, van der Brink reports that Tell Basta comprised of several tombs with indicators of an MBA culture. van der Brink, \textit{Tombs and Burial Customs}, 57.

\textsuperscript{22} Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation}; Grajetzki, \textit{Middle Kingdom}, 66-68.
4.2.2 Dab’a, Tell el- (Avaris)

Lat.Lon.  30°47’N  31°50’E


Chron.  Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty

Tell el-Dab’a, a term used here for the tell itself as well as its surrounding district, is located north of Faqus in the northeastern Delta. Results from geological and geophysical surveys indicate its position near the Pelusiac branch of the Nile 24 (Figure 4.2) and the presence of three possible harbours: 25 one located in the centre of the district; another to the south (F/II); and a third to the north near ‘Ezbet Rushdi. 26 Such strategic positioning would have given the site’s inhabitants access to land-based, river-based and sea-based trading routes. The site was partially excavated by Naville, 27 Habachi 28 and Adam 29 and, since 1966, has been continuously excavated by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in Cairo and the Institute of Egyptology of the University of Vienna. 30 The excavations uncovered the remains of a city dating from at least the First to the Third Intermediate Periods (Figure 4.3) and spanning an area of approximately 1,200 hectares. 31 It is because of the magnitude of such a settlement, as well as its material remains, that the city’s identification with Avaris, capital of the Hyksos, is now widely accepted by Egyptologists. 32

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23 For a more extensive list of site publications, see The Tell el-Dab’a homepage, http://www.auaris.at/html/bibliographie_en.html (accessed 20/02/2012).
26 Forstner-Müller, in *Cities and Urbanism*, 12.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

The Austrian Archaeological Institute’s archaeological research at Tell el-Dab’a is the best documented work for the Delta between the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. Due to the vast number of publications and studies relating to each area, only evidence from strata dating from the Twelfth to the early Fifteenth Dynasty (i.e. N/2-3 to E/1 of the site’s general stratigraphy; Figure 4.3) are summarised here. Evidence pertaining to Asiatic presence are examined for each excavated area.\(^33\) This is then followed by a section reviewing scientific analysis on Levantine-style ceramics.

4.2.2.1 Area R/I (‘Ezbet Rushdi’)

‘Ezbet Rushdi is situated to the northeast of Tell el-Dab’a (Figure 4.2). Remains of two Egyptian-style structures deduced to be a temple and an administrative building have been unearthed.\(^34\) The former contained a stela of Senwosret III naming the site as \(\text{Hw.t-Imn-m-h3.t-m3-tn.t-r3-w3.ty} \) ‘district of Amenemhat, justified, of the beginning of the two roads’.\(^35\) The temple’s construction is dated to Senwosret III’s reign while earlier strata possibly date between the reigns of Senwosret I and Amenemhat II.\(^36\)

The earlier remains were of structures that underwent at least four distinct phases of renovation corresponding to the early Twelfth Dynasty (strata e/1-4 and d; Figure 4.3).\(^37\) Within these strata are the earliest MBA ceramics from the Tell el-Dab’a district. These include locally-made holemouth cooking pots\(^38\) and Levantine Painted Ware jugs, of which

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\(^33\) It should be noted that, despite extensive publications, the analyses of evidence from individual strata and phases are still meagre compared to general studies and publications assessing artefact developments. This examination is structured differently than the majority of publications on Tell el-Dab’a to help provide a more complete representation of each stratum.


\(^35\) Adam, ASAE 56 (1959), pl. 9.


\(^37\) Bagh, TeD 23, 15, 28.

\(^38\) The origins of these cooking pots are disputed yet it is possible that the form was appropriated from the Levantine holemouth cooking pots. For more, see E. Czerny, ‘Egyptian Pottery from Tell el-Dab’a as a Context for Early MBA Painted Ware’, in M Bietak (ed.), The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant. Proceedings of an International Conference on MBA Ceramic Material in Vienna, 24th-26th of January 2001, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Denkschriften der Gesamtagakademie 26 (Vienna, 2002), 138, fig. 23; D. A. Aston, ‘Ceramic Imports at Tell el-Dab’a during the Middle Bronze IIa’, in M. Bietak (ed.), The Middle Bronze Age in the Levant. Proceedings of an International Conference on MBA Ceramic Material. Vienna, 24th-26th of January 2001, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Denkschriften der
the earliest fragments occur in stratum e/4. Early Levantine Painted Ware dipper juglets ascribe to the MBIIA globular shape with monochrome red horizontal band decoration. Such forms find their closest parallels with those from el-Lisht, Kom el-Hisn and Byblos. Syro-Palestinian store-jars contribute 15% of the entire assemblage. This figure increases to 85% as more amphorae fragments are found in strata contemporary with the temple (strata c-a). Levantine Painted Wares in these later strata are mostly of the slender type, which similarly occur at Byblos. So, the MBIIA ceramics point to trade with the Levantine coast, particularly Byblos, during the first half of Dynasty 12. In view of Senwosret III’s stela, the finds agree with the site’s designation as a r*t-3.l.ty or a destination of merging routes.

4.2.2.2 Area R/III

Magnetic surveys and salvage excavations have been carried out in Area R/III, east of ‘Ezet Rushdi. The results have so far revealed a densely settled area with complexes consisting of courtyards, silos and ovens. The first occupation layers are of the early Fifteenth Dynasty, from which Kerma Ware and a sealing impression of Khayan were found. Other unpublished seal impressions of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period have also been uncovered, suggesting an added administrative function to Area R/III.


Bagh, TeD 23, 43-45, fig. 15 [a, b, q].


Bagh, in MBA in the Levant, 96, fig. 4.

Bagh, in MBA in the Levant, 96, fig. 3.

Bagh, in MBA in the Levant, 96.

Bagh, in MBA in the Levant, 96, fig. 2 [11-14]; Bagh, TeD 23, 43, fig. 15 [k].

Bagh, in MBA in the Levant, fig. 4 [8].


4.2.2.3 Area F/I

Southwest of ‘Ezbet Rushdi lies the partly excavated Area F/I (Figure 4.2), which yielded remains from the late Eleventh to the Fifteenth Dynasty (Figure 4.3).50

Stratum e/I-3: Late Eleventh to early Twelfth Dynasty

A planned Egyptian settlement is found in this stratum.51 Fragments of coarse, handmade cooking pots, possibly flat-bottomed, of MBI type occur.52 Although comparatively rare, the presence of such cooking pots has been explained to indicate contact with bedouins in the Delta who apparently favoured the use of handmade pots over holemouth wheel-made vessels.53 Such a designation, however, is questionable, especially as handmade cooking pots were in use by peoples in urban contexts across the Levantine region from the EBIV period.54 Therefore, the presence of the handmade cooking pots need not only be interpreted as evidence of bedouins but can denote the existence of a non-Egyptian MBI element in F/I.

Stratum d/2: Late Twelfth Dynasty

Following a brief hiatus, F/I was resettled and rectangular mudbrick residences were constructed.55 Among the latter are those which follow the architecture of the Northern Levantine Breitraumhaus (broad-room house) and Mittelsaalhaus (middle-room house) (Figure 4.4),56 which were constructed in such EBA settlements as Arad57 and Meser58 in the Southern Levant, and Titriş Höyük,59 Tel Brak60 and Byblos61 in the Northern Levant, with

51 Czerny, TeD 9; Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 31.
55 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 32.
58 G. H. Wright, Ancient Building in South Syria and Palestine (Leiden, 1985), 286.
60 P. Akkermans and G. M. Schwartz, The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c. 16,000-300 BC) (Cambridge, 2003), fig. 8 [26].
61 Y. M. Bou-Assaf, ‘Organisation architecturale à Byblos (Liban) au Bronze Ancien’, in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds), The Bronze Age in the Lebanon: Studies on the Archaeology and
the contemporary MBA palace at Mari bearing similar Mittelsaalhaus elements. Pottery from the settlement features approximately 20% MBIIA forms including Syro-Palestinian store-jars, carinated bowls, and a fragment of an imported ovoid Tell el-Yahudiyyah jug.

South of the Mittelsaalhaus are two cemeteries in which the majority of excavated tombs follow the typical Middle Kingdom types of simple or multiple brick chambers. The tombs bear burial customs which appear to be foreign: the deposition of donkeys and caprids in pits that are either directly or indirectly related to the tombs; the contraction of bodies; silver bracelets on right forearms; and the inclusion of bronzes, particularly weapons, in 50% of adult male burials. Tomb o/19-Nr 8, for example, is a mudbrick vaulted chamber with an entrance pit containing the skeletal remains of an adult female donkey, a kid and a lamb (Figure 4.5). Grave goods include two socketted copper spearheads, a decorated bronze belt and a fenestrated axe. They parallel mostly MBIIA and MBIIA-B forms. Pottery remains from the tomb are of local forms and fabrics, suggesting that the tomb owner is either an acculturated Asiatic, or a Levantine-influenced Egyptian. The same may be the case for the majority of the stratum’s inhabitants considering the combined evidence from the settlement and the cemetery. If house architecture bears witness to ethnicity, then it may be surmised that the late Twelfth Dynasty at Tell el-Dab’a featured a number of Northern Levantines living and possibly working in the region. A funerary tradition associated with weaponry is also apparent.

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Chronology of Lebanon, Syria and Egypt, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtkademeie 50 (Vienna, 2008), fig. 3.


Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 32.

Only fragments of store-jar rims have been identified. Aston, in MBA in the Levant, figs 5-6.

Levantine Painted Ware fragments were also uncovered within the area of the Mittelsaalhaus, although in secondary contexts. Aston, in MBA in the Levant, fig. 13 [1]; Bagh, TeD 23, 53-54, figs 16 [a, b], 17 [b-f], 18 [a-d], 19 [b], 21 [c]. Parallels are found at ‘Afula, Byblos and Ginosar. Bagh, TeD 23, 51-52, fig. 17 [1].

R. Schiestl, ‘Tomb Types and Layout of a Middle Bronze IIA Cemetery at Tell el-Dab’a, Area F/1. Egyptian and Non-Egyptian Features’, in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds), The Bronze Age in the Lebanon: Studies on the Archaeology and Chronology of Lebanon, Syria and Egypt, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtkademeie 50 (Vienna, 2008), fig. 2.


Philip, TeD 15, 332, fig. 2.

Philip, TeD 15, 332-337.

Philip, TeD 15, 33, 138.

Schiestl chooses to assign the burial to the “ethnic group of Šm.w or Asiatics”. R. Schiestl, ‘The Statue of an Asiatic Man from Tell el-Dab’a, Egypt’, A&L 16 (2006), 173.
**Stratum d/1: Early Thirteenth Dynasty**

A large sand-brick compound was erected atop the Mittelsaalhaus of the preceding phase (Figure 4.6).\(^{73}\) The Egyptian-style complex encompassed two residential units, a large pillared courtyard and a ‘reception’ room with numerous subsidiary rooms.\(^{74}\) The architecture and layout of the earlier stratum’s structures were evidently recognised by builders who, for instance, constructed a courtyard atop stratum d/2 tombs in an attempt to restrict structural damage to the earlier interments.\(^{75}\) Tombs of stratum d/1 are located south of the complex but, unlike those of the former level, are positioned in the gardens of the compound in up to five parallel rows.\(^{76}\) Despite this difference, a direct architectural relation between the late Twelfth Dynasty and early Thirteenth Dynasty may be surmised, indicating a plausible link between the occupants of stratum d/2 and d/1.

The function of stratum d/1’s compound, however, may not be connected with the Mittelsaalhaus of the earlier stratum. Some have interpreted the complex’s large dimensions as evidence of its palatial function and argue for its possible use by Thirteenth Dynasty ruler Sehotepibra Hornedjheritef whose seated statue was apparently found at the site.\(^{77}\) In actuality, the statue was uncovered prior to Bietak’s excavations from an uncertain context.\(^{78}\) Although damaged, it features inscriptions bearing the king’s epithets as well as his nomen, \(\text{ɛ}m.w/\text{Km}1.w-\text{s}Hr-nq-hr-it=f\) ‘Son of \(\text{ɛ}m.w/\text{Km}1.w,\) Hornedjheritef’.\(^{79}\)

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\(^{73}\) Eigner, JÖAI 56 (1985), 19-25.

\(^{74}\) Bietak, Avaris, 21, fig. 18, pls 5-6.

\(^{75}\) Bietak, Avaris, 21-22.

\(^{76}\) Bietak, Avaris, 21-22, fig. 18; Schiestl, in MBA in the Levant, 341. For more on these tombs, refer to Schiestl, TeD 18.


\(^{78}\) L., Habachi, ‘Khatâ’na-Qantîr: Importance’, ASAE 52 (1954), 460, pl. 9.

\(^{79}\) Scholars are divided on the reading of \(\text{ɛ}m.w/\text{Km}1.w\) as \(\text{ɛ}m.w\) or \(\text{km}1.w\). A few attestations of the glyphs occur at, for instance, Dashur (in a pyramid of a Ameny-\(\text{ɛ}m.w/\text{Km}1.w\), el-Harageh (on a coffin of \(\text{ɛ}m.w/\text{Km}1.w\)), and el-Atawla (on a block with the name of the king attested on the Tell el-Dab’a piece). Due to the ambiguities, the items are not explored in this work. For more, see Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 7-11, 48; Quirke, in Middle Kingdom Studies, 129; Bietak, A&L 2 (1991), 71; G. Scandone-Matthiae, ‘The Relations between Ebla and Egypt’, in E. D. Oren (ed.), The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives, University Museum Monograph 96 (Philadelphia, 1997), 418-420; Ryholt, Political Situation, 214; K. S. B. Ryholt, ‘Hotepibre, a Supposed Asiatic King in Egypt with Relations to Ebla’, BASOR 311 (1998), 1-6; V. Maragiglio and C. Rinaldi, ‘Note pulla piramide di Ameny “Aamu”’, Orientalia 37 (1968), 325-338; N. Swelim and A. Dodson, ‘On the Pyramid of Ameny-Qemau and its Canopic Equipment’,
Based on the accompanying epithet mry PtH rs.t inb=f ‘beloved of Ptah-South-of-his-Wall’, the statue may have originated from Memphis. As such, it cannot be used as a chronological indicator for the complex’s construction.

The compound is more similar to an Egyptian residence than a palace. The size of the pillared courtyard and ‘reception’ room might indicate a political or administrative purpose, the functionaries of which could have been the owners of the tombs attached to the compound’s gardens. The same may be the case for Tell Basta’s Mayoral residence.

One major find from the complex’s northern wing is a haematite cylinder seal (Figure 4.7). The seal’s design incorporates a striding figure standing with each foot placed above a mountain. Slightly inclined forward, the figure holds a mace in his left hand and an axe in his right. The axe, which is held directly before his face, has a longitudinal extension with two horizontal lines possibly denoting the fenestrations of a duckbill axe-head or an earlier type of Egyptian axe. Although contemporary Levantine seals indicate the widespread use of the smiting stance motif in cylinder seal designs, the figure’s forward inclination ascribes more to Egyptian renditions. Behind the figure is a bull with its head bent forward as if in attacking pose. It stands on a guilloche, below which a seated lion extends one paw towards a sinuous serpent slithering its body on a platform or dais. Above the lion is a simplified cutting of a bird, whereas behind the lion is a stylised sailboat rowed by two individuals. The area above

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Matthiae, in Hyksos, 418-420; von Beckerath, Zwischenzeit, 39, 231; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 7-11, 48.


See above, Chapter 4.2.1 and n. 17.

Bietak, Avaris, 26-29, fig. 25; E. Porada, ‘The Cylinder Seal from Tell el-Dab’a’, AJA 88 (1984), 485.


Porada, AJA 88 (1984), pl. 65 [2].

For the interpretation of the platform as a dais or throne, see Porada, AJA 88 (1984), 487, n. 8.

Porada notes that the bird could be a composite mythological creature of a bird and fish. Porada, AJA 88 (1984), 487, n. 9.
the sailboat preserves the end of a wing, either of a sun-disc or bird,\footnote{Porada, A\textit{A} 88 (1984), 485.} with an animal\footnote{The animal may be a goat. Porada, A\textit{A} 88 (1984), 485.} underneath it pointing its head downwards as if falling toward the sailboat.

All elements of this seal exert a symbolic association expressing a particular belief system. Porada and Bietak interpret the figure as the weather god Baal Saphon\footnote{Porada, A\textit{A} 88 (1984), 487, n. 10; Bietak, \textit{Avaris}, 26-29.} whose proximity to the sailboat reveals his role as protector of seafarers and slayer of such enemies as the falling animal.\footnote{Porada, A\textit{A} 88 (1984), 487.} Bietak views the snake to be Yamm,\footnote{Bietak, \textit{Avaris}, 26.} deity of the sea and enemy of Baal, whereas Marcus links the snake and lion with Asherah, patron goddess of mariners.\footnote{E. S. Marcus, ‘Venice on the Nile? On the Maritime Character of Tell el-Dab’a/Avaris’, in E. Czerny et al. (eds), \textit{Timelines. Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak}, vol. 2, OLA 149 (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, 2006), 188.} The seventh century BC Baal Saphon\footnote{Porada, A\textit{A} 88 (1984), 487.} could be regarded as the Bronze Age Baal who built his palace on Mount Sapan, north of Ugarit.\footnote{The construction of Baal’s palace on Mount Sapan is described in the Baal Cycle of the Ugaritic tablets of 1,400-1,350 B.C. Another interpretation sees Sapan as the enthronement place following Baal’s victory. Baal Cycle, 10:V: 35-65, VI:1-64 as translated in S. B. Parker’s \textit{Ugaritic Narrative Poetry} (Atlanta, 1997), 131-135; J. Geyer, \textit{Mythology and Lament: Studies in the Oracles About the Nations} (Cornwall, 2004), 88.} In the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, the bull god is described as a Cloud-rider who strikes down the Twisty Serpent, the fleeing serpent Litan, and god of the sea Yamm.\footnote{This concept of a weather god destroying a serpentine water creature is common throughout the Near East. Contemporary with the Tell el-Dab’a seal and depicting this battle are seals from Alalakh. Baal Cycle 8:IV:1-27; 8:II:38-39; 9:III:41-42; 11:1:1-2 and 11:1:28-29; S. N. Kramer, \textit{Sumerian Mythology. A Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievement in the Third Millennium B.C.} (Revised edition, Philadelphia, 1972), 76-83, pl. 19; A. R. W. Green, \textit{The Storm-God in the Ancient Near East} (Winona Lake, 2003), 161-164; D. Schwermer, ‘The Storm-Gods of the Ancient Near East: Summary, Synthesis, Recent Studies. Part II’, \textit{JANER} 8/1 (2008), 36.} The seal cutter could have employed specific symbols connected to the myth of Baal such as the bull (the god himself), the guilloche (the winds) and the serpent (the sea) to represent Baal’s power over such elements.\footnote{In a letter to Zimri-Lim at Mari, Hadad, cognate of Baal, is said to have specifically defeated the sea. M. W. Chavalas, \textit{The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation} (Oxford, 2006), 126-127 [73].} The lion motif could also be seen as an extension of this strength. Consequently, the representation would have assured safe passage for those in the pictured boat which warrants the interpretation of the seal as a means to ritualistically invoke protection for seafarers.\footnote{For more on Baal and his function as patron deity of seafaring, see Schwemer, \textit{JANER} 8/1 (2008), 13.} In retrospect to the item’s context, it’s possible to infer that seafarers and worshippers of Baal were in contact with individuals of F/I’s administrative complex. If Porada is correct in identifying...
the item as a locally-made copy combining Egyptian and Syrian techniques, then the cylinder seal reflects a familiarity with Levantine gods and myths at Tell el Dab’a.101

The tombs in the complex’s gardens correspondingly reflect an awareness of Levantine customs. All burials adhere to an organised layout initiated by the first six tombs positioned in a clearly planned row (Figure 4.6),102 and follow Egyptian architectural practices.103 The tombs feature donkey offerings and Levantine bronze weaponry.104 These include MBA and MBIIA-B forms such as socketted spearheads, globular-shaped pommels, a notched narrow-bladed axe (replacing the duckbill form), a dagger with five midribs and a curved knife.105 Tomb m/18-Nr 3, one of the largest and earliest of this stratum, is a mudbrick-lined pit with two chambers and remnants of a superstructure for offerings.106 The tomb, which featured two offering pits, one with two donkeys and the other with caprids, interred seven individuals.107 Amongst the grave goods (Figure 4.8) were a Levantine Painted Ware fragment,108 a pair of silver spearheads109 (most probably prestige items paralleling MBIIA spearheads from Megiddo),110 a notched axe-head and a single-edged knife with a curved blade.111 The knife’s blade, which uniquely ends in a spiral tip, only has recorded parallels from Kharji, Beirut.112 Another item providing links with the Northern Levant is a silver bracelet, the form of which is very similar to one found in an MBA tomb at Sidon.113 This apparent connection with the Northern Levantine coast may be explained by a scarab from

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101 Bietak asserts that the seal indicates the establishment of a cult of Baal but Ryholt refutes this. Bietak, Avaris, 28-29; Bietak, in Second Intermediate Period, 157, n. 136; Ryholt, Political Situation, 150, n. 545.
102 F/I-1/19-Nr 6 and Nr 1; m/19-Nr 22; and m/18-Nr 12, Nr 3 and Nr 2. Schiestl, in MBA in the Levant, 341; Bietak, Avaris, fig. 18.
103 Approximately 92% have mudbrick chambers with either vaulted or barrelled roofs. Schiestl, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 245-246, fig. 3.
104 Schiestl, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 341.
105 Schiestl, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 341-342; Bietak, Avaris, 26.
106 Schiestl, in MBA in the Levant, 343.
107 Two male, three female, one juvenile and one infant. Schiestl, in MBA in the Levant, 343.
108 Bagh, TeD 23, 54, fig. 18 [e].
109 A fragment of a silver spearhead has also been recorded for Tomb F/I-1/19-Nr 6. Philip, TeD 15, 67.
111 R. Schiestl, Tell el Dab’a, vol. 18: Die Palastnekropole von Tell el-Dab’a. Die Gräber des Areals F/I der Straten d/2 und d/1, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 30 (Vienna, 2009), 381, fig. 337 [13]; Philip, TeD 15, 75, fig. 34 [2].
the tomb. Mounted on a gold ring, the scarab’s glyphs have been translated as either [im.y]-r3 h3s.wt [rm]jn Sbk-m-hj.t ‘[overseer] of foreign lands and caravan leader, Sobekemhat’\(^{114}\) or [h3j n.y R]mwn Di-sbk-m-hj.t ‘[ruler of] Rmwn, Di-Sobekemhat’.\(^{115}\) Either translation provides evidence for elite traders exercising relations with the Levant during early Dynasty 13, justifying the occurrence of such foreign finds in the tomb.

Despite heavy looting, finds from the cemetery and palatial compound confirm this association. A few scarabs were inscribed with pseudo-hieroglyphs\(^{116}\) whereas another depicts a smiting figure poised to strike a seated caprid.\(^{117}\) The scarab also includes two branches and a fish: elements unknown in Egyptian iconography but commonly represented in Old Syrian cylinder seals in connection with the weather god Baal.\(^{118}\) Pottery forms of the MBIIA include Ovoid to Piriform Syro-Palestinian store-jars of diverse fabrics and sizes;\(^{119}\) both unburnished combed and red burnished dipper juglets possibly imported from the Northern Israeli or Lebanese coast;\(^{120}\) and Levantine Painted Ware fragments, the decoration of which parallels those from Tell ‘Amr in the Southern Levant and Tell ‘Arqa in the north.\(^{121}\) The presence of Classical Kamares Ware scattered in the gardens of the complex also points to trade with Crete.\(^{122}\)

Alongside these scattered fragments were those belonging to a limestone statue of a seated man, some of which were recovered from the plundered tombs of strata d/2, d/1 and possibly stratum c.\(^{123}\) The statue may have been set up in a tomb’s superstructure, after which it was

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116 TD 103 and TD 106 from k/22-Nr 69. C. Milnar, ‘The Scarab Workshops of Tell el-Dab’a’, in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds), Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications. Papers of a Symposium, Vienna, 10\(^{th}\)-13\(^{th}\) January 2002, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 35 (Vienna, 2004), 118-119, fig. 6a [7, 9].
117 TD 110 from o/20-Nr 2. Milnar, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, 114, fig. 4 [5].
122 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 36; Bietak, Avaris, 29, pl. 1A.
123 For more on the fragments and their archaeological contexts, see Schiefl, A&L 16 (2006), 175.
deliberately destroyed. Its reconstruction suggests that the statue was larger than life-size (approximately 2 m) and was styled in the fashion of Middle Kingdom statues of the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasties (Figure 4.9A). The statue’s head is given the common Asiatic elements of a red-coloured coiffed hairdo and yellow skin. The figure’s body possibly wears a long garment, the details of which have been preserved in fragments delineating its colourful texture and decoration of ornate stripes and wavy fringes. Stylistically, the garment conforms to Asiatic dress as depicted in Khnumhotep II’s tomb at Beni Hassan or Syrian/Mesopotamian robes from, for instance, Ebla, although it is questionable whether or not the garment was draped over one shoulder.

The seated figure carries an object in his right-hand (Figure 4.9) which, based on Schiestl’s reconstruction, could be a throw-stick symbolising status or the ethnicity of the Asiatic who carries it. Another interpretation, based on an Eblaite statue of a seated figure with a similar throw-stick in his left hand and an offering bowl in his right, connects the throw-stick with the statue’s function as the recipient of offerings. Indeed, the statue’s base consists of a hieroglyph for incense, suggesting that a complete offering formula may have been inscribed on the statue’s base in compliance with Egyptian religious customs. Whether or not the throw-stick represents status or ritual, the connection with Ebla implies that the artist(s) embedded Northern Levantine symbolism with the Egyptian to customise the statue for both Egyptian and Asiatic offering-bearers. Therefore, the complexity of such a design that blends the Egyptian and Asiatic both physically and symbolically must be

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124 Schiestl dates the point of destruction to stratum c. Schiestl, A&L 16 (2006), 175.
126 Fragments of a dark brown-red colour have also been detected on the limestone head of another unprovenanced statue currently in the Egyptian Museum in Munich (Munich ÄS 7171). Do. Arnold, in Second Intermediate Period, 191, n. 87, pl. 30; D. Wildung, Ägypten 2000 v. Chr.: Die Geburt des Individuums (Munich, 2000), 164-165, 186 [83].
128 See Chapter 4.4.1.3, Figures 4.124 and 4.126.
133 The crook is held over the left shoulder in the same manner as the Tell el-Dab’a statue. Matthiae, in Von Uruk Nach Tutu, pl. 50. See also Figure 6.20 for a similar item’s position on an elite Levantine depicted on a dagger from Byblos (Chapter 6.3.3.1).
observed as a reflection of the hybridity of the direct (the seated figure)\textsuperscript{135} and the indirect (the artists, the offering-bearers and the immediate community).\textsuperscript{136} Such a hybrid character would have necessitated the combination of Egyptian and Asiatic features not only across the artistic sphere, but also across the funerary, administrative and urban modes, which is, in fact, reflected by the aforementioned archaeological evidence.

Stratum d/1 terminates after the abandonment of the complex. While it was being renovated, building instruments were dropped and doors were sealed.\textsuperscript{137} Such a sudden desertion could reflect momentous political and/or administrative changes in the region.

**Stratum c: Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty**

A settlement develops with uniform two-roomed houses, some of which had perimeter walls.\textsuperscript{138} Burials were sunk either within the houses, their courtyards, or the rectangular structures attached to the houses.\textsuperscript{139} Grave goods include imported ceramics of MBIIA-B forms such as Ovoid and Piriform Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware,\textsuperscript{140} Syro-Palestinian store-jars,\textsuperscript{141} amphora-jugs,\textsuperscript{142} wheel-made holemouth cooking pots,\textsuperscript{143} dishes,\textsuperscript{144} carinated bowls,\textsuperscript{145} as well as red, brown and black burnished jugs.\textsuperscript{146} The vessels’ shapes and fabrics find parallels across the Northern and Southern Levant,\textsuperscript{147} signifying extensive trade along the Levantine coast and inland areas. Manufacturing techniques were known by local craftsmen as indicated by the Egyptian clays of such Levantine forms as dipper juglets and carinated bowls.\textsuperscript{148} The increase in MBA ceramics from approximately 20\% to 40\% has been postulated to represent an influx of peoples from the Levant,\textsuperscript{149} but it can equally indicate a rise in (a) trade relations; (b) demand for MBA forms; and/or (c) population. An influx of Levantine people from other parts of Egypt, rather than the Levant, cannot be ruled out.

\textsuperscript{135} Schiestl proposes that the statue illustrates a dignitary of either Egyptian or Asiatic ethnicity. The noted ‘hybridity’ of the statue suggests that the represented dignitary could have been both. Schiestl, A&L 16 (2006), 183.

\textsuperscript{136} Do. Arnold, in *Second Intermediate Period*, 200.


\textsuperscript{139} Bietak, *BASOR* 281 (1991), 38.

\textsuperscript{140} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, fig. 17 [4], 17 [7]. Jug 5588 is decorated with incised lines with running spirals that are possibly Minoan influenced.

\textsuperscript{141} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, figs 3-4, 9.

\textsuperscript{142} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, fig. 10 [1].

\textsuperscript{143} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, fig. 11 [5]. See also above, n. 38.

\textsuperscript{144} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, fig. 12 [2].

\textsuperscript{145} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, fig. 12 [5-7].

\textsuperscript{146} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, figs 14 [1], 15 [1-5], 15 [11], 15 [13].

\textsuperscript{147} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, 47-50.

\textsuperscript{148} Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, 48-50.

The end of stratum c is characterised by numerous shallow pit graves. Most bodies were buried in an extended position with little to no grave goods while some seem to have been ‘thrown’ into pits. A few cases also present the burial of several individuals at the same time. Bietak postulates the spread of an epidemic such as the ‘ Asiatic disease’ as a reason for such hasty burials. The cause of death may have indeed been a deadly disease, perhaps linked to the speculated migration of peoples into the region. Another probable explanation could be conflict in the area.

**Stratum b/3-2: Mid-Late Thirteenth Dynasty**

Occupation at the settlement continued while the ‘villa’ type of tripartite houses, otherwise known in el-Lahun, is introduced. Social differentiation is more recognisable with the various house sizes and the designation of quarters for servants near villas. As in the previous stratum, graves were sunk in courtyards, within houses and within structures adjacent to the houses (‘family cemeteries’). The majority were heavily plundered, although remains of such items as imported red-polished juglets, spouted brown-polished jugs, Piriform Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware and Globular flasks, point to an elite sector with relations with an MBIIA-B and MBIIIB culture. These, alongside remnants of sheep offerings and intra-mural burials imply the presence of Levantine individuals.

Like the construction of servant quarters near villas, so-called ‘servant burials’ were discovered alongside tombs of the elite, particularly in stratum b/3. These typically consisted of females interred in an extended position in chambers or pits before the main tomb’s entrance (Figure 4.10). The lack of offerings and the subsidiary positioning at the entrance of larger tombs suggest that these lower status individuals were dependents of those buried in the main chambers. As the main tomb owners were either male or female, the roles of those in the attendant burials could be as subsidiary wives. One attendant

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160 Tomb I/-22-Nr 43, for example, was of a female and infant whose chamber included a pit with a female’s body across its entrance. Bietak, *Eretz Israel* 20 (1989), 35-36, 39.
burial, however, was of a 7-8 year old infant of an age regarded to be too young for a wife or concubine.\textsuperscript{161} As such, Bietak has identified the burials as those of servants.\textsuperscript{162} Based on the close proximity of a few attendant burials with the undamaged entrance pits of the main tombs, he proposes that they were buried at the time of, or shortly after, the interment of their masters, possibly as sacrificial victims.\textsuperscript{163} Such practices are known to have occurred in the Early Dynastic Period\textsuperscript{164} and the Mesopotamian Early Dynastic I-III periods,\textsuperscript{165} although the only contemporary examples of attendant sacrifices occur at Kerma during the Classical Kerma Period.\textsuperscript{166} Here, the attendant burials of females were discovered in pits along the beds of the main burial but in numerous, irregular, burial postures.\textsuperscript{167} Despite these differences, Bietak proposes a ‘spiritual connection’ between those at Tell el-Dab’a and those at Kush.\textsuperscript{168} Lack of further evidence undermines the validity of this reasoning. The attendant burials at Tell el-Dab’a may not even be of servants but could be of individuals with some familial relationship to the main tomb owner(s), such as subsidiary/secondary wives or children of such wives. Additionally, the sacrificial nature of the attendant burials cannot be proven by the conjectured simultaneous time of burial.\textsuperscript{169} Nonetheless, all cases of attendant burials confirm that the practice was reserved for the elite as if to transfer status to the hereafter or, as Hoffman suggests, to affirm social hierarchy during times of dynastic emergence.\textsuperscript{170} Perhaps it was connected to the establishment and diversification of various social roles in a period of transition from one socio-political system to another.


\textsuperscript{163} Tombs A/II-n/16-Nr 2 and F/I-I/22-Nr 28A are offered as examples of burying the ‘servants’ at the time or shortly after the interment of their ‘masters’. Bietak, \textit{Eretz Israel} 20 (1989), 40; van den Brink, \textit{Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a}, 48.


\textsuperscript{166} Bietak, \textit{Eretz Israel} 20 (1989), 40-41.

\textsuperscript{167} Bietak, \textit{Eretz Israel} 20 (1989), 40-41; Tatlock, \textit{How in Ancient Times They Sacrificed People}, 115-117.

\textsuperscript{168} Bietak, \textit{Eretz Israel} 20 (1989), 42.

\textsuperscript{169} Bietak himself writes that “the evidence is, however, not cogent for claiming sacrificial burials”. Bietak, \textit{Eretz Israel} 20 (1989), 40.

Stratum b/1-a/2: Early to Mid-Fifteenth Dynasty

The villa type and the small one-or-two-roomed houses continued in use in the settlement while burials remained among and within residential units,\textsuperscript{171} with children mostly interred in Syro-Palestinian store-jars.\textsuperscript{172} Near the settlement, foundations of a mudbrick temple with a possible tripartite sanctuary have been preserved.\textsuperscript{173} Before this temple are large offering pits filled with ceramics and animal bones, including those of pigs and equids.\textsuperscript{174} One pit was 2.34 x 2.0 m large and contained 792 vessels,\textsuperscript{175} some of which showed evidence of intentional burning.\textsuperscript{176} A few vessels, like miniature bowls, had a cultic function, while the majority, including bowls, cooking pots, cups, beaker jars and dipper juglets, were used directly for consuming food and water. Thus, it is very possible that a ritual practice involving cultic meals was performed before the temple.\textsuperscript{177} Similar rituals were practiced across the MBA and MBA Levant, with the closest contemporary parallels found in the favissae of Ebla.\textsuperscript{178}

4.2.2.4 Area A/II

Area A/II represents part of the eastern district of Tell el-Dab’a (Figure 4.2) in which significant remains of a sacred precinct have been unearthed.\textsuperscript{179} Spanning the extensive period between the Twelfth to Eighteenth Dynasties, the site’s material culture reveals the same emergence of hybrid Egyptian-Asiatic elements as in Area F/I,\textsuperscript{180} with an added insight into the religious customs practiced in A/II’s temples.

\textsuperscript{171} Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 41.
\textsuperscript{172} Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 41.
\textsuperscript{173} Bietak, Avaris and Piramesse, 295; Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 40.
\textsuperscript{175} F/I-v/22-Nr 5. Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 277.
\textsuperscript{176} Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 277.
\textsuperscript{177} Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 277-279, fig. 7.
\textsuperscript{178} The favissae at Ebla not only contained ceramic vessels, but also bore other objects such as clay figurines, jewellery, beads and weapons. Other areas across the Levant containing remnants of cultic meals include Byblos and Ugarit in the north, and Nahariya, Giv’at Sharett, Megiddo and Lachish in the south, although those in the north occur at an earlier stage. Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 280-281; N. Marchetti and L. Nigro, ‘Cultic Activities in the Sacred Area of Ishtar at Ebla during the Old-Syrian Period: the Favissae F.5327 and F.5238’, JCS 49 (1997), 34-36; N. Marchetti and L. Nigro, ‘The Favissa F.5238 in the Sacred Area of Ishtar and the Transition from the Middle Bronze I to the Middle Bronze II at Ebla’, in M. Lebeau, K. Van Lerberghe and G. Voet (eds), Languages and Cultures in Contact. At the Crossroads of Civilizations in the Syro-Mesopotamian Realm, OLA 96 (Leuven, 1999), 281-282.
\textsuperscript{179} Bietak, Avaris, 36-48.
**Stratum H:** Late Twelfth to Early Thirteenth Dynasty

A marginal settlement of huts and sand-brick enclosure walls is recognisable.\(^{181}\) Finds include Egyptian and MBIIA Levantine-style pottery, such as locally-made holemouth cooking pots,\(^{182}\) handmade flat-bottomed cooking pots\(^{183}\) and imported Syro-Palestinian store-jars.\(^{184}\) Although the origin of the first two is debatable, the presence of Syro-Palestinian jars attests to contacts with the Levant.

**Stratum G/4-I:** Early Thirteenth Dynasty

Stratum H’s settlement continued in development though a conflagration layer of charcoal in some locations signals a short interval between it and stratum G.\(^{185}\) As in Tell el-Habwa and Tell Maskhuta, houses are adjoined with round silos and surrounded by enclosure walls.\(^{186}\) Tombs were dug within these enclosures and adhered to the Egyptian types of pit graves or vaulted chamber tombs.\(^{187}\) Funerary goods imply an MBIIA connection with 56% of the ceramics following MBA forms compared to the 40% of MBA ceramics from the settlement area.\(^{188}\) These include a high number of Syro-Palestinian store-jars,\(^{189}\) a few holemouth wheel-made cooking pots,\(^{190}\) burnished jugs with double-stranded handles,\(^{191}\) ovoid Tell el-Yahudiyah ware,\(^{192}\) dishes with internal rims\(^{193}\) and the first occurrence of handmade globular juglets with simple incised decoration.\(^{194}\) Parallels of the imported ceramics mostly stem from the Northern Levant, particularly coastal Lebanon.\(^{195}\)

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\(^{182}\) See n. 38; Forstner-Müller, *A&L* 17 (2007), 89, fig. 12.

\(^{183}\) One cooking pot is of Levantine clay whereas the others are of Nile fabric attributed to either a Nile source or one of north Sinai. Forstner-Müller, *A&L* 17 (2007), 91-92, fig. 14; Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, 46; McGovern, *Foreign Relations of the ‘Hyksos’*, 123; Oren, in *Hyksos*, 72.


\(^{185}\) Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse*, 238; van den Brink, *Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a*, 4.

\(^{186}\) See Chapters 4.2.4 and 4.2.7; Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse*, 238.

\(^{187}\) I. Forstner-Müller, *Tell el Dab’a*, vol. 16: *Die Gräber des Areals A/II von Tell el-Dab’a*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 28 (Vienna, 2008), 84, fig. 32.

\(^{188}\) The increase occurs between G/4 and G/3-1 in the settlement. Forstner-Müller, *TeD* 16, 85; Bietak, *BASOR* 281 (1991), 34-35.

\(^{189}\) Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, figs 3 [3], 7 [2, 4], 9 [1, 5, 8].

\(^{190}\) Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, fig. 11 [4].

\(^{191}\) Aston, in *MBA in the Levant*, fig. 14 [5-8].

\(^{192}\) Forstner-Müller, *TeD* 16, fig. 72 [3].

\(^{193}\) Bader, in *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 142-143.

\(^{194}\) Bietak, *BASOR* 281 (1991), 38.

\(^{195}\) Some cases are similar to ceramics from Northern Israel and inland Syria whereas a few could originate from the Southern Levant. Bader’s attestation that limited archaeological exploration in Southern Israel may hinder conclusions is worthy of note, although the same may be said for archaeological exploration in Lebanon, particularly inland areas. Bader, in *Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean*, 144.
Weapons of MBIIA type feature in the funerary repertoire. Tomb m/15-Nr 9 contained a copper belt and a broad dagger positioned at a semi-contracted male’s abdomen (Figure 4.11).\footnote{The dagger follows Philip’s Type 13. Philip, TeD 15, 45, fig. 12; Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, fig. 72 [1-2].} Sheep bone fragments were additionally deposited among a pile of offerings near the entrance,\footnote{Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 129-133.} demonstrating further links with the contemporary burials of Area F/I d/1 and later tombs at Tell Maskhuta and Tell el-Yahudiyyah. This element, combined with the location of the tombs within house enclosures, the contraction of interred bodies as well as the presence of Levantine-style weaponry and pottery, hints at an ethnic group from the Levant living at Tell el-Dab’a during the early Thirteenth Dynasty. The populace was also intermixed with Egyptians or influenced by the Egyptian culture as observed by the Egyptian-style houses, tombs, ceramics and grave goods.\footnote{Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 129-140; B. Bader, ‘Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine as seen in a Grown Settlement of the Late Middle Kingdom at Tell el-Dab’a/Egypt’, in J. Mynářová (ed.), Egypt and the Near East – the Crossroads. Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1-3, 2010 (Prague, 2011), 56.} The size of residential units and tombs, and the quality and quantity of artefacts indicates that the majority of individuals were neither of the elite nor of the lowest echelon of society.\footnote{Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 138.} Therefore, it is possible that stratum G represents a general populace familiar with both Egyptian and Levantine customs, implying the spread of Levantine elements and perhaps influence across Tell el-Dab’a.

The concluding stage of stratum G/1 is marked by numerous shallow pit graves with few to no grave goods.\footnote{Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 38.} Apparently, the crisis that affected the end of stratum c in F/I could have extended over a wider area.

**Stratum F: Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty**

Major changes are discernible, especially with the function of A/II. The settlement of the previous phase was reorganised and plots were redistributed, their design slightly influenced by the earlier units but inferior in quality to the contemporary houses of F/I.\footnote{Bietak, Avaris and Piramesse, 241; Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 39.} A precinct of temples, chapels and cemeteries was constructed at the edges of the town with its tombs orientated towards the main temple (III).\footnote{Forstner-Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 163-164.} Described as the largest temple in the MBA,\footnote{Bietak, Avaris, 36.} Temple III is a broad-room temple with a rectangular niche in its shrine and two procellas
(Figure 4.12). Fragments of blue-paint suggest a decorated exterior whereas a rectangular mudbrick instalment in the forecourt may have been an altar. Around the altar were offering pits, one of which contained a pair of donkey burials that were perhaps linked with temple activities. The architectural elements of Temple III are uncommon in Middle Kingdom Egyptian temples but are detected in contemporary Northern Levantine temples such as those at Ebla and Alalakh. Because of this Near Eastern architecture as well as the equid burials, Bietak suspects the worship of a Levantine deity at Temple III.

Within houses, house courtyards and the cemeteries of the sacred precinct were 26 tombs. Three of these comprised attendant burials which, as in F/I b/3-2, were of females interred outside the main tomb. Some also had donkey burials, usually in pairs, as well as caprid offerings. Notable changes are the increase in contracted burials, the first appearance of the MBIIB chisel-shaped axe and the final occurrence of daggers with five midriffs, axes with square sections and bronze belts. Within p-14-Nr 18 is the only scimitar found in an undisturbed context in Egypt (Figure 4.13). With a clear MBIIA form, parallels are few but derive from Byblos and Mesopotamia. The scimitar’s rarity may be linked with its function as a status symbol. Indeed, the adult male tomb owner appears to be of high status as

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204 The style of niche is more common among Migdol-temples. Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 39; Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 275.
205 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 39; Bietak, Avaris, 36.
206 Pit I/14-Nr 11. Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 271.
207 Examples of temples of the late MBA and LBA with similar architectural features are the so-called Hurrian Temple at Ugarit, the Orthostat Temple at Hazor and Temple 2048 at Megiddo. Bietak, in Second Intermediate Period, 156, n. 131; Y. Yadin, Hazor. The Head of all those Kingdoms (London, 1972), fig. 23; G. Loud, Megiddo, vol. 2: Seasons of 1935-1939, OIP 62 (Chicago, 1948); D. Warner, The Archaeology of Canaanite Cult. An Analysis of Canaanite Temples from the Middle and Late Bronze Age in Palestine (Lexington, 2008), 232.
210 Bietak, Avaris and Piramesse, 253.
212 Tombs m/16-Nr 2, l/12-Nr 5 and l/11-Nr 3. Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 156-164; van den Brink, Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 48-49; Bietak, Eretz Israel 20 (1989), 31-32, 39-43.
213 Van den Brink, Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 46-51; Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 177-184.
216 Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 49-50; Forstner-Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 165.
217 Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 49; Forstner-Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 165-166.
218 Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 51-52; Forstner-Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 166.
219 Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 50-51; Forstner-Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 167.
inferred by his provisioning with an attendant burial, an equid burial as well as such grave goods as a dagger, a copper belt, caprid offerings, and a range of Egyptian and MBA pottery, including a rare model amphora (Figure 4.13).221

Levantine-style wares of the MBIIA and MBIIB amount to 53% of the entire funerary ceramic assemblage, compared to an estimated 40% from non-funerary contexts.222 The locally-made and imported forms encompass: piriform and ovoid Tell el-Yahudiyah jugs which, for the first time, are mainly locally produced;223 handmade globular juglets;224 piriform and biconical red-and-brown-burnished juglets and jugs;225 as well as unburnished and red burnished dipper juglets with parallels along the Levantine coast.226 Syro-Palestinian store-jars are present, though in lesser quantities than those of F/I tombs and A/II settlement areas.227

A curious case is tomb l/12-Nr 5 of an adult male in a semi-contracted position (Figure 4.14).228 The tomb was equipped with weaponry (a dagger and axe), pottery (Egyptian and MBIIA forms) and a scarab seal on the tomb owner’s finger inscribed with idn.w n.y im.y-r; ūtn.k tŠm ‘deputy of the overseer of the treasury, tŠm’.229 Ryholt maintains that, because deputy treasurers did not usually have many seals, the individual buried in l/12-Nr 5 could himself be tŠm.230 He also dates the seal stylistically to the reign of Sheshi or shortly thereafter.231 The tomb owner was provided with an offering pit at the tomb’s entrance housing the remains of cattle and the greatest number of donkey interments thus far recorded (five to six).232 The pit additionally contained the dismembered bones of an

221 Forstner-Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 172-174, figs 8-10; Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 177-184.
225 Forstner-Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 168.
226 Kopetzky, in MBA in the Levant, 229-231; Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 76.
227 Perhaps this contrast reveals the different social status of buried individuals across the areas or variant funerary priorities. Forstner-Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 169.
228 Van den Brink, Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 48-49.
230 Ryholt, Political Situation, 105.
231 Ryholt mistakenly places tomb l/12-Nr 5 in the courtyard of the palace of F/I instead of Area A/II. Ryholt, Political Situation, 61, 104.
232 Bietak, Avaris, 41; van den Brink, Tomb and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 49.
adolescent and a mature individual,\textsuperscript{233} a practice otherwise unattested in Egypt but similar to an EBIV/MBIIA offering pit at Ebla containing human and sheep remains.\textsuperscript{234}

Much like the Eblaite pit, that of I/12-Nr 5 could be an indicator of status which, combined with the entire funerary assemblage, emphasises the tomb owner’s elite ranking as deputy treasurer. If Ryholt is correct, then “Im’s tomb demonstrates the use of Egyptian titles by Asiatics as well as the relation of the funerary kit with an Asiatic ethnicity.\textsuperscript{235} It further indicates that officials were not buried near the capital but at a sacred area in Tell el-Dab’a, the location thereby hinting at growing regionalisation during the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{236} Based on tomb location alone, such a theory may prove to be erroneous. However, it is corroborated by the rearrangement of plots and change in function of A/II, as well as the establishment of a temple and possible temple cult following Northern Levantine customs and rituals. The inference that an invading culture fuelled this regionalisation cannot be substantiated by the available evidence. If anything, the material culture and scarab inscription signify a continuance of Egyptian and Levantine elements, the latter exhibiting MBIIB traits towards the conclusion of stratum F.\textsuperscript{237}

\textit{Stratum E/3: Late Thirteenth Dynasty}

Building works were carried out in the sacred precinct of A/II. Temple III was renovated and a brick altar added in its forecourt within which were remnants of ash, charcoal, red burnt sand and animal offerings.\textsuperscript{238} Three temples were constructed near Temple III (Figure 4.12), one of which architecturally follows the Levantine broad-room temple with a bent axis (Temple II).\textsuperscript{239} Another, Temple V, adheres to the typical Egyptian design but includes an altar in its open courtyard, much like Temple III and its Levantine-style altar.\textsuperscript{240} Other, Egyptian-style, mortuary temples were also built,\textsuperscript{241} signifying the presence of Egyptian funerary cults alongside an active non-Egyptian cult focussed around the Levantine-style altars.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{233} Van den Brink argues against their deposition as secondary burials. van den Brink, \textit{Tomb and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a}, 49.
\item \textsuperscript{235} Bourriau, in \textit{Ancient Egypt}, 178.
\item \textsuperscript{236} For a similar opinion, see Forstner- Müller, in \textit{Second Intermediate Period}, 134-135.
\item \textsuperscript{237} Bietak, \textit{BASOR} 281 (1991), 40; Forstner-Müller, in \textit{MBA in the Levant}, 184.
\item \textsuperscript{238} Forstner-Müller, in \textit{MBA in the Levant}, 177.
\item \textsuperscript{239} Forstner-Müller, in \textit{MBA in the Levant}, 177.
\item \textsuperscript{240} Bietak, \textit{BASOR} 281 (1991), 40.
\item \textsuperscript{241} Bietak, \textit{Avaris}, 45.
\end{itemize}
The majority of ceramics are Egyptian while 40% are of imported and locally-made MBA shapes.\textsuperscript{242} Piriform 1-2 and Ovoid 2-3 Tell el-Yahudiya jugs are found\textsuperscript{243} along with piriform black, brown and red-polished jugs with button bases,\textsuperscript{244} holemouth cooking pots,\textsuperscript{245} biconcial brown-polished jugs,\textsuperscript{246} MBIIB carinated bowls\textsuperscript{247} and burnished globular bowls with longer, slightly everted necks.\textsuperscript{248} Syro-Palestinian store-jars are also among the repertoire, with one example bearing traces of horizontal burnishing across the rim and vertical burnishing across the body, a technique observed among Tell 'Arqa's jars.\textsuperscript{249}

The tombs of stratum E/3 continued in the same type, location and orientation as those from the earlier phase.\textsuperscript{250} The stratum marks the first occurrence of burying infants in Syro-Palestinian store-jars in A/II.\textsuperscript{251} Compared to the overall figures for Egyptian and Levantine ceramics, 80% of the ceramics from the tombs ascribe to MBA forms, 20% of which are imported.\textsuperscript{252} Bronzes comprise of weapons, particularly such MBIIB styles as the chisel-shaped axe, the dagger with raised midrib and the spearhead with a tapering blade.\textsuperscript{253} Toggle-pins\textsuperscript{254} and single-edged knives with curved blades are also common.\textsuperscript{255}

Overall, stratum E/3 could be regarded as an extended phase of stratum F. The growing discrepancy between the quantity of MBA ceramics from the settlement and those from the graves may indicate an acculturated ethnic group choosing to adhere to its Levantine customs for funerary and cultic purposes.

\textit{Stratum E/2: Early Fifteenth Dynasty}

A new temple (I) was built west of the sacred area (Figure 4.12).\textsuperscript{256} As Temple V, the building is generally Egyptian in style but combines such foreign elements as Hazor’s LBA temple’s tripartite procella and the construction of benches alongside the front and interior.
of temple walls.257 In a niche near the entrance is a large plate around which libation channels were placed, possibly for the provision of liquid for an older burial located beneath the temple’s foundations.258 This placement could denote the continued practice of funerary obligations across at least one generation,259 paralleling such libation channels as those appended to tombs at Ugarit260 and Byblos.261

The MBA ceramic repertoire from stratum E/2 is very similar to that of the earlier phase. The major difference distinguishing the two is in the form of jugs which are found both with candlestick and everted rims as well as bipartite and strap handles.262 After E/2, only the candlestick rim and strap handle are recorded.263 Piriform 2 Tell el-Yahudiyah ware with three to four zones of decoration occur towards the end of E/2 whereas biconical juglets gain popularity.264 Other MBIIB forms include carinated bowls,265 large globular pots with everted rims,266 local red-slipped bowls each decorated with a burnished cross267 and dipper juglets with pointed bases.268 The most common imported form is the Syro-Palestinian store-jar269 and the rarest includes the Cypriote White Painted Cross Line and White Painted Pendant Line Styles.270 A higher percentage of MBIIB vessels is estimated to come from funerary contexts (81%).271

Tombs remained as simple pit graves, mudbrick or sand brick constructions with vaulted roofs, and Syro-Palestinian store-jar burials.272 Bodies were interred either contracted or semi-contracted.273 Burial goods other than ceramics include sheep/goat offerings,274 silver

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257 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 41; Bietak, Avaris and Piramesse, 256-257, fig. 10; Yadin, Hazor, 87-95, fig. 19.
258 Bietak, Avaris and Piramesse, 256-257.
259 Bietak, Avaris and Piramesse, 257.
261 van den Brink, Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 7; Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, figs 65, 67.
262 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 41; Aston, TeD 12, 352.
263 Aston, TeD 12, 352.
264 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 41, fig. 12.
265 Aston, TeD 12, 354.
266 Aston, TeD 12, 117-118, fig. 84 [d], pl. 99.
267 Aston, TeD 12, 106-107, fig. 84 [b], pl. 86.
268 Aston, TeD 12, 155, fig. 84 [u], pl. 148.
269 Aston, TeD 12, 162-165, pl. 171.
270 Aston, TeD 12, 359.
271 Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 94.
272 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 41; Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 93, fig. 47.
earrings, a toggle-pin, a copper axe, a dagger as well as an undecorated silver headband placed around the head of the deceased. Scarabs were also among the funerary repertoire and consisted of new designs belonging to Mlinar’s Type IV, the ‘Palestinian Group’. Such elements as the Horus falcon with the sign, misrendered hieroglyphic symbols, and the L-shaped red crown are common on scarabs from Ben-Tor’s ‘Early Palestinian Series’, suggesting that these artefacts were imported from the Southern Levant. Pairs of donkey burials and the first remains of a horse have additionally been uncovered in front of tomb entrances. Such funerary practices are highly similar to those observed in previous phases and nearby areas, indicating that the population at Tell el-Dab’a generally remained of the same Egyptian-Levantine background in the early Fifteenth Dynasty, with accentuated Northern Levantine influences on religious practices and emerging trade with areas like Cyprus and the Southern Levant.

Stratum E/1: Early to Mid-Fifteenth Dynasty

Temple III was renovated and the first evidence of offering pits occurs around its brick altar. Pits with donkey burials were uncovered, continuing the custom from the earlier stratum F.

Round brick structures, either huts or silos, emerged in the cemetery area with adjoined storerooms. Similar to those of strata H-G/4, the construction of such structures possibly coincides with the rapid expansion of the settlement which would accordingly indicate a growing population or an influx of peoples. Correspondingly, a sharp increase in burials is  

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280 Mlinar states that Type IV scarabs had already developed in the Southern Levant as they were uncovered at such sites as Megiddo, Afula, Akko, Atlit, Tel Aviv, Tell el-Ajul and Jericho. Mlinar, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, 122-128, ns 69-77, figs 9-11b.
281 Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, 222, 226, 231, 234, fig. 146.6 [7661].
282 TD 7656 from A/II-k/14-Nr 8. Mlinar, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, 128, fig. 11b [16].
283 TD 7666 and TD 402 from A/II-m/11-Nr 6. Mlinar, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, 128, figs 11a [1], 11b [16].
284 TD 7657 from A/II-k/14-Nr 8. Mlinar, in Timelines 2, 222-232, fig. 8.
285 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 41; van den Brink, Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 42.
286 Müller, in MBA in the Levant, 277.
287 TD 7657 from A/II-k/14-Nr 8. Mlinar, in Timelines 2, 222-232, fig. 8.
288 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 41-43; van den Brink, Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 7.
289 Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 43.
observed, particularly in the number of Syro-Palestinian store-jar burials which could point to a high infant mortality rate. These were typically sunk either in houses, especially beneath doorways, or house courtyards.

Mudbrick chambers, with and without vaulted roofs, and numerous simple pit graves were found in houses, house courtyards and the cemeteries of the sacred precinct. Bodies were extended or semi-contracted, usually in supine position. Funerary goods are much like those of E/2, comprising equid burials at the entrances, caprid offerings, toggle-pins, gold and silver headbands, as well as copper and bronze single-edged knives. The last occurrence of copper weapons is also noted. Approximately 87% of ceramics are MBIIB vessels, again a dissimilar figure compared to an estimated 40% from the settlement.

The majority of MBIIB ceramics from both funerary and non-funerary contexts were locally produced, except for the Syro-Palestinian store-jars which were mostly imported. Distinct local types of pottery additionally occur, testifying to a definite regionalisation in material culture across Egypt. Influences are mostly from Northern Levantine traditions and some are from the Southern Levant’s inland region. Tell el-Yahudiya ware is common, especially among funerary goods, and encompasses the piriform, biconical, ovoid,
quadrilobal and cylindrical shapes. From E/1 onwards, incised black-burnished juglets and large, round-bottomed jugs with incised triangles are found in settlement layers, the latter paralleling those from Tell el-'Ajul and Ashkelon. Fish-shaped juglets with black-burnishing on unincised surface parts and strap handles are observed to have lumps of clay for fish eyes, a feature otherwise known from Byblos and Beirut. Stratum E/1 also marks the first appearance of local carinated dishes with ring bases and spiral handles, the style of which follows MBIIA-B dishes at Megiddo and Ain el-Samih. Furthermore, an increase in such Middle Cypriot pottery as White Painted Pendant Line and White Painted Cross Line styles is detected, indicating continued trade relations with Cyprus.

The pottery remains of Stratum E/1 reveal the increasing separation of Tell el-Dab’a from Memphis and Upper Egypt. The increase in settlement size and burial number attests to a growing population with obviously escalating demands for ceramics, housing and burial sites. This offers a likely motivation for the creation and development of distinct pottery styles, the rising number of intra-mural burials and the use of necropolis areas as habitation. It has been postulated that such changes are related to the formation of a Hyksos kingdom, which is possible if one considers the escalation in population numbers. That is, people may have settled in Area A/II if the Hyksos administration decreed a resettlement or created an attractive, economically lucrative and politically stable environment.

4.2.2.5 Area F/II

In recent years, excavations at Area F/II (Figure 4.2) have revealed a grand complex orientated in the same manner as the late Hyksos ‘palaces’ F and G at ‘Ezbet Helmi (N-S). A preliminary stratigraphical assessment of the area has uncovered at least six phases, the earliest of which includes remains of a late Middle Kingdom building complex (late Thirteenth Dynasty, stratum e) as well as domestic structures and large households with courtyards and

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305 Aston, TeD 12, 364-372; Kopetzky, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 196-198, figs 2-3.
306 Kopetzky, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 198-201, fig. 4 [1, 3].
308 A fragment was also found at Tell Maskhuta. Aston, TeD 12, 224, 361, fig. 93 [h], pl. 266; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 810, fig. 134 [10-11]; Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 38.10; W. G. Dever, ‘MBIIA Cemeteries at ‘Ain es-Sâmiyeh and Sinjil’, BASOR 217 (1975), 33, fig. 3 [4].
309 Aston, TeD 12, 372; Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 43.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

ovens (stratum d). Remains of the aforementioned grand complex are found atop one of these domestic structures and have been dated to the mid-Fifteenth Dynasty (stratum c or between E/1 and D/3 of the site’s general stratigraphy; see Figure 4.3). The chronological attribution of each level has not yet been finalised by the excavators.

Stratum d

Three main zones beneath the complex are assigned to stratum d. The first is Pit L928 with pottery vessels such as Syro-Palestinian store-jars and Marl C ceramics. As the pit is similar to those found in later stratum c/2, a cultural continuum could be deduced throughout occupation phases. The second zone has been interpreted to be a bath with a pipe system (L1135) and the third a workshop (L1421). The latter contained red clay, various fragments of Syro-Palestinian store-jars, bowls, cooking pots and Marl C vessels, as well as substantial charcoal remains indicating either the employment of or exposure to fire. Further remnants of ivory inlays, obsidian and bronze fittings, as well as faience, calcite and jasper materials denote the area’s use as a workshop. One seal impression from the site features the hieroglyphs 𓊰 𓊳 n(y) ṭmnw ‘ruler of ṭmnw, ’r[...]’ between two rows of seated caprids (Figure 4.15). The last three glyphs may belong to ’rjm, perhaps part of the ruler’s name. The left half portrays a spiral design (guilloche?) and another row of caprids impressed upon unidentifiable hieroglyphs. The presence of such an object combining both the Egyptian script and Near Eastern artistic elements indicates that relations between Tell el-Dab’a and ṭmnw were active during the beginning of the Fifteenth Dynasty.

320 Perhaps the name is associated with that of the Fourteenth Dynasty king ’rjm. See Table 1.
Stratum c/3: Storage and workshop quarter

Northwest of the complex’s forecourt are a number of pits disturbed by a later enclosure wall (see below). The pits included pottery and have been theorised to be remnants of ritual banqueting practiced prior to the complex’s construction. They are perhaps contemporaneous to a group of magazines uncovered north of the complex bearing traces of severe conflagration. Although unpublished, the excavator reports discovering several prestigious items from one store-room, such as decorated knives, amphorae filled with minerals, an ivory-handled Hathor sistrum and a large collection of locally produced Middle Cypriote pottery. Based on this description, it is likely that the stored objects were either to be traded or were themselves objects imported from another, most probably Egyptian, site.

Stratum c/2: Building S and Compounds G and A

Compound A features rooms with attached magazines housing a high number of imported Syro-Palestinian store-jars. A vestibule positioned to its northeast included the burial of a horse. The complex was likely of administrative function linked with trade.

Stratum c/1: Building B, compound E as well as courtyards D and C

North of the magazines of Compound A is a large rectangular and possibly columned hall (stratum c/2-1). A platform towards the middle of the back wall suggests that the room was for hosting visitors, supporting the proposed administrative or palatial nature of the complex. Another four-pillared hall with an L-shaped annex was constructed along a new enclosure wall. At the front of this wall were two pits with the remains of fourteen severed right hands. Two more pits within the four-columned hall contained a hand each. The custom of severing hands seems to be connected with the ‘Gold of Honour’ where the hand of an enemy was presented in exchange for an award (gold) from an Egyptian ruler. Interestingly, the discovery at F/II suggests (a) possible conflict during the Fifteenth Dynasty; (b) an administration perhaps encouraging victorious conflicts; and (c) an

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322 Personal communication with Dr. Irene Forstner-Müller, whom I thank for her correspondence. Forstner-Müller et al., ‘Report on the Excavations at Tell el-Dab’a 2011’, 7, 10-12.
323 Bietak and Forstner-Müller, A&L 19 (2009), 97, fig. 5.
administration utilising a probable Egyptian custom or a custom later adopted by the Egyptians.

Within Building B, a large courtyard was excavated with mudbrick benches along the southeast, northeast and northwest sides, as well as remnants of a sand-brick installation, possibly a storage facility, at its southwest.\(^{332}\) The features suggest that the courtyard was employed for cultic assemblies, an inference supported by the presence of a large pit (L81) thought to be a depository for remains of ritual meals.\(^{333}\) The pit was filled with pots (approximately 1,800 vessels), animal bones and a range of small objects such as beads, flints, scarabs and toggle-pins.\(^{334}\) The ceramic material fits well within the period between E/1-D/3 and consists of both local and imported forms.\(^{335}\) Among these are cylindrical, globular, quadrilobal, piriform and biconical Tell el-Yahudiyya ware of local manufacture,\(^{336}\) Marl C material possibly from the Memphis/Fayum region,\(^{337}\) storage jars and lids from the Egyptian oases (Bahariyah or Khargeh),\(^{338}\) White Pendant Line Style and White Painted Cypriote jugs,\(^{339}\) Nubian wares,\(^{340}\) and Syro-Palestinian store-jars probably imported from the Levantine coast.\(^{341}\) Flint objects from L81\(^{342}\) also show similarities to those from Tell el-Maskhuta,\(^{343}\) Tell el-‘Ajjul\(^{344}\) and Tell ‘Arqa\(^{345}\) while beads parallel finds from Tell el-Maskhuta,\(^{346}\) Tell el-Habwa\(^{347}\) and Tell el-‘Ajjul.\(^{348}\)

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\(^{334}\) Aston and Bader, A&L 19 (2009), 19-89.

\(^{335}\) Aston and Bader, A&L 19 (2009), 20.

\(^{336}\) Only one, 9012M, is imported. Aston and Bader, A&L 19 (2009), 39.

\(^{337}\) Aston and Bader, A&L 19 (2009), 40-61, figs 8-9.


\(^{339}\) Sherds are similar to White Painted B, White Painted Cross Line Style, White Painted Tangent, Wavy Line Style and White Painted Eyelet Style. Aston and Bader, A&L 19 (2009), 64.

\(^{340}\) Bourriau offers parallels with Nubian pottery from Diospolis Parva Cemetery E whereas Bonnet suggests that the sherds derive from an area between Aswan and Kerma. Bietak writes that the pottery could have been from Nubian mercenaries working as palace guards at Avaris. See Aston and Bader, A&L 19 (2009), 63-64; Forstner-Müller and Rose, in Nubian Pottery from Egyptian Cultural Contexts, 184, 201-210; Bietak, in Proceedings of the 6th International Congress 2, 101.

\(^{341}\) Aston and Bader, A&L 19 (2009), 64, n. 191, fig. 11.

\(^{342}\) Aston and Bader, A&L 19 (2009), 68.

\(^{343}\) Holladay, in Hyksos, 194, fig. 7 [7].


\(^{346}\) Holladay, in Hyksos, 197, fig. 7 [9].

 Recovered from L81 and other pits throughout the complex were 16 scarabs and 230 seal impressions. Some seal impressions are inscribed with the names of a Thirteenth Dynasty royal (Sobekhotep III, Noferhotep I or Sobekhotep IV) and ḫꜣšw Hꜣy‘n ‘ruler of foreign lands, Khayan’. One seal, Nr 9373 (Figure 4.16), depicts six registers of animals (hares, lions, deer, etc.) in a style typical of MBA Old Babylonian and Syrian seal impressions with parallels from Kütepe, Acemhöyük, Byblos and Alalakh. Creases on the seal’s obverse mimic papyrus strands, indicating possibly written diplomatic correspondence.

A fragment of a cuneiform tablet near L1045 supports such correspondence (Figure 4.17). Although only a few Akkadian words remain, the style and orthography of the inscribed text has been ascribed to the last phase of the First Dynasty of Babylon after Hammurabi’s reign. Thus, contact with Mesopotamia may have existed during Dynasty 15.

The remains from stratum c/1 imply an administrative function for the complex at F/II. Trade with the Theban and Memphite districts, which is otherwise unattested in A/II and F/I strata of Dynasty 15, emphasises the structure’s administrative, and perhaps even diplomatic, function which is likewise supported by imported Nubian, Cypriote and Levantine pottery. The occurrence of Khayan’s seals signifies that this Hyksos ruler could have taken part in such trade relations. Furthermore, seal Nr 9373 and L1045’s cuneiform tablet indicate the dynasty’s attempts to develop relations with regions near and far.

4.2.2.6 Area A/IV

Area A/IV remains largely unpublished but has been identified as a sector for domestic housing. The earliest levels have been assigned to stratum I-H of the site’s general stratigraphy (Figures 4.3, 4.18), or the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasties, with remnants of simple rectangular structures comprising kilns and adjoined courtyards.

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348 Petrie, Gaza 2, pl. 25.
350 Sartori, A&L 19 (2009), 284, fig. 4.
351 Personal communication with Chiara Reali whom I sincerely thank for her comments. Sartori, A&L 19 (2009), 284-288, figs 5-9.
Ceramics from these areas, specifically K4249 (a refuse in one of the courtyards) and K4236/4256 from a building in the north-northwest of A/IV, comprise 40% MBIIA and MBIIA-B shapes, 73% of which were imported. The non-Egyptian shapes include red-burnished or painted bowls with incurved rims, open bowls with everted rims akin to vessels from Tell Jerishe, large globular bowls comparable to those from Shechem, Tell Jerishe and Megiddo, globular burnished jars with parallels from MBIIA-B Lachish and Ruweise, and Syro-Palestinian store-jars, some of which are of a fabric from Tell ‘Arqa’s Akkar plain. Of the same fabric is a wheel-made cooking pot with a grooved, out-curved rim and grooved horizontal ridges along the body, a form that is additionally attested at Tell ‘Arqa. Traces of burning on the vessel point to its use by individuals travelling or living at Tell el-Dab’a. Therefore, the ceramic corpus from the settlement denotes the presence of a MBIIA-B culture at A/IV trading with both the Southern and Northern Levant, with a possible direct link with the area surrounding Tell ‘Arqa.

Among the houses were tombs with mudbrick-lined chambers of various sizes dating from the mid-Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasties (Stratum F-E/1 of the site’s general stratigraphy; see Figure 4.3). Reported finds include ceramics (e.g. incised piriform and ovoid Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware and burnished jugs), metallic items (e.g. a single-edged knife and toggle-pin), seals and seal impressions, as well as donkey burials in front of tombs’ entrances. With such elements, it is likely that Area A/IV housed the same Egyptian-Levantine hybrid culture observed in other areas at Tell el-Dab’a.

368 Hein, ‘Area A/IV’, fig. 2.
369 The inscribed prenomen, *Ny-mıs₃.*-t-ᴿ*, may also be that of the Thirteenth Dynasty king Khendjer (i.e. *Ny-mıs₃.*-t-(n.-t)-ᴿ*). Hein, ‘Area A/IV’, fig. 17; von Beckerath, *Zwischenzeit*, 49, 238-239.
Two seal impressions worthy of note are Sealings 8314 (Figure 4.19) and 7669 (Figure 4.20). Both were unearthed in later contexts, the first in Locus 62 and the second in the A/IV-j/6, yet both have been stylistically dated to the second half of Dynasty 13. Sealing 8314 is a fragment of fine silt with impressions of four figures (Figure 4.19). The first to the right stands holding the end of a curved stick. A long robe with a vertical fringe is draped over the shoulders and left arm. In a sub-register are three men with legs overlapping as if to mimic strides. They wear short kilts with horizontal ridges, much like the Asiatic men of Amenemhat’s tomb (No. 2) at Beni Hassan, and raise their arms. Due to the fragmentary nature of the impression, it remains uncertain whether all figures belong to the same seal or if they are Egyptian. The style of clothing, particularly for the larger figure, hints that they are Asiatics. Parallels from Kültepe, Tell Leilan, Mari and Ruweise indicate that the sealing derived from or was influenced by artistic traditions of the Northern Levant. The second sealing, 7669, is set upon a strip or ‘tongue’ of clay used for administrative purposes. It comprises four to five robed figures facing left and one facing right (Figure 4.20). The latter wears a headdress with two short protrusions to the top (a horn and spike), and a longer curl of hair down the back in a style typical of Northwest Syrian seals. The right arm is raised and holds a mace whereas the left arm, mostly damaged, carries a staff-like object. The posture indicates that the figure could be a deity, most probably a Levantine storm god who uniquely faces the right on seals. The other figures are depicted with long robes draped across the left shoulder with possible fringed hemlines. Each raises one hand as if in praise. Other elements of the seal include two

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373 Collon, in Timelines 2, 98, 101.

374 Collon, in Timelines 2, 97, fig. 1.

375 See Chapter 4.4.1.2; P. E. Newberry, Beni Hasan, vol. 1 (London, 1893), pl. 16.

376 Collon, in Timelines, 95.

377 Collon, in Timelines, 98.

378 Collon suggests that the tongue was most probably used for filing or identification. Collon, in Timelines, 99; Collon, First Impressions, 119.

379 Collon, in Timelines, 99-100, fig. 2.

380 Collon refers to Otto’s North-Western Syrian Group 2c. Collon, in Timelines, 99-101, fig. 2; A. Otto, Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klassisch-Syrischen Glyptik (Berlin, 1999), ns 159-160, 162.

381 This might be the shaft of an axe, the hair of an enemy or a spear. Collon, in Timelines, 100.

382 Collon, in Timelines, 99.

383 Collon, in Timelines, fig. 2.
crested birds and parts of a smaller or squatting figure (a monkey?). Again, such elements point to Northern Levantine art.

The two seals imply close artistic relations between Tell el-Dab‘a and the Northern Levant. Further publication of A/IV will clarify the nature of such links; however this initial examination indicates that the area shared the same connections with the Levant as witnessed across Tell el-Dab‘a.

4.2.2.7 Area A/V

Situated to the northeast of the main tell is A/V (Figure 4.2), an area of domestic occupation dating from the early Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Dynasty (strata E/1 – D/2; see Figure 4.3). The earliest stratum is represented by A/V-p/19 of a walled structure’s southeast corner (Figure 4.21) in which several pottery fragments of Egyptian and foreign shapes were uncovered. Locally made MBIIB forms include dipper juglets, red-polished bowls with incurved rims, globular pots with a burnished zigzag pattern around the neck, parallels of which may be found in Tell el-Maskhuta, Shechem and Tell ‘Arqa, and periform Tell el-Yahudiya jugs with horizontal combed grooves. Imported wares, which amount to 4.6% of the total ceramic finds, consist of MBIIB vessels like Syro-Palestinian store-jars and fragments of red-burnished monochrome jugs. Cypriote White Painted V sherds were also uncovered. The variety of wares stresses the hybrid character of A/V’s settlement. Its occupational context suggests that the inhabitants were familiar with foreign materials and technology, pointing to a cultural continuance from wares unearthed elsewhere at Tell el-Dab‘a.

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384 Collon, in Timelines, 100.
385 Collon, in Timelines, 100-101.
387 Hein and Jánosi, TeD 11, 28, fig. 3.
388 Hein and Jánosi, TeD 11, 28-35, figs 4-7.
390 Kopetzky, in TeD 11, 251, figs 165, 178.
391 Kopetzky, in TeD 11, 251, fig. 178.
392 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 809, figs 133 [4-7].
393 Cole, Shechem 1, 127, pl. 14 [h-i].
394 Thalmann, Tell Arqa 1, pl. M05 [6].
395 Hein and Jánosi, TeD 11, 29-31, figs 4 [12, 15].
396 Kopetzky, in TeD 11, 254, fig. 182.
397 Kopetzky, in TeD 11, 254, fig. 182.
398 Kopetzky, in TeD 11, 255, fig. 183.
4.2.2.8 Scientific analysis of characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics

Two main scientific analyses on Tell el-Dab’a’s Levantine ceramics have been carried out, one examined the chemical composition of pottery utilising the Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) process;\(^{399}\) and the other probed petrographic thin sections.\(^{400}\) Both assessed specimens from the Twelfth to the end of the Fifteenth Dynasties, mainly from Area A/II (strata H-D/3) and F/I (strata d/2-a/2) with a few samples from ‘Ezbet Rushdi, but both arrived at opposing conclusions. McGovern’s NAA study concluded that the majority of vessels were imported from Southern Palestine, particularly the region surrounding Tell el-‘Ajjul and Ashkelon.\(^{401}\) Conversely, Cohen-Weinberger and Goren’s petrographic analysis pointed to more varied sources for the vessels’ manufacture with most specimens deriving from the coastal Northern Levant.\(^{402}\) Methodological errors in the NAA study, such as the reliance on a limited and problematic database, draw much doubt on the results of the examination.\(^{403}\) Additionally, McGovern’s association of a vessel’s place of manufacture with ethnicity\(^{404}\) is not explained nor substantiated by the analysis. As such, his conclusions cannot be utilised here to establish trade or political connections between the people of Tell el-Dab’a and other foreign entities.

The petrographic analysis concluded that over 60% of vessels were imported from the Northern Levant across the late Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasties.\(^{405}\) Eleven fabric groups were identified from over 200 petrographic sections and assigned to various areas in the Levant (Table 4; Map 3), including the Northwestern Syrian coast (Groups A and E), the Lebanese coast (Groups B, C, D and E), Northern Israeli coast (Group E), Mount Carmel (Group F), the central coast of Israel (Group G), the Upper Shephelah, the Judean or Samarian Hills (Groups H, I and J) and the Negev Region (Group K).\(^{406}\)

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399 McGovern, *Foreign Relations of the Hyksos.

400 A. Cohen-Weinberger and Y. Goren, ‘Levantine-Egyptian Interactions during the 12\textsuperscript{th} to the 15\textsuperscript{th} Dynasties based on the Petrography of the Canaanite Pottery from Tell el-Dab’a’, A&L 14 (2004), 69-100.


As observed in Table 4, Group B was identified for vessels across Dynasties 12-15 in high quantities, thereby indicating the popular use and trade of this fabric at Tell el-Dab’a. Group D was common in the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty while vessels belonging to Groups A, C, and H-J are rare. This highly suggests that maritime trade between Tell el-Dab’a and the Levantine coast, particularly along the coast of the Akkar Plain and Tyre, was very active in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. As most specimens are derived from Dynasty 13, no comment can be made on shifts in trading activity from Dynasties 12-15, except that certain groups are utilised in the Thirteenth Dynasty (Group C) or after the Fourteenth Dynasty (Groups H-J), indicating possible new sources for ceramic manufacture and trade. If the samples are considered representative of the ceramic repertoire across the site and its stratigraphy, then figures reveal a slight decrease in imports from the Northern Levantine Groups A-E in the Fourteenth Dynasty (from 76.7% to 62%) and an increase in imports from the Southern Levantine Group K (from 7.8% to 19%). The data for the Fifteenth Dynasty, however, suggests a return to the observed numbers of the Thirteenth Dynasty with 74% of imports identified as Northern Levantine and 5.5% as of a Group K fabric. Although these results may be used as an indication of political changes during the Fourteenth Dynasty, they cannot be utilised as a definite reflection of the situation across the site until an equal number of petrographic sections are examined from the different strata. The results point to ongoing trade with particular regions before and during Hyksos rule, emphasising the continuance of foreign relations, and perhaps policy, with Levantine MBA cities.

As for expressions of ethnicity, the petrographic sections of cooking pots may shed light on the ethnic identity of people living at Tell el-Dab’a or their culinary preferences. Three specimens were examined from F/I d/2 (late Twelfth Dynasty), A/II F (mid-Thirteenth / Fourteenth Dynasty) and E/I (Fifteenth Dynasty). Accordingly, these derived from Groups F, E and J, indicating the presence of individuals at Tell el-Dab’a who utilised wares from both the Northern and Southern Levant for their cooking requirements.

4.2.2.9 Anthropological analysis of skeletal remains

Results of an analysis of 257 skeletal remains from burials of A/II were published in 1991 and included information regarding mortality, life expectancy, gender, craniometry and

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osteometry.\textsuperscript{409} Approximately half of the examined remains were of infants and neonates, leading the anthropologists to infer a high mortality rate for newborns (50%) and sub-adults (49.4%).\textsuperscript{410} Of the remaining half, 71 burials were ascribed to be of females and 49 of males, reflecting a greater ratio of females to males at A/II.\textsuperscript{411} As for the health of these individuals, an examination of pathological changes indicated a high rate of deficiency caused by either disease (infectious or parasitic) or poor nutrition,\textsuperscript{412} supporting the above hypothesis that A/II comprised the burials of a more general rather than elite population.

The craniometric, odontoscopic and osteometric results revealed close similarities between the A/II specimens and those from the region of the Near East and Europe.\textsuperscript{413} These were based only on 35 sets of measurements out of the 257 samples due to their poor state of preservation.\textsuperscript{414} The 35 stemmed from strata G-D/3, providing a good sampling of A/II’s population. When compared to the craniometry of other populations, the cranial measurements of primarily males at A/II reflected close affinities with the so-called ‘Phoenician’ group of samples from North Africa’s Carthage, Algeria and Tunisia, and the Northern Levant’s Kamid el-Loz.\textsuperscript{415} This has led some to suggest that males migrated from the Levant and then married local women at Tell el-Dab’a.\textsuperscript{416} Although possible, such a scenario cannot be substantiated by the craniometric results alone. Firstly, the craniometric samples from surrounding regions are not from contemporary contexts, with those from North Africa and Kamid el-Loz stemming from the Iron Age.\textsuperscript{417} Secondly, greater sampling is needed from the Delta as well as other areas of the Levant. Thirdly, the determination of ancestry based on craniometry is not an exact science but one which has been disputed in several studies.\textsuperscript{418} Therefore, the results of the craniometric analysis cannot be used here as evidence for the origins of A/II’s population.


\textsuperscript{410} Winkler and Wilfing, \textit{TeD} 6, 77-78, 140, tables 11-12.

\textsuperscript{411} Winkler and Wilfing, \textit{TeD} 6.

\textsuperscript{412} Winkler and Wilfing, \textit{TeD} 6, 122-137, 140.

\textsuperscript{413} Winkler and Wilfing, \textit{TeD} 6, 90-120.

\textsuperscript{414} Winkler and Wilfing, \textit{TeD} 6, 90-120, appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{415} Winkler and Wilfing, \textit{TeD} 6, 90-98, 120.

\textsuperscript{416} Bietak, \textit{Avaris}, 36.

\textsuperscript{417} Winkler and Wilfing, \textit{TeD} 6, table 25.

4.2.2.10 Significance of Tell el-Dab’a

The combined evidence from Tell el-Dab’a reflects a growing community with shared Egyptian and Levantine elements across the domestic, architectural, religious and cultic spheres, summaries of which are presented in Tables 5-9. From the Eleventh Dynasty, the first signs of non-Egyptian elements occur at F/I with sherds of holemouth cooking pots uncovered at a planned Egyptian settlement. Despite F/I’s resettlement during the late Twelfth Dynasty, temple and tomb architecture across Tell el-Dab’a remained Egyptian. Yet, finds within these structures indicate a growing heterogeneity at the site. Syro-Palestinian store-jars, Levantine Painted Wares and cooking pots from ‘Ezbet Rushdi’’s temple were predominantly derived from the Northern Levant, particularly Byblos, much like the ceramic repertoire from settlements at F/I, A/II and A/IV with the latter featuring approximately 20% more MBA pottery than F/I. Additionally, the funerary kit of burials at F/I and A/II was largely influenced by Levantine customs with the deposition of weaponry, silver jewellery and animal offerings of caprids and equids either within or before the tombs. Interestingly, a greater percentage of MBA pottery bearing influences from the Northern Levant has been uncovered in burials from A/II (56%) than F/I (20%) with objects from F/I burials suggesting that they belonged to a higher echelon, although tomb robbing may have distorted the data. If the elite were buried at F/I and the general populace was interred at A/II, the mostly Egyptian ceramic corpus at F/I tombs can be explained by greater Egyptian influences on the elite. Therefore, the elite of the late Twelfth Dynasty may have been acculturated Levantines and/or Egyptians influenced by Levantine customs. Both inferences are possible, reflecting rulers of a heterogeneous Egyptian-Levantine populace at A/II trading mostly with cities of the Northern Levantine coast. Houses containing Egyptian and Levantine features at F/I also support this heterogeneous character of the population.

Such a proposition is promising when evidence from the first half of Dynasty 13 is examined. The construction of an Egyptian-style administrative complex at F/I with tombs of, presumably, its officials, denotes Tell el-Dab’a’s rising significance in the Delta, perhaps replacing Tell Basta’s mayoral seat of power. Continued trade with the Northern Levant is evident alongside added artistic inspirations on, for example, the statue uncovered in the complex’s courtyard and the cylinder seal of Baal. The prosperity of the site was short-lived as F/I’s complex was suddenly abandoned, suggesting a possible political intermission. A

settlement developed shortly after with graves displaying greater trade relations with the Levant and more noticeable influences from the Southern Levant. Locally and imported MBA forms in the ceramic corpus increase to 40%, signifying heightened trade, greater demand or a rise in population numbers. A possible antagonism may have existed over F/I’s former ruler(s) with the deliberate smashing of its complex’s hybridised statue. Additionally, a high mortality rate is witnessed by the shallow graves of F/I and A/II, possibly connected to conflict, disease and/or the influx of people.

The second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, or the Fourteenth Dynasty as some posit, features F/I’s continued settlement but with greater social differentiation. Major changes occur at A/II with a new settlement alongside a sacred precinct of Egyptian chapels, the Levantine-inspired Temple III and new burial features. The phenomenon of attendant burials is observed at F/I and A/II, representing, at the very least, a status marker of the affluent elite. Officials continued their involvement in trade as apparent from the finds of F/II’s workshop and A/IV’s seal impressions. So, links with the Northern Levantine coast persisted but can, for the first time, be definitively associated with more than trade relations as reflected by, for instance, the scimitar of Tomb p-14-Nr 18, a cultic pit with human and animal remains, and the architecture of Temple III. Thus, some rulers of Tell el-Dab’a were possibly of Northern Levantine ethnicity. The inhabitants of the site are likely to have been of a more heterogeneous or creole character, originating from various areas across the Levant and Egypt as evident by ceramic forms and scarabs uncovered at the settlements of F/I, A/II and A/IV.

The differences between the first and second halves of the Thirteenth Dynasty, featuring the above-mentioned high mortality rate and the abandonment of F/I’s administration, indicate a possible political turnover after which an increased reflection of foreign culture and religion is apparent. It is important to note that such a transition most likely affected the ruling echelon and not the general populace who seemingly continued along the same settlement structures and material culture as the previous phase, although an influx of people from surrounding regions is possible. The rulers, on the other hand, would have had the newly enforced power to instigate and manage the construction of such public works as those of the sacred precinct, which are not only absent at such scales at Tell el-Dab’a in previous phases, but which could also hypothetically legitimise the new regime’s power and authority over an Egyptian-Levantine populace.

From the late Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasties, a continuance and development of trade relations, administration and cultic practices are evident. A settlement developed in
R/III and new temples were constructed at F/I and A/II, the latter paralleling Southern Levantine architecture. Rituals connected to these temples seem to be of non-Egyptian, possibly Northern Levantine, origins, such as the practice of cultic meals, the sacrifice of donkeys and pigs, and the use of libation pipes. The transference of ritual practices to the administrative sphere is inferred by pits filled with remnants of so-called ‘ritual banqueting’ near the forecourt of F/II’s complex. Evidence for trading relations with Memphis/Fayum, Nubia, Cyprus and the Northern and Southern Levant can also be found. Worthy of note is the lack of direct evidence for a possible invasion or conflict, for which the only indication is circumstantial and can be found in the conflagration of F/II’s magazines.

The first half of Dynasty 15 can be described as a continuation of the previous phase but with increases in: burials, local ceramic production and, possibly, housing. Such data infers a rise in population which, in itself, would point to the site’s growing prosperity. This may also be deduced from Temple III’s renovation and the first signs of cultic rituals around its altar. In turn, the heightened prosperity signifies an efficient administration able to manage and sustain stability, attracting more people into Tell el-Dab’a. The site from which the administration decreed its schemes was possibly located at the complex of F/II. Here, items such as Memphite, Cypriote, Levantine and Nubian pottery, Near-Eastern style seal impressions and an Akkadian cuneiform tablet, signify the promotion of trade relations with Tell el-Dab’a’s neighbours who were possibly greeted at the complex’s pillared halls. Conversely, the developments and popularity of the local ceramic industry hint at further regionalisation or ‘Nilotisation’. The practice of ritual banqueting in administrative areas also continued, but with the added custom of burying severed hands, a tantalising hint of conflict in Dynasty 15 otherwise absent from the archaeological record at Tell el-Dab’a.

Hence, the data from Tell el-Dab’a reflects the growth of a trading hub initially controlled by the Middle Kingdom Memphite administration. Slowly, the site grew in prosperity under local officials of possible Northern Levantine ethnicity. During the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, a marked change occurred, possibly instigated by a political turnover, as foreign cultic rituals influenced by those of the Northern Levant became more pronounced. Tell el-Dab’a continued to flourish through to the Fifteenth Dynasty with increased contact with the Southern Levant and greater trade with Nubia and Cyprus, when complete independence from the Memphite Residence evidently secured the site’s position as a major trading centre in the Mediterranean.

4.2.3 Farasha, Tell (Tell el-Maghud)

Lat. Lon. 30°41’N 31°43’E


Chron. Second Intermediate Period

Tell Farasha is located between Tell Basta and Tell el-Dab’a. Excavations in 1972 uncovered 16 graves assigned to the Second Intermediate Period. The burials have not been published in full, but a short report notes their similarity in architecture and funerary equipment to tombs at Tell el-Dab’a. Some were rectangular graves with mud-brick walls and vaulted roofs. Skeletons within were semi-contraction. Burial goods included animal remains, scarabs, bronze weapons, bronze earrings, and Tell el-Yahudiya ware. Based on the publication of the latter (Figure 4.22), a few may be identified as Piriform 2a and small globular vessels with parallels from Tell el-Dab’a E/1-D/2. Other biconical and piriform shapes are also observed. The vessels assign the tombs to the Fifteenth Dynasty. Until all material is published, it is only possible to stipulate that the site may have had some access to Levantine(-influenced) commodities.

4.2.4 Habwa I, Tell el- (Tjaru)

Lat. Lon. 30°54’N 32°17’E

Refs Abd el-Maksoud, ASAЕ 65 (1983), 1-3; Seiler, CCE 5 (1997), 23-30; Abd el-Maksoud, Tell Heboua; Maksoud and Valbelle, RdE 56 (2005), 1-44.

Chron. Late Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty, Second Intermediate Period

Tell el-Habwa I is positioned near a Nile distributary at the entrance of the North Sinai (Figures 4.23-4.25). The tell’s strategic location and massive New Kingdom fortification have recently led scholars to link it with Tjaru, the first pit-stop on the ‘Ways of Horus’. Such a
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

designation indicates Tell el-Habwa’s possible function as a merging point on the highway with the Southern Levant.430

Abd el-Maksoud classifies the site’s stratigraphy into five levels for Areas A and B and four levels for Area C, with all generally ranging from the Middle Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman period.431 Pertinent to this study are Levels 4b, 4c, 5a and 5b (Areas A and B) of the Middle Kingdom and first half of the Second Intermediate Period.

4.2.4.1 Area B, Level 5b

The level is mostly unexcavated, but Abd el-Maksoud records the discovery of a few Middle Kingdom items from Area B, including:432 an incomplete alabaster statuette of a seated man;433 a seal with the name of Senwosret II;434 a bekhen vase with Senwosret I’s Horus name;435 and three fragments of an inscribed left door jamb (Figure 4.26). The latter were discovered scattered in an earlier layer of debris from Room C, Building I, and damaged by fire.436 Reconstructed as one column, they read:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FRAGMENT</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>![Image of a fragment]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ hi̊p di [ nsu.w ] Wid.yt nb.t Im.t | di=s htp.wt dfj3.w ih.t [nb.t nfr.t] ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An offering which the [king] gives and Wadjet, the Lady of Imet, that she may provide [every good] thing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


430 Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 30-33.
431 So far, the earliest excavated level at Area C dates to the transitional period between the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom (Level 3). Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 35-40.
433 Item 497 from Area B/3. Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 268, fig. 50.
434 Item 447 from Area B/3. Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 255-259, fig. 44. As the seal was found amongst items of the late Second Intermediate Period, it is very possible that it could have been retrieved from an earlier level or a nearby site.
436 Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 271.
437 Transcription follows Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 271, pl. 1. Transliteration and translation are by author.
The name, ‘pr-Bś’t, follows the ‘pr-DN pattern, where DN is typically a Levantine deity who, in this case, is Baal. The spelling सम्पूर्ण Baš’t for Baal’s name is otherwise unattested for the Middle Kingdom, but सम्पूर्ण Baś’t is found on two Middle Kingdom unprovenanced scarabs, verifying Baal’s worship in Egypt before Hyksos rule.442 The acquisition of the sequential titles ‘seal-bearer of the king, sole companion, overseer of the treasury’ not only suggests a late Middle Kingdom date,443 but also highlights that this Levantine was an individual of high status. Being ‘beloved of Wadjet’, an Egyptian god, additionally implies his assumption of Egyptian cultural traits.

Some have connected ‘pr-Bś’t with another from Apophis’s reign.444 The latter is mentioned on an offering stand in the Berlin Museum (22487) only as im.y-rś’t hmt.t ‘pr ... ‘overseer of the treasury, ‘pr... ‘.445 Due to the incomplete name446 and lack of any similarities in titles save for

438 Ward, Index, 104-105 [864], 170 [1472].
439 Ward, Index, 151 [1299].
440 Quirke identifies the sequence ‘seal-bearer of the king, sole companion and overseer of the treasury’ to be of more ‘national’ significance in the administration. For more, see Ward, Index, 171 [1476]; S. Quirke, Title and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC (London, 2004), 48-49.
441 For more on this name form, see W. A. Ward, ‘A New Chancellor of the Fifteenth Dynasty’, OLP 6/7 (1976), 593; T. Schneider, ‘Die semitischen und ägyptischen Namen der syrischen Sklaven des Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 Verso’, UF 19 (1987), 258; T. Schneider, Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches, OBO 114 (Gottingen, 1992), 66-69; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 141-142 and references.
442 Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 142; G. Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, (Oxford, 1971)30 [319-320], pl. 10 [14].
443 Quirke, Titles and Bureaux, 49.
444 W. Grajetzki, Two Treasurers of the Late Middle Kingdom, BAR International Series 1007 (Oxford, 2001), 37-38; Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle, RdE 56 (2005), 11.
445 The complete inscription reads ... ṯepi ši ‘nḥ sn.t nsw.t ṯny im.y-rś’t hmt.t ‘pr... ‘... Apophis, may he give/be given life, king’s sister, Tany, overseer of the treasury Aper...’. The offering stand is originally from the Twelfth Dynasty. H. W. Helck, Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie (Wiesbaden, 1995), 57 [82]; W. K. Simpson, ‘The Hyksos Princess Tany’, CdE 34 (1959), 237.
446 Krauss’s line drawing of the inscription includes the beginning of a damaged glyph following ‘pr. Krauss proposes that it is a šwr sign whereas Ryholt indicates that it could be an š for ‘pr-r[s] or a šš for ‘pr-d[d]. Schneider offers šš ir as another possibility for ‘pr-ir. On the other hand, Goedicke writes that ‘pr might signal the beginning of a title. In all cases, based on the size and shape of the damaged hieroglyph, the sign could not represent glyphs for Baal’s name. Thus, it is most likely that the two inscriptions did not belong to the same treasurer. H.
one, the association of the two remains questionable. Furthermore, Abd el-Maksoud assigns the lintel fragments to Level 5b which, according to the site’s stratigraphy, dates to the Middle Kingdom.\footnote{Goedicke, ‘A New Hyksos Inscription’, JSSEA 7/4 (1977), 12, n. 6; R. Krauss, ‘Zur Problematic der Nubienpolitik Kamose sowie Hyksosherrschaft in Oberägypten’, Orientalia 62/2 (1993), 27-28, pl. 2; Ryholt, Political Situation, 129-130; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 141-142.} So, ‘pr-B‘sr has been considered here as evidence for the Thirteenth Dynasty presence of elite Asians at Tell el-Habwa.

4.2.4.2 Areas A and B, Level 5a

Excavations revealed a number of inscriptions bearing the name ‘Nehsy’.\footnote{Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 39.} Their discovery connotes the site’s possible occupation during Dynasty 14.\footnote{Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 39, 271-273; Abd el-Maksoud, ASAE 69 (1983), figs 1-2; Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle, RdE 56 (2005), 5-10, figs 3-4, 6.} Another item which may date to either this level or the following (Level 4c) is a seated statue (Figure 4.27).\footnote{The Fourteenth Dynasty date for one stela may be under question as it mentions the son of Re Nehsy and Tany together, the latter being otherwise known as Apophis’s affiliate. See Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 39; Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle, RdE 56 (2005), 10-11, fig. 6, pl. V.} The statue’s base is inscribed with \[\text{karb.\,ty\,n\,Tgrw\,Sth-m-wsh.t\,whm\,‘nh\,district \,councillor\,of\,Tjaru,}^541\text{ Setekhemwesekhet, renewed life’}. The councillor’s name may indicate reverence to Seth.

4.2.4.3 Area B, Level 4c

Level 4c is documented as the first stratum with substantial early Second Intermediate Period remains.\footnote{Abd el-Maksoud and Valbelle, RdE 56 (2005), 7-8, fig. 5, pl. 4.} As it only has thus far been identified through one survey, the repertoire of finds is minor, but comprises a varied ceramic assemblage of Egyptian and Levantine-influenced pottery.\footnote{The title is in use from the late Middle Kingdom onwards. Ward, Index, 179 [1546]; Quirke, Titles and Bureaux, 113.} The latter includes piriform and cylindrical Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware manufactured from Nile silt (Figure 4.28).\footnote{Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 201; Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 55, fig. 12; A. Seiler, ‘Hebua I. Second Intermediate Period and Early New Kingdom Pottery’, CCE 5 (1997), 26, fig. 6. See also Kaplan, Tell el Yahudiyyeh Ware, 21-22, 42.} One Piriform 2a juglet matches Levantine wares of the MBIIA-B period which become popular at Tell el-Dab’a from strata E/2-E/1 (early half of the Second Intermediate Period).\footnote{Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua, 38; Al-Ayedi, Tharu, 101.} The excavation report does not specify other finds belonging to this level.
4.2.4.4 Area B, Level 4b

Level 4b is marked by the construction of new granaries and houses while existing ones continued in use.\(^{465}\) Houses are generally rectangular and constructed out of mudbrick with two (MS.II, MS.III, MS.IV and MS.V) or three rooms (MS.I), and are mostly located in Area B’s western sector (Figure 4.24).\(^{457}\) MS.V is situated between this settlement area and the granaries with its entrance positioned at the southern wall of GR.I, one of the largest mudbrick granaries of Level 4b.\(^{458}\) Six silos were identified in GR.I with six inhumations on the granary floor (T.106, T.109, T.110, T.112, T.113 and T.114) and three tombs within silos (T.107 and T.108 in SI.2; T.111 in SI.6) (Figure 4.25).\(^{459}\) All but three (T.106, T.107 and T.112) can be ascribed to Level 4b.\(^{460}\) Bodies were mostly contracted with only one instance in which the skeleton is in an extended position (T.113).\(^{461}\) Grave goods are absent. To the east of GR.I are other granaries without burials.\(^{462}\) Pertinent ceramics include two imported Levantine wares (Figure 4.29 [13]).\(^{463}\) The vessels’ brown-red conical form and button base parallel MBA jugs from Lachish.\(^{464}\) Classic Kerma cups were also uncovered,\(^{465}\) indicating possible relations with Upper Nubia.

Tell el-Habwa’s function as a storage location for foodstuffs such as grain or barley becomes more evident in this level. The number of silos and their close proximity to houses denote the site’s rising economic importance whereas the presence of burials with contracted individuals within the settlement hint at the non-Egyptian origin of some inhabitants. The presence of Cypriote and Levantine ceramics additionally points to trade with nearby regions. Nonetheless, the largely Egyptian architecture and ceramic repertoire\(^ {466}\) indicate that, until Level 4b, the majority of people at Tell el-Habwa were Egyptian or acculturated Levantines.

\(^{456}\) The report does not specify to which level the existing remains are attributed. Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 38.

\(^{457}\) Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 52-62, fig. 19.

\(^{458}\) Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 59-61, fig. 19, pl. 5 [a].

\(^{459}\) Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 59, fig. 25.


\(^{461}\) Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 96-97.

\(^{462}\) GR.II with silos SI.7 and SI.8, GR.III with SI.9 and SI.10, and GR.IV with SI.14 and SI.15. Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 62-66.

\(^{463}\) Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 38.


\(^{466}\) For the pottery assemblage, see Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 167-245.
4.2.4.5 Other

Within the published corpora are ceramics that bear a high degree of similarity with those of nearby sites. Despite being catalogued as Level 4 finds, the exact sub-stratum is not clearly defined. Based on their form and style, it is possible to place the following in the Second Intermediate Period:

- **Cups** (Figure 4.29 [1-10]):\(^{467}\) Common at Tell el-Habwa, particularly the settlement area, they are manufactured of Nile silt and are mostly red-slipped. Four forms (Groups Ia, Ib, Ig and Ih) have characteristics that are shared with MBA cups from Tell el-Maskhuta\(^ {468}\) and Tell el-Dab’a strata E/1-D/3 (flat-bottomed bases with simple or slightly rolled lips).\(^ {469}\) They most likely date from Level 4b or later.

- **Plates** (Figure 4.29 [16-17]):\(^ {470}\) Three vessels of rough Nile silt with rounded bodies and flat bases (Groups XXVe and XXVf) are much like specimens from strata E/1-D/3 at Tell el-Dab’a.\(^ {471}\)

- **Jugs**:\(^ {472}\) Level 4a’s Tomb T.103 contained three jugs of non-Egyptian fabric, two with a fine polished surface (110/Via and 111/Vlb; Figure 4.29 [14-15]), and the third with a brown body (114/Vle). Their forms are reminiscent of MBA jugs from Jericho,\(^ {473}\) Megiddo\(^ {474}\) and Lachish.\(^ {475}\)

Another probable indicator of non-Egyptian presence is the discovery of up to five equid burials.\(^ {476}\) Details of their date and structure remain unpublished.

The finds from Tell el-Habwa illustrate the site’s emerging importance as a food supply point. The presence of a Levantine treasurer from its earliest levels as well as later evidence of

\(^{467}\) Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 167-171.
\(^{468}\) See Redmount, *Wadi Tumilat*, fig. 135 [2-8].
\(^{469}\) See Bietak, *BASOR* 281 (1992), fig.10.
\(^{470}\) Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 228-233.
\(^{471}\) Bietak, *BASOR* 281 (1992), fig. 10.
\(^{472}\) Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 94, 191-193. T.103 is the only vaulted rectangular mudbrick tomb thus far uncovered at the site. A bronze dagger was found within the tomb. The Jericho specimen is similar to Jug 114/Vle. See K. M. Kenyon and T. A. Holland, *Excavations at Jericho*, vol. 4: *The Pottery Type Series and Other Finds* (Jerusalem and London, 1982), pl. 7 [8].
\(^{474}\) Jugs 110/Via and 114/Vle are comparable to vessels from Lachish. Tufnell, *Lachish* 4, pls 74 [672], 77 [766].
Levantine(-influenced) products insinuates ongoing Asiatic influence which, as implied by Level 4a and 3 remains, continued throughout the Second Intermediate Period and New Kingdom.477 Although inconclusive, this influence was apparently primarily from the Southern Levant. Indeed, the site is situated at a strategic point between Tell el-Dab’a, the Sinai and the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, it is not surprising to find an increasing number of imported goods. The high number of silos signifies a growing need or policy to store grains. Due to the lack of rich burials from the early levels at Tell el-Habwa, the tell’s primary function may have been as a storage and supply facility rather than a trading point. Consumers would have consequently included inhabitants of the surrounding region, particularly Tell el-Dab’a. Effectually, this could explain why ‘the southern prince’ of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus purportedly attacked Tjaru before striking Avaris:478 he employed the proven method of depleting a target’s food supply before attacking its city.479

4.2.5 Inshas

Lat. Lon. 31°21’N 31°27’E


Chron. Second Intermediate Period (?)

Inshas is located in the southern Delta, northeast of Tell el-Yahudiyyah. The site was excavated by Habachi who reportedly uncovered at least 70 ‘Hyksos burials’480 The finds are unpublished but details of the excavation are found in Desroches-Noblecourt’s two-page report.481 The tombs are described as rectangular mudbrick burials with vaulted roofs built in a distinctly new style (i.e. ‘très nouveau’) (Figure 4.30).482 Within the burials were contracted bodies.483 Grave goods include so-called ‘Hyksos scarabs’ and Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglets.484 The vessels’ shape and fabric are not published, but Habachi apparently ascribes their form to similar juglets from Tell el-Dab’a’s earlier Middle Kingdom strata.485 A probable indicator of Levantine influence are equid remains

477 See Abd el-Maksoud, Tell el-Heboua.
478 Helck, Historisch-Biographische, 78 [113]; Redford, in Hyksos, 16.
479 This view is also shared by Al-Ayedi, Thoru, 167-169.
482 Desroches-Noblecourt, BSFE 1 (1949), 12.
483 Desroches-Noblecourt, BSFE 1 (1949), 12.
unearthed before at least a dozen burials.\textsuperscript{486} As no chronological deductions can yet be ascertained, these burials could point to a Levantine presence at Inshas during the Second Intermediate Period or, if Habachi’s analysis of the pottery is correct, possibly even the late Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{487}

4.2.6 Khata’na, el-

\textit{Lat.Lon.} 30°47’N 31°49’E


\textit{Chron.} Second Intermediate Period

El-Khata’na lies approximately southwest of Tell el-Dab’a, near Qantir (see Figure 4.2). Several monuments attest to the site’s occupation during the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{488} Pertinent to this study are finds from a Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate cemetery.\textsuperscript{489} A complete publication of material is not available, yet Griffith has elaborated upon some finds.\textsuperscript{490} These include a seven month old infant’s burial in an oval jar, the fabric and style of which are unknown.\textsuperscript{491} Other burials contained scarabs (Figure 4.31 [1-12]), pottery (Figure 4.31 [13-27]), small flints and two bronze items: a 15.4 cm spearhead and an axe (Figure 4.31 [28]).\textsuperscript{492} Scarabs range from Thirteenth Dynasty to Second Intermediate Period styles. Out of the 13 published scarabs, four bear foreign elements:

- Two scarabs with the Horus falcon and \(\textfirstletter{h}\) sign, one of which contained a ‘shrine’ panel (Figure 4.31 [2, 8]. All elements are of Ben-Tor’s early Canaanite series, are similar to those of early MBIIIB Megiddo;\textsuperscript{493}

\begin{footnotesize}

\textsuperscript{486} Desroches-Noblecourt, \textit{BSFE} 1 (1949), 12-13.
\textsuperscript{487} Equid burials are only attested at Tell el Dab’a strata H-E/1. If the burial custom was practiced at the same time throughout the Delta, then the interments at Inshas may similarly date between the Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasty. See Forstner-Müller, in \textit{The Second Intermediate Period}, 132.
\textsuperscript{488} See PM 4, 9.
\textsuperscript{489} E. Naville, \textit{The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh and the Land of Goshen} (London, 1889), 21-22. Current excavations at el-Khata’na North are being conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute. Only New Kingdom remains from the site have been published. For more, see I. Forstner Müller et al., ‘Geophysical Survey 2007 at Tell el-Dab’a’, \textit{A&L} 17 (2007), 97-100.
\textsuperscript{490} E. Naville, and F. L. Griffith, \textit{The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias. The Antiquities of Tell el-Yahudiyyeh} (London, 1890), 56-57.
\textsuperscript{491} Other similar jars were uncovered, but it is uncertain whether or not these contained human remains. Some included charcoal and ash remnants. Naville and Griffith, \textit{Mound of the Jew}, 56; Naville, \textit{Shrine of Saft el-Henneh}, 21-22.
\textsuperscript{492} Naville, \textit{Shrine of Saft el-Henneh}, 21; Naville and Griffith, \textit{Mound of the Jew}, 56-57, pl. 19.
\textsuperscript{493} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A4, 3B4 and 3E2. Naville and Griffith, \textit{Mound of the Jew}, pl. 19 [2, 8]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 76-77, 135, pl. 52 [17, 19].

\end{footnotesize}
• A hollowed-out scarab with a standing falcon-headed figure holding a cobra, an artistic component popular in the late MBIIB to MBIIC period (Figure 4.31 [11]).

• A hollowed-out scarab with an L-shaped red crown, a feature common in MBIIB period scarabs (Figure 4.31 [12]).

Of the ceramic assemblage, cylindrical and piriform Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware were collected (Figure 4.31 [16, 27]). Red polished jugs, an ovoidal black polished juglet and flat-based cups were also unearthed (Figure 4.31 [13, 15, 20-21]). Combined, the assemblage corresponds with that of Tell el-Dab’a’s strata E/1-D/3, or the Fifteenth Dynasty.

Little else is known of the material from el-Khata’na. The site’s close proximity to Tell el-Dab’a suggests a possible function connected with its earlier Middle Kingdom occupation. Therefore, it may be surmised that el-Khata’na was visited or influenced by a culture bearing Southern Levantine MBIIB traditions during the Second Intermediate Period.

4.2.7 Maskhuta, Tell el- (Tjeku)

Lat. Lon. 30°33’N 32°06’E


Chron. Second Intermediate Period

Located in the eastern Wadi Tumilat and spanning an area of approximately two hectares is Tell el-Mailshuta, the largest site in the Wadi and the second most excavated Second Intermediate Period mound in the Delta. The site is strategically situated upon high ground at a point where the valley constricts (Figure 4.32A), enabling settlers to better control and/or discern movement along the valley floor. Following investigations by

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494 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 10A. Similar scarabs are found at Tell el-ʾAjul, Gezer, Megiddo and Jericho. Naville and Griffith, Mound of the Jews, pl. 19 [11]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 179, pls 99-102-103.

495 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B3d. Naville and Griffith, Mound of the Jews, pl. 19 [12]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 130.

496 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Group L1 and L12. Naville and Griffith, Mound of the Jews, pl. 19 [16]; Kaplan, Tell el-Yahudiyyeh, figs 6 [f], 7 [e], 48 [f]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 206-211, 265.

497 Naville and Griffith, Mound of the Jews, pl. 19 [13, 15].


499 Holladay notes that the valley floor would have provided the easiest route for transportation through the Wadi. Another constriction at the western end of the valley bears the location of Tell el-Retaba.
Naville, Petrie and Clédat, Holladay Jr. directed a team from the University of Toronto between 1978-1985 (Figure 4.32a), uncovering six phases of so-called ‘Hyksos occupation’. Based on the pottery assemblage, Holladay and Redmount correlate these phases between the end of Tell el-Dab’a’s stratum E/1 and the beginning of stratum D/3.

As the relative chronology for the individual phases is yet to be ascertained, data from all six phases has been included in this examination. Furthermore, the ceramic assemblage remains unpublished and, where investigated, is only done so as a complete corpus. The following phases only include the “temporal modifications noted” by excavators, with a subsequent section detailing Levantine influences on the pottery.

4.2.7.1 Phases 1 and 2

Remains are scarce and scattered. The settlement included rectangular houses, with perimeter walls occurring in Phase 2 (Figures 4.33-34). Between two of these structures is Locus 6116, an area defined by a small circular pit filled with intact pottery vessels connected with drinking (mostly cups, juglets, ring-stands and bowls), suggesting a link with the Levantine marzeah ritual. Circular structures resembling silos are also scattered across the site, some appearing within house courtyards.

(Chapter 4.2.9), which similarly offers a good vantage point for detecting movement in the Wadi. Holladay, Tell El-Maskhuta, 11-12; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 106, 111, figs 13-14. Naville possibly uncovered a Second Intermediate Period burial. E. Naville, The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus (London, 1888). 11. For more on Naville’s excavations, see also Holladay, Tell El-Maskhuta, 3; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 150-151.


Holladay, Tell El-Maskhuta; Redmount, JMA 5/2 (1995), 67.


The grouping of Phase 1 with 2 is after Redmount’s classification of the findings. Thus far, her dissertation presents the most detailed examination of the site. Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier.

Holladay, Tell El-Maskhuta, 50, pl. 1; Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), 68-78; Redmount, BA 58/4 (1995), 184-188; Holladay, in Hyksos, pls 7 [1-18]. A more detailed examination of the assemblage may be found in Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 770-901, figs 126-149.

Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 770.

Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 231.

Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 162-164, fig. 5.

Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 234; Holladay, in Hyksos, 196.

Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 231-234; Holladay, in Hyksos, 162-164.
Tombs can be found within Areas L, H and the excavated settlement.\textsuperscript{512} Vaulted mudbrick roofs atop rectangular pits are the norm, with four dating to Phase 1 and three to Phase 2.\textsuperscript{513} Adults and/or infants were usually buried in individual tombs, with the majority lying flexed on one side.\textsuperscript{514} Body orientation varied.\textsuperscript{515} Caprid bones were discovered within the tombs whereas equid skeletons were found outside two tombs, one from each phase.\textsuperscript{516} Grave goods include ceramics (juglets, bowls, beakers, cups and ringstands), a gold earring, silver adornments (headbands, bracelets, earrings, chokers, a ring, and armband fragments) and bronze items (toggle-pins, daggers, and an axe).

13 scarabs have also been discovered within these tombs, with another unearthed in the settlement (Figure 4.44). Of pertinence are:

- One scarab with a convoluted coil pattern, possibly from the Levant (Figure 4.44 [4]),\textsuperscript{517}
- One scarab with the figure of a man wearing a short, possibly striped kilt holding a flower in his right hand and another unidentified item in his left. Other signs around the figure may also be present (Figure 4.44 [5]),\textsuperscript{518}
- One scarab with two cobras flanking a kneeling figure with a probable mythical head (Figure 4.44 [2]),\textsuperscript{519}
- One scarab with two cobras wearing red crowns.\textsuperscript{520}

Overall, most scarabs stylistically belong to the late Thirteenth Dynasty. Designs such as the horned animal, the two cobras either flanking a mythical figure or wearing red crowns, and the standing figure carrying a flower, all point to Levantine influences.\textsuperscript{521}

Of the pottery corpus, Holladay notes the dominance of the handmade flat-bottomed cooking pots (38%) against the wheel-made holemouth cooking pots (0%) in Phase 1.\textsuperscript{522} By

\textsuperscript{512} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, 234; Holladay, \textit{Tell El-Maskhuṭa}, 44.
\textsuperscript{513} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, table 39.
\textsuperscript{514} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, table 39.
\textsuperscript{515} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, table 39.
\textsuperscript{516} Equid remains were discovered south of Tomb L12.12321 from Phase 1, and at the head of L12.12317 from Phase 2. Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, table 39.
\textsuperscript{517} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 6C3. D. Ben-Tor suggests a Levantine origin. D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 90-91.
\textsuperscript{518} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 10A. D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 98-100.
\textsuperscript{519} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9C and 10C. D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 95-97, 100-101.
\textsuperscript{520} Weinstein, \textit{BASOR} 288 (1992), 33, 39-40, n. 17.
\textsuperscript{521} See D. Ben Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 66-68.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

Phase 2, the handmade cooking pots still dominated the corpus (36%), yet more wheel-made holemouth cooking pots occurred (4%).\textsuperscript{523} The flat-based cooking pots are typical of the MBIIA period in both the Northern and Southern Levant,\textsuperscript{524} while the holemouth cooking pots are characteristic of the MBIB and MBIIC, their bulbous rims finding parallels with those from EBA Ebla.\textsuperscript{525} The majority of both types are of Nile silt,\textsuperscript{526} giving evidence that local manufacturers had some knowledge in Levantine pottery-making.

4.2.7.2 Phase 3

Phase 3 features the first signs of substantial building activity with the construction of well-built houses and larger, more common, silos (Figure 4.35).\textsuperscript{527} The custom of filling a round pit with drinking vessels continued and is evident in two pits in Area R6 filled with neatly arranged cups, bowls and cup-stands.\textsuperscript{528}

At least three tombs were discovered in front of houses,\textsuperscript{529} one of which consisted of a simple burial of a newborn infant outside House B in Area R7/R8.\textsuperscript{530} The neonate is buried in an extended position in an imported MBIIA or MBIIA-B Syro-Palestinian store-jar, a clear ethnic marker for the presence of Levantines.\textsuperscript{531}

Redmount notes a possible occupational break between Phases 3 and 4, basing her theory on Pit 1184 which cut into a Phase 3 house and was sealed by Phase 4 structures, and Pit 12256 which also cut into a previous perimeter wall.\textsuperscript{532}

4.2.7.3 Phase 4

The site’s layout remained the same except for the addition of a perimeter wall along a north-south axis delineating the excavated area into two sections:\textsuperscript{533} (1) an eastern compound in which Phase 3’s R1 structures were replaced with boundary walls and courtyard structures; and (2) the western compound of R7/R8 with House B and a large

\textsuperscript{522} See above n. 38; Holladay, in Hyksos, 190, n. 18.
\textsuperscript{523} Holladay, in Hyksos, 190.
\textsuperscript{524} Holladay, in Hyksos, 190; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 831.
\textsuperscript{525} Holladay, in Hyksos, 195, pl. 7 [18]; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 831.
\textsuperscript{526} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 820.
\textsuperscript{527} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 234; Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 164; Holladay, in Hyksos, 190-192.
\textsuperscript{528} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 237; Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 165.
\textsuperscript{529} Holladay, in Hyksos, 192.
\textsuperscript{530} Burial R8.8112. Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 164; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, table 39.
\textsuperscript{531} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 847, fig. 179; Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), 77.
\textsuperscript{532} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 237.
\textsuperscript{533} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 237, fig. 42.
courtyard. The southwestern room of House B yielded large quantities of sickle blades and pottery with other luxury materials, notably a decorated spindle-whorl of donkey bone and bone slips of a Levantine-style inlaid box. A shed along the northern face of the house, along with the findings of, for instance, red-ochre mottles across its floor, ochre-stained red palettes, grinders and leather dressings, denote a possible workshop-function for the house. The product is postulated to be “some sort of composite apparatus or adornment, such as red-dyed leather goods with locally made metal ornaments and fittings”. Within section R6 of the courtyard, a circular pit filled with drinking vessels indicates the continuance of the custom witnessed in earlier phases.

Only one tomb has been dated to Phase 4. The burial was uncovered in the northeastern corner of the eastern compound, built into a courtyard structure’s wall. It comprised of a vaulted mudbrick roof covering the interment of a sub-adolescent lying flexed on one side. Grave goods include a flat-based cup, a bronze toggle-pin and a cylindrical Tell el-Yahudiyah juglet similar tho those from Tell el-Dab’a’s Dynasty 15 E/2-D/3 strata (Figure 4.36).

Redmount postulates another hiatus between Phases 4 and 5. She writes that Pit 12311 is indicative of an occupational interruption as it cuts into a perimeter wall from Phase 4 and is sealed by Phase 5 structures.

4.2.7.4 Phase 5

An increase in the quantity of structures is observed within the excavated area, signalling a possible rise in population (Figure 4.37). House B in Area R7/R8 continued in use as a possible workshop but was renovated with a third room’s addition to the east. Several new structures appear with rooms more square in plan and with attached courtyards – two features noted in the Northern Levantine MBA site of Hama (Level H4). House D lies to

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534 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 237, fig. 42.
535 Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 167.
536 Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 167.
537 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 237.
539 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, table 39.
540 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian L.12.2a. Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 265, 513, 553-556, figs 196, 201, 253; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, table 39.
541 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 239.
542 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 239, 764-765.
543 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 239; Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 169, fig. 10.
544 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 169.
the north of House B\textsuperscript{545} and comprised a courtyard with three silos along its boundary wall.\textsuperscript{546} A neonate burial was unearthed in this courtyard, with the infant interred within a MBIIA or MBIIA-B Syro-Palestinian store-jar of possible Levantine fabric.\textsuperscript{547}

Another tomb from Phase 5, R2.2054, was built as a rectangular pit with mudbrick lining and capping.\textsuperscript{548} The skeleton lay flexed on one side and is accompanied by pottery (rims of a holemouth cooking pot, a carinated bowl and a jar) (Figure 4.38 [3-5]), as well as two scarabs,\textsuperscript{549} one of which bears the hieroglyphs \textit{nfr M\textsuperscript{5}-ib-R\textsuperscript{5}.w di ‘nh ‘the good god, Maibra, may he give/be given life’ (M81-455; Figures 4.38 [1], 4.44 [11]). The name of this Fourteenth Dynasty king offers a \textit{terminus post quem} for the tomb.\textsuperscript{550}

One other burial has been identified to belong to either this phase or the next (R8.8060).\textsuperscript{551} It contained five beads (Figure 4.39 [2-5]) and a scarab (Figures 4.39 [1], 4.44 [8]).\textsuperscript{552} On the base of the latter are two out-curved papyrus plants, a motif regarded as a Levantine design.\textsuperscript{553} As no similar scarab is yet to be found in Egypt dating to the Second Intermediate Period, the item is most probably from the Levant.\textsuperscript{554}

\textbf{4.2.7.5 Phase 6}

Phase 6 is marked by continual settlement growth with signs of renovation.\textsuperscript{555} Remnants of a reddish-brown substance ascertained to be donkey dung were found on the floors of House D in Area L12 suggesting the unit’s use as a donkey stable.\textsuperscript{556} Between House D and B (i.e. the ‘stable’ and the ‘workshop’), two silos were utilised for simple inhumations of individuals (Figure 4.40).\textsuperscript{557} Assigned to the end of Phase 6,\textsuperscript{558} they belong to an elderly female, tightly flexed and possibly wrapped in a mat, and an adolescent male with evidence of a wound to his

\textsuperscript{545} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, 169, fig. 12.
\textsuperscript{546} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, 169.
\textsuperscript{548} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, table 39.
\textsuperscript{549} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, table 39.
\textsuperscript{550} For more on the scarabs of this king see D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 107, pls 44-45; Ryholt, \textit{Political Situation}, 366-76.
\textsuperscript{551} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, table 39.
\textsuperscript{552} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, table 39.
\textsuperscript{553} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 1E. D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 72-74.
\textsuperscript{554} Parallels from Harageh, Aniba and Semna are of early Dynasty 18. D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 72, n. 359.
\textsuperscript{555} Paice, Holladay and Brock, in \textit{Haus und Palast}, 170.
\textsuperscript{556} Paice, Holladay and Brock, in \textit{Haus und Palast}, 170; Holladay, in \textit{Hyksos}, 192.
\textsuperscript{557} Paice, Holladay and Brock, in \textit{Haus und Palast}, 170.
\textsuperscript{558} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, 239, 256, table 39; Paice, Holladay and Brock, in \textit{Haus und Palast}, 170.
skull reminiscent of a duckbill axe injury.\textsuperscript{559} The female was laid on her right and the male on his left, paralleling burial traits recorded in the Southern-Levantine EBIV/MBI site of Jericho.\textsuperscript{560}

Burial L2.2178 may additionally be assigned to Phase 6.\textsuperscript{561} The tomb has a vaulted mudbrick roof and housed the interment of an adolescent.\textsuperscript{562} Grave goods include pottery (a juglet, flat-based cup, bowl and jar rim), a possible silver bracelet and a $r\text{d}l\text{-}r^e$ scarab (Figure 4.44 [9]).\textsuperscript{563}

4.2.7.6 Characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics

Along with the two aforementioned Syro-Palestinian store-jars utilised for neonate burials, several fragments of the ceramic type were unearthed across all phases.\textsuperscript{564} Their fabrics’ calcite inclusions point to their Levantine production whereas their bulbous rims and the addition of handles ascribe to MBIIA or MBIIA-B forms (Figure 4.41 [1]).\textsuperscript{565} Regardless of the minor quantity of the store-jar fragments in comparison with other ceramics, their presence indicates some trade with the Levant.\textsuperscript{566} The MBIIA or MBIIA-B style presents a conundrum in dating as it is spread across all phases yet is of the same typological sequence. Perhaps the decrease in the number of sherds from the early to late phases\textsuperscript{567} indicates a reduction in popularity rather than a decline in trade. It may also point to the reuse of store-jars across successive periods.

Other distinguishable Levantine styles include punctate or grooved Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware of the globular, piriform, cylindrical and biconical form,\textsuperscript{568} as well as piriform or biconical red or black polished juglets (Figure 4.41 [2-14]).\textsuperscript{569} Found in all six phases, the juglets are characteristic of Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian group and can be found in both settlement and burial contexts.\textsuperscript{570} They parallel forms from Tell el-Dab’a’s Fifteenth Dynasty

\textsuperscript{559} Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 170.
\textsuperscript{560} Paice, Holladay and Brock, in Haus und Palast, 170; G. Palumbo, ‘‘Egalitarian’’ or ‘Stratified’’ Society? Some Notes on Mortuary Practices and Social Structure at Jericho in EB IV, BASOR 267 (1987), 45.
\textsuperscript{561} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 256, table 39.
\textsuperscript{562} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, table 39.
\textsuperscript{563} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, table 39.
\textsuperscript{564} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 847, fig. 143 [1-15]; Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), 77.
\textsuperscript{565} Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), 77; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 847.
\textsuperscript{566} Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), 77.
\textsuperscript{567} Almost twice the amount of Syro-Palestinian store-jar sherds are recorded for the early phases. Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), 77.
\textsuperscript{568} Respectively, Aston and Bietak’s Type Groups N, L.1, D.6 and L.2. Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), 74, fig. 9; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 877, fig. 146; Kaplan, Tell el Yahudiyyeh Ware, 15-29, figs 2-3; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 120, 206-221, 302.
\textsuperscript{569} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 877-886.
\textsuperscript{570} Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 874-876.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

strata E/2-D/1.571 With the exception of a few red polished vessels, all juglets seem to be made of Nile silt.572

Carinated and platter bowls are also of local fabrics (Figure 4.42).573 Some platter bowls have radial and pattern burnishing typical of EBA pottery (Figure 4.42 [14]).574 Other platter bowl types with straight, rounded or squarish, lips are known from the MBA period (Figure 4.42 [9-13]).575 For the carinated bowls, two types may be distinguished: (1) the rare thin-walled bowls with straight, everted lips and rounded or angular body profiles similar to Southern Levantine forms (Figure 4.42 [1-3]); and (2) the more common thick-walled carinated bowls (Figure 4.42 [4-8]) with either sharp carinations, low points of carination or a small protrusion at points of carination, all of which find parallels from the Northern Levant.576

It is, therefore, apparent that Levantine influences on the ceramic repertoire were vast, indicating that the inhabitants of Tell el-Maskhuta were most likely had access to both Northern and Southern Levantine-inspired ceramics. The full extent of relations is uncertain as the complete pottery assemblage remains unpublished. The assemblage is purported to have only direct points of contact for particular ceramic types, with the overall repertoire being atypical by having no close correspondence to any Levantine site and only a few of the most common MBA pottery forms.577

4.2.7.7 Other

Five burials cannot be assigned to particular phases.578 Significant grave goods include silver adornments (chokers, earrings and toggle-pins), bronze items (toggle-pins and daggers), faience amulets, beads (faience, carnelian, gold and amethyst), pottery (cups, juglets and ringstands) and MBIIB scarabs, including M79-793 naming Dynasty 13’s Sobekhotep IV (Figure 4.44 [13]).579 One tomb, L2.2029, included a donkey burial in its forecourt580 while another, L2.2040, has been noted to belong to a transhumant Levantine pastoralist due to the burial of a sheep at the

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571 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian L.1.4, L.4, L.5.3 and L.12.2. Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 211, 221, 231, 265, 553-554, figs 142, 147, 159, 162-164, 167, 176-201, 253
572 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 876.
574 Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), 74-77.
575 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 791-797, fig. 129.
576 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 801-806, figs 131-132.
578 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, table 39.
579 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, table 39; Holladay, Tell El-Maskhuta, 45, fig. 75. For more, see D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, appendix pls 1-2.
head and a dog at the feet of a female interred flexed on her right side, as well as cattle skulls before the tomb (Figure 4.43).\textsuperscript{581} The individual’s mode of subsistence cannot be determined solely on the buried animals. In fact, their burial is common in the settlement\textsuperscript{582} as well as other sites in the Delta, suggesting that the female could equally belong to a settled population. The skulls of the female and dog are pierced with wounds similar to those inflicted by duckbill axes such as that of the abovementioned individual buried in a Phase 6 inhumation.\textsuperscript{583}

Grave goods, especially those of silver, signify that some inhabitants were wealthy. Settlement finds suggest a poorer class involved in such industries as weaving, spinning, pottery-making, sickle-making and bronze-work.\textsuperscript{584} The mixture of artefacts delineates social stratification across all six phases with the high possibility that the elite, based on their tombs’ goods, controlled trade relations. House B’s workshop suggests a growing industry linked with adornments whereas House D’s stable implies an increasing need to accommodate donkeys, a most common mode of transport along the Egyptian-Levantine land-based route. Palaeobotanical studies report the absence of summer weed seeds which, when considered with the amount of hearths in houses and the growing number of silos, insinuates the site’s usage as a winter residence.\textsuperscript{585} Hence, it is possible that Tell el-Maskhuta functioned as a trading settlement, a “\textit{reception and supply point for winter caravans}”,\textsuperscript{586} on a very strategic corridor between the Sinai and the Delta. This might explain the eclectic combination of Northern and Southern Levantine features across the site’s architectural, ceramic and burial traditions.

The scarab designs and pottery forms range in date from the late MBIIA to early MBIC periods and the late Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasties, with only two rulers – Sobekhotep IV and Sheshi – represented by scarabs. Excavators note that the architectural development from Phases 1 to 6 spans 50-100 years,\textsuperscript{587} but it is feasible to add a further 10-20 years to take into account the possible seasonal occupation activity as well as the two recorded hiatus periods. Tell el-Maskhuta could then be assigned an occupation history between 60-110 years in the Second Intermediate Period, witnessing the rise and rule of the Hyksos Dynasty. Consequently, the site’s location, foundation and trading function could be linked to new initiatives by the Hyksos to control and officiate the land-based route between Egypt and the Levant.

\textsuperscript{581} Holladay, \textit{Tell El-Maskhuta}, fig. 72.
\textsuperscript{582} Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, 195.
\textsuperscript{583} Holladay, \textit{Tell El-Maskhuta}, 47, figs 73-74.
\textsuperscript{584} Holladay, in \textit{Hyksos}, 195-196.
\textsuperscript{585} Holladay, in \textit{Hyksos}, 195; Paice, Holladay and Brock, in \textit{Haus und Palast}, 172.
\textsuperscript{586} Paice, Holladay and Brock, in \textit{Haus und Palast}, 172.
\textsuperscript{587} Paice, Holladay and Brock, in \textit{Haus und Palast}, 171; Redmount, \textit{On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier}, 265; Redmount, \textit{JMA} 8/2 (1995), 68.
4.2.8 Muqdam, Tell el- (Leontopolis)

_Lat.Lon._ 30°41′N 31°21′E

_Refs_ LÄ 6, 351-352; PM 4, 37-39; Naville, _Ahnas el Medineh_, 28, pl. 4b; Borchardt, _Statuen und Statuetten_ 2, 87-88, pl. 89 [538].

_Chron._ Usurped Statue from the 14th Dynasty (reign of Nehsy)

The base of a black granite statue was discovered at Tell el-Muqdam.\(^{588}\) The statue’s seated figure most probably represented a Twelfth Dynasty king, but was later usurped by Nehsy and then Dynasty 19’s Merenptah.\(^{589}\) Some posit that the statue was originally set up at Tell el-Dab’a.\(^{590}\) On both sides of the feet are traces of parallel inscriptions. The text reads _nfr nfr [nb] t³.wy s¹ R².w Nhsy mry [Sìh] nb Hw.t-w².t² ‘the good god, [lord] of the two lands, son of Ra, Nehsy, beloved of [Seth], lord of Avaris’. Bietak writes that this marks the first use of the epithet ‘beloved of Seth’ and the first notation of the name Avaris.

4.2.9 Retaba, Tell el-

_Lat.Lon._ 30°33′N 31°58′E

_Refs_ LÄ 6, 353-354; PM 4, 55; Naville, _Shrine of Saft el Henneh_; Petrie, _Hyksos and Israelite Cities_; Holladay, _Tell el-Maskhuta_; Redmount, _On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier_, 124-131, fig. 19; Rzepka et al., _A&L_ 19 (2009), 241-280.

_Chron._ Second Intermediate Period (?)

Tell el-Retaba is situated in the Wadi Tumilat at a strategic point above the westerly valley constriction (Figure 4.32A).\(^{591}\) Several excavations and surveys have unearthed remains dating from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period.\(^{592}\) Finds dating to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period are generally unstratified.\(^{593}\) Minor artefacts such as scarabs and ceramic sherds were also primarily collected from surface surveys and the

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588 E. Naville, _Ahnas el Medineh (Heracleopolis Magna)_ (London, 1894), 28.
589 Ryholt, _Political Situation_, 150, n. 545.
590 Von Beckerath, _Zwischenzeit_, 83, 262.
591 Redmount, _On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier_, 124.
593 Rzepka et al., _A&L_ 19 (2009), 267; Holladay, _Tell El-Maskhuta_, table 1; Redmount, _On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier_, 125-131.
“town rubbish”. The pottery uncovered by the surveys remains unpublished. Only one Tell el-Yahudiyyah vessel has been linked to the site, although its origin is disputed as it has also been connected to el-Khata’na. Of the published scarabs, Petrie includes:

- One royal-name scarab of a Sehotepibra, either Dynasty 12’s Amenemhat I or Dynasty 13’s Sewesekhtawy (Figure 4.45 [1]);

- One scarab with two horizontal panels and the signs for Ptḥ ḫ ḫ w/s nfr 'nh ‘Ptah, may he give/be given strength and good life’ (Figure 4.45 [2]). The design and inclusion of Ptah’s name indicate a late Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty date;

- One scarab with two red crowns flanking nfr signs (Dynasty 13-15) (Figure 4.45[3]);

- Three scarabs, each with a confronting pair of cobras flanking a ḫpr beetle with either a nbw or nb sign underneath (Figure 4.45 [4-6]). Their style finds the closest parallels with those from late MBIIB to MBIIC Jericho, Tell el-‘Ajjul and Megiddo;

- One scarab bearing two crocodiles as a figurative rather than hieroglyphic motif akin to late MBA Levantine scarabs, especially those from Tell el-‘Ajjul (Figure 4.45 [7]).

Petrie also mentions the discovery of a ‘Hyksos fortification wall’ (Petrie’s Wall 1), a supposition which cannot be substantiated by the evidence. He additionally notes an infant’s burial within a rectangular ‘arched’ mudbrick pit beneath the fortification wall’s level (Petrie’s Wall 1; Figures 4.46-47). The tomb was located east of a triangular stack of bricks,

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594 Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 127; Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, 32.
595 Myres mentions that the vessel is from Tell el-Retaba, relying on its inventory number (2741-3). Kaplan writes that the number instead belongs to finds from el-Khata’ana. J. L. Myres, ’Excavations in Cyprus in 1894’, Journal of Hellenic Studies 17 (1897), 145, n. 6; Kaplan, Tell el-Yahudiyyah, 92, 101.
596 Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, pl. 33.
597 Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, pl. 33 [2]; Ryholt, Political Situation, 338-339, table 17.
598 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B8. The scarab is not included in D. Ben-Tor’s study, yet it finds parallels with those from Tell el-Dab’a and her late Palestinian scarab series. Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, pl. 32 [2b]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 132-133, 165, pl. 81.
599 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B3e. Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, pl. 32 [3]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 19, 80-81, 131, 163, pls 8, 34, 54, 79.
600 Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, pl. 32 [5, 5a, 63].
601 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9C1. D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 175, pl. 97.
602 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9D. Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, pl. 32 [32]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 177, pl. 99 [24].
603 Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, 29, pl. 35a; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 128-129; Rzepeka et al., A&L 19 (2009), 247.
604 Petrie describes “mining inward in search of a foundation deposit” for the fortification wall which suggests mining not only near Wall 1, as Redmount suggests, but also underneath it. Petrie, Hykos and Israelite Cities, 29, pl. 35a; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, 128.
which, according to Petrie’s drawing, seems to resemble the vaulted mudbrick roofing of another tomb.605 If so, then the two tombs are architecturally comparable to burials at Tell el-Maskhuta and Tell el-Dab’a,606 with the infant burial being similar to those of stratum D/2 at Tell el-Dab’a.607 Their presence could support a Second Intermediate Period occupation at the site. Recent excavation reports also mention the discovery of Fifteenth Dynasty tombs, as well as domestic layers with Levantine ceramics.608 Overall, the finds from Tell el-Retaba are scanty. That which remains signifies a material culture with some Levantine influences. The site’s close proximity to Tell el-Maskhuta and similar tactical placement on a ridge in the Wadi Tumilat could also support its relation to Fifteenth Dynasty trade.

4.2.10 Sahaba, Tell el-

*Lat.Lon.* 30°32’N 32°06’E

*Refs*  
PM 4, 22ff; Leclant, *Orientalia* 44 (1975), 202; Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 162, fig. 56 [7-12].

*Chron.* Second Intermediate Period (?)

Almost one kilometre southeast of Tell el-Maskhuta lies Tell el-Sahaba, a site previously excavated by Abd el-Haq Ragab609 and surveyed by J. S. Holladay Jr.’s Wadi Tumilat project.610 The results are yet to be published, but secondary references note two possible spheres of Levantine influence: (1) tombs with grave goods such as MBA bronze daggers and Levantine-style scarabs; and (2) Levantine-style pottery (Figure 4.48), including thick-walled platter bowls, a red-polished jar, Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglets and possibly imported Syro-Palestinian store-jars.611 If correct, the evidence suggests some contact with Levantine cultural elements at Tell el-Sahaba.

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605 Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pl. 35a. Redmount also notes that the spacing between the infant burial and the stack of bricks seems odd and so could either point to a second burial or an error in Petrie’s plan. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 128-129.

606 See Chapter 4.2.2 and 4.2.7.

607 Redmount suggests that the tomb’s vaulted roofing points to a non-Egyptian, Levantine custom. This, however, has now been disputed with evidence of the use of vaulted roofs in Egypt during the Old Kingdom. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 128-129, fig. 19; Schiestl, in *Bronze Age in the Lebanon*, 246-247.


609 Bietak, *TeD* 2, 90, n. 319.


611 Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, fig. 56 [7-12]; van den Brink, *Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a*, 56.
4.2.11 Yahudiya, Tell el-

**Lat.Lon.** 30°17′N 31°19′E


**Chron.** Late Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty

Situated between Memphis and Wadi Tumilat is Tell el-Yahudiya. The site was excavated and marginally published by Naville and Griffith, Petrie, du Mensil du Buisson, Adam, Abd el-Fatah and, most recently, Ashmawy Ali, all of whom describe various, and often contradictory, elements of Tell el-Yahudiya’s topography. Reports agree that the site extends approximately 29.82 hectares, encompassing both the southern Tell el-Kebir (the ‘Great Tell’) and the northeastern Tell el-Soghier (the ‘Small Tell’) (Figure 4.49).

4.2.11.1 The ‘Hyksos camp’

Petrie was the first to identify Tell el-Kebir’s earthen embankment as the fortification walls of a so-called ‘Hyksos camp’ (Figure 4.50). He also interpreted them as evidence for the nomadic, archery-based, culture of the Hyksos. Scholars followed his interpretation in studies on Hyksos origins and Near Eastern fortification systems. Ricke and Wright, however, viewed the earthwork as an Egyptian artificial mound built for cultic rather than defensive purposes. Indeed, the stepped walls of the mound are constructed at an inclination varying between 27° to 55° which, as Petrie himself wrote, “greatly detract(s)

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613 Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*.
618 For an overview, see G. H. Wright, ‘Tell el-Yehûdiyyâ and the Glacis’, *ZDPV* 84 (1968), 3-10.
621 The same inference was applied to explain a similar earthwork uncovered by Petrie at Heliopolis. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 1-10; Petrie, *Man* 75 (1906), 113-114; W. M. F. Petrie, *Heliopolis, Kafir Ammar, and Shurafa* (London, 1915).
from the inaccessibility of the slope. 624 Because they are plastered, the perimeter walls may have also functioned as retaining walls to either protect the tell from erosion or counterbalance the pressure of the fill laid within the enclosure. 625 Combined with the lack of a defensible gateway or any other noticeable protective elements atop the enclosed area, 626 the sloping perimeter walls would strongly suggest that the structure was not primarily built for defensive purposes.

A cultic rationale behind the earthwork’s construction necessitates the presence of cultic elements within the area of the enclosure. Thus far, statues and inscriptions from Dynasties 19 and 20 point to the presence of a temple, 627 but earlier remains are absent. Another suggestion may be offered through Veblen’s theory of conspicuous consumption, or the socio-political reasoning behind ‘public works’. 628 Constructing the artificial tell likely necessitated an organised bureaucratic system which could have utilised the building activity as a means to establish, legitimise and/or enhance prestige and power. 629 The result of this activity would consequently present an impressive symbol of authority. 630 In this case, when the Tell el-Yahudiyyah earthwork was built is as significant as by whom. If its construction is dated to the earliest discovered remains in the enclosure which, as discussed below, is the late Thirteenth or early Fifteenth Dynasty, then the structure may be viewed as evidence of either a weakened political system searching for a means to strengthen its reign, or a newly-established bureaucracy attempting to stabilise its rule. 631 Thus, the instigator of the building activity could have been either the existing rulers of the Thirteenth Dynasty or the emerging power in the eastern Delta. Both were surely likely to benefit from Tell el-Yahudiyyah’s strategic location between Memphis, Wadi Tumilat and Tell el-Dab’a. Until further excavations are completed on the earthwork and its enclosed area, no firm conclusions can be made regarding its construction. However, applying the theory of conspicuous consumption provides a tantalising glimpse into the activities of the elite.

624 Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 5.
625 Ricke, ZÄS 71 (1935), 108; Wright, ZDPV 84 (1968), 17.
626 Reports note the depredation of the earthwork and any structures which may have been present due to sebbakhin activities. Remnants of the perimeter are still apparent despite the damage. See Naville and Griffith, Mound of the Jews, 6-7; du Mensil du Buisson, BIFAO 29 (1929), 158.
627 Naville and Griffith, Mound of the Jews, 7-12; Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 3.
629 For similar cases in the Southern Levant, see I. Finkelstein, ‘Middle Bronze Age ‘Fortifications’: A Reflection of Social Organization and Political Formations’, Tel Aviv 19 (1992), 201-220; S. Bunimovitz, ‘The Middle Bronze Age Fortifications in Palestine as a Social Phenomenon’, Tel Aviv 19 (1992), 221-234.
630 Bunimovitz, Tel Aviv 19 (1992), 225.
631 Examples from the Southern Levant indicate that the need to demonstrate such power and prestige was stronger in either the formative or transitional phases of administrations. Bunimovitz, Tel Aviv 19 (1992), 225; Finkelstein, Tel Aviv 19 (1992), 213-214.
4.2.11.2 Burial customs

Tombs have been discovered at three different areas at Tell el-Yahudiyah: (1) within the earthwork; (2) to the northeast of the earthwork near the Temple of Onias; and (3) to the northeast of Tell el-Soghier.\(^{632}\) The majority are rectangular mudbrick pits without superstructures. A few cases are of burials with vaulted roofs or “projecting bricks”.\(^{633}\) No particular orientation or positioning of skeletal remains has been observed,\(^ {634}\) but infants tend to be contracted with their knees drawn up.\(^ {635}\) Both single and double burials occur.\(^ {636}\)

Petrie and Tufnell have both provided a sequence for the tombs based on the stylistic development of the graves’ scarabs.\(^ {637}\) Petrie was reliant on the ‘rule of degradation’ by which artefacts develop from well-executed forms to poorly executed items, whereas Tufnell compared scarab base designs and lengths with those of the Southern Levant.\(^ {638}\) Despite the limitations of both approaches,\(^ {639}\) the two attributed the tombs to the Hyksos period and agreed on a sequence for the graves (Graves 2, 407, 3, 5, 19, 4, 16, 20, 37, 1, 6 and 43). The following presents a revised sequence based on specific scarab base designs as well as Egyptian pottery forms and characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics.\(^ {640}\)

Late Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasty: Graves 2, 3 and 407 (Figures 4.51-53)

Pottery included biconical, globular and cylindrical Tell el-Yahudiyah ware. Also unearthed were a buff globular juglet with red wavy lines and flat-based bowls. Grave 2 contained a copper toggle-pin at the blade-bone of a skeleton and scarabs (Figure 4.51 [11]).\(^ {641}\) A Levantine origin is argued for two scarabs from Grave 407 which feature the so-called Canaanite \(k\) form (Figure 4.53 [1, 3]).\(^ {642}\) The assemblages of these graves fit well within the late Middle Kingdom to early Fifteenth Dynasty period and Tell el-Dab’a’s strata E/2-E/1.

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\(^ {632}\) Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 10; Adam, ASAE 55 (1958), 309-310; Ashmawy, A&L 20 (2010), fig. 1.

\(^ {633}\) Graves 5 and 37 excavated by Petrie and an unspecified number unearthed by Abd el-Fatah.


\(^ {635}\) Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 12-13;

\(^ {636}\) Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 11-12; Tufnell, in Archaeology in the Levant, 81.

\(^ {637}\) Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 11-12; Tufnell, in Archaeology in the Levant, 77-79.

\(^ {638}\) For more, see D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 63-66.

\(^ {639}\) Further details on the material investigated may be found in Tufnell’s inventory list. Tufnell, in Archaeology in the Levant, 92-100.

\(^ {640}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 2B2. D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 13-14, pl. 4 [25].

\(^ {641}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 7B2. D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 29.
Early Fifteenth Dynasty: Grave 4 (Figure 4.54)

A globular Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglet and flat-based bowls were uncovered alongside a flat-based incurved cup, its form being similar to those from Tell el-Maskhuta. One scarab with concentric circles bears an almost identical pattern to another from the MBIIA period at Jericho. An early Fifteenth Dynasty date is offered for this tomb.

Mid-Fifteenth Dynasty: Graves 19, 16, 20 and 37 (Figures 4.55-58)

Levantine-style pottery includes globular, piriform, biconical and grooved Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglets. Lamb bones were uncovered in Grave 19 and a goose egg was discovered in Grave 37. The skeleton in the latter also had a bronze toggle-pin at its neck (Figure 4.58 [7]). Of the scarabs, only one may be of Levantine origin as implied by its design with confronted cobras flanking a ḫpr sign (Figure 4.58 [6]) which is found amongst D. Ben-Tor’s late Canaanite Series, particularly those from Tell el-‘Ajjul.

Mid to late Fifteenth Dynasty: Grave 5 (Figure 4.59)

The grave was constructed as a vaulted rectangular tomb with an additional vaulted room annexed to its west. The chamber contained two skulls buried after decomposition while the annex consisted of caprid bones. Grave goods included bronze weapons (a dagger and a knife), two bronze toggle-pins, Egyptian-style pottery, animal offerings, pendants and scarabs. One scarab displays a mythical figure paralleling another from MBIIB Tell el-Farah. Also contemporary with the MBIIB period is the shape of the dagger, which ascribes to Philip’s Type 18 that is akin to those from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata E/2-D/3. Interestingly, a burial from Tell el-Dab’a’s stratum D/2-3 (A/II n/15 no.1) not only contains a similar assemblage and weaponry to Grave 5, but was also used as a double burial with a small chamber annexed to its west containing supplementary offerings. Therefore, Grave 5 should not be placed in the beginning of the grave sequence at Tell el-Yahudiyyah, but should be regarded as a mid to late Fifteenth Dynasty burial.

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643 Redmount, JMA 8/2 (1995), fig. 3 [5].
644 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 4B. D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, pl. 58 [32].
645 Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 13.
646 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9C1. D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 96, 175, pl. 97 [12-13].
647 Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, 12.
649 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 10B and 10C. D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 100-101, 180, pls 103 [44], 105 [7].
650 Philip, TeD 15, 142.
651 Van den Brink, Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 34-35.
652 Van den Brink, Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell el-Dab’a, 34-35.
Late Fifteenth Dynasty: Graves 1, 6 and 43 (Figures 4.60-62)

The Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglets from Graves 6 and 43 were not incised. A biconical juglet from Grave 43 was instead painted with horizontal lines (Figure 4.62 [1]), a feature which occurs only in the late Fifteenth Dynasty at Tell el-Dab’a.\(^{653}\) Although Grave 1 did not consist of any ceramics, the dagger of Philip’s Type 18\(^{654}\) (Figure 4.60 [3]) and scarab with an antelope (Figure 4.60 [2]) point to its late date.\(^{655}\)

Although revised, the above sequence is heavily dependent upon Petrie’s publication. Further archaeological exploration will refine the postulated dates, particularly for Graves 3, 6, 16 and 20. Views on observed customs may also alter as revealed by, for instance, Abd el-Fatah’s recent excavations at Tell el-Soghier which have unearthed a round pit containing one donkey.\(^{656}\) Dated to the Second Intermediate Period,\(^{657}\) the donkey burial attests to other funerary traditions that may yet be discovered at Tell el-Yahudiyyah. It is evident that the occupation spans the late Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty and Southern Levantine scarab designs are more popular in the latter half of the Fifteenth Dynasty. Despite this increase, there are no noticeable developments in tomb architecture and burial assemblages, thereby suggesting the presence of Levantine individuals or Levantine influence rather than an invasion of Levantine peoples into Tell el-Yahudiyyah.

4.2.11.3 Other

Over 132 scarabs were found across Tell el-Yahudiyyah or bought from local workers.\(^{658}\) Utilised as evidence of Hyksos rule, the scarabs include three with Middle Kingdom royal names (Figure 4.63A [1-3]);\(^{659}\) as well as Second Intermediate Period Sekhaenra, Khayan and Apophis (Figure 4.63A [4-6]).\(^{660}\) Other scarab seals purportedly from the site are inscribed with the names of Sheshi,\(^{661}\) यक्षरि\(^{662}\) and अक्षय. Smkn ‘ruler of the

\(^{653}\) Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Group L.5.3. Kopetzky, in *Bronze Age in the Lebanon*, 205, fig. 8; Aston and Bietak, *TeD* 8, 231, fig. 167.

\(^{654}\) Philip, *TeD* 15, 142.

\(^{655}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9B. D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 95.


\(^{660}\) Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 10, pl. 9 [116, 124, 143-144].

\(^{661}\) Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 368.

\(^{662}\) Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 382.
foreign lands, Smkn (Figure 4.63A [9]) and ḫk3 ḫš.wt ḫn ‘ruler of the foreign lands, Khayan’ (Figure 4.63A [8]). Other scarabs display MBIIA-B Levantine features such as a Horus bird wearing a red crown and a cross pattern (Figure 4.63B). Scarabs with MBIIB-C Levantine designs are also found (Figure 4.63C). The scarabs’ unknown contexts, however, restrict analysis concerning date of deposition, function and trade relations.

The scarab of Apophis, along with the pottery and scarab forms uncovered in the graves, supports Tell el-Yahudiya’s conjectured occupation in the Fifteenth Dynasty. Although Weinstein has argued for its abandonment prior to the fall of the Hyksos, the evidence points to the site’s use until at least late Dynasty 15. The site’s function, marked especially by the so-called ‘Hyksos camp’, appears to be as a funerary, cultic and/or socio-political centre for gathering. From the earliest remains, it is evident that the occupants were most likely heavily influenced by a Levantine culture or were themselves of Levantine ethnicity as implied by the following customs: the placement of toggle-pins at the neck; the burial of bodies after decomposition; the inclusion of a goose egg and caprids in tombs; and the donkey interment. Such burials alongside the fine juglets and metal weaponry indicate that they did not belong to poor shepherds, but neither were all of the elite. Furthermore, the incorporation of Egyptian ceramics and pendants within the tomb owners’ funerary repertoire points to knowledge and appreciation of the Egyptian culture. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that some of Tell el-Yahudiya’s occupants were acculturated Levantines who received imports from the Southern Levant after the establishment of Hyksos rule in the Eastern Delta.

663 Ryholt, Political Situation, 383; P. E. Newberry, Scarabs. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet Rings (London, 1908), 152, pl. 23 [10].
664 Newberry, Scarabs, 151, pl. 22 [22]; Ryholt, Political Situation, 383.
665 Design class 3A4. Similar Levantine scarabs are from Megiddo and Beth Shemesh. D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, pl. 52 [21, 28].
667 For example, one scarab depicts a standing lion, another presents Hathor being flanked by red crowns, and a third bears a branch. Naville and Griffith, Mound of the Jews, pl. 10 [10, 34, 41]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 97, 102, 158, 177, pls 100 [3, 36], 105 [35], 74 [52].
668 Weinstein, BASOR 288 (1992), 28; Weinstein, in Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant, 87-88.
670 Tufnell, in Archaeology in the Levant, 87.


4.3 MEMPHITe REGION

4.3.1 Dahshur

Lat.Lon. 29°48′N 31°14′E

Refs LÁ 1, 984-987; PM 3, 229-240; de Morgan, Dahchour 1, 19-23, 116, figs 23-26, 270; de Morgan, Dahchour 2, 38, fig. 90; Borchartd, Statuen und Statuetten 2, 78, pl. 88 [515]; Maragioglio and Rinaldi, Orientalia 37 (1968), 325-338; Swelim and Dodson, MDAIK 54 (1998), 319-334; Di. Arnold, Senwosret III, 42-43, pls 24-27a; Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 29-39.

Chron. Mid-Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty

Featuring both Old and Middle Kingdom burials is the necropolis of Dahshur, situated almost 30 km south of modern Cairo. Middle Kingdom tombs were first explored by de Morgan and more recently explored by the German Archaeological Institute and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the latter of which has published some material. Among these are finds pointing to Asiatic contact from the reign of Amenemhat II to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

4.3.1.1 Mid-Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat II

A fragment uncovered during excavations at the pyramid of Amenemhat II relates to the possible burial of Egyptian-Asiatic officials. The top of the fragment features the elements of a torus-moulding and cavetto-cornice, suggesting that it belonged to a false door (Figure 4.64). Below are two columns reading: (1) mty n(y) s3 S3-Ip ‘controller of a phyle, Sa-Ip’; (2) msi n c‘m.t nb(t) im[i]h ‘born to c‘m.t, possessor of reverence’. The official was the son of an Asiatic woman but held an Egyptian title concerned with religious duties, thereby pointing to his employment within Amenemhat II’s administration. Furthermore, and especially if the fragment belongs to a tomb’s false door, the inscription represents the adoption of Egyptian burial customs by Asians as well as their allotment of tombs surrounding the king’s pyramid, indicating the administration’s positive treatment of acculturated Asians.

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671 J. de Morgan, Fouilles à Dahchour, 2 vols (Vienna, 1895-1903).
673 De Morgan, Dahchour 2, 38, fig. 90.
674 Ward, Index, 96 [803].
675 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 22 [4].
676 Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 31; D. M. Dokey, Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis (Leiden, 1998), 321.
Chapter 4: Tracing Asiatics in Egypt

4.3.1.2 Mid-Late Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Senwosret III

Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III

Five or six boats were uncovered in two caches interred south of Senwosret III’s pyramid.\textsuperscript{677} Scientific analyses on two boats revealed that they are of cedar\textsuperscript{678} and it is highly likely that the remaining ships are also of the same timber.\textsuperscript{679} The type of wood points to trade with the Northern Levant\textsuperscript{680} and, considering the boats’ royal and ritualistic function, was most probably directly imported by the state for shipbuilding.

Tomb of Khnumhotep III

Located north of Senwosret III’s pyramid and linking Beni Hassan with the Memphite capital is the tomb of vizier Khnumhotep, the possible son of Khnumhotep II, ‘who brings what is useful’ to the king.\textsuperscript{681} Like Khnumhotep II’s tomb,\textsuperscript{682} the mastaba of Khnumhotep III contains significant evidence for relations with Asiatics. These occur in fragments of an inscription positioned on the mastaba’s exterior niches, which were first published by de Morgan\textsuperscript{683} and more recently reconstructed by Allen following the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s expedition in 2001 (Figures 4.65-71).\textsuperscript{684} Allen posits that the remaining inscription only amounts to around 40% of the original text.\textsuperscript{685} A translation of pertinent passages may be found in Volume II: Translation 1.

The text’s literary style, along with the use of the third person, sets it apart from typical autobiographies. Closer to such works as the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor or that of Sinuhe,\textsuperscript{686} the inscription stands as a rare example of the amalgamation of textual genres, providing a scenario in which the latter two pieces of literature may have been based on true events. Khnumhotep III is not mentioned in the narrative by name but may be

\textsuperscript{677} De Morgan, Dahchour 1, 81-83, fig. 105.
\textsuperscript{679} Two ships are at the Cairo Museum (CG 4925 and CG 4926) and one is at an unknown location. P. P. Creasman, The Cairo Dahshur Boats (M. A. Thesis, Texas A&M University, 2005), 9, 30, 36-37, n. 89.
\textsuperscript{680} Creasman suggests that the timbers may have also been war booty, yet no Middle Kingdom evidence exists for the import of cedar via this method. Creasman, Cairo Dahshur Boats, 37.
\textsuperscript{681} See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
\textsuperscript{683} De Morgan, Dahchour 1, 19-23, figs 23, 26.
\textsuperscript{685} Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 32.
\textsuperscript{686} Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 32, 36-37. See Chapter 4.6.9.
identified as one of the major characters frequently represented: the "im.y-r3 mS n(y) skd.w" ‘overseer of the expedition of sailors’. Another rare feature of the inscription is its positioning on the exterior of the tomb, indicating its public literate audience. Such a location could denote the text’s significance in the public and ‘international’ career of Khnumhotep III, which is reflected in his title ‘mh-ib nsw.t m dr St.t m ptp Mtnt.tvw’ ‘confidant of the king in obstructing St.t’ and trampling the Mtnt.tvw.’ If so, then the suppression of his name cannot only be explained by his "extraordinary devotion... to the kings" but also by royal control over the foreign. That is, the decorum of the time may have restricted the extent to which Khnumhotep III attributed his personal success in international politics. Thus, a topos representation of Asiatics is to be expected.

When viewed from this perspective, the portrayal of events in the Levant becomes clearer. The inscription follows a maritime expedition to Khny (Byblos) and W3ti/W3tt (Ullaza) for c5-wood. Docking at Byblos, the overseer of the expedition meets with the city’s ruler, called M3ki, either his personal name or the hieroglyphic transcription of the Semitic malku ‘king’, and informs him of a previous trading arrangement between the two lands. After ascertaining the Egyptian’s desire to trade with Ullaza, the Byblite ruler arranges another expedition. M3ki’s son, along with 100 c3m.w and Egyptian-speakers, perhaps becomes involved in both a land and sea voyage to Ullaza. The Egyptian-speakers arrive first via ship, delivering M3ki’s message to Ullaza’s nameless ruler to not let the ships return (empty?) to Byblos. Afterwards, M3ki’s son and his c3m.w combine forces with the maritime contingent and make a plan to fight with Ullaza’s ruler. At this juncture, letter correspondence takes place between the Egyptian pharaoh, M3ki and Ullaza’s sovereign, after which the text hints at the pharaoh’s possible militaristic intervention. The outcome is gleaned from an obelisk’s fragment mentioning the continuance of maritime contact with Byblos.

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687 2H.
688 Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 38.
689 The same may be the case in private tombs’ battle scenes of the Old and Middle Kingdom in which the tomb owner never explicitly represented his involvement. See A.-L. Mourad, ‘Siege Scenes of the Old Kingdom’, BACE 22 (2011), 148.
690 The expedition’s destination is not specified in the remaining text.
691 Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 33.
692 2A4-2B4.
693 2A2-3.
694 2P8-10, 2C1-D3, 3A5-B5.
695 The preposition hWR ‘with’ rather than r ‘against’ is used, rendering the nature of the fighting even more ambiguous.
696 3P4, 3P6-10, 3C1-D2, 3D2-4.
697 ON4-5.
CHAPTER 4: TRACINGASIATICS IN EGYPT

If, as Allen suggests, Egypt had originally been trading with Ullaza and sided with it against Byblos, then one must question why Egyptian ships continued to dock at Byblos. Allen infers that the pharaoh had toppled the regime at Byblos causing the change from a Miki ‘malku’ kingship to a hi.ty-\(^{-5}\) leadership, thereby opening a new trading channel under Egyptian control. It is also viable that the Egyptian expedition initially arrived at Byblos to seek assistance in establishing relations with Ullaza, thereby employing the Byblites as mediators.

Regarding the inscription’s context, it is more feasible that the text exaggerates the pharaoh’s involvement as a regulator of peace, perhaps signalling the expedition’s timely observance of two cities competing for trading power, with Byblos emerging as the victor. Here, Khnumhotep III’s roles as overseer of the expedition and king’s confidant in Asiatic matters would have surely been vital, leading to the inscription’s placement in his tomb while glorifying the topos of the superlative Egyptians and the abysmal Asians who are determined literally as \(pf\) and figuratively as tied up, kneeling, figures with coiffed hair. Despite such a stereotypical representation, the remaining text signifies an Egyptian trading footprint and political involvement in the coastal Northern Levant during Dynasty 12. It further signals the Egyptians’ knowledge of their neighbours’ political frameworks and geography.

4.3.1.3 Late Twelfth Dynasty, Reign of Amenemhat III

Among the pottery types uncovered within Amenemhat III’s first pyramid complex at Dahshur are sherdsof Syro-Palestinian store-jars. The fragments of two bases and a rim ascribe to the MBIIA form of the jar and signify trade with the Levant.

Presenting more hostile relations are two well-preserved pectorals buried in the tomb of Amenemhat III’s sister, Mereret (Figure 4.73). The first pectoral comprises a cartouche of Senwosret III beneath which are opposing, kneeling figures of Asiatics with yellow skin, shoulder-length hair and pointed beards. Each raises his arm towards the face and has his hair grasped by a griffin that additionally tramples a darker-skinned figure of a Nubian (Figure 4.73A). The second pectoral portrays two identical smiting scenes, each featuring the king and a yellow-skinned captive with a coiffed hairstyle, short beard and decorated

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698 Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 36-37.
699 Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 37. See Chapter 6.3.3 for this title’s use by the Byblite elite.
700 Do. Arnold, MDAIK 38 (1982), 41-42.
702 De Morgan, Dahchour 1, 64, pl. 19 [1].
kilt (Figure 4.73a). Each Asiatic is armed, carrying a probable dagger in one hand and a throw-stick in the other, lifting it up before his face as if to stop the smiting king.

Surrounding glyphs read \( nfr \ nfr \ nb \ t.t.wy \ h.s.wt \ nb \ (w)t \ N(y)-m\textsuperscript{r}.t-\textsuperscript{R}.w \) ‘the Good God, lord of the two lands and all foreign lands, Nimaatra (Amenemhat III)’.

Between the king’s legs are \( skr \ St.tyw \) ‘smiting the \( St.tyw \)’, verifying the kneeling figures’ Asiatic identity and affirming the continuity of the smiting scene as a topos representation of kingly control over Egypt’s enemies.

A different reference to the Levant occurs in the burial of Sitweret in the tomb of Horkherti (Nr 31). Recently excavated and yet to be published, the burial probably belonged to a member of an elite family of viziers and officials. Its assemblage includes a cedar coffin as well as a Marl C jar with a label apparently reading \( irp \ n(y) \ K\text{I} \) ‘wine of \( K\text{I} \), \( K\text{I} \) being a toponym located near Homs of modern Syria (Figure 4.72). Evidently, Levantine commodities were distributed in Egyptian vessels via an Egyptian trading centre. Along with the cedar coffin, it highlights the demand for Northern Levantine products by the capital’s elite.

4.3.1.4 Thirteenth Dynasty

Shaft-tomb of Nubhotepti-Khered

Another princess whose shaft-tomb contained a representation of an Asiatic is Nubhotepti-Khered. Located within Amenemhat III’s pyramid complex, the tomb’s contents bear closer affinities to those of Awibra Hor’s nearby shaft-tomb. The location and burial goods point to Nubhotepti-Khered’s ascription to the Thirteenth Dynasty, with a possible familial relation to Awibra – perhaps as his daughter – and, as some theorise, Queen Nubhotepti.

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705 Allen, in Archaism and Innovation, 327, fig. 1 [11]; Di. Arnold, ‘Private Tombs’. Mary Ownby mistakenly connects the jar with one which was found in King Hor’s tomb of Dynasty 13. Personal communication with Ownby revealed that she was referring to another fragment of a Marl C jar from the pyramid complex of Senwosret III at el-Lisht. I would like to express my thanks to Ownby for her insight on this subject. Ownby, Canaanite Jars from Memphis, 263.
706 De Morgan, Dahchour 1, 91-117; Ryholt, Second Intermediate Period, 217-218, n. 750.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

The tomb yielded a wooden statuette of a standing male described as “un sémite”.\(^708\) Wearing a short kilt with one arm preserved by his side, the figure’s black hair is near shoulder-length (Figure 4.74). The presence of a short pointed beard covering the figure’s lower jaw from ear to ear is akin to Asiatic beards, such as that of Khnumhotep II’s \(lhb\), suggesting that the statuette is of an Asiatic.\(^709\) Other elements absent from de Morgan’s sketch but pictured in Borchardt’s publication (Figure 4.74A)\(^710\) are possible hieroglyphs on the figure’s chest\(^711\) and a broken nose. As Nubhotepti-Khered’s statuette does not depict the Asiatic in a submissive position, it presents a less bellicose perception of Levantines.

Graffiti, Pyramid of Senwosret III

Beneath Senwosret III’s pyramid is a system of underground apartments and tunnels accessible via a vertical shaft dug into the pyramid’s inner court.\(^712\) An unblocked corridor leads to an antechamber, devoid of obstacles, with an easterly door opening into the serdab.\(^713\) Here, the walls are covered with the graffiti of figures bearing foreign features (Figures 4.75-78). Although the subterranean complex was likely constructed during Senwosret III’s reign,\(^714\) the graffiti may date to a later period. De Morgan originally attributed them to the complex’s builders, yet it is doubtful whether workers would have been permitted to deface a royal structure during or immediately following construction.\(^715\) Finds dating between the late Twelfth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period indicate that individuals entered the chambers at this time.\(^716\) Another possible date for the graffiti is the end of the Ramesside period when pyramid blocks were quarried, leading Di. Arnold to distinguish the foreigners as northerners from the Aegean.\(^717\) An examination of the graffiti, however, points to a Thirteenth Dynasty date, agreeing with Do. Arnold’s proposition.\(^718\)

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\(^{708}\) De Morgan, *Dahchour* 1, 116-117, figs 270, 274.

\(^{709}\) See Chapter 4.4.1.3, Figures 4.124, 126. See also Wasthuber, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und der Levante*, 94.

\(^{710}\) L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1925), 78, pl. 88 [515].

\(^{711}\) Cautiously identified as two hieroglyphs in the centre of the chest, the one above being similar to \(\text{\textbackslash N25}\).

\(^{712}\) Di. Arnold, *Senwosret III*, 33-34.


\(^{714}\) Di. Arnold, *Senwosret III*, 41.

\(^{715}\) De Morgan explains that the graffiti was created for “le simple désir de passer leur temps pendent que leurs camarades travaillent au fond de la mine”. De Morgan, *Dahchour* 2, 95; Di. Arnold, *Senwosret III*, 42.

\(^{716}\) Di. Arnold, *Senwosret III*, 41-42; Do. Arnold, in *Second Intermediate Period*, 204, n. 165. Do. Arnold mistakenly provides a reference to a beaker and not the oil jar from the complex’s bent tunnel.


\(^{718}\) Do. Arnold, in *Second Intermediate Period*, 204.
The graffiti includes several profile portraits of males (Figures 4.75-78), most of whom have hairdos with a tuft above the forehead. The style at the back varies from voluminous yet straight to round and coiffed. The closest parallels are found in the Asiatic warriors’ hairstyles from the fragment of Senwosret I’s pyramid (Figure 4.91) and Amenemhat I’s tomb, Beni Hassan (Figure 4.119). Two full-figured individuals with this distinctive hairstyle are depicted. The one on the south wall (Figure 4.78) wears a garment draped over his shoulders with a fringed edge partially hanging loose beneath the left shoulder. The other on the east wall (Figure 4.77) is wearing similar attire but with fringed/dotted detailing on the left shoulder. The clothing and hairstyles support their identification as Asiatics. As for when they were drawn, the stance and apparel of the only typical portrayal of an Egyptian on the south wall (Figure 4.78) points to the Thirteenth Dynasty. This period also presents the most likely date when visitors could have entered the subterranean complex with ease and without attracting punishment.

The Egyptian-like figure on the south wall provides a point of comparison with the Asiatic portraits. The artists clearly differentiated the two’s phenotype and, as the graffiti mostly focus on the Asiatics, it is likely that the individuals who drew them were themselves Asiatic. The graffiti’s purpose cannot be positively ascertained. Do. Arnold suggests a connection between the south wall’s falcon and the worship of chthonic Sokar, positing that the visitors had a religious experience in the subterranean complex and “left the sketches as a token of their visit.” Conversely, they could be tomb robbers or explorers who chose to draw familiar images on the walls of a former ruler’s complex. In any case, the graffiti portray a freedom to express ethnic identity, indicating awareness of what physically distinguished such an identity during the late Middle Kingdom.

4.3.2 Harageh, el-

Lat.Lon. 29°13’N 31°02’E

Refs PM 4, 105-107; Engelbach, Harageh; Grajetzki, Harageh.

Chron. Twelfth to early Fifteenth Dynasty

Opposite el-Lahun lies el-Harageh, where a number of Predynastic to New Kingdom cemeteries were uncovered. The cemeteries include approximately 300 burials of the Middle Kingdom,

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719 The fringed edge of the garment depicted on the south wall is similar to those of the Asiatics in the Beni Hassan tombs of Khnumhotep I and Khnumhotep II (Figures 4.117, 126). Do. Arnold, in Second Intermediate Period, 202-204, n. 159.
720 Do. Arnold, in Second Intermediate Period, 204.
721 As also suggested in Do. Arnold, in Second Intermediate Period, 204-205.
primarily of the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasties. Due to the cemeteries’ proximity to el-Lahun, scholars have proposed that the nearby cultivated lands were estates owned by el-Lahun’s elite, who were then buried at el-Harageh. Although not proven, the size and quality of finds from el-Harageh’s tombs suggest that their owners were of a higher status, some possibly of the royal family. Pertinent data from the cemetery includes:

- Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware (Figure 4.79a), including two piriform jugs from Tomb 297 with parallels from the early Thirteenth Dynasty, two wheel-made globular jugs with parallels from the early Fifteenth Dynasty, and fragments of unknown shape;
- A tall ovoid dipper juglet from Tomb 297, decorated in red and white horizontal bands (Figure 4.79a). The shape is very similar to locally made dipper juglets from Tell el-Dab’a’s stratum D/3, although no parallels for its decoration can be found. Based on form, a Fifteenth Dynasty date is favoured.

The cemetery at el-Harageh can be viewed as a Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period site used by an elite class with access to foreign imports.

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724 Kemp and Merrillees argue that the almost 4 km distance between el-Lahun and el-Harageh reduces the chance that el-Lahun’s workers were buried at el-Harageh. Instead, el-Harageh’s cemeteries were probably associated with a nearer settlement constructed for a yet undiscovered royal building project. Kemp and Merrillees, Minoan Pottery, 15; Engelbach, Harageh, 9; David, Pyramid Builders, 178.
725 For instance, court type Tombs 280 and 608 contained remnants of beaded flagellums while Tomb 124 contained silver pectoral fragments decorated with such royal symbols as the bee and the falcon. Engelbach, Harageh, 15-16, pl. 15 [2]; Grajetzki, Harageh, 23-26, 31; Richards, Society and Death, 104-124.
726 Engelbach dates the vessels to Dynasty 12. Engelbach, Harageh, 10.
727 Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian Group I.3.2a with contemporaneous finds from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata F-E/2. Engelbach, Harageh, pl. 41 [99f, j]; Kaplan, Tell el-Yahudiyyeh, fig. 37a-b; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 169, 553, figs 105, 110.
728 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian IX Groups L.9.1 and L.9.4 with contemporaneous finds from Tell el-Dab’a’s stratum E/3. Engelbach, Harageh, pls 41 [99d], 52; Kaplan, Tell el-Yahudiyyeh, fig. 19c; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 257, 556, figs 183, 186, 189.
729 Engelbach, Harageh, 10, pl. 10 [15].
730 Engelbach, Harageh, 11, pls 10 [12], 41 [99s]; Kemp and Merrillees, Minoan Pottery, 34, fig. 16.
731 The neck and ovoid body shape find a close parallel with Juglet 2619 from Tell el-Dab’a’s A/I1-m/16-Nr 1. Kopetzky, in MBA in the Levant, 234, 242, fig. 6.
4.3.3 Hawara

_Lat.Lon._ 20°16′N 30°54′E

Refs Petrie, _Kahun_, 18, pl. 11 [2-4]; Marochetti, _JE A_ 86 (2000), 44, pl. 7 [1].

Chron. Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty

Approximately 9 km northwest of el-Lahun is Hawara, the location of Amenemhat III’s second pyramid and mortuary complex. excavated by Petrie, the site comprises tombs of Dynasties 12-13, one of which belongs to the ‘controller of a phyle’ Imenysenebnebwy. Possibly dating to the reign of Khendjer, the tomb owner is shown on one fragment before an offering table, next to which are rows of figures atop one another (Figure 4.81). Between them is a register with the inscription ![Hieroglyphs](https://www.google.com/search?q=Hieroglyphs) _r₃m wdp.w Mnw-nfr “r₃m, butler”, Menunofer._736 The foreigner’s Egyptian name highlights the assumption of local customs. The term, as _r₃m_, may similarly be inscribed at the end of the first column above the seated Imenysenebnebwy. The block provides evidence for the employment of Asians by middle class Egyptians in the region of Hawara during the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty.

4.3.4 Kom Rabi’a

_Lat.Lon._ 29°50′N 31°15′E

Refs Jeffreys and Giddy, _JE A_ 75 (1989), 1-12; Giddy and Jeffreys, _JE A_ 77 (1991), 1-6; Giddy, _Survey of Memphis_ 2; Bader, TeD 19; Ownby, _Canaanite Jars from Memphis_; Bourriau and Gallorini, in _Pottery of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom_ 2, 107-130.

Chron. Late Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty

A mound 300 m south of Mit Rahina, Kom Rabi’a was first excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society between 1984 and 1990. Within the 500 m² area examined at the northwest section of the mound (Kom Rabi’a area AT / RAT) is a stratified sequence dating

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732 Petrie, _Kahun_, 18.
735 Ward, _Index_, 90 [755].
736 Ranke, _Personennamen_ 1, 152 [5].
from Dynasties 12 to 26. Pertinent to this study are Levels VIII to VI of the Middle Kingdom strata, in which foreign pottery was uncovered (Table 10; Figure 4.82).

Over 98% of the ceramic repertoire is Egyptian in style, providing chronological points of comparison with sites further north. Bader’s studies on Kom Rabi’a’s ceramic association with Tell el-Dab’a have revealed a synchronisation between Tell el-Dab’a’s G/4 and Kom Rabi’a’s Level VIII; G/3-1 with Level VII; F-E/3 with Level Vle-d; and D/3 with Level Vilb (Figure 4.82). The studies also suggest that distinct regional variations begin to occur in the ceramics of Stratum F-E/3 and Level Vle-d, i.e. the late Thirteenth Dynasty, with evidence of continued albeit limited contact until at least the mid-Fifteenth Dynasty. Growing regionalisation is evident, but it remains unclear whether a complete cultural or political border existed between the two cities from the late Thirteenth Dynasty. The middle to lower class individuals were apparently not under complete control by a non-Memphite hegemony and no evidence exists for a takeover by a foreign race.

The same may be deduced from the non-Egyptian pottery at the site. Fragments of Tell el-Yahudiyah ware were discovered, including an imported Piriform 1a juglet attributed

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739 The discovery of late Middle Kingdom scarab seals has also been mentioned by excavators in preliminary reports. Richards lists two bearing the “mr” formula from, apparently, an Eighteenth Dynasty context whereas D. Ben-Tor, in reference to these two “mr” scarab seals, writes that they were “among a late Middle Kingdom group of discarded sealings”. Due to such discrepancies regarding their context and the lack of the excavation’s publication, they are not included here. However, if the seals are of late Middle Kingdom date, then they corroborate the ceramic evidence by indicating trade links between Memphis and the Levant. L. Giddy and D. G. Jeffreys, ‘Memphis, 1990’, *JEA* 77 (1991), 4; F. V. Richards, *The Anra Scarabs. An Archaeological and Historical Approach*, BAR International Series 919 (Oxford, 2001), 132; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 46.
741 Bader, in *Synchronisation of Civilisations* 3, 265; Bader, in *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress*, 214-216.
742 Bader, in *Synchronisation of Civilisations* 3, 265; Bader, in *Proceedings of the 5th International Congress*, 216-217.
743 These include a Cypriote Base Ring juglet and several sherds of Nubian ware akin to the Pan-Grave tradition. D. G. Jeffreys and L. Giddy, ‘Memphis, 1988’, *JEA* 75 (1989), 2; Bourriau, in *Egypt and Africa*, 132.
to Dynasty 13 with parallels from el-Lahun, Byblos and Tell el-Dab’a. The majority of foreign wares were of Syro-Palestinian store-jar sherds, most of which occur in Level VId. Petrographic and chemical analyses of 51 jar samples from Levels VI and VII deduced four areas for the sherds’ fabrics (Table 11; Map 4), including: (1) the Akkar Plain of Northern Lebanon (13.7% of the 51 samples); (2) inland Lebanon (11.7%); (3) the Lebanese coast (39.2%); and (4) the Northern Israeli coast (25.4%). Remaining sherds could not be classified to a particular Levantine region, although one sample was probably from Southern Israel, near Ashkelon.749

The findings agree with petrographic tests on Tell el-Dab’a’s Syro-Palestinian store-jars, demonstrating that such vessels were primarily imported from the Northern Levant, specifically the modern Lebanese coast. Fabrics at Tell el-Dab’a suggest wider trading patterns as well as greater demand, an expected outcome considering Tell el-Dab’a’s extensive stratigraphy, larger excavation area and more varied social classes. These same reasons restrict the analysis of Kom Rabi’a, a much smaller site, as a representation of the city of Memphis. Nonetheless, Kom Rabi’a provides a sampling of the material culture of the more average Memphites who still had continued access to and demand for Levantine commodities well into the Fifteenth Dynasty.

746 Aston and Bietak’s Type Group I.1.5. Bader, TeD 19, 496 [6094]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 144, 552, figs 85-86; Kaplan, Tell el-Yehudiyeh Ware, fig. 29 [b].
747 J. Bourriau, ‘Canaanite Jars from New Kingdom Deposits at Memphis, Kom Rabi’a’, Eretz Israel 21 (1990), 19; Ownby, Canaanite Jars from Memphis, 61-62, fig. 3 [9].
749 See Chapter 4.2.2.8; Map 3.
750 Further excavation of the mound and surrounding regions would provide a more complete portrait of Memphis during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Until then, the name ‘Memphis’ should only be used cautiously when assessing the data at Kom Rabi’a. For an example of the site’s assumption as a representation of the city Memphis, see Bourriau, in Ancient Egypt, 184.
4.3.5 Lahun, el-

Lat.Lon. 29°13′N 30°59′E

Refs PM 4, 107-112; Petrie, Illahun; Petrie, Kahun; Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 2; Griffith, Hieratic Papyri; Kaplony-Heckel, Handschriften 1; Merrillees, Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology 2 (1973), 51-53; Luft, Archiv; Luft, in Sesto Congresso, 297-297; David, Pyramid Builders; Quirke, Lahun; Collier and Quirke, Letters; Collier and Quirke, Religious, Literary; Collier and Quirke, Accounts.

Chron. Mid-Twelfth to Early Fifteenth Dynasty

El-Lahun is located at the entrance of the Fayum and was founded by Senwosret II as his final resting place, where a cemetery of the Middle Kingdom royal family and officials was established around the north and west of his pyramid (Figure 4.83). Further east, a settlement, also known as Kahun, was developed for pyramid workers and personnel who administered the cultic activities of funerary temples in the area. First excavated by Petrie, several finds in the settlement aroused suspicion of a resident immigrant population. This was reinforced after the translation of hieratic papyri pointed to a number of Asians amidst the Egyptian population. As findings from renewed excavations are not yet published, archaeological details are largely reliant on Petrie’s monographs. Settlement data prior to the New Kingdom is generally assigned between the reigns of Senwosret II and the end of Dynasty 13 with the last king attested being Ibiaw, whereas the temple papyri date to the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III.

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758 Quirke, Lahun, 32.
4.3.5.1 The settlement

Petrie’s plan lays out a standard, orthogonal, settlement (Figure 4.83), indicating its purpose-built construction during Senwosret II’s reign. The town includes an ‘Acropolis’ with a sizeable, possibly mayoral, complex, large houses with granaries, and small units. According to the granaries’ capacities, a population density between 5,000 (maximum rations) and 9,000 (minimum rations) has been estimated while the spatial capacity of houses suggests a population of 8,000 people. Finds which have been linked to trade and the presence of Levantines are presented below.

Characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics

Imported and local imitations of foreign ceramics occur, including Cypriote, Minoan, Pan-Grave and Levantine pottery (Figure 4.84). The latter includes at least four Levantine Painted Wares with decorative band-zones: a dipper juglet similar in form to those from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata d/1 (G/4) and b/3 (F) (Figure 4.84 [16]), a handle-less (?) piriform jug (Figure 4.84 [22]); two fragments of a shoulder (Figure 4.84 [11]); and a vessel’s neck (Figure 4.84 [19]). Remains of Syro-Palestinian store-jars may have also been discovered in recent excavations but remain unpublished.

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764 Foreign wares include the neck of a Cypriote White Painted III-IV Pendant Line Style jug (Figure 4.84 [18]), Classical Kamares ware and other Minoan sherds of closed and open vessels (Figure 4.84 [1-15]), as well as an incised sherd of a bowl paralleling those from Pan-Grave burials at Hu and Mostagedda. Petrie, *Illahun*, 9-10, pl. 1; Kemp and Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery*, 57-86, 98-99, figs 22-23, table 1; R. S. Merrillees, ‘The Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Cypriote White Painted Pendant Line Style’, *BASOR* 326 (2002), 3, figs 1-2; Gallorini, in *Under the Potter’s Tree*, 410-411; L. Fitton, M. Hughes and S. Quirke, ‘Northerners at Lahun. Neutron Activation Analysis of Minoan and Related Pottery in the British Museum’, in S. Quirke (ed.), *Lahun Studies* (Reigate, 1988), 112-140; B. J. Kemp, ‘An Incised Sherd from Kahun, Egypt’, *JNES* 36/4 (1977), 289-292.
765 Petrie, *Illahun*, pl. 1 [16]; R. S. Merrillees, ‘Syrian Pottery from Middle Kingdom Egypt’, *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2 (1973), 51-53, fig. 2; Bagh, in *MBA in the Levant*, 92-93; Bagh, *TeD* 23, 63, fig. 30 [g]; Kopetzky, in *MBA in the Levant*, 229-231, 240, fig. 2 (7280, 4761).
768 Petrie, *Illahun*, pl. 1 [19]; Bagh, *TeD* 23, 63, fig. 30 [e].
Around 21 specimens of Tell el-Yahudiyyah vessels have been recorded (Figure 4.84 [17, 20-21, 23-26]). A piriform juglet (Figure 4.84 [21]) with a ring base and three zones of decoration parallels a juglet from MBIIA Kafr el-Jarra. Three other fragments (Figure 4.84 [17, 20, 26]) may belong to piriform juglets and are comparable to a vessel from Mirgissa. The assemblage additionally comprises MBIIA forms such as a wheel-made globular juglet paralleling those from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata E/1-D/2, a cylindrical juglet, and two fragments of a vessel(s) with a naturalistic design (Figure 4.84 [23-24]). Thus, the Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglets reflect MBIIA and MBIIB styles with Egyptian parallels dating between Dynasties 13 and 15. The variety of foreign pottery attests to a continued influence of foreign trade and demand for foreign products. Such demand, as well as the domestic context, perhaps indicates the presence of individuals of foreign ancestry.

**Adornment**

A house in the town’s western sector contained a copper torque with flattened, coiled ends (Figure 4.85). Neutron Activation Analysis on the copper verified that it was not sourced from an area in or near Egypt. As a common Near Eastern adornment, it has been proposed that the torque belonged to a foreign woman living at el-Lahun. However, figurines of males and females from Byblos specify that both sexes wore the torque. If belonging to a foreigner, then the torque would suggest that he/she could wear customary dress in an Egyptian town. If worn by an Egyptian, then the torque represents the rising influence of Levantine culture on local fashion. At the very least, its appearance in a domestic setting signifies contact with the Levant.

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774 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian XII Group L.12.1. Kaplan, *Tell el-Yahudiyeh Ware*, fig. 8 [b]; Aston and Bietak, *TeD* 8, 265, figs 195, 201.


776 Petrie, *Illahun*, 12, pl. 13 [18].


Weaving and spinning

Spindle whorls and a heddle-jack of imported hard wood (see below) denote contact with northerners. The cylindrical heddle-jack features five signs incised around its side (Figure 4.86). Linked to a linear script, possibly Semitic, the signs have been interpreted as 'ḥṭb', 'ḥtwb', ‘ḥišb' or 'dšb'. As Petrie did not record the artefact's exact context, it could date to a later period. However, the type of loom is horizontal, which is the only form known in the Middle Kingdom and the less common loom type in the New Kingdom. Thus, it may be assigned to the earlier occupation of the site. A palaeographic analysis also points to the MBA period. As such, a date between the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties is favoured here. The heddle-jack's presence implies trade with the Levant, yet its domestic use is more suggestive of literate Near Eastern weavers in the area.

Organic products

Plants not indigenous to Egypt but native to the Mediterranean and Levantine region were among the botanical remains. These include the carob plant (*Ceratonia siliqua*), black cumin

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781 Petrie, *Kahun*, pl. 27 [85].


785 M. Dijkstra, ‘The So-called ‘Āḥṯūb-Inscription from Kahun (Egypt)’, ZDPV 106 (1990), 55-56.


787 Evidently, the context was not even recorded in his field books. Gallorini, *Incised Marks*, 248, n. 14.


789 Dijkstra proposes a MBIIIC or Fifteenth Dynasty date. Dijkstra, *ZDPV* 106 (1990), 55-56.

790 Petrie found dyed wool (blue strands, blue with red and green ends, and red unspun dyed wool) which Saretta uses as evidence for contact with Levantines. The fleece type of the ‘weaver’s waste’ suggests a *terminus post quem* of the Roman period and its radiocarbon dating points to the Medieval Age. Although wool has been found in other Egyptian contexts, the el-Lahun fabric cannot be positively ascertained as Middle Kingdom wool nor as an import until further tests are carried out. Petrie, *Kahun*, 28; Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites*, 146-151; Quirke, *Lahun*, 95; J. Jones, *Textiles in Early Egyptian Funerary Contexts. Analysis of the Epigraphic and Archaeological Evidence* (PhD Dissertation, Macquarie University, 2011), 158, 171-173, 179, 234, 314, 317-320; W. D. Cooke, ‘W. F. Petrie and the Weavers Waste’, *Archaeological Textiles Newsletter* 17 (1993), 13-14; Cartwright, Granger-Taylor and Quirke, in *Lahun Studies*, 101; B. J. Kemp and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna* (London, 2001), 34-55.

(Nigella sativa L.), juniper berries (Juniperus oxycedrus) and safflower fruits (Carthamus tinctorius L.).\textsuperscript{792} The remnants of carob, black cumin and safflower offer the earliest archaeological instances of the plants in Egypt. If a Middle Kingdom date is accepted, it is highly likely that they, along with the Juniper berries, were imported from the Levant.\textsuperscript{793}

The hard wood used for the spindle whorls and heddle-jack (see above) was also imported. Belonging to the Pinacea family, the wood, perhaps of pine or fir,\textsuperscript{794} was either recycled\textsuperscript{795} or transported into el-Lahun by Levantines.

4.3.5.2 The papyri

The papyri from el-Lahun can be divided into two collections: (1) mostly unpublished papyri retrieved from the rubbish deposit north of the valley temple, consisting of lists and account papyri for Senwosret II’s cult dating between Senwosret III and Amenemhat III’s reign;\textsuperscript{796} and (2) manuscripts from across the settlement\textsuperscript{797} which was occupied from the Twelfth to at least the early Second Intermediate Period. Foreigners are represented either by an ethnonym (e.g. ⲡⲩⲧⲓ ⲧϣⲁ.mc or Mдⲩϣw) and/or their non-Egyptian names. Volume II: Translation 2 includes translations of published papyri, with dated documents arranged first and in chronological order. Further information on the manuscripts and their respective bibliographical references are provided in Table 11.

The papyri specify that male and female Asiatics were employed in temple activities and non-cultic duties. These references, which mostly occur in papyri uncovered near the temple, include such occupations as temple door-keepers, attendants, retainers, singers, dancers and q̪i-li-priests. Singers, male and perhaps female,\textsuperscript{798} could perform at the Residence (P Berlin 10002) while dancers performed at local, regional and national festivals for Egyptian

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\textsuperscript{792} Germer, in Lahun Studies, 88-89; Petrie, Kahun, 47, 50.

\textsuperscript{793} Also suggested in Germer, in Lahun Studies, 88-89; K. Szpakowska, Daily Life in Ancient Egypt: Recreating Lahun (Malden, Oxford, Carlton, 2008), 96. See Chapter 4.4.1.2-4.4.1.3 and Figure 4.136, for possible artistic representations of carob at Beni Hassan.

\textsuperscript{794} Cartwright, Granger-Taylor and Quirke, in Lahun Studies, 92-111; Quirke, Lahun, 93.

\textsuperscript{795} Cartwright, Granger-Taylor and Quirke, in Lahun Studies, 97; Gallorini, Incised Marks, 241.

\textsuperscript{796} Quirke, Lahun, 31-33.


\textsuperscript{798} Despite Petrik’s remark on the lack of female Asiatics in the ‘temple archive’ sources, Papyrus Berlin 10391 a-e suggests that a female Asiatic singer could feature in the temple papyri. U. Kaplony-Heckel, Ägyptische Handschriften, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1971), 227 [576]; Petrik, in Illahun to Djeme, 213.
deities (UC 32191). Asiatics seem to have some association with those who recorded temple activities. For example, they are noted as letter deliverers: a position requiring reliability, efficiency and a good knowledge of the town’s layout and inhabitants. Foreigners participating in non-cultic duties were evidently employed as butchers, stone- haulers, workmen and house- servants. The latter could work for the same household across generations or could be transferred from one to another in legal documents such as UC 32058 or UC 32167. The inheritor would additionally be legally responsible for juvenile Asiatics, perhaps the house- servants’ children. As for administrative tasks, UC 32143E suggests that an Asiatic was hired as a staff member to the vizier while Papyrus Berlin 10004 consists of an Asiatic phyle leader. Foreigners could also be attached to an administrative district, as in UC 32201 and UC 32286. Both Papyrus Berlin 10004 and UC 32151B denote the existence of Asiatic soldiers led by an ‘overseer of the expedition’ of ēm(.w). The title, as well as Papyrus Berlin 10010’s ‘scribe of the ēm.w’, points to a structured managerial hierarchy specifically for the Asiatic milieu.

The unpublished Papyrus Berlin 10002 evidently lists 50 singers performing at the Residence, the majority of whom are Asiatic (Table 11).799 Dating to Year 36 of Amenemhat III’s reign, the papyrus includes such names as ēm Senwosret’s son Khakheperraseneb (nickname Ityi-Hor), Senwosret (nickname Bʿrī), Senet (nickname Itni), ēm Iqeq’s son Khakheperrawah (nickname ʿr), Khakhereperraseneb (nickname Mkü) and Senet (nickname Khayti).800 Also unpublished is Papyrus Berlin 10004 from Amenemhat III’s Year 21 listing ēm.w such as an ‘overseer of the expedition of ēm.w’,801 the ‘chantress Khaye’ and ‘the great wh-priest Nefrit’s son S-n-ḥ-h-r’. Such names as Bʿrī (Baaliya?),802 Mkü (Malku?)803 and S-n-ḥ-h-r804 reflect the individuals’ non-Egyptian origins. It seems that they were undergoing acculturation, their non-Egyptian names correlated with Egyptian appellations. The same case is observable in the translated papyri, where the majority classified as ēm have Egyptian names. A common designation is ‘Senwosret’ or Senwosret II’s throne name ‘Khakheperra’, obviously relating to el-Lahun’s founder. Perhaps, then, the foreigners were given their local names when they migrated into the area. Papyrus Berlin 10021 offers a clue that Asiatics were collected to work from a wn.t.

799 Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 26-27; Luft, in Sesto Congresso, 292-296; Kaplony-Heckel, Handschriften 1, 2 [2].
800 Luft, in Sesto Congresso, 292-295.
801 Transcribed by Kaplony-Heckel as 33 see Chapter 4.5.5.1 for the title’s usage at Wadi el-Hol.
802 See the inscription of pr-Bʿrī at Tell el-Habwa I (Chapter 4.2.4.1). Luft, in Sesto Congresso, 294; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 146; Schneider, AsPN, 87.
803 Like the names attested for a ruler in Khnumhotep’s III biography, Dahshur (see Chapter 4.3.1.2), a territory and ruler in the Levant (E37 and E62 of the Saqqara Excavation Texts, Chapter 4.3.8) and a foreign ruler in the region of Sinuhe’s Ê3 (Chapter 4.6.9). Luft, in Sesto Congresso, 294.
804 Luft, in Sesto Congresso, 297; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 161.
Despite Larkman’s tenuous suggestion that this was a ‘special prison’ where war captives were kept,\(^805\) the location is given a determinative and could refer to a designated area where Asiatics lived or (were) gathered for vocational opportunities. Again, this would point to an organised conglomeration for Asiatics at el-Lahun.

The papyri suggest that the number of Asiatics increased from Year 6 of Senwosret III’s to Amenemhat IV’s reign.\(^806\) Their adoption of Egyptian names, employment as Egyptian temple priests and performance at festivals demonstrates their close affinity with Egyptian traditions. This acculturation perhaps attracted their positive treatment by the Egyptians, which is inferred from instances where Egyptians are listed alongside Asiatics, or in Papyrus Berlin 10047, where the scribe saw fit to write Initef’s occupation before his designation as \(\text{m}m\), or UC 32127 where a female servant, seemingly Egyptian, was under an Asiatic’s responsibility. One letter which Luft finds to be discriminatory, Papyrus Berlin 10228E with fragments from 10323A and 10111Aa, could be taken as a preference for Egyptian rather than Asiatic workers.\(^807\) The Hymns to Senwosret III (UC 32157) additionally present a hostile view of Levantines, with the king slaughtering the \(\text{Pd.tyw}\), striking the \(\text{Iwn.tyw}\) and restraining the \(\text{St.tyw}\). The hymns, however, denote a topos representation of foreigners intended to depict the king as protector. Still, the evidence attests that the Egyptians, maybe even as children in households with foreign servants, were well-acclimated to Asiatics. It is, therefore, no surprise that Hathor is mentioned as ‘lady of Byblos’ during Amenemhat IV’s reign (UC 32196).

The papyri correspond with the archaeological data. Clearly, a Levantine community was thriving at el-Lahun and was involved in vocational ventures from at least Senwosret III’s reign. Although the pottery featured Cypriote, Minoan and Pan-Grave forms, the papyri only reveal that the \(\text{m}m\) and \(\text{Mdhwjy}\) were at el-Lahun.\(^808\) Foreign weavers and spinners are not mentioned in the papyri,\(^809\) yet such activities may have been carried out by house-servants. Trade in organic products is substantiated by the many attestations of cedar (\(\text{S}\)),\(^810\) which was

\(^{805}\) S. J. Larkman, ‘Human Cargo: Transportation of Western Asiatic People during 11\(^{th}\) and 12\(^{th}\) Dynasty’, \textit{JSSEA} 34 (2007), 110.

\(^{806}\) Also observed by Luft. Luft, in \textit{Sesto Congresso}, 297.

\(^{807}\) Luft, in \textit{Sesto Congresso}, 297. Interestingly, the name of the nomarch given this request, Senwosret’s son Khakheperraseneb, matches that of \(\text{m}m\) Senwosret’s son Khakheperraseneb mentioned a year before in Papyrus Berlin 10002. If they are the same person, then one could question why the overseer of sealers did not wish the nomarch to send Asiatics when his father was one. Perhaps the matter concerned Egyptians and thus necessitated native workers.

\(^{808}\) For the \(\text{Mdhwjy}\) see UC 32191 and UC 32143A. Collier and Quirke, \textit{Accounts}, 92-93, 176-177.

\(^{809}\) See, however, those of Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446. Chapter 4.6.3.

\(^{810}\) Collier and Quirke, \textit{Accounts}, 68-69 (UC 32125), 116-117 (UC 32310), 170-171 (UC 32104), 260-261 (UC 32152A).
evidently used in temple architecture.\textsuperscript{811} As the archaeological evidence suggests that trade persisted into Dynasty 15, it is likely that Asiatics continued to reside in el-Lahun. The data confirms the Egyptian population’s exposure to Levantine ethnicity: its people, religion, dress, language, food and commerce. Organised and hierarchical institutions were possibly set up to coordinate relations between Egyptians and Asiatics, and a certain degree of mutual respect and appreciation appears to have presided. None of the evidence indicates an Asiatic invasion or disregard for the foreign population, but the absence of royal-name seals of the Hyksos suggests that relations with the Fifteenth Dynasty were meagre. Until further archaeological work is carried out, it is only possible to surmise that el-Lahun reached its peak as a hub of cultic and commercial activity during the late Twelfth Dynasty, when a Levantine population became well-integrated into the Egyptian settlement but was still among the lower to middle class of the multicultural society.

4.3.6 Lisht, el-

\textit{Lat.Lon.} 24°34’N 31°13’E


\textit{Chron.} Early Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty

Approximately 65 km south of Cairo, near the Middle Kingdom capital of Itjtawy, is el-Lisht. The site features the pyramid complexes of the first two kings of Dynasty 12, Amenemhat I (el-Lisht North) and Senwosret I (el-Lisht South), a necropolis for officials, as well as quarters for funerary cult priests that later developed into a Thirteenth Dynasty settlement (el-Lisht North).\textsuperscript{812} Investigations at the site were recorded by Lepsius, Maspero and the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale.\textsuperscript{813} Recently, the Metropolitan Museum of Art has re-excavated the Middle Kingdom remains.\textsuperscript{814}

\textsuperscript{811} UC 32125 and UC 32152A. The latter includes, alongside the cedar, \textit{hmt} \textit{mi} ‘new copper’ and a \textit{mn} ‘axe’, and could therefore be a list of imported commodities. Collier and Quirke, \textit{Accounts}, 68-69.


\textsuperscript{814} Di. Arnold, \textit{Tomb Architecture}, 11.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

4.3.6.1 Early Twelfth Dynasty

Amenemhat I’s Pyramid Complex

One fragment from Amenemhat I’s mortuary temple portrays a child carried in a brownish-red garment wrapped around the back of a female with long hair (Figure 4.87).\(^{815}\) Such a carrying position is rarely attributed to Egyptians before the New Kingdom and is more reminiscent of those of unprovenanced Middle Kingdom figurines from the Museum of Fine Arts and the Metropolitan Museum of Art,\(^ {816}\) the Beni Hassan figurine\(^ {817}\) and the Libyans of Khnumhotep I’s tomb at Beni Hassan.\(^ {818}\) The female’s hair shows greater similarity with an earlier fragment from Nebhepetra Montuhotep’s temple at Deir el-Bahri.\(^ {819}\) This Eleventh Dynasty fragment pictures two Asiatic men accompanying an Asiatic woman with an infant wrapped at her back. So, the portrayal of a child on a female’s back could be attributed to a range of foreigners during the Middle Kingdom. More on the identity of the el-Lisht figures is revealed through the child’s yellow skin colour and hooked nose, features equivalent to the Asiatic children of Khnumhotep II’s tomb at Beni Hassan.\(^ {820}\) Hence, it is probable that the decorative programme of Amenemhat I’s pyramid temple included Asiatics.

Depiction of characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics

At the southwest corner of Amenemhat I’s pyramid complex is Pit 614 in which blocks from the tombs of Sobeknakht and Rehuerdjersen were uncovered.\(^ {821}\) Dating to Amenemhat I’s reign, the tombs belong to high officials: the former a royal chief steward; and the latter a treasurer and royal sealer.\(^ {822}\) One relief, of which eight fragments remain, illustrates Egyptian scribes recording the activities of workers filling with wine and sealing jars (Figure 4.88).\(^ {823}\) The vessels being filled strongly resemble Syro-Palestinian store-jars with their handles, large ovoid shape and wide, thickened rims. Parallels include an EBIV/MBI jar


\(^{817}\) See Chapter 4.4.1.4, Figure 4.137. Do. Arnold, ‘Foreign and Female’, in S. H. D’Auria (ed.), Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honour of Jack A. Josephson (Leiden, Boston, 2010), figs 1-3.

\(^{818}\) See Chapter 4.4.1.1, Figure 4.112.


\(^{820}\) See Chapter 4.4.1.3, Figures 4.124, 128.

\(^{821}\) Di. Arnold, Tomb Architecture, 67.

\(^{822}\) Di. Arnold, Tomb Architecture, 64, 66-67, 85.

from Byblos’s Ba’alat temple and a MBIIA jar from the Byblite Chamber of Offerings.\textsuperscript{824} The vessels point to the (re)use of Levantine jars by Egyptians and for, apparently, Egyptian commodities.\textsuperscript{825} As for indications of trade, the possibility of the jars’ reuse from earlier periods cannot be disproved, especially as Egyptians are filling them. Contrarily, the tomb owner’s high office would have granted him access to imported products. Nonetheless, the relief implies the use of Syro-Palestinian store-jars during early Dynasty 12.

\textit{Senwosret I’s Pyramid Complex}

Fragments from Senwosret I’s mortuary temple portray the royal subjugation of foreigners. Hayes comments on a scene in which Senwosret I is illustrated in a smiting position, grasping the hair of nine captives, or the Nine Bows, before rows of bound and kneeling individuals.\textsuperscript{826} The scene includes a Nubian(?) , Puntite, Asiatic, Libyan and two other unidentified foreigners.\textsuperscript{827} The kneeling posture of one individual is ascertained from the upper register of an associated relief picturing Seshat recording the event and its spoils (Figure 4.89).\textsuperscript{828} The top of the column to the left of the relief’s central panel illustrates a seated individual carrying an unknown item in his hand.\textsuperscript{829} His hairstyle is slightly bulbous then angular at the back, shaved almost straight to the neck. Such a hairstyle is akin to those of Amenemhat’s Asiatic in Beni

\textsuperscript{824} J.-P. Thalmann, ‘Tell Arqa et Byblos, Essai de Corrélation’, in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds), \textit{The Bronze Age in the Lebanon: Studies on the Archaeology and Chronology of Lebanon, Syria and Egypt}, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamttakademie 50 (Vienna, 2008), 64-67, figs 2 [4], 3 [1-4].

\textsuperscript{825} As the jars being sealed have no handles and are more Egyptian in shape, perhaps the scene depicts the transfer of Levantine wine from imported vessels to Egyptian storage jars. The existence of such local jars with Levantine wine is evident from the hieratic text painted on a sherd of a Marl C jar neck from the burial of Sitweret (see Chapter 4.3.1.3, Figure 4.72).

\textsuperscript{826} Not all of the reliefs could be examined. As such, the description – particularly of the smiting scene – is reliant on W. C. Hayes, \textit{The Scepter of Egypt}, vol. 1: \textit{From the Earliest Times to the End of the Middle Kingdom} (New York, 1953), 188.

\textsuperscript{827} Hayes, \textit{Scepter of Egypt} 1, 188. A southerner and a Libyan are identified in fragment MMA 13.235.4 from the causeway. Other foreigners from the pyramid temple are also depicted in MMA 09.180.74. ‘Relief Fragment: Foreigner with Feather in His Hair and Nubian’, \textit{The Metropolitan Museum of Art}, \url{http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100001963?rpp=60&pg=5&ft=lisht&pos=287} (accessed 22/12/2012); ‘Fragments depicting a Group of Foreigners including a Child’, \textit{The Metropolitan Museum of Art}, \url{http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100001960?rpp=60&pg=5&ft=lisht&pos=285} (accessed 22/12/2012).

\textsuperscript{828} The theme is also featured in Pepy II’s smiting scene at his mortuary temple at Saqqara. Such a commonality supports the reliance on the Old Kingdom decorative programme for pyramid complexes. See L. M. Berman, \textit{Amenemhet I} (PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 1985), 72; Grajetzki, \textit{Middle Kingdom}, 44, n. 161.

\textsuperscript{829} The individual underneath with protruding elements in his hair at the fore and back is similar to that of MMA 11.151.12, a faience fragment from el-Lisht (North), illustrating a foreigner (northeasterner?) questionably of the Middle Kingdom. See ‘Fragment from an Egyptian Vessel decorated with the Image of an Eastern Foreigner’, \textit{The Metropolitan Museum of Art}, \url{http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100014704} (accessed 22/12/2012).
Hassan (Figure 4.119, figure to the left), thereby suggesting that the individual is Asiatic and amongst Senwosret I’s enemies. If, as proposed here, the hairstyle is of Asiatic individuals, then a figure in a procession of foreigners from another fragment discovered in the altar court could feature an Asiatic with a pointed beard (Figure 4.90).\textsuperscript{830} Remaining hieroglyphs at the top of the block read \textsuperscript{830}MMA 09.180.54. The fragment has been reconstructed with MMA 09.180.50 showing the lower half of two individuals, with the Asiatic of MMA 09.180.54 connected with the lower half of a body, hands bound behind back and wearing a short kilt. The skin is yellow. ‘Block of Relief’, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, [http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100009602?img=1](http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100009602?img=1) (accessed 22/12/2012); Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, 92-94, pl. 18.

The battle that could have brought such prisoners may have been preserved in a relief from the pyramid temple, probably positioned in the causeway, portraying a bearded man with yellow-brown skin (Figure 4.91).\textsuperscript{831} His red hair is characterised by its thick strands and tuft at the front. The tuft is analogous to those of the early Twelfth Dynasty Asians of Khnumhotep I’s tomb at Beni Hassan (Figures 4.116-117), the early Thirteenth Dynasty statue from Tell el-Dab’a’s F/I d/1 (Figure 4.9)\textsuperscript{832} and the Asians of Mereret’s pectoral (Figure 4.73).\textsuperscript{833} The red hair colour is also observed for the foreigners at Beni Hassan.\textsuperscript{834} The individual seemingly carries a spear in his left hand aiming downwards at an unknown enemy, signalling that he could be positioned at the top of a fortress. Another object with a pointed end at the bottom left is perhaps associated with a type of Asiatic shield pictured in the Beni Hassan tomb of Khety (Figures 4.107-110).\textsuperscript{835} The combination of elements indicates that the figure is an Asiatic warrior. It is, therefore, very possible that Senwosret I’s pyramid complex consisted of a battle scene concerned with fighting and capturing Asians.\textsuperscript{836}

\textsuperscript{830} MMA 09.180.54. The fragment has been reconstructed with MMA 09.180.50 showing the lower half of two individuals, with the Asiatic of MMA 09.180.54 connected with the lower half of a body, hands bound behind back and wearing a short kilt. The skin is yellow. ‘Block of Relief’, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, [http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100009602?img=1](http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100009602?img=1) (accessed 22/12/2012); Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, 92-94, pl. 18.


\textsuperscript{832} See Chapter 4.2.2.3.

\textsuperscript{833} See Chapter 4.3.1.3, Tables 13 and 39.


\textsuperscript{835} The shield may also be shown in Intef’s tomb of Dynasty 11. Jaroš-Deckert, Grabung im Asasif 5, pl. 17, folding pls 1-3.

\textsuperscript{836} For an earlier royal battle scene, see that of Montuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. Naville, Deir el-Bahari 1, 68-69, pls 14-15; Smith, Interconnections in the Ancient Near East, 152, fig. 184.

122
4.3.6.2 Late Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty

Other pieces of evidence from el-Lisht can be generally assigned to the late Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty. They are used here only as signs for Asiatics living in the region. The unpublished Execration Texts also present their hostile representation.

**Execration Texts**

Execration Texts painted on mud figurines were collected from the surface debris west of Senwosretankh’s tomb of Senwosret I’s reign (Figure 4.92).\(^\text{837}\) Due to the uncertain context, the texts can only be attributed to Dynasty 12 or 13. The texts apparently begin with “the deceased, the rebel, ...”\(^\text{838}\) and Saretta notes that, while the majority of names listed are Egyptian, three can be “qualified as Asiatic \(\text{c}m\text{w}\)”\(^\text{839}\). This, along with the reported lack of toponyms and rare inclusion of titulary, has led Redford to identify the foreigners as possible fugitives.\(^\text{840}\) Yet, until the texts are published, it is only possible to surmise that the Egyptians were resorting to a known magical ritual to guarantee either (a) protection against foreigners\(^\text{841}\) or (b) the submission of Asiatic enemies within and beyond Egypt.

**Statue base of Imny**

An unpublished diorite statue base was unearthed in the debris of Tomb 499 at el-Lisht North, near Amenemhat I’s pyramid.\(^\text{842}\) Four rows of hieroglyphs are inscribed at the feet and apparently include \(\text{Imny im.y-r}\,\text{i}h,\text{w msi n c}\text{m.t}‘\text{Ameny, overseer of cattle,}\)\(^\text{843}\) born to \(\text{c}\text{m.t}\).\(^\text{844}\) So Ameny was, at least from his mother’s side, of Asiatic descent. His assumption

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\(^{837}\) MMA 33.1.66-147. The 96 figurines were found alongside a mud coffin-shaped container. A manuscript by the late G. Posener regarding these tablets is reportedly to be published in the near future while a publication on the mastaba of Senwosretankh including the tablets is also apparently forthcoming. A. Lansing and W. C. Hayes, ‘The Egyptian Expedition: The Excavations at Lisht’, *BMMA* 28/11.2 (1933), 23-25, fig. 32; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* 1, 329, fig. 217; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 89, n. 103; Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites*, 173, n. 482; Di. Arnold, *Tomb Architecture*, 13-16, n. 11.

\(^{838}\) Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* 1, 329; Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites*, 172.

\(^{839}\) Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites*, 172-174.

\(^{840}\) Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 89, n. 103.

\(^{841}\) Arnold suggests that the magical figurines acted as ‘defence lines’ to protect against those who could harm the mastaba. Texts with a similar function are known from the Teti cemetery, Saqqara (see Chapter 4.3.8). Di. Arnold, *Tomb Architecture*, 16.

\(^{842}\) The statue base is discussed by Saretta and mentioned by Schneider (relying on Saretta). It was accessioned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art as MMA 15.3.585. Museum curators note that they had sold it to The American Museum of Natural History (personal communication). Despite the author’s efforts, the artefact could not be tracked further and so the information presented follows Saretta’s examination. The black and white facsimile from Saretta’s thesis is unfortunately not clear enough for a personal assessment. Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites*, 155-156, pl. 31; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 2, 62.

\(^{843}\) Ward, *Index*, 11 [41].

\(^{844}\) Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites*, 156.
of an Egyptian name and title points to the assimilation of Asiatics within the Middle Kingdom bureaucracy. Additionally, the material used for the statue hints at a royal commission, signalling the administration’s acceptance and rewarding of Asiatic officials.  

*Statuette of a Levantine cultic figure*

The statuette was found at el-Lisht North within the surface debris west of Amenemhat I’s pyramid, and possibly belongs to the nearby Thirteenth Dynasty settlement (Figure 4.93). The figurine is described by the excavators as that of a crowned king; however, particular details warrant an alternative identification. Made from unbaked clay, it measures 21 cm in height and portrays a standing figure wearing a conical crown, the top of which is no longer preserved, as well as a close-fitting dress identified by the remains of a greenish colour across the torso and right shoulder. The left arm, right hand and right foot are missing. The head is elongated, ears long and protruding, eyes large and round, and chin raised. The body is heavyset with small modelled breasts, a delineated waist and the possible etching of a bellybutton. Such features, particularly those of the face and chin, are more akin to cultic figurines uncovered in the Levant, specifically those from MBIIA and MBIIIB Byblos.  

As for the crown, the angle at which it is positioned is more similar to the crowns of Levantine statuettes related to a ‘warrior’ function. One bronze female figurine found in a hoard of weapons at Byblos features this crown along with a line across the upper décolletage and right shoulder indicating dress. Perhaps the piece of clothing can be linked to that of el-Lisht’s statuette, supporting its portrayal of a Levantine divinity. In any case, the el-Lisht statuette’s facial characteristics follow Levantine rather than Egyptian artistic trends, indicating its foreign craftsmanship. Due to the lack of fabric analysis, the

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845 Saretta further notes the discovery of two small MBA jars in Tomb 499, one of which appears to be a miniature jar with one handle and bulbous body. Without further data on the size, fabric and other features of the vessels, they cannot be definitively classified as MBA pottery. Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites*, 156, pl. 32.


847 “It has a crown, and is certainly meant to represent a king, but what a queer figure it is... it may have been fashioned in an idle moment by one of the craftsmen... it certainly cannot have been made as a serious piece of work”. Mace, BMMA 17/12.2 (1922), 13.

848 Recent online images of the statuette show the damaged crown. Compare Figure 4.93 from Mace, BMMA 17/12.2 (1922), fig. 7 and the online ‘Statuette of King’, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, [http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100014651?img=1](http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/100014651?img=1) (accessed 22/12/2012).


850 Seeden, *Standing Armed Figurines*, pls G [230, 308], 86 [1511], 96 [1681, 1682].


852 Seeden, *Standing Armed Figurines*, 94-95, pls K [1682], 96 [1682].

statuette’s place of manufacture cannot be ascertained. However, its discovery near el-
Lisht’s Middle Kingdom settlement not only signifies that Levantine individuals were in the
region, it also highlights their ability to practice a foreign religion in an area that was largely
devoted to the worship of Egyptian royals.

4.3.6.3 Characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics

Remains of vessels of MBA shape were discovered at the cemetery and settlement of el-
Lisht (Figure 4.95). The northern pyramid of Amenemhat I comprised one sherd of a non-
Egyptian clay fabric possibly belonging to the shoulder of a bowl or beaker. 854 Two bands of
clay mimicking ropes were moulded onto the sherd, paralleling a decorative element found
on Northern and Southern Levantine EBIII-MBIIA vessels. 855 The fragment was retrieved
from a sand filling between stones behind the casing blocks of the main burial chamber’s
passageway. 856 The context was not sealed and was susceptible to contamination by tomb
robbers, but other flint objects uncovered in the sand indicate a deposition during the
complex’s construction. 857 Thus, excavators date the sherd to the MBIIA and Amenemhat I’s
reign. 858 However, if from the MBIIA, the sherd presents a chronological conundrum as the
period is thought to have commenced after Amenemhat I’s period. Nevertheless, it could
be an heirloom or a reused vessel from the EBA, a traded item from the near contemporary
EBIV period or simply deposited at a later time. Other imports include a red-burnished
dipper juglet and a Levantine Painted Ware jug from a tomb at el-Lisht North dated to the
mid-Twelfth Dynasty (Tomb 756). 859

855 Parallels include those at EBIV Byblos, Arqa (Phase P) and Jericho, MBIIA Tell Aphek and Tell
Ifshar as well as MBIIIB-C Baalbek and Lachish (Area P-4). Do. Arnold, F. Arnold and Allen, A&L 5
(1995), 16-17; Bou-Assaf, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, fig. 7 [6]; Thalmann, in Bronze Age in the
Lebanon, 64, fig. 2 [9, 18]; Kenyon and Holland, Jericho 4, 255-258, fig. 97 [4, 28]; P. Beck,
‘The Pottery of the Middle Bronze Age IIa at Tell Aphek’, Tel Aviv 2 (1975), 45, figs 1 [4], 2 [12];
E. S. Marcus, Y. Porath and S. M. Paley, ‘The Early Middle Bronze Age IIa Phases at Tel Ifshar
and their External Relations’, A&L 18 (2008), 233, fig. 9 [5]; H. Genz, ‘Middle Bronze Age
Pottery from Baalbek’, in M. van Ess (ed.), Baalbek/Heliopolis. Results of Archaeological and
Architectural Research 2002-2005, BAAH Hors-Série 4 (Beirut, 2008), 144, pl. 7 [2]; Singer-Avitz,
in Lachish, 919, fig. 16.26 [6].
859 Dating is based on the associated Egyptian pottery assemblage. Do. Arnold, F. Arnold and Allen, A&L 5
(1995), 17-20, fig. 2; Merrillees, Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology 2 (1973), 53-57, figs 4-5;
Bagh, TeD 23, 62, fig. 30 [b-c]; ‘Juglet’, The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
The surface debris near the late Middle Kingdom settlement comprised imported Middle Minoan ware,860 Cypriote ware,861 Pan-Grave ware,862 a fragment of Levantine Painted Ware863 and Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware (Figure 4.95 [31-33]).864 The latter include remnants of piriform juglets paralleling those of Tell el-Dab’a strata G-E/2,865 a sherd decorated with a human arm and hand;866 another with birds867 and a third belonging to a hawk-shaped juglet, the shape of which has been assigned to the early Fifteenth Dynasty.868 Other vessels of foreign fabric include large beakers and jars comparable to MBIIB shapes (Figure 4.95 [24-27]) as well as red-painted juglets with pointed bases (Figure 4.95 [28-30]).869 The majority of imports at the settlement are Syro-Palestinian store-jars (3.4% of the pottery refuse) with incurring slightly thickened rims (Figure 4.95 [2-3]), everted folded rims (Figure 4.95 [4-9]) and flaring thickened rims (Figure 4.95 [10-15]).870 The former are popular during the MBIIBA whereas the latter are common in the MBIIB-C period.871 The earliest fragment of a Syro-Palestinian store-jar was uncovered between the first and second phase of House A3.3’s construction (Figures 4.94-95 [21]), securely dating the sherd to Dynasty 13.872 Also found was a jar handle with a sealing depicting, in deep relief, a falcon before a uraeus on a nb-basket above which sits a wr-bird.873 As designs in deep relief begin at Tell el-Dab’a during strata E/2-D/2,874 the handle can be dated between the end of the Thirteenth and late Fifteenth Dynasty. As such, a continuous supply of Syro-Palestinian store-jars was available to el-Lisht’s inhabitants from Dynasty 13 to 15.875

860 Kemp and Merrillees, Minoan Pottery, 1-6, fig. 1, pls 1-3.
861 F. Arnold, in Haus und Palast, 19.
862 F. Arnold, in Haus und Palast, 19.
863 Kemp and Merrillees, Minoan Pottery, pl. 3 (first sherd on the top left); Bagh, TeD 23, 62, fig. 30 [d].
865 Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian II Group I.2.2a. Do. Arnold, F. Arnold and Allen, A&L 5 (995), 29-30; Kaplan, Tell el-Yahudiyyah Ware, fig. 25 [a]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 152, 552-553, fig. 89.
866 Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian Vessels with Naturalistic Designs (Branch J). Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 193; Smith, Interconnections in the Near East, fig. 48 [d].
867 Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 200.
868 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian XV Group L.15.2. Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 288, fig. 214; Kaplan, Tell el-Yahudiyyah Ware, fig. 123 [a].
Imported ceramics were additionally unearthed within the settlement’s burial shafts. The so-called dolphin jar of Shaft Tomb 879 can be generally described as a piriform juglet with a flat ring-base, loop-handle and a decorative layer depicting dolphins and birds (Figures 4.96). Bourriau writes that the “fabric, shape, technology and decoration all place the vase unequivocally within the ceramic traditions of Syria/Palestine”. Similar decoration may be found on vases from MBIIB Tell Beit Mirsim and MBIIB-B Sidon. Neutron activation analysis of the jug identified the fabric as Southern Levantine, yet ambiguities surrounding the test process warrant different propositions for areas of manufacture. Based on decoration, Bietak and Kopetzky suggest that the vessel was produced in Sidon. Until further scientific analysis is carried out, a general region encompassing Sidon and Tell Beit Mirsim is proposed. The parallels also suggest that the juglet should be dated between the MBIIB-B and MBIIB periods. According to the tomb shaft’s ceramic assemblage, Bourriau posits a deposition between the early Thirteenth Dynasty and Awibra Hor’s reign. F. Arnold, however, notes that Shaft 879 was dug from the floor level of House A1.3 (Figure 4.94) before its last building phase, thereby dating the tomb to the ‘early Second Intermediate Period’. This, combined with the comparison of four Tell el-Yahudiyah piriform juglets from the shaft to those of Tell el-Dab’a’s strata F-E/3, indicates that the tomb, its associated burial goods and the dolphin juglet should be dated to the late Thirteenth Dynasty. So, it is possible to surmise that el-Lisht still had access to and a demand for foreign commodities well into the Second Intermediate Period.

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878 Bourriau, in Studies in Honour of William K. Simpson, 107; S. Ben-Arieh, Bronze and Iron Age Tombs at Tell Beit Mirsim, Israel Antiquities Authority Reports 23 (Jerusalem, 2004), 93, fig. 2.61 [29].
881 See Chapter 4.2.2.8.
882 Bietak and Kopetzky, in Exploring the Longue Durée, 7-34.
884 F. Arnold, in Haus und Palast, 17.
886 The date is also suggested by Bietak and Kopetzky. Bietak and Kopetzky, in Exploring the Longue Durée, 32.
4.3.6.4 Other

Seals with royal names and characteristic Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period features were uncovered at el-Lisht.\textsuperscript{887} Although not fully published, some reflect Levantine design influences, including:

- Two scarabs, one discovered beneath the right hand of a mummy in Pit 830 (MMA 15.3.325) and the other from settlement debris (MMA 22.1.408), featuring the ‘Hathor’ symbol.\textsuperscript{888} The motif is similarly found on scarabs from Tell el-Dab’a strata E/3-D/\texttextsuperscript{3}\textsuperscript{889} and Tell el-Yahudiyyah (Figure 4.63c [2]), with MMA 15.3.325 closely paralleling a scarab from late MBA Tell el-Ajjul;\textsuperscript{890}

- Scarabs from the tomb of Nakht (Pit 468, MMA 15.3.181)\textsuperscript{891} and settlement debris (MMA 20.1.28\textsuperscript{892} and MMA 22.1.329)\textsuperscript{893} depicting cross-hatched animals in deep relief. Two portray confronting cobrae (MMA 15.3.181 and MMA 22.1.329). Based on the great number of Southern Levantine scarabs with such designs, the motifs are likely of Levantine origin;\textsuperscript{894}

- A scarab with two cobrae on either side of a kneeling figure holding a lotus (MMA 15.3.155).\textsuperscript{895} Again, the large number of scarabs from the Levant with this motif

\textsuperscript{887} G. Martin, ‘Seals and Seal Impressions from the Site of Lisht: The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period Material’, in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds), Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications. Papers of a Symposium, Vienna, 10\textsuperscript{th}-13\textsuperscript{th} January 2002, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamatakademie 35 (Vienna, 2004), 103-106; Mace, \textit{BMMA} 17/12.2 (1922), 16, fig. 22.

\textsuperscript{888} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 10D2. ‘Scarab’, \textit{Metropolitan Museum of Art}, \url{http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100019059} and \url{http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/100001725}, (accessed 22/12/2012); D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 49.

\textsuperscript{889} D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 101.

\textsuperscript{890} W. M. F. Petrie, \textit{Ancient Gaza}, vol. 4 (London, 1934), pls 5 [38], 7 [155]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, pl. 105 [43-44].


\textsuperscript{894} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9B. D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 95-96, 174-176.

points to its Levantine origins. Similar designs appear on scarabs from MBA Jericho and Tell el-Ajjul; The negative and Such early sealings signifies and ethnicity.

- One cylinder seal from settlement debris (MMA 20.1.50). The seal is designed with four columns comprising: (1) a kneeling figure with a short voluminous hairstyle, large pointed nose, and short detailed kilt; (2) three human heads, each with a large nose and a short voluminous hairdo; (3) two seated caprids; and (4) three birds. The elements are typical of the MBA, particularly of cylinder seals from such sites as Ugarit, Alalakh and Qatna.

While the scarabs indicate links with the Southern Levant during the MBIIB period, the cylinder seal signifies contact with the Northern Levant.

The evidence from el-Lisht offers Asiatic representations and products in both the royal and private spheres. Amenemhat I and Senwosret I featured illustrations of Asiatics in their pyramid complexes, the latter comprising bellicose portrayals, perhaps even a battle scene. Such representations indicate the royal ideological domination of foreigners, a domination and subjugation which is enhanced by the cemetery’s Execration Texts that, as products of cultic ritual, were ultimately intended to benefit the state. No other evidence equals this negative treatment of Asiatics. In fact, the data implies that Asiatics were living, working and practicing their own religion at el-Lisht during the late Middle Kingdom. Perhaps this signifies an increase in foreigners in the area, or that these individuals, who were formerly depicted as subjugated enemies, were accorded with a greater freedom in expressing their ethnicity. Their products were certainly imported into the area along with pottery and sealings from Amenemhat I’s reign to possibly Dynasty 15. This would imply the continuance of trade with the northeast throughout the Middle Kingdom until at least the early Second Intermediate Period. But, despite the increasing contact, the process was evidently gradual and not representative of a sudden influx or takeover.

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896 D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 95-97, 176.
897 D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, pl. 97 [20].
898 Petrie, Gaza 1, pl. 13 [52]; vol. 3, pl. 4 [147]; vol. 4, pl. 11 [397]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, pl. 97 [24, 26, 30-31].
900 Signs are preserved behind the figure’s head and possibly represent a š ﬀ and a ẖ pr.
4.3.7 Mit Rahina

**Lat. Lon.** 29°51’N 31°15’E


**Chron.** Mid-Twelfth Dynasty (Amenemhat II’s reign)

A pink granite block reused at the temple of Ramesses II, Mit Rahina,\(^{902}\) contains significant passages on mid-Twelfth Dynasty relations with foreigners (Figures 4.97-98). The block, of which 40 columns survive, could be from the Memphite temple of Ptah as part of a longer inscription from Amenemhat II’s daybook, another fragment of which was uncovered by Petrie.\(^{903}\) The text includes lists of donations to temples, chapels and festivals, as well as visits from foreign dignitaries and expeditions to foreign lands. Based on the difference in the width of column M28 and the frequent addition of Amenemhat II’s titulary following this column, scholars have suggested that M1-27 record events dating to the last year of the co-regency of Senwosret I (year 45) and Amenemhat II (year 3), with the rest being of Amenemhat II’s reign.\(^{904}\) It is best to view the foreign relations as a reflection of the latter’s administration. Such events legitimise Amenemhat II’s reign and guarantee loyalty from Egyptian cults and foreign dignitaries.\(^{905}\)

A translation of the most pertinent passages can be found in Volume II: Translation 3. The fragmentary remains reveal three main expeditions to the Levant:

- *Hnty-š*: The expedition was the first to be sent and the last to return. The term for travel, *m3r*, in M7 is given a determinative of a ship, suggesting that the expedition travelled via a sea-route. The army returns in two ships which are specifically *dp.t* and not *kbn.t* vessels.\(^{906}\) Various natural and manufactured resources were

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\(^{902}\) S. Farag, ‘Une Inscription Memphite de la XII\(^{e}\) Dynastie’, *RdE* 32 (1980), 75.


\(^{905}\) Marcus, *A&L* 17 (2007), 143.

\(^{906}\) The passage can be interpreted in two ways: either the army left and returned in two ships, or the army only returned in two ships. Both cases warrant travel back and forth via a sea-route.
obtained: metals; stones; fruits; and ṣ-wood, the principal item of shipment.\textsuperscript{907} The cargo contained 65 Asiatics and has been estimated to weigh approximately 12,253 kg, with 39,000 litres of liquid,\textsuperscript{908} a clear indicator of the efficiency and capability of Egyptian maritime trade. Due to the nature of these products, Ḥnty-ṣ is most likely located in the Northern Levant, perhaps on the modern Lebanese coast;\textsuperscript{909}

- Turquoise Terraces of the Sinai: The despatch of this expedition is not preserved, but M13 includes terms for travel by foot with the determinative of 不得转载 indicating a land-based voyage. Turquoise is the main imported cargo, transported with other fauna, minerals and aromatics acquired from the Sinai and possibly further afield.\textsuperscript{910} The total weight of cargo, 1,050 kg and 2,238 litres, supports a land-based route;\textsuperscript{911}

- ֶדֶרֶת and ָרֶפֶת: The third expedition journeys to ֶדֶרֶת intending to ‘hack up’ its סט,\textsuperscript{912} but details of its return add another locale, ָרֶפֶת, offering a further note on the settlements’ fortifications.\textsuperscript{913} The expedition is despatched in a ship, as the determinative ָדֶרֶת suggests, but its second mention indicates that it travelled by foot (דֶרֶת), adding another variant in the inscription. The imported cargo, the total of which has been estimated to be 50.5 kg and 270-1,620 litres,\textsuperscript{914} includes metal weaponry, jewellery, minerals and ṣm household items.\textsuperscript{915} The main cargo is the 1,554 ֶדֶרֶת, the number of which implies the expedition’s return via a land route for easier and more efficient passage. Perhaps the order in which the expeditions were despatched is connected to the distance travelled, with the first sent being the furthest away. If so, then the two

\textsuperscript{907} Columns M18-21.
\textsuperscript{909} Altenmüller and Moussa suggest that the list was written in chronological order with the dispatch of expeditions in ֶפת and their return in ֶср (Altenmüller and Moussa, SAK 18 [1991], 28-29). If correct, then the voyage to Ḥnty-ṣ took the longest as it was the first to be sent, and the last to return. Perhaps this might also indicate its furthest location in the Northern Levant.
\textsuperscript{910} Columns M13-14. The aromatics were likely retrieved, directly or indirectly, from the Arabian Peninsula. Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 42, n. 50.
\textsuperscript{911} Marcus, A&L 17 (2007), 157, table 3.
\textsuperscript{912} Columns M8, 16-18.
\textsuperscript{913} Columns M16-18. Some have regarded ֵפת and ֵפת as distinct locales. Because the expedition to ֵפת returns before that of Ḥnty-ṣ, its order coincides with the expedition to ֶפת, despatched after that of Ḥnty-ṣ. Another factor that should be borne in mind is the nature of the text as a list recording court events, which would consequently contain expected inconsistencies in toponym spellings, particularly of foreign lands. For an opinion favouring the two as different settlements, see C. Eder, Die Ägyptischen Motive in der Glyptik des Ostlichen Mittelmeeerraumes zu Anfang des 2. Jts.v. Chr., OLA 71 (Leuven, 1995), 185-186.
\textsuperscript{914} Marcus, A&L 17 (2007), tables 1, 3.
\textsuperscript{915} Columns M16-18.
settlements would be in the Levant, between the Sinai and Ḥnty-š.\textsuperscript{916} Despite this, some link ḫwh(i) with Ura (Asia Minor) and ḫsy with Alashiya (Cyprus),\textsuperscript{917} which would suggest a foreign policy incorporating a geography much broader than previously theorised. Nevertheless, the expedition, especially to ḫwh(i), was militaristic and specifically against the St.t.\textsuperscript{918} As for the ḫm captives, the text indicates that they were transferred to Shm-ḥmn-m-ḥšt, possibly as labourers.\textsuperscript{919}

Amenemhat II’s administration also hosted visits from foreign dignitaries. Delegations were received from [Kiš], Wb.t-Sp.t, the children of St.t’s rulers and Tmpšw.\textsuperscript{920} Each arrived voluntarily and respectfully,\textsuperscript{921} bearing gifts and, in the case of the southern lands, bšk.wt, loosely translated as ‘tribute’.\textsuperscript{922} The St.t’s children arrive with 1,002 ḫm Asiatics, perhaps as an attempt to stop the campaign on ḫwh(i) and ḫsy.\textsuperscript{923} The third visit of the offering bearers of Tmpšw could be from the Levant;\textsuperscript{924} however lack of detail restricts toponymic analysis.

The delegations could be regarded as an attempt to show the foreigners’ loyalty to the new pharaoh, providing a good example of the diplomacies officiated by Amenemhat II. Despite the text’s fragmentary nature, the absence of any reference to Byblos or Byblite ships signals a discord in relations with the city or the existence of trade alliances with another port of call such as Khnumhotep III’s Ullaza.\textsuperscript{925} As such, the Mit Rahina inscription reveals an Egyptian administration that was highly engaged in the Levant’s political and commercial activities. As imported goods and captives were dispersed to temples and towns throughout Egypt, it is possible that the elite Egyptian echelon were aware of such relations and were, either directly or indirectly, in contact with the foreign.


\textsuperscript{918} The translation as ‘the St.t of Twš’ or ‘St.t, namely Twš’ is favoured here. Several have suggested that St.t Twš should be rendered as Twš (located in St.t) although grammatically the nomen regens is St.t. Alternatively, it may be translated as St.t(yw) Twš ‘St.t(yw) of Twš’. For identifications of St.t as a geographical toponym, see Goedicke, RdE 42 (1991), 93, n. 31; Marcus, \textit{A&L} 17 (2007), 144; Gubel and Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/12), 82. See also Chapter 7.3.2 and Table 36.

\textsuperscript{919} Columns M16-18, 25-26.

\textsuperscript{920} Respectively, Columns M11-12, M12-13 and M15.

\textsuperscript{921} That is, ḫwh(i) t m wdb-tp ‘coming with bowed-head’.

\textsuperscript{922} For more on the varying meanings of this term, see A. J. Spalinger, ‘From Local to Global: The Extension of an Egyptian Bureaucratic Term to the Empire’, SAK 23 (1996), 353-376.


\textsuperscript{924} Goedicke, Gubel and Loffet associate Tmpšw with Tmpw ‘Tunip’, identified with Tell Acharne in modern Syria. Goedicke, RdE 42 (1991), 91; Gubel and Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 82, 85. See Chapter 4.3.1.2; Marcus, \textit{A&L} 17 (2007), 173.
4.3.8 Saqqara

Lat. Lon. 29°52'N 31°13'E

Ref Posener, Princes et Pays.

Chron. Late Twelfth Dynasty

The ‘Brussels Figurines’ of anthropomorphic clay statuettes (Figure 4.99) were found buried adjacent to the north wall of Teti’s pyramid at Saqqara. They are dated to late Dynasty 12, between the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. Simple in design, some of the figurine’s heads feature a mushroom-like hairstyle, similar to that of Asiatics from the Beni Hassan tombs of Khnumhotep I and Amenemhat (Figures 4.112-117, 119) and the statue from Area F/1, Tell el-Dab’a (Figure 4.9). The hairstyle, along with traces of a beard on one figurine (Figure 4.99a), suggests that the statuettes textually and artistically represented Asiatics, in this case utilising the typical Asiatic phenotype. Volume II: Translation 4 provides a translation of the texts regarding the Levant, which appear after lists pertaining to Nubia.

The Brussels figurines list a total of 58 ḫk3 rulers, one entry for the combined ḫk3 w, another for ḡhr ᴳy, two ḡr n(y) ḡhr ᴳy, one for the ᵴryw ‘smiters’, an entry for the ‘m inhabitants of five locales as well as one for the Mntw of St.t. All inhabit 69 foreign lands.937

926 The late Second Intermediate Period sarcophagus of Abdu, in which the Levantine-inspired dagger of Nehmen was uncovered, is not examined here as it is assigned to Apophis’s reign. For more, see P. Lacau, Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire 2 (Cairo, 1904), 86-87; G. Daressy, ‘Un poignard du temps des rois pasteurs’, ASAE 7 (1906), 115-120; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 140-141; Do. Arnold, in Second Intermediate Period, 210-213, pl. 37.


928 Posener, Princes et Pays, frontispiece, figs 3-4, pls 1-2; Schiestl, A&L 16 (2006), 177.

929 Posener, Princes et Pays, pl. 1.

930 E1-49, E52-60.

931 E64.

932 E63.

933 E50-51.

934 E65.

935 F1-6.

936 F7.

937 F3 is included despite the missing ḫ determinative. A similar toponym, ᵴ-[im(w)], occurs in f9 and f13 of the Berlin Bowls Exeoration Texts. See Chapter 4.6.1.
As there are more regions than rulers, some have identified a development from the Berlin bowls’ ‘tribal society’ to the Brussels texts’ ‘sedentary’ Levant. Others find the differences to signal a change in Egyptian-Levantine relations with an increase in trade, administrative control or a greater awareness of the northeast. The very nature of the texts does not allow for a critical appraisal of Egyptian-Levantine relations: firstly, the possibility that the surviving figurines are only a small sampling of a lost or undiscovered corpora cannot be excluded, thereby reducing the chance of reaching viable statistical conclusions; secondly the addition or exclusion of a particular detail is heavily dependent on the surviving material and so little significance can be attributed to its absence/presence; and thirdly the ritualistic purpose of burying these figurines as a possible means to protect the cemetery, subdue foreigners or hinder rebellious action, indicates that they cannot be used as evidence for an Egyptian hegemony over the Levant nor as a socio-political reflection of the situation in the northeast. However, an undisputed observation is that the figurines reveal an informed knowledge of the geography and ruling aristocracy of the Levant, implying that the late Twelfth Dynasty administration, which would have commissioned these rituals, was concerned with foreign forces and perhaps perceived some to be antagonistic.

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938 See Chapter 4.6.1. Albright, BASOR 184 (1966), 26-35; Aharoni, Land of the Bible, 133; Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 91.
940 Several figurines, both provenanced and unprovenanced, have been uncovered and dated to the Middle Kingdom, adding to a larger body of Execration Texts, deliberately broken pottery, and bound prisoner statues/figurines delineating the subjugation of a rival force. For more, see G. Posener, Cinq figurines d’envoûtement (Cairo, 1987); R. K. Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54 (Chicago, 1993), 111-180.
941 Posener writes that the appearance of the texts on fragmented bowls and figurines may further affect our interpretation, as a scribe could have written an Asiatic name or appellative on a bowl differently than on a figure due to the available space. Posener, Princes et pays, 40-43; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 48.
942 Di. Arnold, Tomb Architecture, 16.
943 Montet, Byblos et L’Égypte, 275; G. W. Ahlström, The History of Ancient Palestine from the Paleolithic Period to Alexander’s Conquest, JSOT-Suppl. 146 (Sheffield, 1993), 169-171; Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 89; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 48; Ritner, Egyptian Magical Practice, 141.
944 Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 48.
946 As Ritner explains, “to produce such an assemblage would require a canonical textual schema, distributed mostly from a single source, a staff of trained scribes, and detailed, current records of the names and parentage of rulers... only the state could meet these requirements”. Ritner, Egyptian Medical Practice, 141.
4.4 **MIDDLE EGYPT**

4.4.1 Beni Hassan

*Lat./Lon.* 27°56′N 30°53′E


*Chron.* Twelfth Dynasty

Located approximately 258 km south of Cairo, on the east bank of the Nile, is Beni Hassan. Part of the Sixteenth Upper Egyptian nome, the site features Old and Middle Kingdom tombs of the high-ranking elite, as well as shaft tombs of middle-ranking officials. The rock-cut tombs of the Middle Kingdom belong to such officials as ‘nomarchs of the Oryx nome’ and ‘overseers of the Eastern Desert’. Excavated and published by Newberry and Garstang, the tombs are currently being re-examined by the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Macquarie University.

Two tombs ascribed to the period outside this thesis’s chronological scope include depictions of Asiatics. The tombs of Baqet III (Nr 15) and Khety (Nr 17) are of uncertain date, although scholars generally place them in the late Eleventh Dynasty with the latter probably completed in the early Twelfth Dynasty. The tomb owners held the titles of ‘count’ and ‘great overlord of the entire Oryx nome’, and incorporated scenes of military activities on the east walls of their chapels, directly opposite the tombs’ entrances. The scenes act as artistic precursors to later representations of Asiatics at Beni Hassan, pointing to close relations between foreign mercenaries and the nomarchs of the Oryx nome, and so are examined here.

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952 Khety is postulated to be Baqet III’s son. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 2, 5-7, pls 5, 15; Kanawati and Woods, *Beni Hassan*, 41, fig. 34.
Baqet III’s scene depicts Egyptian men protecting a fortress (Figure 4.100).\textsuperscript{953} The surrounding troops consist of yellow-skinned soldiers with short kilts (Figures 101-103).\textsuperscript{954} The horizontal zigzag detailing on their garments, their skin colour and, in some preserved instances, red hair, indicate that they are Asiatic.\textsuperscript{955} The foreigners advance against the fortress with its coalition of Nubian and Egyptian forces, and are armed with weapons of close-combat and missile advantage (slings, axes, bows and throw-sticks). One also carries an Egyptian-type shield. A hand-to-hand combat is additionally pictured between a dark-skinned Nubian and a yellow-skinned Asiatic, the former stabbing the latter in the eye (Figure 4.103).\textsuperscript{956}

The siege scene in Khety’s tomb similarly incorporates an allied group attacking a fortress guarded by Egyptians (Figure 4.104).\textsuperscript{957} The attackers include Egyptians, Nubians as well as yellow-skinned warriors.\textsuperscript{958} The latter wear elaborate kilts decorated with horizontal zigzags and a detailed upper band (Figures 104-110).\textsuperscript{959} Items could be tucked into these bands (belts?), leaving the wearer free to carry additional weapons in his hands. The kilts and skin colour point to the representation of Asiatics. The foreigners carry similar weapons to those of Baqet III’s tomb,\textsuperscript{960} but one type of shield is different. The Asiatics on the register occupying the top of the fortress carry shields with straight sides and triangular notches (Figures 4.107-110), probably a development of the Asiatics’ pointed, rectangular shields from Intef’s Eleventh Dynasty siege scene.\textsuperscript{961} Conversely, the Asiatics on the register closer to the gate of the fortress carry Egyptian-type shields and spears (Figure 4.105).\textsuperscript{962}

\textsuperscript{953} Newberry, Beni Hasan 2, pl. 5; A. R. Schulman, ’The Battle Scenes of the Middle Kingdom’, JSSEA 12/4 (1982), 176-177.

\textsuperscript{954} Similar to those of the Asiatics depicted in the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of Intef. Jaroš-Deckert, Grabung im Asasif 5, pl. 17, folding pls 1-3.

\textsuperscript{955} Personal examination; Newberry, Beni Hasan 2, 47; Brovarski, in Egyptian Culture and Society, 63.

\textsuperscript{956} Although the melee is among other obvious close-combat skirmishes, the Nubian could be trying to pull the dagger out of the Asiatic’s eye. In this case, it would be a sign of comradery rather than adversary. It should also be noted that Newberry’s recording is slightly incorrect as the Asiatic is not unarmed but carries an object in his right hand (a dagger?). Personal examination; Newberry, Beni Hasan 2, pl. 15.

\textsuperscript{957} Newberry, Beni Hasan 2, pl. 15; Schulman, JSSEA 12/4 (1982), 177.

\textsuperscript{958} Personal examination; Brovarski, in Egyptian Culture and Society, 63-64, n. 261.

\textsuperscript{959} Personal examination.

\textsuperscript{960} The types of weapons are the same, but Khety provides additional details. For instance, one throw-stick is illustrated with a white-banded tip and striations across the shaft. Personal examination.

\textsuperscript{961} Perhaps of the same type depicted on Inscription Nr 163 from Serabit el-Khadim (Chapter 5.2.4.1; Table 18; Figure 5.29). Schulman writes that the shield “is certainly not carried by foreigners. The men carrying it in the Beni Hassan scene are clearly Egyptians”. Personal examination, however, confirms that the men carrying the shields are yellow-skinned and wearing elaborate kilts, features typical of Asiatic representations. Jaroš-Deckert, Grabung im Asasif 5, pl. 17; Schulman, JSSEA 12/4 (1982), 177, n. 68; Kanawati and Woods, Beni Hassan, pl. 74.

\textsuperscript{962} The shield emblem is distinct, picturing a diamond-shaped symbol bordered by a dotted band. Personal examination.
Such variations may indicate different units among the Asiatics (troops specialised in combat versus siege techniques), or different areas of origin. The division emphasises the Egyptian organisation of foreign troops on the battlefield, a quality befitting of Khety’s role as ‘overseer of the expedition’.

4.4.1.1 Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), reign of Amenemhat I

Like his predecessors, the ‘great overlord of the Oryx nome’, Khnumhotep I, decorated the east wall of his early Twelfth Dynasty chapel with warfare scenes (Figure 4.111). Although unpublished, the northern end of the east wall preserves the siege of a fortress on its lower three registers. The identity of the fortress’s defenders is unclear, but Registers 2 and 3 present Egyptians and Nubians attacking men atop the fortress. Just behind a Nubian to the right of the fortress in Register 3 is a row of five light-skinned individuals with red pointed beards and reddish-brown to black shoulder-length hair (Figures 4.113-115). They wear short kilts decorated with horizontal zigzags of blue, red and white, and carry slings and throw-sticks. At least three have necklaces with long pendants. Based on these details, they are identified here as Asiatics.

The northern end of these registers is that which has been published by Newberry (Figure 4.112). So, Register 2 includes piles of dead bodies while Register 3 illustrates Libyans. The Libyans’ inclusion is unique and may or may not be related to the siege scene; however it adds yet another element of foreignness, further emphasising the tomb owner’s significant role in foreign relations.

Directly beneath the fortress, the southern end of Register 1 illustrates hand-to-hand combat amongst Egyptian men (Figure 4.111), hinting that the fortress was both attacked and defended by Egyptians. Egyptian soldiers run towards the battlefield, followed by Egyptians carrying ammunition and, at the very northern end, four Asiatics and an Egyptian archer (Figures 4.112, 4.116-17). A close inspection of the Asiatics reveals their colourful...
and intricate clothing. The first figure on the left wears a one-shouldered garment reaching just above the knees (Figure 4.117). The top half is designed with zigzags and chevrons of red, white and blue, while the bottom half is designed with horizontal zigzags and an elaborate blue hem. Faint traces of a detailed sash (?) draped over the left shoulder are discernible. As this Asiatic is the only foreigner wearing this distinctive garment, perhaps it signifies his higher rank. The second and fourth Asiatic wear kilts with horizontal zigzags of red, white and blue while the third’s kilt bears stripes of the same colours (Figure 4.116). All four are depicted with colourful chest bands extending from the right shoulder to below the left arm, and wear multi-banded wristlets and anklets. They are armed with bows, throw-sticks, a dagger and a socketted weapon, similar in shape to the Levantine fenestrated eye axe.\textsuperscript{970} As the object in the second Asiatic’s right hand curves outwards, it could also represent the Levantine scimitar.\textsuperscript{971} The Asiatics’ red hair is voluminous, coiffed and just above shoulder-length while their beards are thick, pointed and long. A similar beard, hairstyle and hair colour can be found on the warrior of Senwosret I’s pyramid complex.\textsuperscript{972}

An inscription on the chapel’s west wall provides some historical background for the battle scene. It reads: ...

\textsuperscript{970} Features of this weapon include a wooden haft upon which a simple blade is mounted. The end is curved. Schulman, JSSEA 12/4 (1982), 178; Ward, Egypt and the East Mediterranean, 52-54; R. Maxwell-Hyslop, ‘Western Asiatic Shaft-hole Axes’, Iraq 11 (1949), 90-129.

\textsuperscript{971} If correct, this would be the earliest representation of such swords in Egyptian art. W. J. Hamblin, Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600BC. Holy Warriors at the Dawn of History (London and New York, 2006), 66-71, fig. 2.

\textsuperscript{972} See Chapter 4.3.6.1 and Figure 4.91.

\textsuperscript{973} Hieroglyphic text and line numbers as transcribed by Newberry (Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pl. 44). Transliteration and translation are by author.

\textsuperscript{974} The vessels were under the behest of the king.
Khety, would then mirror the circumstances described by Kay, where the king was allied with Asiatics and Nubians against the Egyptian rebels in the Hare nome.\textsuperscript{975}

\textbf{4.4.1.2 Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), reign of Senwosret I}

The tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2) possibly dates to Senwosret I’s reign, when the tomb owner was appointed as ‘great overlord of the Oryx nome’ and ‘overseer of the great expedition’.\textsuperscript{976}

\textit{The battle scene}

Like earlier tombs, the chapel’s east wall preserves a battle scene, here arranged in two central registers (Figure 4.118).\textsuperscript{977} They are divided by a doorway into two halves: (1) the northern end, where the scene illustrates the siege of a fortress possibly protected by Egyptians. Egyptians and Nubians flank the fortress on either side; and (2) the southern end, where the registers each have two opposing rows of armed men facing one another. It is uncertain which forces belong to whom or if the skirmish is connected to the scene on the northern end.\textsuperscript{978}

Three Asiatics appear to the very right of the southern end (Figure 4.119). Like earlier representations (Table 13), the individuals are bearded and have coiffed hair. They are dressed in short, patterned kilts of red, blue and white, yet the foremost Asiatic’s kilt slightly varies in length and colour. The three are armed with throw-sticks, spears and a fenestrated eye axe.\textsuperscript{979} Amenemhat’s biography reports expeditions to Nubia to ‘overthrow’ Senwosret’s enemies.\textsuperscript{980} Perhaps the scenes are connected to the Nubian campaigns,\textsuperscript{981} suggesting that the Asiatics were in Amenemhat’s army rather than Nubian allies.

\textit{The fair-skinned men}

The decoration in the discussed tombs suggests that, by this time, Asiatic soldiers were in the service of the Oryx nome’s rulers from at least the Eleventh Dynasty. A key artistic indicator that may be used as evidence for the presence of foreigners within the Egyptian community is skin colour. Amenemhat’s artists seemingly utilised the same yellow of the Asiatic soldiers’ skin for other men in the tomb, including the following:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{975} See Chapter 4.4.3; Brovarski, in \textit{Egyptian Culture and Society}, 65-66.
\item \textsuperscript{976} Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, 6, 21. For more on the tomb, see Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, 20-38; Rabehl, \textit{Grab des Amenemhet}, passim.
\item \textsuperscript{977} The top three registers contain wrestling scenes while the lowest register features pilgrimage voyages. Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, pls 14, 16; Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 7.
\item \textsuperscript{978} Schulman, \textit{JSSEA} 12/4 (1982), 178.
\item \textsuperscript{979} Unlike Newberry’s drawing, the end of the axe is covered by the carrier’s hand and so it is uncertain whether the wooden haft curves as in Khnumhotep I’s scene (Figures 4.116-117). Personal examination.
\item \textsuperscript{980} Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, 25-26.
\item \textsuperscript{981} Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, 69; Brovarski, in \textit{Egyptian Culture and Society}, 65-66.
\end{itemize}
• North wall, top register.\textsuperscript{982} From the left, the first (Figure 4.120), second and fifth men partaking in a hunting activity;

• North wall, second register.\textsuperscript{983} Male dancers and clappers;

• West wall, south of entrance, second register.\textsuperscript{984} The third man (a scribe?) from the left dressed in an Egyptian kilt and carrying a sceptre while observing the filling of jars;

• West wall, south of entrance, fourth register.\textsuperscript{985} The fourth man from the right standing at the end of a papyrus boat;

• West wall, south of entrance, sixth register.\textsuperscript{986} The third man (?) from the right in a bread-making scene;\textsuperscript{987}

• West wall, south of entrance, seventh register.\textsuperscript{988} All figures on the right end in a beer (?) making scene.

Based on skin colour, the men are tentatively identified as either Libyan or Asiatic, although the latter is favoured due to the greater number of Asiatics in earlier tombs (Table 13). The foreigners could be second generation Asiatics or of mixed Egyptian-Asiatic background. They are involved in mostly low-ranking daily activities such as hunting, bread-and-beer making and possibly scribal work. They are also performers, a profession recorded for Asiatics in the later el-Lahun papyri.\textsuperscript{989} It is useful to note that darker-skinned individuals also feature in the tomb’s scenes,\textsuperscript{990} possibly denoting Nubian descendants in the community. If correct, the men signify the assumption of Egyptian fashion and daily activities by peoples of foreign descent. Their inclusion in the tomb would also signify a foreign population residing in the Oryx nome during Senwosret I’s reign.

\textsuperscript{982} Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 20, pl. 25.
\textsuperscript{983} Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 20, pl. 52.
\textsuperscript{984} Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, pl. 12; Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 25.
\textsuperscript{985} Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, pl. 12; Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 25.
\textsuperscript{986} Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, pl. 12; Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 25.
\textsuperscript{987} It is unclear whether the fourth figure is male or female, although the latter is more likely. The hairstyle of this individual as well as the woman in the seventh register below is similar to that of the Libyan women of Khnumhotep I’s tomb (Figure 4.112).
\textsuperscript{988} Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, pl. 12; Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 25.
\textsuperscript{989} Papyrus UC 32191. See Chapter 4.3.5.2, Translation 2 and Table 12.
\textsuperscript{990} For example, the other hunters on the north wall’s top register (Figure 4.120). Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 20, pl. 25.
Depiction of characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics

The northern end of the chapel’s west wall, fourth register from the top, shows a series of workshop activities. The first one on the right depicts two potters at work, above which are examples of their craft (Figure 4.121). Two vessels between the opposing potters have handles. The top vessel is similar to a hpm-vessel but without the second smaller handle on its body. This, along with its more oblong shape, suggests that it is an EBIIV/MBI dipper juglet with a flat base, as found in Megiddo or Lebe’a. The vessel underneath has a narrower neck with two handles and also parallels Levantine forms. The two indicate knowledge of Levantine pottery by Egyptians, especially contemporary juglets, suggesting an increased influence of foreign technology and, considering the vessels’ products as well as their use, foreign customs.

Depiction of organic products (?)

Among the south wall’s piled offerings are four long black pods. Their shape is akin to that of acacia, tamarind or the carob plant (Ceratonia siliqua). While the former were common in the Middle Kingdom, carob is not indigenous to Egypt but was most probably imported from the Levant. If the pods are carob, then the representation corroborates the archaeological findings at el-Lahun, supporting the import of carob during the Middle Kingdom as well as its popularity and consumption by the elite. This consumption is not a new tradition as carob was included in offering lists and scenes of Old Kingdom tombs.

4.4.1.3 Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), reign of Senwosret II

The tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3) contains one of the most recognisable scenes of Asiatics in Egyptian Pharaonic history. It is, however, not the only scene of pertinence. The north, south and west walls feature subtle clues pointing to direct and indirect contact with Levantines, clues which are often overshadowed by the momentous procession of Asiatics. Unlike former tombs, that of Khnumhotep II is marked by the complete absence of warfare and wrestling scenes, implying that Khnumhotep II was not responsible for such activities.

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991 Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pl. 11; Kanawati and Woods, Beni Hassan, pl. 120.
992 Phase 3. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 17 (21).
993 Guigues, BMB 2 (1938), fig. 11.
995 Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pl. 17.
996 I thank Professor Naguib Kanawati for these suggestions.
997 Gale et al., in Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology, 338; Zohary, Israel Journal of Plant Sciences 50/1 (2002), 141-145.
998 See Chapter 4.3.5.1; Gerner, in Lahun Studies, 88-89; Petrie, Kahun, 47, 50.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

In fact, he did not hold the title of ‘great overlord of the Oryx-nome’ nor ‘overseer of the expedition’ but was instead ‘overseer of the Eastern Desert’.\(^{1000}\)

His duties as such are best reflected on the north wall (Figures 4.122-123). Two large scale figures of the tomb owner are illustrated, each occupying three registers: one is on the western end with Khnumhotep II aiming his bow east, and one is on the eastern end with Khnumhotep II facing west, carrying a staff. The feet of the first and head of the second figure share one register, that which pictures the Asiatic procession. The top two registers depict desert hunting activities and the bottom three registers are concerned with fowling, bull fighting, animal husbandry, offering-bearers and the recording of a cattle-count. The placement of the Asiatics in between could, as Kamrin surmises, refer to their symbolic “bridging the gap between the chaotic world above and the fully ordered world below”.\(^{1001}\) Before analysing the contextual nuances of the scene, a study of the foreigners’ procession is provided below (Figure 4.124).

The procession of foreigners

Beginning from the right, two Egyptians, the scribe Noferhotep and ‘overseer of hunters’ Khet, present a group of 15 ₪m.w to the eastern figure of Khnumhotep II. Noferhotep holds out a papyrus roll to the tomb owner (Figure 4.125), specifying:

\[\text{rnp.t-sp 6 hr hm n(y) Hfr(w) sšm tš.wy nsw.t-bi.ty Hš-hpr-R".w rh.t n(y) ₪m.w ini.n}^{1002} \text{s}3 hš.ty-šš Hnm-htp hr msḏm.t m ₪m(w) n(y) Šw rh.t iry 37 ‘Year 6 under the majesty of Horus, uniter of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakhpeperra (Senwosret II). Number of ₪m.w whom the son of the count Khnumhotep brought on account of msḏm.t, namely: ₪m(w) of Šw,\(^{1003}\) number amounting to 37’. The inclusion of a specific regnal year historicises the event, indicating that the text


\(^{1002}\) The verb could also be a passive perfective participle followed by a dative, ini n ‘who were brought to’.

\(^{1003}\) Šw has been identified as Šwtw of the Execration texts, R-Šwt of the Speos Artemidos, Shaddu of the Amarna letters and Sheth of Numbers 24:17. Geographical designates span from the east of the Jordan River (Moab, Gilead or the Transjordan) to the Northern Sinai. Despite the varied propositions, the toponym’s precise location remains unknown. For more, see Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 24-25; Posener, Princes et Pays, 89-90; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 46, 50-51, 61-62; Aharoni, Land of the Bible, 46; S. Ahituv, Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents (Jerusalem, 1984), 184; Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 87, n. 94; T. L. Thompson, The History of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham (Harrisburg, 2003), 123-125; , H. Goedicke, ‘Abi-Sha[i]’s Representation in Beni Hasan’, JARCE 21 (1984), 210.
is part of a longer document, most possibly a list registering the Asiatics.\(^\text{1004}\) The ‘son of the count’ could refer to Khnumhotep II or his son Khnumhotep III.\(^\text{1005}\) Kamrin is correct in noting that Khnumhotep II, while being the son of count Nehry, is not identified as such in his tomb.\(^\text{1006}\) Only Khnumhotep III is labelled as ‘son of the count, Khnumhotep’ on the eastern end of the north wall (Figures 4.122-123).\(^\text{1007}\) Khnumhotep III is mentioned in his father’s biography as ‘sole companion’, ‘who brings what is useful’ and ‘entry of foreign lands’.\(^\text{1008}\) Such roles would have allowed him to be in contact with foreigners or expeditions travelling across Egypt’s borders.\(^\text{1009}\) So, the epithet, along with Khnumhotep III’s other duties, favours the identification of the ‘son of the count’ with Khnumhotep III, who would accordingly be the one bringing the Asiatics to his father.

The text states that the purpose for the foreigners’ visit lies in \textit{msdm.t}, which may be translated as ‘black eye-paint’ or the mineral from which it was produced, galena. Ore localities for galena (lead sulphide) span the Eastern Desert, the Sinai and other regions further east, so the mineral would have been accessible to Egyptians and non-Egyptians.\(^\text{1010}\) It was a principal ingredient in kohl, a commodity known for its use in mortuary practices,\(^\text{1011}\) and was also a constituent of medicinal remedies.\(^\text{1012}\) Some evidence points to the import of galena products from areas beyond Egypt.\(^\text{1013}\) If smelted into lead, products would include a

\(^{1004}\) For similar lists, see Chapter 4.3.5.2 and 4.6.3, Translations 2 and 8. D. Kessler, ‘Die Asiatenkarawane von Beni Hassan’, SAK 14 (1987), 150-151.

\(^{1005}\) Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 25.

\(^{1006}\) Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 25; Franke, in Middle Kingdom Studies, 57-60.

\(^{1007}\) Also suggested by Kamrin and Franke. Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 25; Franke, in Middle Kingdom Studies, 57-60.


\(^{1009}\) See also Khnumhotep III’s biography in Dahshur, Chapter 4.3.1.2. A stela from Wadi Gasus, near the Red Sea, lists a Khnumhotep with similar titles who was probably involved in an expedition to the Sinai. If this Khnumhotep is the same as Beni Hassan’s Khnumhotep III, then the individual was engaged in two ventures for acquiring minerals: the first dating to Year 1 of Senvosret II’s reign and the second to Year 6. Franke, in Middle Kingdom Studies, 59-60, fig. 1 [b]. For more on the findings near Wadi Gasus at Wadi/Mersa Gawasis, see Chapter 5.2.2.


\(^{1011}\) A bag of eye-paint is among Khnumhotep II’s list of offerings on the south wall of his chapel. Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pl. 35; Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 27.

\(^{1012}\) Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 27; L. Manniche, An Ancient Egyptian Herbal (London, 1989), 47.

\(^{1013}\) See, for instance, the Mit Rahina text in Chapter 4.3.7. Lead from non-Egyptian sources is attested in New Kingdom evidence such as the Annals of Thutmose III and the analysis of the inorganic content of Egyptian make-up (samples dating between 2,000 to 1,200 B.C.). D. B. Redford, The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III (Leiden, 2003), 63-64, 72, 80, 88, 91, 93, 95-96, 139; P.
range of metallic objects including jewellery and figurines.\textsuperscript{1014} MBA weapons also consist of a small percentage of lead and it is possible that Egyptian weapons similarly feature this mineral.\textsuperscript{1015} Therefore, the product associated with the \textit{\textsuperscript{3}m.w} could have been used for a variety of cultic and functional purposes in its raw and processed forms. As it could be mined from many locations, it is not particularly informative on the foreigners’ homeland.\textsuperscript{1016}

A second inscription above the group corroborates Noferhotep’s text (Figure 4.124). It reads
\begin{center}
\textit{i.y.t hr i.t ms\textit{\textsuperscript{3}m}t ini.n=f} 37 \textit{\textsuperscript{3}m}
\end{center}

‘Coming on account of the bringing of \textit{ms\textit{\textsuperscript{3}m}t}, he having brought: 37 \textit{\textsuperscript{3}m’}. The ‘he’ in this case would refer to the ‘son of the count, Khnumhotep’ mentioned in Noferhotep’s papyrus. The determinative for \textit{\textsuperscript{3}m} illustrates a man with the same hairstyle and beard as those of the procession.\textsuperscript{1018} The number of \textit{\textsuperscript{3}m} in the text is also greater than those depicted and may be explained by the typical Egyptian artistic practice where numbers in captions often do not agree with the number of figures portrayed. Instead of representing 37 \textit{\textsuperscript{3}m.w}, the scene pictures 15 individuals: eight men, four women and three children (Figure 4.124).

All are represented as non-Egyptians. Their skin is painted yellow, their noses are large and hooked, and their eyes are a greyish-blue.\textsuperscript{1019} They wear brightly coloured and detailed clothing speckled in red, blue and white. The men sport short pointed beards with coiffed, mushroom hairstyles while the women have long hair held in place by a white (silver?) headband.\textsuperscript{1020} Even the children are illustrated with coiffed hair.

The first foreigner in the procession is barefoot. Leading the group, he is the only one to be given a label: \begin{center}
\textit{hk\textit{\textsuperscript{3}m} h\textit{s.s.t} I\textit{b\textit{\textsuperscript{3}s}}} ‘ruler of a foreign land, I\textit{b\textit{\textsuperscript{3}s’}
\end{center}


\textsuperscript{1017} Contra Franke, in \textit{Middle Kingdom Studies}, 60.

\textsuperscript{1018} The verb could also be a relative form, \textit{ini.(w)n=f} ‘which they brought to him’, the subject being the following 37 \textit{\textsuperscript{3}m}. Goedicke refutes this, noting that the qualified word is feminine. Goedicke, \textit{JARCE} 21 (1984), 206.

\textsuperscript{1019} The features are similar to the determinative used for Khnumhotep III’s \textit{M\textit{\textsuperscript{3}k}}, ruler of \textit{Khyn}. See Chapter 4.3.1.2 and Translation 1; Allen, \textit{BASOR} 352 (2008), pl. 3.

presents the first recorded Middle Kingdom usage of the title, one which, as discussed later, signals the individual’s higher position amidst other non-Egyptian rulers.\footnote{1021} Further support for such a rank is the choice to employ this title rather than ‘ruler of Šw’, the toponym of Noferhotep’s papyrus. Scholars agree that his name is Northwest Semitic. It has been equated with Abi-shai (‘my father is a nobleman’),\footnote{1022} Abi-shar (‘my father is king’)\footnote{1023} and Abisharie (‘my father is strong’).\footnote{1024} Artistically distinct from the other men in his retinue, \textit{Tbsš} is adorned with a most colourful knee-length garment. It is draped over one shoulder with the other bare but for a white detail connecting the fabrics (a pin?). Intricate patterns and fringing along the sides of the garment point to a woollen textile.\footnote{1025} \textit{Tbsš} holds in his left hand a banded, curved-stick with which he controls a Nubian ibex.\footnote{1026} His right hand is extended with palm open, facing down. This, together with his bent stance, symbolises his respect towards Khnumhotep II.\footnote{1027}

The second barefoot man behind \textit{Tbsš} wears a colourfully banded kilt with a wavy waistline. He is ornamented with a unique object hanging at the tip of his beard (Figure 4.127). Lack of parallels restricts its identification, but perhaps it is a jewelled adornment or a water (sweat?) droplet.\footnote{1028} The man’s lower body is covered by a Dorcas gazelle, which he holds by the horn in his right hand and by the neck with a rope in his left. As he shares artistic details with the leader before him (both guide an animal and are barefoot), but remains distinct from the men behind him in clothing and adornment, it is suggested here that this ‘gazelle tamer’\footnote{1029} is second-in-command.\footnote{1030}

Behind him are four men wearing one-shouldered garments draped just below the knee along with multi-strapped sandals (Figures 4.124, 4.128). The robes of the first and third are

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{1021}{See Chapter 7.3.4.}
\footnote{1022}{Goedicke, \textit{JARCE} 21 (1984), 207; Saretta, \textit{Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites}, 111, n. 280.}
\footnote{1023}{W. F. Albright, \textit{The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography}, American Oriental Series 5 (New Haven, 1934), 8.}
\footnote{1024}{Schneider, \textit{Ausländer in Ägypten} 1, 47.}
\footnote{1025}{Saretta, \textit{Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites}, 114.}
\footnote{1026}{A stick with the same shape is portrayed on a sheath from a MBA deposit at Byblos (Temple of Obelisks). The stick is held at the right shoulder of a man riding an equid. See Chapter 6.3.3.1, Figure 6.20. Shedid, \textit{Beni Hassan}, fig. 103; Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, pls 92-94; W. H. Shea, ‘Artistic Balance among the Beni Hasan Asiatics’, \textit{BA} 44/4 (1981), 224.}
\footnote{1027}{Kamrin, \textit{JAEl} 1/3 (2009), 26.}
\footnote{1028}{But, liquid is typically painted blue by Egyptian artists.}
\footnote{1029}{An adequate title provided in Kamrin, \textit{JAEl} 1/3 (2009), 26.}
\footnote{1030}{The Epic of Kirta from Ugarit includes the summoning of 70 ‘captains’ and 80 ‘chiefs’, the former literally translated as ‘bulls’ while the latter are ‘gazelles/wild deer’. Perhaps, then, the gazelle is symbolically related to the Asiatic’s rank. \textit{CAT} 1.15 IV.6-7 as translated in Parker, \textit{Ugaritic Narrative Poetry}, 27, ns 81-82.}
\end{footnotes}
decorated while those of the second and fourth are plain. They each carry weapons, the first with a composite bow identifiable by its curved ends, the second and third with wooden throw-sticks, and the third and fourth with spears. The second also wears a brown bag-shaped object on his back that resembles a leather gourd.

A donkey follows the men carrying a red saddle bag out of which the heads of two Asiatic children are painted (Figure 4.128). The saddle bag is hoisted upon white padding or a pack saddle and is secured with yellow straps (leather?) around the girth. The padding is patterned with an intricate blue geometric design. Between the children is an object with two protruding prongs at either ends. Wider in the mid-section, the item is detailed with vertical striations and a wide horizontal strip of a darker brown material across the centre. It has been identified as a skin bellow, although a bellow typically has a single outlet pipe at one end. Other propositions include a small tent or container, a musical instrument or a leather churning bag for the making of milk or butter (a qirbah/sqa).

A third child is behind the donkey (Figure 4.128). He wears a short red kilt with red footwear and carries a spear. Despite remarks that the spear is "an unusual weapon for a child", recent excavations at Sidon have uncovered a spearhead in a 12-17 year-old’s

1031 The garments’ plain decoration may be an artistic choice purposed to separate the men’s bodies and their intricate clothing. Personal communication with Professor Naguib Kanawati.
1032 Detail of the wooden grain is still visible. Personal examination.
1033 Because the paint along the spears’ shafts is not preserved well, details for their identification as MBA socketted spears could not be ascertained.
1034 The object has the same shape as the one on the back of the musician in the group. The two are of different colours, with the latter being yellow. The same yellow is used for the unidentified object on the donkeys’ backs and the straps around the donkeys’ saddles, suggesting a leather material.
1035 See above n. 1034.
1037 Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 26-27, n. 71.
1038 I thank Mira Lashien for her insight regarding possible identifications of the depicted object. A qirbah can be suspended from a tripod/branch or held at either ends, a practice that could theoretically be achieved by the two prongs (handles?) at the ends of the illustrated object. It is then rocked back and forth to trigger the churning process producing a variety of dairy products such as butter and buttermilk (laban). For modern equivalents, see N. Richardson and M. S. Dorr, The Craft Heritage of Oman, vol. 2 (Dubai, 2003), 373; ‘Water-bag / Milk-container (bag) / Churn / Butter-churn’, The British Museum, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=3319041&partid=1&output=People%2FL%2FOR%2FF%2F3559%2F1%2F35594-3-9%2F1%2FDdonated+by+Peter+R+Sichel%2F1%2F%2F1%2F11%2F&orig=%2Fsearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database%2Fadvanced_search.aspx&currentPage=1&numPages=10 (accessed 14/04/2013).
1039 Kanawati and Woods, Beni Hassan, pls 97-99.
1040 Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 29.
burial of the MBIIA-B period, leading excavators to postulate that the weapon was a status marker. The pictured weapon could then represent the child’s importance as an individual of high status.

Next in line are four women, all wear red footwear and patterned shin-length dresses (Figures 4.124, 4.128). The first, second and fourth women are pictured with one-shouldered dresses while the third’s garment might cover both shoulders.

Behind them is a donkey with a padding or pack saddle detailed with vertical red waves. Black straps tie a throw-stick, a spear and the same unidentifiable object carried by the first donkey, to the sack.

Two men are at the back of the group (Figures 4.124, 4.129-130). Both wear multi-strapped sandals as well as kilts with fringed hems and red patterns. The first carries a lyre with a rare double set of strings (Figure 4.129), marking the first depiction of a lyre in Egyptian art. The shape ascribes to Levantine thin eastern lyres which typically have flat bottom edges and four to eight strings. The musician carries a bag-shaped object on his back, possibly a water container. The last figure bears a composite bow with a quiver strapped to his torso. He additionally holds a weapon in his right hand which, based on a recent redrawing of the scene, is clearly an axe with a curved end (Figure 4.130). Sockets are visible on the D-shaped axe-head, pointing strongly to its identification as the MBIIA duckbill axe.

When compared to the texts, the Asiatics do not carry galena, but bring a lyre, animals, weapons and water skins. The wide array of equipment brought by the Asiatics, alongside

1041 C. Doumet-Serhal, ‘Sidon during the Bronze Age: Burials, Rituals and Feasting Grounds at the “College Site”’, NEA 73/2-3 (2010), 118, fig. 8 [a-c]. See also Doumet-Serhal and Kopetzky, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 26; C. Doumet-Serhal, ‘Sidon (Lebanon): Twenty Middle Bronze Age Burials from the 2001 Season of Excavation’, Levant 36 (2004), 108, figs 51-54, table 19.

1042 Shea suggests that the child is guarding the women while Kamrin theorises that he could be an older prince or honour guard. Shea, BA 44/4 (1981), 227; Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 29.

1043 Shedid, Beni Hassan, fig. 104; Kanawati and Woods, Beni Hassan, pls 99-100.


CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

the inclusion of women and children, decreases the likelihood that they were captives or part of a trading caravan.\footnote{1047} Scholars have proposed that the foreigners had not yet procured the galena but were led to Beni Hassan for this vocational opportunity.\footnote{1048} Others have suggested that they were employed for their knowledge in the manufacture of metal goods.\footnote{1049} Kamrin adds that the Asiatics could be bringing new technologies for the Egyptians to sample.\footnote{1050} A further possibility is that the procession is a diplomatic envoy carrying gifts or tribute along with galena.\footnote{1051}

Amidst the many theories, a problematic identification is of the foreigners as nomads.\footnote{1052} The ambiguities of the scene do not certify such a classification as details could be interpreted in a variety of ways, none particularly definitive on the origins of the Asiatics. For instance, the gazelle and ibex have been attributed a metaphorical meaning as desert animals conveying a nomadic lifestyle.\footnote{1053} Both animals are indeed found in the Eastern Desert, but whether or not this is connected to the Asiatics’ origin is uncertain. The Asiatics could have passed through the desert and caught the animals as an offering to the tomb owner, or the animals could be of other cultic and/or royal significance.\footnote{1054} In view of the

\footnote{1047}{As suggested by Helck and Shea. Franke argues that the Asiatics were part of a mining expedition led by Khnumhotep III, acting as nomadic guides. Helck, *Die Beziehungen*, 41; Shea, *BA* 44/4 (1981), 219; Franke, in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, 60; Kanawati and Woods, *Beni Hassan*, 71; Goedicke, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 206.}

\footnote{1048}{Goedicke, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 206-207.}

\footnote{1049}{Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 83; Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 166.}

\footnote{1050}{Kamrin, *JAEI* 1/3 (2009), 28.}

\footnote{1051}{Aufrère, in *Egypt and Nubia*, 211; Kessler, *SAK* 14 (1987), 148.}

\footnote{1052}{Wright remarks that the Beni Hassan group was “approximately contemporary with Abram and shows how he and his family must have looked”. Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, 8; Thompson, *History of the Patriarchal Narratives*, 123, n. 38; Wright, *Biblical Archaeology*, 46; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 83; Mazar, *Land of the Bible*, 166; Kamrin, *JAEI* 1/3 (2009), 28; T. Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn*, OBO 107 (Freiburg, 1991), 30-35; Schneider, *Australänder im Ägypten 2*, 196-197; Goedicke, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 209.}

\footnote{1053}{Goedicke, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 209; Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites*, 132-133.}

\footnote{1054}{Both are offered as sacrifices in the ritualistic destruction of Seth and remain of gazelles have been found as possible funerary sacrifices in Egyptian and Levantine contexts. Gazelle heads adorn the crowns of a Hyksos princess and the Near Eastern god Resheph. Ibex horns are also placed on the crowns of a Mesopotamian king and an EBA goddess. See above n. 1030; P. Amiet, *La glyptique mésopotamienne archaïque* (Paris, 1980), fig. 119A; P. de Miroshchedij, ‘Cult and Religion in the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age’, in A. Biran and J. Aviram (eds), *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 1990. *Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June-July 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993), 213-215; Kamrin, *JAEI* 1/3 (2009), 30-31; C. Liliquist, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmose III* (New York, 2003), 159-161, figs 91 [g], 92 [a-d], 55; I. Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba’al. Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500 – 1000 BCE)*, OBO 140 (Freiburg, 1994), 246-247.}
fact that only two are offered and they are presented by barefoot men,\textsuperscript{1055} a cultic significance is favoured, thereby reducing their association with the Asiatics’ way of life. The scene does illustrate the use of a textile easily patterned and coloured, such as wool,\textsuperscript{1056} the employment of weapons such as the composite bow and the duckbill axe, the symbolic significance of the spearhead as a possible status marker, and knowledge in Levantine music and musical instruments. Combined, these suggest that the Asiatics are of a MBIIA culture fully or partially related to a sedentary lifestyle.

The texts’ emphasis on galena highlights that the Asiatics were brought to Khnumhotep II specifically because of the mineral and/or its manufacture. But, the galena is not represented in the procession. Arguably, it could be loaded onto the donkeys, yet the lack of a label or any other visual confirmation for its addition in the procession is highly questionable. It is more likely that the Asiatics were brought, not to trade in the mineral, but to procure and/or process it. If the ‘son of the count’ is Khnumhotep III, then it may be surmised that the Asiatics were accompanied to Beni Hassan by the one ‘who brings what is useful’ to the one who controls the area from whence the useful is procured, that is, Khnumhotep II, ‘overseer of the Eastern Desert’. Consequently, the Asiatics would not be traders, but workers who would settle in Beni Hassan to join expeditions to the Eastern Desert. The presence of their ruler, coupled with the armed men and possible animal offerings, signifies the event’s diplomatic importance, indicating that the foreigners were not forcibly accompanied to Beni Hassan but were honourably granted an audience with the elite of the Oryx nome. Perhaps one may then question if the Asiatics were procuring the mineral solely for the Egyptians or if it was a joint venture from which both parties would profit.\textsuperscript{1057} Still, the only definitive conclusion is that the scene represents Asiatics of a MBIIA culture arriving peacefully in an event that was deemed significant enough to be recorded in Khnumhotep II’s tomb.

The position of the scene in the chapel’s artistic repertoire is also insightful. Kessler approaches the scene holistically, viewing the north wall as a celebration of the New Year Festival\textsuperscript{1058} and Rabehl interprets its decoration as a homage to the royal house.\textsuperscript{1059} The

\textsuperscript{1055} In contrast, the Libyans of Khnumhotep I’s tomb are depicted with two sub-registers of numerous animals (Figure 4.112). Shea proposes that only the first two men of Khnumhotep II’s Asiatic procession were given audience with Khnumhotep II while Kamrin suggests that they are in a sacred space or part of a cultic procession. Shea, BA 44/4 (1981), 225; Kamrin, JAEI 1/3 (2009), 30; Kanawati and Woods, Beni Hassan, fig. 5.

\textsuperscript{1056} Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, 114, 131.

\textsuperscript{1057} For a possibly similar case concerning the ‘brother of the ruler of Ṛṯym, Ḥbdm’, see Chapter 5.2.4.1.

\textsuperscript{1058} Kessler, SAK 14 (1987), 158-159.
inscription above the eastern figure of Khnumhotep II labels the levying of cattle and dues (\textit{inw}) from the Oryx nome while the mythical creature of the desert landscape\textsuperscript{1060} hints at fantastical, probably cultic, overtones to the wall’s decoration. So, from top to bottom, the wall features a variety of environments: the mystical; the desert; the marshlands and the floodplain.\textsuperscript{1061} The Asiatics are artistically central in the wall’s decoration and are surrounded by these landscapes: the ‘chaotic’ desert is above, overpowered by Khnumhotep II and his sons; the ‘tamed’ birds and cattle are below, controlled by Khnumhotep II’s officials; and then Egyptian officials are presented before Khnumhotep II. Not only are the foreigners between the chaotic and the ordered,\textsuperscript{1062} they are also bordered at either end by the large figures of Khnumhotep II who, artistically and perhaps figuratively, contains and controls their visit. The two Asiatics leading the procession are also dominating animals themselves, rendering the foreigners as tamers of wildlife and connecting them to the ordered realm.\textsuperscript{1063} Yet, the overarching beneficiary is Khnumhotep II, receiving a metaphorically endless supply of products from all environments, including the realm in between: the foreign world. The inclusion of this sphere as part of the wall’s decoration stresses the increasing importance of Asiatics as bearers of ‘worldly’ goods to the Egyptian elite. It also finds them entering a new role in Egyptian art as providers of expertise and/or commodities, especially for the Egyptian elite and their afterlife.

\textit{The fair-skinned men}

As in the tomb of Amenemhat, that of Khnumhotep II comprises individuals painted using a lighter shade of colour than the male Egyptians. There are, in fact, two shades of a lighter colour. The first is a slightly darker yellow than that of the Asiatics on the north wall and the second is a lighter red, used for officials with blonde-red caps including the sons of Khnumhotep II. Both could be of foreign descent,\textsuperscript{1064} yet as the officials with caps appear in

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{1060} Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, pl. 204.
\textsuperscript{1061} Kamrin, \textit{Monument and Microcosm}, 157-158.
\textsuperscript{1062} Kamrin, \textit{JAEl} 1/3 (2009), 31.
\textsuperscript{1063} Kamrin, \textit{JAEl} 1/3 (2009), 31.
\textsuperscript{1064} The first two female offering bearers on the third register of the south wall’s west end (from the right) are depicted with a unique hairstyle with a low bun or short ponytail. Such a hairstyle is similar to that of the women of Amenemhat’s tomb (west wall, south of entrance) and the Libyans of Khnumhotep I’s chapel (Figure 4.112). The women, both household servants, could thereby also be foreigners. See above n. 987; Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, pls 12, 35.
\end{flushleft}
some cases with skin colour almost equivalent to that of the Egyptians,\textsuperscript{1065} they are not listed here. Men with yellow skin can be found on the:

- North wall, fourth register from the top (Figure 4.131): The official in front of the three sub-registers of birds, im.y-r\textsuperscript{i} htm.tyw Sn-\textsuperscript{3}nh(w) ‘overseer of sealers,’\textsuperscript{1066} Senankhu,\textsuperscript{1067}

- North wall, fifth register from the top (Figure 4.132): The first two men before Khnumhotep II, whm(w) Nh\textsuperscript{3}ti iri n(y) Bq\textsuperscript{3}t ‘herald,’\textsuperscript{1068} Nekhti,\textsuperscript{1069} born of Baqet’ and im.y-r\textsuperscript{i} htm.t Bq\textsuperscript{3}t ‘overseer of the treasury,’\textsuperscript{1070} Baqet;\textsuperscript{1071}

- South wall, bottom register (Figure 4.133): The second man from the left, im.y-r\textsuperscript{i} hnw.ty Ht.y ‘overseer of the inner chamber/chamberlain,’\textsuperscript{1072} Khety;\textsuperscript{1073}

- West wall, south section, second register from the top:\textsuperscript{1074} The sixth man from the right standing over (overseeing?) the building of a boat;

- West wall, south section, bottom register (Figure 4.134): The first official from the left. The caption above is fragmentary, either belonging to him or the kneeling figure before him. It could read [...] htm.t [...] N[ht] ‘[…] of sealers, […] Ne[khet].’

Compared with Amenemhat’s tomb, the ‘fair-skinned men’ of Khnumhotep II do not partake in daily activities but are involved in managerial roles. Four of the six appear in a

\textsuperscript{1065} These men can be found on the north wall joining Khnumhotep II’s hunt (the sons Khnumhotep, Netjernekhet, Nehry and Nekhet), the east wall above the lintel (the ‘overseer of the treasury, Baqet’) and the south wall (the sons as well as the ‘overseer of the storehouse, Netjernekhet’, the ‘overseer of the storehouse, Khnumhotep’ and the ‘sealer, Khnumhotep’). Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pls 30, 33, 35; Kanawati and Woods, Beni Hassan, figs 30-32; pls 19, 27, 29.

\textsuperscript{1066} Ward, Index, 47 [367].

\textsuperscript{1067} Ranke, Personennamen 1, 308 [14].

\textsuperscript{1068} Ward, Index, 89 [741].

\textsuperscript{1069} Ranke, Personennamen 1, 212 (1).

\textsuperscript{1070} Ward, Index, 47 [364].

\textsuperscript{1071} Ranke, Personennamen 1, 90 [9].

\textsuperscript{1072} Ward, Index, 14 [72]; Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, 47.

\textsuperscript{1073} Ranke, Personennamen 1, 277 (26).

\textsuperscript{1074} Personal examination; Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pl. 12.
procession with the other two standing near, and possibly overseeing, Egyptians at work. The majority are connected to the treasury, five are overseers and one is a herald. Their identification as descendants of Asiatics is heightened by the drawing of a small clue on the south wall’s ‘fair-skinned man’. Here, the artist(s) outlined a larger, hooked nose in red but seemingly favoured a smaller form when the painting was completed (Figure 4.133). Perhaps the larger nose was reserved for the more alien Asians following ṯḥš.  

The inclusion of the men among the Egyptians mirrors their inclusion within the local community. Despite their skin colour and an early attempt of portraying distinct facial features, the men are otherwise Egyptian. They are given Egyptian names and titles, clothes, hairdos, beards, and an Egyptian staff. They have almost completely assumed the Egyptian culture, even attaining middle-ranking positions within the administration. Still, they are distinctly separated from the locals by their skin colour, an artistic choice that illustrates their ethnicity in a decisively less stereotypical manner, presenting their acculturation and creating an innovative artistic interpretation of mixed Egyptian-Asiatics.

Depiction of a characteristic non-Egyptian ceramic

The second register of the west wall’s southern end shows an atypical vessel (Figure 4.135). This may be found to the left of the register, where two potters are at work. Directly above the head of the seated potter is a bi-handled vessel with one handle extending from the body to the rim and another, smaller, handle looped on the body. It has been identified as an EBlV/MBI dipper juglet, although these are not commonly found with the smaller handle. Instead, it appears as a combination of two forms: (1) the Levantine juglet, with its narrower neck, long body and curved base; and (2) the Egyptian ḫnm-jug, with the handle meeting the rim and a smaller handle at the body. Such a combination could be an artistic error, with the painter lacking in familiarity with the foreign ware, or a depiction of a true form mixing elements from both jugs, although such a vessel has not been found in the archaeological record. Nevertheless, the illustration points to some contact between Levantines and Egyptians.

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1075 Personal examination strongly points against the outline being a later addition. It should not be confused with a prominent reddish-brown dirt mark also near the outline of the nose.
1076 For a similar differentiation in the representation of Egyptian-Levantines and foreign Levantines, see Chapter 5.2.4.1.
1077 Newberry’s original rendition does not include this smaller handle. Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pl. 29.
1078 This identification is based on Newberry’s drawing of the scene (Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pl. 29), as referenced in Do. Arnold, F. Arnold and Allen, A&L 5 (1995), 18-20; Cohen-Weinberger and Goren, A&L 14 (2004), 82; Bietak, in From Relative Chronology to Absolute Chronology, 128-129.
Depiction of organic products (?)

As in Amenemhat’s tomb, the south wall of Khnumhotep II’s chapel illustrates piled offerings among which are four long black pods (Figure 4.136). The pods may be identified as tamarind, acacia or carob. As mentioned above,\(^{1079}\) carob was most probably imported from the Levant.\(^{1080}\) Therefore, if the depicted items are carob, then their representation signals the import of this product to Beni Hassan.

Khnumhotep II’s biography comprises another reference for the use of an imported product:\(^{200}\)

\[200\text{Irl.n=i} c\ n(y)\ m\ h\ 7\ m\ 201\text{s}\ n(y)\ N\dot g\dot y\dot r\ s\ b\dot i\ 202\text{tp}\ n(y)\ is\ c\ t\ r\ y\ n(y)\ m\ h\ 5\ sp\ 2\ 203\text{r}\ k\ s\ n(y)\ c\ t\ sp\ s\ t\ 200\text{l}\] made a door of seven cubits of \(^{201}\) s-wood of \(N\dot g\dot y\dot w\) for the \(^{202}\) first doorway of the tomb and two leaves of the door of five cubits and two palms\(^{203}\) for the shrine of the splendid chamber.\(^{1081}\) \(N\dot g\dot y\dot w\) is thought to be located in the mountains of modern Lebanon.\(^{1082}\) The reference supports the use of foreign commodities by the Egyptian elite.

4.4.1.4 Other

A wooden statuette from Shaft Tomb 181 has been described as that of a foreign woman and her child (Figure 4.137).\(^{1083}\) The tomb has been assigned to Seidlmayer’s Stuffe II dating tentatively between the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I.\(^{1084}\) Bourriau dates the statuette to the early Twelfth Dynasty and Do. Arnold assigns it to the first half of Dynasty 12.\(^{1085}\) The artefact represents a woman wearing a long red sleeved garment with a V-shaped neckline and a probable zigzag pattern, as well as yellow footwear.\(^{1086}\) Left foot forward and hands clasped at the chest, a material is wrapped around her shoulders.

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\(^{1079}\) Chapter 4.4.1.2. \\
^{1080}\) Gale et al., in Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology, 338; Zohary, Israel Journal of Plant Sciences 50/1 (2002), 141-145. \\
^{1081}\) Line numbers based on Newberry, Beni Hasan 1, pl. 26. \\
^{1082}\) The toponym is noted in the Pyramid Texts as the dwelling of \(H\dot z\dot i\-\dot t\dot w\). Allen locates it near modern Cairo. J. P. Allen, The Ancient Pyramid Texts (Atlanta, 2005), 67 [T7 (PT 322)], 437; Abituv, Canaanite Toponyms, 150-151. \\
^{1083}\) The artefact is now at the National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh (A.1911.260). Similar unprovenanced statuettes are at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (54.994) and the Metropolitan Museum of Arts, New York (26.7.1407). Garstang, Burial Customs, 139-141, fig. 138; J. Bourriau, Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom (Cambridge, New York, 1988), 108-109 [no. 97]; Do. Arnold, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 17-31, figs 1-7; Wildung, L’âge d’Or, 189, fig. 159; Hayes, Scepter of Egypt 2, 35, fig. 16. \\
^{1084}\) S. Seidlmayer, Gräberfelder aus dem Übergang vom Alten zum Mittleren Reich (Heidelberg, 1990), 217-231, fig. 95. \\
^{1085}\) Bourriau, Pharaohs and Mortals, 108; Do. Arnold, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 19. \\
^{1086}\) Do. Arnold, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 17-18; Garstang, Burial Customs, 140.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

carrying a child at the back, of whom only a bold yellow-painted head is revealed.\textsuperscript{1087} The statuette’s chin is slightly lifted, the face outlined with thick eyebrows, large eyes and ears, and a curved aquiline nose. The hair is black, tied back into a bun and styled with a slight angle at the back-centre of the head. Three bands hold the hairdo in place and circle a flattened area at the top of the head with a drilled hole (Figure 4.137c). Some have interpreted this as a fixture for now missing offerings,\textsuperscript{1088} although Do. Arnold is correct in noting that female bearers typically balance offerings on the head with one hand and are rarely, if ever, carrying both a child on the back as well as offerings upon the head.\textsuperscript{1089} She associates the hairstyle with those of the women in Wekhhotep’s tomb (C1),\textsuperscript{1090} suggesting that the hole was a fixture for an ornamental comb or hairpiece.\textsuperscript{1091}

The statuette’s hairstyle is indeed similar to that of the women in Wekhhotep’s tomb (C1), all having the same bun at the back.\textsuperscript{1092} As the women are identified here as possible Delta inhabitants with Levantine ancestry,\textsuperscript{1093} the same may be applied to the Beni Hassan statuette. The statuette is detailed with further atypical characteristics such as the pattern and colour of the garment, the shape of the nose and the colour of the child.\textsuperscript{1094} These features are commonly found in Middle Kingdom representations of Asiatics and so it is possible to identify the statuette as a portrayal of a northeastern female. While male Egyptian-Levantines may be illustrated in the tombs of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep II, the statuette provides evidence of a female Asiatic in contact with the Middle Egyptians. The deposition in a tomb connects her representation with some cultic practice that consequently denotes the role of the statuette, and perhaps the woman portrayed, in local funerary traditions.

Such traditions additionally employed foreign commodities. Two coffins at the British Museum generally dated to Dynasty 12 have been assessed to be of the Cedrus species.\textsuperscript{1095}

\textsuperscript{1087} Arnold notes some light reddish paint around the woman’s ears, possibly remnants of the colour used for her skin or hair. Do. Arnold, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 17, n. 6.
\textsuperscript{1088} Bourriau, Pharaohs and Mortals, 108; Garstang, Burial Customs, 140.
\textsuperscript{1089} Do. Arnold, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 22. A similar figurine at the Metropolitan Museum of Arts (26.7.1407) represents a woman leading an animal while carrying a child on her back. She does not, however, carry offerings on her head. Hayes, Scepter of Egypt 2, 35, fig. 16.
\textsuperscript{1090} See Chapter 4.4.4.3 and Figures 4.143-146.
\textsuperscript{1091} See Chapter 4.4.4.3 and Figures 4.143-146.
\textsuperscript{1092} See Chapter 4.4.4.3 and Figures 4.143-146.
\textsuperscript{1093} See Chapter 4.4.4.3.
\textsuperscript{1094} See Chapter 4.3.6.1 and Figure 4.87.
\textsuperscript{1095} EA 41572 is dated between the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasty while EA 32051 is assigned to Dynasty 12 or 13. W. V. Davies, ‘Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports. An Analysis of
Hence, the archaeological data corroborates Khnumhotep II’s testimony of the timber’s use for the doors of the tomb and shrine,\textsuperscript{1096} signifying the import of cedar from the Levant during the first half of the Middle Kingdom.

The above review of the evidence from Beni Hassan reflects considerable multifaceted relations between northeasterners and the elite of the Sixteenth Upper Egyptian nome. Such relations began with the employment of foreign mercenaries within the Egyptian army. The tombs of Baqet III, Khety, Khnumhotep I and Amenemhat illustrate sieges involving a multi-ethnic army on the chapels’ east walls, the Asiatics appearing as auxiliaries fighting alongside Egyptians and Nubians (Table 13).\textsuperscript{1097} Developments across the scenes are noticeable.\textsuperscript{1098} At first, Asiatics can only be identified by their kilts and skin colour as armoury, facial features and hairstyles otherwise render them indistinguishable from Egyptians. Khety’s artist added distinct shields as well as two separate groups of Asiatics. Khnumhotep I’s artist(s) portrayed them with Asiatic adornments, beards and weapons, introducing the EBIV/MBI Levantine fenestrated eye axe and perhaps a scimitar. He also illustrated different units of Asians, possibly including a foreigner of higher rank. Such units are absent in Amenemhat’s tomb, where the least number of Asiatic warriors are represented but where depictions of ‘fair-skinned men’ and EBIV/MBI pottery occur. Although the homogeneity of the battle scenes has placed their historical validity in question,\textsuperscript{1099} the tomb owners, as ‘great chiefs of the Oryx nome’ and – at least for Khety and Amenemhat – as ‘overseers of the expedition’, could very well have been involved in managing Middle Egyptian troops.\textsuperscript{1100}

In fact, the evidence suggests that the nomarchs of Beni Hassan were supporting the king’s quests. The nome’s position in proximity to the Fifteenth Upper Egyptian nome would have been of strategic importance to the king(s). As the inscriptions of Kay and Khnumhotep I relay, the king(s) took a personal interest in calming any rebellion by enlisting the help of the Oryx nome’s elite and amassing troops from Egypt and beyond its borders. Consequently, an influx of Asiatic and Nubian mercenaries into the region occurred. As their depictions are first attested in the Eleventh Dynasty tomb(s), the foreigners appear to be in the nomarchs’ service for approximately a century before the arrival of Ḫešî’s people.

\textsuperscript{1096} Wooden Coffins in the British Museum’, in W. V. Davies and L. Schofield (eds), \textit{Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant: Interconnections in the Second Millennium B.C.} (London, 1995), 147. See above Chapter 4.4.1.3. Khnumhotep I also mentions the use of cedar, although this is in association with ships and possibly royalty (Chapter 4.4.1.1).

\textsuperscript{1097} Newberry, \textit{Beni Hasan} 1, pl. 47; vol. 2, pls 5, 15; Kanawati and Woods, \textit{Beni Hassan}, 68.

\textsuperscript{1098} See also Table 13; Rabehl, \textit{Grab des Amenemhet}, 306-307.


\textsuperscript{1100} Schulman, \textit{JSSEA} 12/4 (1982), 176.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

However, a reduction in their significance as auxiliary forces is observable in Amenemhat’s tomb, where only three Asiatic soldiers are portrayed. Instead, the outcome of such consistent Egyptian-Asiatic relations surfaces in the artistic repertoire.

The growing familiarity between Egyptians and Levantines may have resulted in the illustration of Levantine pottery as well as the acculturated ‘fair-skinned’ Asiatics who were employed within the Egyptian community. Moreover, the Egyptian artists attempted to illustrate facets of contemporary Levantine culture, first depicting objects of the EBIV/MBI period and then those of the MBIIA. Hence, it is in this social context that ‘Ihs’r’s visit must be taken into account. The scene may have been unique in its details, particularly of the women and children, but it is not ‘rare’ in the sense that it was the only point of direct contact between the inhabitants of the Oryx nome and Levantines. What the earlier tombs inform us is that Asiatics already shared militaristic relations with Beni Hassan’s nomarchs. These relations developed under Senwosret I, when the depiction of foreign commodities and possibly peoples of foreign descent arose, until they were completely absent under Senwosret II’s reign. As an alternative, Beni Hassan’s last decorated rock-cut tomb featured a scene engaging Asiatics in a different role associated more with trade than with warfare, a role which is also indirectly insinuated by the portrayal of foreign products across the tomb’s walls. It is, then, not surprising that a possible son of Khnumhotep II continued such relations, documenting his own voyage to a foreign land in search for ‘what is useful’.1101

4.4.2 Bersha, Deir el-

Lat.Lon. 27°45’N 30°54’E

Refs PM 4, 179-181; Newberry, El-Bersheh; Blackman, JEA 2/1 (1915), 13-14.

Chron. Late Twelfth Dynasty

Deir el-Bersha, the so-called capital of the Hare nome (Fifteen), is situated on the east bank of the Nile, south of Beni Hassan. Archaeological investigations were carried out and published by Newberry,1102 and, since 2002, have been conducted by Leuven University.1103

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1101 See Chapter 4.3.1.2.
1103 H. Willems, Deir el-Bersha, vol. 1: The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht (17K84/1), Khnumnakht (17K84/2), and Iha (17K84/3) with an Essay on the History and Nature of Nomarchical Rule in the Early Middle Kingdom (Leuven, 2007); H. Willems et al., ‘An Industrial Site at al-Shaykh Sa’id/Wadi Zabayda’, A&L 19 (2009), 293-331. For a complete list of published materials, see ‘Publications Dayr al-Barsha Project’, Dayr al-Barsha Project, http://www.dayralbarsha.com/node/12 (accessed 14/01/2013). Excavations have also been carried out by the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston), the
4.4.2.1 Tomb of Djehutyhotep, reign of Senwosret III

The tomb of Djehutyhotep, ‘treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt’ and ‘great overlord of the Hare nome, gate of every foreign country’,\(^{1104}\) was probably completed during Senwosret III’s reign.\(^{1105}\) The chapel’s west wall depicts the treasurer presiding over a series of activities (Figures 4.138-139).\(^{1106}\) The lower register’s caption features the disputed passage (Figure 4.139):

\[\ldots k3.w r-tnw m tnw [\ldots] iy.i.n=tn s’\l fn=S=tn smw kk=tn swn [\ldots] w s=tn nfr n h’w=tn w[\ldots] kmn/=tnm=tn] ph.w=tn snb[=tn] ‘[\ldots] cattle of Rtnw/numbering in quantity [\ldots] you have come on sand so that you tread on pastures, you feed on herbage [\ldots] your back is good for your body [\ldots] your form [\ldots] your ends, healthy are your [\ldots]’.

Despite Blackman’s contentions,\(^{1107}\) the above text would argue against the reading of \(\text{\tiny \text{\textcopyright}}\) as \(Rtnw\). Based on the absence of a determinative for a foreign land, the glyphs’ inclusion in a sequence of clauses concerned with cattle rather than the foreign, and the overall fragmentary nature of the passage, a reading as \(r-tnw\) ‘numbering’ is favoured.\(^{1108}\) Although Djehutyhotep, as ‘gate of every foreign country’, would have been able to access foreign imports and commodities, there are no other indications from his tomb for such trade.\(^{1109}\) Moreover, the accompanying depiction of Egyptians escorting cattle supports their identification as local rather than imported cattle.

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1104 Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, 6-7, pl. 16.
1106 Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, pls 12, 18.
1108 As in Newberry’s original translation. Attestations that the term \(s’\l\) ‘sand’ are connected to the environment of \(Rtnw\) is tentative while the tense of the verb \(iy.i.n=tn\) as a present perfect \(\text{\tiny \text{\textcopyright}}mn.n=f\) may have been used to refer to the distance travelled from the cattle’s original location and not necessarily “to draw a comparison between the... hard life of these cattle in Syria, and their present luxurious existence in Egypt.” Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, 14, 29; J. A. Wilson, ‘Egyptian Myths, Tales, and Mortuary Texts’, in J. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts: Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd edition, Princeton and New Jersey, 1969), 230, n. 11.
1109 See Appendix A.3 for comments regarding the official’s statuette at Megiddo.
4.4.2.2 Organic products

A less contentious marker for trade is the material used for coffins from Deir el-Bersha. Following the scientific analysis of 36 coffins from the British Museum, it was concluded that, out of the seven wooden coffins from Deir el-Bersha, six were of cedar (Cedrus sp.).\footnote{Davies, in \textit{Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant}, 146-147.} They are from the second half of Dynasty 12 and belong to officials with such titles as ‘chief of physicians’, ‘overseer of the house’ and ‘overseer of the expedition’\footnote{Davies, in \textit{Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant}, 147.} The cedar may have been either directly or indirectly transported to Deir el-Bersha from the Levant, although the latter is a more likely scenario. Its use by officials from various positions attests to the timber’s popularity and access to foreign products during Dynasty 12.

4.4.3 Hatnub

\textit{Lat.Lon.} 27°33’N 31°00’E

\textit{Refs} PM 4, 237-239; Anthes, \textit{Hatnub}; Shaw, \textit{Hatnub}.

\textit{Chron.} Late Eleventh or early Twelfth Dynasty

Texts from the alabaster quarry at Hatnub explore the ‘reign’ of Nehry and his sons, Kay and Djehutynakht, nomarchs of the Fifteenth Upper Egyptian nome.\footnote{R. Anthes, \textit{Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub} (Leipzig, 1929), 32-62 [nos. 14-26]; Redford, \textit{Egypt, Canaan, and Israel}, 73; I. Shaw, \textit{Hatnub: Quarrying Travertine in Ancient Egypt} (London, 2010), 147-155.} Although much debate has circulated around the inscriptions’ date,\footnote{Propositions favour one of four historical settings: (a) the transition between the Tenth and Eleventh Dynasties, a period of unification under Nebhepetra Montuhotep II (Anthes, Faulkner, Brovarski and Blumenthal); (b) the transition between the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties, from the Montuhoteps to the Amenemhats (Willems, Redford and Peden); (c) the tumultuous reign of Amenemhat I (Grajetzki); and (d) the events following Amenemhat I’s assassination (Schenkel). For more, see Anthes, \textit{Hatnub}, 91-96; R. O. Faulkner, ‘The Rebellion in the Hare Nome’, \textit{JEA} 30 (1944), 61-63; Brovarski, in \textit{Egyptian Culture and Society}, 31-85; Blumenthal, \textit{AOF} 4 (1976), 35-62; Willems, \textit{JEOL} 28 (1983-1984), 80-102; Redford, \textit{Egypt, Canaan, and Israel}, 73, n. 8; Redford, \textit{JARCE} 23 (1986), 129; Grajetzki, \textit{Middle Kingdom}, 110; Schenkel, \textit{Frühmittelägyptische Studien}, 84-95; A. I. Peden, \textit{The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings} (c. 3100-332 BC) (Leiden, 2001), 21.} the palaeographic and archaeological evidence imply a historic situation prior to Amenemhat I’s reign, most likely between Nebtawyra and Amenemhat I.\footnote{The uncertainties surrounding the transition between Nebtawyra and Amenemhat I seems a likely historical situation for mounting tension, rebellion and the existence of several claims to the throne, such as Nehry I’s of the Hatnub graffiti. Willems, \textit{JEOL} 28 (1983-1984), 101-102; Redford, \textit{Egypt, Canaan, and Israel}, 73, n. 8; D. B. Redford, \textit{Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and
### Chapter 4: Tracing Asians in Egypt

The Hatnub texts note a major conflict between vizier Nehry’s followers and royal forces, with the former boasting of victories against the pharaoh. Inscriptions Nrs 16 and 25 reveal that the nameless king had rallied Egyptians from across the land as well as foreigners from Nubia and Asia in a bid which, as history informs us, helped Amenemhat I emerge as victor. Accordingly, Asians would have established significant political relations by working for the king as auxiliary allies. Such relations would have also developed between the soldiers themselves as the Asians would have fought side-by-side with Nubians and Egyptians against Egyptian rebels. By siding with the winning faction, it is very possible that such relations extended into Dynasty 12.

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Hieroglyphic text and line numbers as transcribed by Anthes (Anthes, Hatnub, 36 [no. 16], 57 [no. 25]). Transliteration and translation are by author.

Following Anthes and Redford. Shaw translates it as ‘rear-guard’. Anthes, Hatnub, 37; Redford, Egypt, Canaan, and Israel, 73; Shaw, Hatnub, 148.


As suggested by ‘the sore dread of the Palace’, i.e. the royal house in Inscription Nr 24. Shaw, Hatnub, 152; Redford, Egypt, Canaan, and Israel, 73; Anthes, Hatnub, 57-58; Faulkner, JEA 30 (1944), 62; Grajetzki, Middle Kingdom, 110.

See Chapter 4.4.1 above for Beni Hasan depictions that support these relations.
4.4.4 Meir

Lat.Lon. 27°27’N 30°45’E

Refs PM 4, 250-253; Blackman, Meir, vols. 2-3 and 6.

Chron. Twelfth Dynasty

The governors of the Fourteenth Upper Egyptian nome, el-Qusiya, are buried at Meir. Their tombs date from the early Sixth to the Twelfth Dynasty with the construction of their large rock-cut tombs seizing under Amenemhat III. First excavated and recorded by Blackman,1120 the tombs are currently being re-recorded by the Australian Centre for Egyptology, Macquarie University.1121

4.4.4.1 Tomb of Wekhhotep (B2), reign of Senwosret I

Wekhhotep, son of Senbi1122 was most likely the second royally-appointed nomarch to build his tomb at Meir (B2).1123 His chapel’s east wall depicts Wekhhotep and his wife standing alongside two female attendants (Figure 4.140). One of the servants carrying a possible chest is identified by Blackman as a ‘Aam-slave’.1124 The fragmentary text may conversely be rendered as rather than 1125 No other delineating features designate her as an Asiatic, yet if Blackman’s reconstruction is correct, it may reveal the employment of foreign women in elite Middle Egyptian households.

4.4.4.2 Tomb of Wekhhotep (B4), reign of Amenemhat II

Wekhhotep son of Wekhhotep features two possible references to Asiatics in his tomb.1126 Both appear on the north wall of his chapel’s outer room in a scene picturing a large seated figure of the tomb owner inspecting cattle. The second register of the scene’s west end portrays the official Wekhemsaf followed by two individuals forcibly ushered before Wekhhotep in a rendering of accounts scene (Figure 4.141).1127 The register is very fragmentary and it is only possible to delineate a few of their features. The two have long, slightly pointed beards and, while the head of the foremost is damaged, the hairstyle of the second is shoulder-length and

1122 Blackman, Meir 2, 1-3, pls 10-12.
1123 Grajetzki, Middle Kingdom, 108, fig. 23.
1124 Blackman, Meir 2, 15, pl. 5 [2].
1125 Blackman, Meir 2, 15.
1126 Blackman, Meir 3, 1, pls 9, 18.
1127 Blackman, Meir 3, pl. 3.
voluminous at the back, curving inwards at the shoulder. \(^{1128}\) Such features point to the individuals’ foreign origin and are akin to those of Amenemhat’s Asians at Beni Hassan, \(^{1129}\) supporting their identification as Asians by Blackman. \(^{1130}\) Surviving captions accompanying the men read (1) \(\ddots \text{n} \cdot \text{y} \, \text{iHw} \) ‘[...] \(\text{n} \cdot \text{y} \, \text{iHw} \) ‘[...]’; and (2) \(\ddots \text{t} \, \text{n} \cdot \text{y} \, \text{iHw} \) ‘[...]’ (their herdsmen), ‘[... hall-keeper] of the cattle- pen’. \(^{1131}\) Thus, the Asians have Egyptian names and titles and can be viewed as evidence for the acculturation of Levantines during Amenemhat II’s reign.

Their inclusion in a rendering of accounts scene denotes their middle-rank occupation as well as their subservience to Wekhhotep.

The second reference to Asians is found on the eastern end of the north wall’s lowest register (Figure 4.142). The scene illustrates a row of cattle being led by at least two herdsmen, the first of which is represented as an emaciated figure with curly hair leaning on a staff \(^{1132}\) and the second is more rotund, his facial details missing. Towards the very east of the wall is a fragmentary inscription relaying \(\ddots \text{k} \cdot \text{w w} \) \(n \cdot \text{w s \text{m} \ m} \) ‘cattle of \(\text{s \text{m} \ m} \) which have been brought from [...]’. Their distinction as ‘cattle of \(\text{s \text{m} \ m} \)’ does not necessarily point to the animals’ Levantine origin \(^{1133}\) but rather to their ownership by Asians. Whether or not these cattle belonged to [...] the ‘[hall-keeper] of the cattle-pen’, \(^{1134}\) the evidence reveals that Wekhhotep was responsible for Levantines residing in the region as well as their commodities.

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\(^{1128}\) The details are more apparent in Blackman’s earlier recordings. Blackman, Meir 3, pl. 8.

\(^{1129}\) See above Chapter 4.4.1.2 and Figure 4.119. The shoulder-length hairstyle of the second man contests suppositions that the two individuals are ‘Bedja herdsmen’. See below n. 1132; Blackman, Meir 2, 18, n. 1; vol. 3, 13; Schneider, Ausländer im Ägypten 2, 190, 329; Staubli, Das Image der Nomaden, 26-30.

\(^{1130}\) Blackman, Meir 3, 6, 11.

\(^{1131}\) Ward, Index, 59 [475].

\(^{1132}\) Identified variably as a ‘Bedja herdsmen’, a ‘Medjay herdsmen’, an Eastern Desert nomad, an Asiatic or a malnourished Egyptian. The figure’s characteristics heavily feature in depictions of individuals across the tombs of Meir, mostly of men leading cattle and/or leaning on staffs. Blackman, Meir 1, 32, fig. 8, pls 9-10, 20 [1], 25 [2-3], 26 [1], 30 [1], 31 [1]; vol. 2, 13-19, pls 19 [1], 22, 29, 30 [1]; vol. 3, 11-13, pls 3-4, 6, 11, 19-20; Staubli, Das Image der Nomaden, 26-30; Schneider, Ausländer im Ägypten 2, 190; K. Zibelius-Chen, ‘Die Medja in altägyptischen Quellen’, SAK 36 (2007), 395; Do. Arnold, in Second Intermediate Period, 196; Liszka, Medjay and Pangrave, 241-244.

\(^{1133}\) Blackman theorises that the cattle “would have been obtained either by a foray, such as that of Sesotris III, or by traffic”. Scholars following this theory include Saretta, David and Giveon. Blackman, Meir 3, 18; Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, 153; David, Pyramid Builders, 192; R. Giveon, ‘Cattle Administration in Middle Kingdom Egypt and Canaan’, in Hommages à François Daumas, vol. 1 (Montpellier, 1986), 279-284.

\(^{1134}\) Blackman, Meir 3, 18.
4.4.4.3 Tomb of Wekhhotep (C1), reign of Senwosret III

Assigned to the reign of Senwosret III or Amenemhat III, the tomb of nomarch Wekhhotep (C1) contains rare scenes of women involved in a variety of activities typically attributed to men. The female bearers on the north wall (lower) are of particular interest (Figures 4.143-144). The inscriptions on the lower two registers indicate that the offerings are from the Delta region, so perhaps one can surmise that some of the women, if not all of them, are from the Delta. Eight of these women, one in each of the lower two registers and six in the upper register, are represented with a distinctive hairstyle designed with a slight bulb-like protrusion at the back of the head, much like a bun. The style, likened to a cap-like turban by Do. Arnold, could also include a fillet, a smaller wedge-shaped protrusion(s) from the head and/or a ponytail. Blackman notes slight traces of red for the woman’s hair in the lowest register. One woman on the south wall and two more on the east wall, north of the entrance, also appear to share this hairstyle (Figures 4.145-146).

Otherwise dressed as Egyptians, the hairdo and remaining colour signal an atypical representation most possibly associated with a foreign phenotype. While the red haircolour could be attributed to Libyans and Asians, a few of the objects carried by the women point to the northeast. The hairstyle has been connected to that of women from EBA Syria and Mesopotamia, yet, as the style is not contemporaneous with the tomb’s dating, the women’s origins cannot be verifiably sought in this region. Do. Arnold suggests that the women are Egyptian but, due to the scene’s cultic associations, the hairstyle may have been copied from “third millennium heirlooms in the temple treasures”. Although possible, it is questionable why such an archaism of foreignness would be featured in the tomb. Another proposition may be offered, relying on an early Thirteenth Dynasty stela picturing a woman with a similar hairdo labelled as a “šmr”.

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1135 Blackman, Meir 6, 13; Blackman, Meir 1, 17-18; Grajetzki, Middle Kingdom, 109.
1136 Wekhhotep’s dedication to Hathor as ‘priest of the mistress of heaven’ and el-Qusiya’s role as cultic centre for the goddess may have influenced the chosen decoration. Blackman, Meir 6, 8, 35, pls 13, 17.
1137 Blackman, Meir 6, 19-21, pl. 18.
1138 Do. Arnold, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 24.
1139 Blackman, Meir 6, 19.
1140 Blackman, Meir 6, pls 10-11.
1141 Do. Arnold, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 28-29, fig. 10.
1142 Do. Arnold, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 29.
1143 See Chapter 4.6.8 and Figure 4.209.
The first woman in the uppermost register carries a table in her right hand and on her shoulders (Figure 4.144). Within her left hand is a large bi-handled jar and the first vessel on the table (from the left) is a small, bi-handled globular vessel. Similar globular handled jars can be found on the table before the second woman in this register. The shape of such vessels points to Levantine manufacture, with parallels stemming from EBIV/MBI Megiddo,1144 Tell Beit Mirsim1145 and Tell ‘Arqa.1146 Do. Arnold further suggests that the vessels are of metal, resembling the silver cups of the Tod Treasure.1147 The other ‘atypical’ women carry a variety of objects including baskets, jars, lotus stems, birds as well as trays laden with fruit (fig?) and other foods. So, other than the Levantine-style vessels, the women are carrying characteristic Egyptian products that are usually presented to a tomb owner.

Key pieces of evidence that may help with the women’s identification are their: (1) ‘atypical’ hairstyle which is shared by a fīmīt on a Dynasty 13 stela; (2) red, non-Egyptian, hair colour; (3) Egyptian clothing; (4) accompaniment of a variety of Egyptian and EBIV/MBI Levantine items; (5) accompaniment by inscriptions detailing goods brought from the Delta; and (6) accompaniment by Egyptian women presenting offerings, as is customary in an Egyptian nomarch’s tomb. Based on these pointers, the women are most likely inhabitants from the Delta, possibly descendents of Levantines or of mixed Egyptian-Levantine ancestry. By adopting the local traditions and customs, the women may have chosen to partake in the bringing of offerings to el-Qusiya’s nomarch, presenting a myriad of local goods and foreign commodities possibly imported via a Delta trading hub like Tell el-Dab’a. In view of the Levantine population in the Delta at this time, such a scenario is highly likely, offering support for the acculturation of northeasterners living in Egypt.1148 It also presents an intriguing case for the depiction of these female Egyptian-Levantines who are not entirely illustrated as Egyptian women and not completely portrayed as Asiatics.1149 Instead, they are presented as a deviation from such stereotypical representations with the artist(s) customising their portrayal to form a variant artistic manifestation of the women’s identity. Of importance is that this identity – at least at the time of the wall scenes’

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1146 Thalmann, in *Bronze Age in the Lebanon*, pl. 6 [15-16].
1147 See Chapter 4.5.11.2. Do. Arnold, in *Offerings to the Discerning Eye*, 24.
1148 See Chapter 4.2.2.10. A similar case of female offering bearers from the Delta can be found in Papyrus Boulaq 18/2 (Chapter 4.5.3).
1149 For a suggested depiction of male Egyptian-Asiatics, see Chapter 4.4.1.2-4.4.1.3.
completion – was not fully synonymous with the identity of the artist(s) at Meir. That is, the women were not artistically ‘accepted’ as Egyptians.

This is similar to other Asiatics at Meir who are portrayed with a mixture of Egyptian and non-Egyptian elements. The men in Tomb B4 have Egyptian names and titles but are given foreign physical characteristics while the woman in B2, following Blackman’s reading of her caption, is textually rather than artistically designated as a foreigner. Such a mixture of elements is likely synonymous with the individuals’ mixed ethnic identity. Significantly, this identity did not hinder the Asiatics’ participation in Egyptian activities and professions: they remained part of the tomb’s repertoire of scenes and were an accepted part of Meir’s community in the Twelfth Dynasty.

4.4.5 Rifeh, Deir

Lat.Lon. 27°06’N 31°10’E

Refs PM 5, 1-4; Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh; Hamilton, JSS (2009), 51-79.

Chron. Second Intermediate Period

The southernmost point identified here as part of Middle Egypt is the site of Deir Rifeh, located approximately 10 km south of Asyut. Deir Rifeh’s Cemetery S consists of burials bearing elements of the distinct Pan-Grave culture.\(^{1150}\) The burials also included Egyptian pottery which Bourriau has dated to the second half of Dynasty 13 based on a comparison with pottery from the Memphite region.\(^{1151}\) Scarabs with the ‘\(nr\)’ and \(rdi-r\)’ formulae as well as that of Sheshi additionally attest to the site’s occupation during the Second Intermediate Period.\(^{1152}\) A few pieces from Deir Rifeh also point to access to Levantine and/or Levantine-influenced products:

- Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware: Petrie’s publication only includes outlines of the vessels. It is possible to distinguish a cylindrical jug (Figure 4.147 [1]) similar to that from Tell el-Maskhuta but with a flatter base;\(^{1153}\) bi-conical jugs (Figure 4.147 [2, 11])

\(^{1150}\) Such as oval burial pits, Nubian pottery, intricate beadwork and leather wrist-guards. W. M. F. Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (London, 1907), 20.


\(^{1152}\) Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. 13E [4], 23 [2, 9, 11].

\(^{1153}\) Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian L.12.1 or L.12.2. Figure 4.36 [10]; Redmount, On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier, fig. 157; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 265.
akin to those from Tell el-Yahudiyyah (Grave 16); a wheel-made globular vessel (Figure 4.147 [6]) paralleling those from Tell el-Dab’a stratum E/1, and fragments of Piriform 2a jugs (Figure 4.147 [4-5, 7, 9-10]) such as the jugs from Tell el-Dab’a strata E/2-D/2. The vessels were apparently uncovered in three Pan-Grave burials (59, 66 and 73) yet their precise context is not recorded. The vessel forms indicate that the Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware was imported into Deir Rifeh during Dynasty 15, most possibly from the Delta;

- Button-shaped seal amulet (Figure 4.148): The seal was not recovered from a Pan-Grave burial but its exact context is unknown. It was found alongside 79 small beads forming a necklace with which the seal was worn. The seal is decorated with two ‘$n$’ symbols flanking five pseudo-hieroglyphic characters recently identified as Proto-Alphabetic signs dating paleographically to the MBA. Hamilton tentatively reads the signs as $l/w qn hz$ ‘for and Cain, the Seer’. If correct, the inscription points to either Levantines in Deir Rifeh or their influence on some aspects of the culture. Indeed, the Proto-Alphabetic characters not only signal growing contact with the Levant, they also imply the presence of literate individuals knowledgeable in reading this early linear script within Egypt. Whether or not these individuals were present at Deir Rifeh is uncertain.

While the Tell el-Yahudiyyah jugs provide evidence for trade relations between Deir Rifeh and the Fifteenth Dynasty, the seal may signal direct contact between the site and MBA Levantines. Regarding the Pan-Grave material, this would denote a connection between the Nubians and Levantines. In fact, the ceramic links with the north have led to a proposition that the southerners at Deir Rifeh formed a garrison controlling trade for the

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1154 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian L.8.1. Figure 4.56 [3]; Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities, pl. 8 [38]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 240-254, fig. 176.
1155 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian L.9.4. For references to more parallels from across Egypt see Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 254-257, 499-507, fig. 186, pls 99 [559-561], 100 [564], 101 [567-568], 102 [575-576].
1156 Generally assigned to Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian L.1. The base of Figure 4.147 [10] could also belong to a biconical jug. Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 206-211, 392-450, figs 138-141, pls 35-67.
1157 Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh, pl. 26 [92-94].
1158 G. J. Hamilton, ‘A Proposal to Read the Legend of a Seal-Amulet from Deir Rifa, Egypt as an Early West Semitic Alphabetic Inscription’, JSS 54 (2009), 51-52, n. 3.
1159 Hamilton, JSS 54 (2009), pl. 1.
1160 Hamilton, JSS 54 (2009), 51-79, figs 1-2, pls 1-2.
1161 Hamilton, JSS 54 (2009), 56-69, fig. 3.
dynasties of the Delta.\textsuperscript{1162} Mostagedda, on the opposite side of the Nile and with greater material parallels with the southern Egyptian ceramic traditions, would have monitored trade for the Thebans along the east bank of the Nile.\textsuperscript{1163} The examined evidence indicates that a political or trading agreement was possibly fostered between the Hyksos and the inhabitants buried at Deir Rifeh, perhaps to ensure continued trade with the regions to the south. However, the available evidence at Deir Rifeh does not suggest that such an agreement was encumbered by a heavy militaristic alliance.

\textsuperscript{1162} Hamilton, JSS 54 (2009), 43-48; Bourriau, in Ancient Egypt, 190; Bourriau, in Second Intermediate Period, 22-23.  
4.5 **Upper Egypt**

4.5.1 **Abydos**

LaT. Lon. 26°11'N 31°55'E

**Refs**  

**Chron.** Twelfth Dynasty – Second Intermediate Period

Approximately 430 km south of Cairo is the Eighth Upper Egyptian nome including the sacred site of Abydos. Connected to Osiris, the site was a burial ground from the Predynastic period to the Middle Kingdom, when a planned settlement also developed.  

A place of pilgrimage for Egyptians, the journey to Abydos was a topic of several inscriptions and tomb scenes. Some officials and pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period chose to be buried there.  

Officials buried elsewhere additionally erected stelae, small chapels, statues and other cultic equipment in dedication to Osiris. Evidence pertaining to Asiatics is largely derived from such stelae, providing a significant insight into their religious affiliations and relations with Egyptians.

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1166 Grajetzki, *Middle Kingdom*, 95.
4.5.1.1 The stelae

42 stelae and one shrine (grouped here as the ‘Abydos stelae’) refer to Asiatics and/or Levantine affairs and date from the beginning of Dynasty 12 to at least the early Second Intermediate Period. As only a few name pharaohs, some are dated on stylistic grounds to either the Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty, with the rest dated generally to either the Middle Kingdom or early Second Intermediate Period.\(^{1167}\) Translations and figure references are provided in Volume II: Translation 5, while bibliographic references and further comments regarding the context and depiction of individuals are summarised in Table 14.

Representing Asiatics

Among over 80 instances of individuals of Asiatic ancestry, only 10 names may be of Semitic origin\(^{1168}\) while the rest are either simply K\(n\)m or Egyptian names. Three individuals of unknown origin feature the element K\(pn\)/\(Khn\) for Byblos in their names.\(^{1169}\) Pictorially, individuals labelled \(Km\) are illustrated as Egyptians seated, kneeling or standing. Unfortunately, publications of most of the stelae are in greyscale, restricting any comments on skin colour. Where coloured photographs are presented, no colour is preserved for the Asiatic men. A few Asiatics bear offerings, including ox legs (E.207.1900 and CG 20571), lotus stems (E.207.1900 and CG 20550), fowl (E.207.1900 and CG 20550) as well as baskets or vessels (CG 20158, CG 20164 and CG 20550). Three appear to be engaged in daily activities such as pouring beer, grinding grain and sowing seed (E.30).

The stelae offer a significant insight into the Asiatics’ acceptance of Egyptian traditions. The majority of identified Asiatic descendants are represented with Egyptian names, titles and dress, taking part in Egyptian daily activities and rituals. Two stelae owners are conclusively of Asiatic descent (CG 20650 and ÄS 160), leading to the proposition that such individuals also assumed Egyptian religious obligations by placing their stelae at Abydos. Furthermore, they appear familiar with Egyptian deities as apparent by the utilisation of offering formulae expressing their devotion to Osiris, Anubis, Geb and Hapy.

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\(^{1167}\) For more on the dating criteria, see C. Bennett, ‘Growth of the \(h₂-p₂-d₂-n₂w\) Formula in the Middle Kingdom’, \(JEA\) 27 (1941), 77–82; D. Franke, ‘The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas – A Challenge’, \(JEA\) 89 (2003), 39–57; A. Ilin-Tomich, ‘Changes in the \(h₂-p₂-d₂-n₂w\) Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period’, \(ZÄS\) 138 (2011), 20-34

\(^{1168}\) Thôn (CG 20140), \(h₂n\) (CG 20161), \(k₂\) (CG 20296), Khôty (CG 20441), \(k₂\) (CG 20753), Kdmnr (E.60.1926), \(Gḥ₂\) and his mother \(Hm\) (Rio de Janeiro 627), as well as \(k₂\) and Twty (Rio de Janeiro 680).

\(^{1169}\) CG 20086, CG 20224 and CG 20678. Another unprovenanced stela of the early Thirteenth Dynasty thought to be from Abydos, Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422], also contains the name. Kitchen, \(Catalogue\) 1, 34-37; vol. 1, pls 11-12. For further occurrences, see Chapter 4.3.5.2 and Table 4.11 for UC 32196 as well as Chapters 4.5.4.1 and 4.6.7.
Correspondingly, the stelae owners (bar the bellicose Louvre C1, CG 20539 and Manchester 3306) did not portray the *šm. w* negatively but included them in their lists of household members, acknowledging them as efficient officials of private households and the local administration. The Egyptians recognised and recorded the genealogies of individuals of foreign descent, not only signifying that the *šm. w* were fully integrated within Egyptian society, but that the Egyptians were well-acquainted with the Levantines’ ancestry. This act of recording the genealogy reflects a level of care in preserving the memory of an Asiatic’s descent. Does the explicit mention of Asiatic ancestry mean that the Egyptians were accepting of an established foreign group within their society? Did the Egyptians consider the mention of Asiatic members in their families as a sign of prestige? Or, was it a required appellation signalling their foreignness and, perhaps, inequality? Because people of Asiatic descent did not hide or conceal their ancestry in the two examples of their own stelae, it is observable that having an Asiatic background was not shunned. The term *šm* was not employed for derogatory purposes. It simply labelled the origins of individuals living among Egyptians. Moreover, it was not an imperative identifier, for a small number of people with Semitic names, and presumably Semitic origins, did not have the term appended to their entries.

**Asiatics in the Egyptian community**

Stelae from the reign of Amenemhat III to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasties refer to the *šm. w* as part of the typical Egyptian household. Judging by the attested examples, their numbers remain steadily the same but with a slight increase during Dynasty 13. They could be employed as an ‘overseer of a storehouse’ (CG 20296), ‘hall-keepers’ (CG 20296 and ÅS 160) as well as ‘butlers’ (CG 20231, E.207.1900, ÅS 160), and take part in such Egyptian daily activities as brewery, cooking and agricultural work (CG 20296 and E.30). Stela E.30 infers their participation in cultic rituals that may be related with the stela owner’s position as a ‘regulator of a phyle’. The foreigners are also associated with such individuals as the ‘overseer of a storehouse’ (Rio de Janeiro 627), ‘overseer of the law-court’ (ÅS 99), ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’ (CG 20140) and ‘major-domo of the great house’ (Marseille 227).

Further notes can be offered when stelae of the general Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period are examined. Additional professions of *šm. w* include a ‘carrier of provisions’ (CG 20164), a ‘steward’ (CG 20650), a ‘retainer’ (Penn Museum 69-29-56), an ‘overseer of the military’ (CG 20650) and ‘overseers of craftsmen’ (Rio de Janeiro 680). In two instances, Asiatics appear in the care of Egyptians (CG 20103 and CG 20392) while one stela,
possibly of an Egyptian, sees Asiatic women of successive generations as wives with the position of ‘lady of the house’ (CG 20650).

Other Asiatic women are among lists of household members. They appear in at least three stelae as concubines or secondary wives seemingly married to Egyptian men (CG 20125, CG 20441, ÄS 160 and ÄS 169). Egyptians (?) with an Asiatic sister (CG 20281) and brother (CG 20753) are mentioned, yet neither has their parentage specified. Stela ÄS 160 additionally records five generations of Asiatic descendents following the matrilineal line (Figure 4.163), the last three featuring persons with Egyptian names, indicating that the family had resided in Egypt for at least three generations. Individuals with other Asiatic household members occur in 11 stelae.

The number of Asiatic men and women mentioned is almost the same: approximately 51% of Asiatics are male and 49% are female. It is important to note the fragmentary nature of the evidence and the possibility that the excavated data only concerns a small percentage of the entire population. Nevertheless, such findings differ considerably from the 90% male and 10% female attestation calculated for Asiatics in el-Lahun papyri. One explanation may lie in the fragility of the papyri compared to the stelae as the latter are more likely to survive. Another may be sought in the sites themselves: el-Lahun papyri mainly concern individuals in the settlement’s immediate vicinity while the stelae could belong to individuals across Egypt. Furthermore, el-Lahun papyri are of a variety of textual genres (letters, accounts, legal texts, etc.) and for a range of purposes, contrary to the stelae’s predominantly funerary function. Despite the differences, such interpretations highlight that the Abydos texts offer a sampling of Asiatics linked to a range of professions in Egyptian society.

**Levantines and Egyptian foreign affairs**

Five stelae address foreign relations between the Egyptian administration and Levantines. Four of these concern the Egyptian army, three of which note possible military encounters (Louvre C1, CG 20539 and Manchester 3306), while one presents an ‘overseer of

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1173 See Chapter 4.3.5.2. Petrik, in *From Illahun to Djeme*, 213.
expedition’ as an Asiatic (CG 20650). The stela of general
Nesumontu (Louvre C1) has been used as evidence for military action against Levantine fortresses during Amenemhat I’s reign; however the damaged text does not specify the enclosures’ location, merely expressing Nesumontu’s victory over the hrw.wt of the Twn.tyw, Mnt.tyw and Hr.yw-st which could be within Egypt, the Eastern Desert or the Sinai region. Montuhotep’s bellicose epithet focuses on the vizier’s control over the Hr.yw-st and St.(t)yw during Senwosret I’s reign (CG 20539). Khusobek, by contrast, relays his personal encounter against one ‘im in an event which transpired following Senwosret III’s visit to the Levant (Manchester 3306).

As the text recounts, Senwosret III and Khusobek marched northwards towards St.t specifically to overthrow the Mnt.tyw. The expedition reached Skmm after which it turned back for an unspecified reason, probably an unsuccessful military venture. Because the text lacks any clear outline of the venture’s progress, it is likely that such a description was not necessary for inclusion in Khusobek’s stela. The focal point seems to be the official’s own contribution to the expedition, amplifying Khusobek’s personal achievements and his perspective on the unfolding events. Therefore, the first lines function to set the scene, purposely overlooking the pharaoh’s exploits at St.t, Skmm and Rtnw, and only noting that the latter two ‘fell’ following the Majesty’s return trip to the Residence. Then, Khusobek relays his experience in a skirmish against the ‘im.w, when, fulfilling his duty as a courageous rearguard, he fought victoriously against one ‘im and was consequently rewarded with weapons. Khusobek’s account indicates that the Egyptian army traversed through the Levant up to Skmm, near Rtnw, providing evidence for both Senwosret III’s political interests

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1174 Another statue of Nesumontu distinguishes him as “the very great general of the entire land”. Wildung, MDAIK 37 (1981), 503-507; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 38 n. 39.

1175 Kemp, in Ancient Egypt, 143; Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 77, 82; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 38; Bárt, Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs, 105.


1177 Both spr and wdl of line C.1 are determined by A, most probably indicating that the army travelled by foot. J. W. Wells, War in Ancient Egypt (PhD Dissertation, The John Hopkins University, 1995), 133-134.

1178 Some have posited that the king led an unsuccessful siege against Skmm, despite the lack of details and the identification of the toponym as a region rather than a fortified settlement. Goedicke, A&L 7 (1998), 35; Bárt, Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs, 127-128.

1179 Baines, in Form und Mass, 59-61.

1180 A militaristic meaning to the term interprets it as ‘to withstand’ an attack or ‘to fall’ upon or ambush the Egyptians, both usages being uncommon in earlier military narratives. Delia writes that the return of the Egyptians might have been either an act of retreat, with the Egyptians falling prey to a surprise attack, or a military strategy, with the king luring the Asiatics to attack. R. D. Delia, A Study of the Reign of Senwosret III (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1980), 119; Baines, in Form und Mass, 51 [ee]; Goedicke, A&L 7 (1998), 35; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 47.

1181 Perhaps of his victim.
in this region as well as the often violent nature of Egyptian-Levantine relations during the Twelfth Dynasty. It is, therefore, of social and political significance that a ‘im descendant could reach the position of an ‘overseer of the expedition’ (CG 20650), signalling the acceptance of such individuals not only within Egyptian society and administration but also in the military.

An allusion to trade with the Northern Levant is supplied by EA 428 in which a ‘hall-keeper of (goods from) Kpny’ is listed. The title emphasises that relations with Byblos would have been on such frequent terms during the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty as to warrant the appointment of this individual. The toponym for Byblos also occurs in three instances as part of women’s names, signifying knowledge of and reverence for the ‘lady of Byblos’, Baalat-Gebel. Such reverence may have been influenced by commercial contacts with the port city as developed by the ‘hall-keeper of (goods from) Kpny’. His inclusion among a treasurers list of officials further highlights the association of trade with members of the elite. This association is also reflected in the archaeological evidence from Abydos.

4.5.1.2 Other

A few finds at Abydos denote contact with the Levantine culture. An example is a bronze anchor axe-head from Twelfth Dynasty Tomb 51(? (Figure 4.179). The weapon is a precursor to the EBIV to MBIIA fenestrated eye and duckbill shapes, with two open sockets and a knob in the centre. Parallels derive from such Northern Levantine sites as Ur (Middle to Late Akkadian Period), Tell Qarqur (EBIV) and Byblos (MBIIA), as well as

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1182 For a similar case, see Quirke, RdE 51 (2000), 229-230.
1183 Petrie notes that the axe was uncovered in Tomb 30b; however the plate labels the axe as part of Tomb 51’s assemblage. In another report, Sebelien places the artefact in Tomb 51. W. M. F. Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos (London, 1925), 6, pl. 5 [28]; J. Sebelien, ‘Early Copper and its Alloys’, Ancient Egypt (1924), 6-15.
1186 Gernez, L’armament en métal, 204; Woolley, Ur 2, pl. 224 [U. 9687]; Tubb, Iraq 44/1 (1982), 1-2.
a First Intermediate Period tomb at Helwan. Thirteen The axe-head may be an imported, perhaps prestige, item from the Northern Levant.

Tell el-Yahudiya ware was also uncovered in Second Intermediate Period tombs. These include a piriform jug from Tomb B13 with parallels from Tell el-Dab’a strata F-E/2, a biconical jug from Tomb D21 with similar ware from Tell el-Dab’a strata E/2-D/1 and a fragment of a vessel’s shoulder decorated with lotus petals from Tomb D11, dated to Dynasty 17 (Figure 4.180). The Tell el-Yahudiya ware can be stylistically dated to the late Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasties, indicating some relations between Abydos and the north.

Sealings of Dynasty 14 royals were also found in the necropolis. These include those of Sekhaenra, ‘the good god, Sekhaenra’, kmw w ‘son of Ra, given life’, ‘king’s eldest son, Ipeq’ and eight naming Maiba Sheshi.

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1188 The context does not provide a clear date for the axe, but based on the accompanying cartouche of Noferhotep, a terminus post quem of the Thirteenth Dynasty or MBIIA is suggested. A mould for casting anchor axes was also uncovered at Byblos. M. Dunand, Foulles de Byblos, vol. 1: 1926-1932 (Paris, 1939), 197, pl. 96 [3070]; vol. 2: 1933-1938 (Paris, 1954), 20, fig. 17.
1189 Z. Saad, Royal Excavations at Sakkarra and Helwan, Supplément aux ASAE 3 (Cairo, 1947), 173, pl. 88.
1190 Two further vessels were unearthed in Tombs D114 and E10, both of which included material of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The New Kingdom settlement additionally comprised Tell el-Yahudiya fragments. T. E. Peet and W. L. S. Loat, The Cemeteries of Abydos, vol. 3: 1912-1913 (London, 1913), pl. 12 [4]; J. Garstang, El-Arâbah: A Cemetery of the Middle Kingdom Survey of the Old Kingdom Temenos Graffiti from the Temple of Sety (London, 1901), 28-29, pl. 17; K. O. Eriksson, The Creative Independence of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 10 (Vienna, 2007), 172-173; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 556; Kaplan, Tell el Yahudiya Ware, 80-81, figs 13 [e], 87 [b], 133 [v].
1191 Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian Type L.3.1c. Peet, Abydos 2, 57-58, 68-69, pl. 13 [8]; Kaplan, Tell el Yahudiya Ware, fig. 33 [5b]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 152-169, figs 102, 104.
1192 Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian Type L.5.3a. D. Randall-Macver and A. C. Mace, El Amrah and Abydos 1899-1901 (London, 1902), 92, 98, pl. 54 [13]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 231, figs 162-164, 167.
1193 Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian Vessels with Naturalistic Designs. The excavation report does not include a full corpus of items uncovered in the tomb, restricting further analysis on the tomb’s suggested date. Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 200, 376-381; Kaplan, Tell el-Yahudiya Ware, fig. 126 [i].
1194 Ryholt also lists a scarab for Qareh, although this remains unpublished. Ryholt, Political Situation, 363-364.
1195 The published line drawing of the scarab does not warrant the precise identification of some glyphs, and so the transcription presented is a reconstruction. A. Mariette, Catalogue général des monuments d’Abydos découvertes pendant les fouilles de cette ville (Paris, 1880), 538 [1391]; P. E. Newberry, Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptienne du Musée du Caire N° 36001-37521 (London, 1907), 11 [36042], pl. 1 [36042]; Ryholt, Political Situation, 40-50, 359-360; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 58-59.
1196 Mariette, Monuments d’Abydos, 538 [1391]; Newberry, Antiquités Égyptienne, 11 [36040], pl. 1 [36040].
1197 G. Brunton, Qau and Badari, vol. 3 (London, 1930); Mariette, Monuments d’Abydos, 539 [1394]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 16-18 [127-169], pls 31 [16-45], 32 [1-10], 38 [33], 42A [21-22].
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

A Near Eastern adornment additionally has been found in Tomb 1008. A silver torque, was found around the neck of a young female along with other jewellery. No items from the grave signify the deceased’s foreign ancestry: she was buried in a supine, extended position in a tomb assigned to the Middle Kingdom. As with the torques at Mostagedda and the aforementioned axe, the Abydos torque may be a prestige item or status signifier.

Another artefact designating contact is an ivory sphinx from Shaft Tomb 477 (Figure 4.181). Identified as a portrayal of Senwosret I or Khay, the artefact features the forepart of a sphinx holding the head of an Egyptian between its paws. The sphinx’s head is crowned with a nemes headdress and a uraeus. Facial characteristics include large ears, almond-shaped eyes slanting in towards an aquiline, curved nose, and straight, thick lips. Such elements, especially the nose, have directed scholars to interpret the face as that of an Asiatic, despite the scanty comparative material. The context also does not allow for a concrete date: the shaft’s excavation is not fully published and accompanying objects from 477 as well as the two adjoining shafts, 476 and 478, have been assigned to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, with notes of secondary usage and disturbed contexts. From the context, it can be concluded that the shaft belonged to middle or high ranking individual(s). As for the artefact’s function, two peg-holes in the underside suggest that it was a fixture, perhaps for a box or a piece of furniture. With the available material, the identification of the sphinx as a representation of a Twelfth Dynasty king or Hyksos ruler cannot be verified. It is worthy of note that the shape of the nose and eyes is more akin to northeastern characteristics, but rather than classifying such features as those of an

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1199 Newberry, Antiquités Égyptiennes, 8 [36030], 9 [36031, 36033], 10 [36035], pl. 1 [36030-36031, 36033, 36035]; Mariette, Monuments d’Abydos, 536 [1382], 538 [1391]; Ryholt, Political Situation, 368.


1201 Frankfort, JEA 16/3 (1930), 219.

1202 See Chapter 4.5.8.


1204 The captive could also be Nubian. M. Marée, ‘Forepart of a Sphinx holding a Captive (Cat Number 97)’, in C. Ziegler (ed.), The Pharaohs (London, 2002), 426 [97].

1205 Garstang, JEA 14/1 (1928), 46-47.

1206 Bourriau refers to a Berlin statue of Senosret I with a similar headdress and facial features. While these elements are akin to those of the ivory sphinx, Bourriau correctly notes that the nose and the slant of the eyes are dissimilar. She then compares the nose to a personification of Lower Egypt represented with the king’s facial characteristics, as depicted on the base of Senosret I’s thrones. Yet, the figures do not provide close parallels to the slanting eyes and curved nose of the ivory sphinx. Bourriau, Pharaohs and Mortals, 136-138 with references.

1207 For example, the eyes of the wooden statuette from Dahshur and the Asiatics’ noses in Kahunhotep II’s tomb, Beni Hassan. Figures 4.74, 4.124-129; Booth, Role of Foreigners, 22.
Asiatic king, perhaps they can be viewed as an artistic fusion of Egyptian royal symbols and Asiatic elements. Subsequently, the hybrid representation may not necessarily depict a pharaoh’s own mixed ancestry. It could denote an artist’s attempt to portray the king with a more heterogeneous character, probably by or for multi-ethnic followers and not necessarily by the royal workshop. In view of the Asiatic population in Egypt, as well as their presence amongst varying levels of society as witnessed in the stelae, both cases are plausible but more likely in the late Twelfth Dynasty to Second Intermediate Period.

The available archaeological material at Abydos implies that contact with the Levant and the northern dynasties was meagre and mostly commercial in nature. The imported artefacts are largely related to middle to high ranking individuals, adding a possible prestige function for some foreign items. The Tell el-Yahudiyyah vessels as well as the scarabs signify the continuance of Second Intermediate Period contact with the north while the ivory sphinx indicates possible influences on Pharaonic art. Such reflections agree with the data gathered from the stelae, denoting that at least the middle to high echelons of the Egyptian population at Abydos were familiar with some aspects of Levantine culture.

The Abydos texts as well as the archaeological material illustrate a slight increase in the number of Asiatics during Dynasty 13 and the early Second Intermediate Period, perhaps resulting in ‘hybrid’ artistic fusions reaching Abydos. Abydos was certainly accessible to Asiatics, a few of whom placed their own stelae at the site following popular Egyptian traditions. They were employed within the administration, holding titles involved with private households as well as the local administration and workforce. Some may have also resided in Egypt, adopting particular aspects of the Egyptian culture and intermingling with the local population without abandoning their own ancestry. Egyptians accepted their foreign lineage and did not represent them in a derogatory way. Despite records of conflict over the borders, the situation within Egypt marks mutual work and familial relations. Descendants of Asiatics were recognised for their contributions and were most probably encountered on a daily basis, in typical situations and, at the very least, by middle to high ranking individuals within Egypt as far south as Abydos. The elite apparently also controlled trade with the north, particularly the Northern Levant, during Dynasty 13. Therefore, the Abydene evidence conveys considerable data on the rising status and recognition of the Asiatic population, noting that, in the time preceding the rise of the Hyksos, Abydos was more than familiar with Asiatic descendents, it was also visited by them.
4.5.2 Aswan

Lat.Lon. 24°05′N 32°54′E

Refs PM 7, 221-224; De Morgan et al., Catalogue, 38 [166], 48 [7].

Chron. Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty

North of the First Cataract is Aswan, the First Upper Egyptian nome. Its granite quarries reveal a large concentration of graffiti, signalling heavy exploitation throughout Pharaonic history. Many are dated to Dynasty 12, the texts written by either quarrymen, expedition members or passers-by to regions further south. Two graffiti reference Asiatics. Their translation is provided in Volume II: Translation 6.

Hieratic Graffiti A was composed by Sobekwer and invokes an offering to local Egyptian gods. Sobekwer’s title is ambiguous and he is represented as a standing individual with no delineating features (Figure 4.182A). The graffiti lists Sobekwer’s household members, recording the children of his mother, I-ti, ‘lady of the house’, born to im.t. I-ti appears in another unprovenanced stela, Musée Guimet C 12, along with her daughter and son Imeny, who similarly feature in Graffiti A (Figure 4.182b). The stela has been assigned to early Dynasty 13 and so Sobekwer’s text may also date to this period.

Middle Kingdom Graffiti B belongs to the ‘major-domo’ Iuseneb who lists the ‘im.t’ Iuseneb as a household member (Figure 4.183). As she is the only individual with no apparent familial relation, she may have been Iuseneb’s wife or concubine.

The graffiti demonstrate the social mingling between Egyptians and Levantines. The Asiatic women had relations with Egyptians and, as Graffiti A signifies, their children were raised as Egyptians and employed within the administration. Furthermore, the texts denote that Asiatics were travelling to the very south of Egypt during early Dynasty 13, choosing to record their visits and foreign ancestry in the Egyptian manner, while showing reverence to Egyptian gods by using the hieratic script.

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1208 J. de Morgan et al., Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l’Égypte antique, vol. 1: De la frontière de Nubie a Kom Ombo (Vienna, 1894); R. Engelbach, The Problem of the Obelisks, From a Study of the Unfinished Obelisk at Aswan (London, 1923); R. Klemm and D. Klemm, Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt (London, 2008); Peden, Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt, 37-39.

1209 Peden, Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt, 37-39.

1210 Letter ascribed by author. Morgan et al., Catalogue, 38 [166].

1211 Her daughter is given the title ‘lady of the house’ in the stela. Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 67.

1212 Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 24, 67.

1213 Letter ascribed by author. Morgan et al., Catalogue, 48 [7].
4.5.3 Dra’ Abu el-Naga’

Lat.Lon. 25°44’N 32°27’E

Refs Mariette, Papyrus Bulaq; Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), 51-68.

Chron. Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty – Reign of Sobekhotep II or Khendjer

The necropolis of Dra’ Abu el-Naga’ is located on the west bank at Thebes in the Fourth Upper Egyptian nome. A tomb uncovered during Mariette’s excavation in 1860 revealed two documents known as Papyrus Bulaq 18 on the tomb’s floor.\(^{1214}\) (1) a larger manuscript, termed henceforth as Papyrus Bulaq 18/1; and (2) a smaller manuscript, Papyrus Bulaq 18/2.\(^{1215}\) The tomb is thought to have belonged to a ‘scribe of the main enclosure, Noferhotep’, whose name and title appear on several grave goods.\(^{1216}\) An individual with the same name and title is mentioned in Papyrus Bulaq 18/2, providing a possible link between the tomb owner and the papyri.\(^{1217}\) The documents may have been included in the burial assemblage as a confirmation of the tomb owner’s scribal practice for the afterlife.\(^{1218}\)

The manuscripts were written by at least two different individuals, perhaps Noferhotep and another recording Noferhotep’s scribal activities.\(^{1219}\) Both comprise the names of a king Sobekhotep as well as a vizier Ankhu, who is otherwise attested under Khendjer’s rule, thereby dating the papyri to the first half of Dynasty 13.\(^{1220}\) Papyrus Bulaq 18/1 refers to a regnal Year 3 while Papyrus Bulaq 18/2 mentions Year 5.\(^{1221}\) The named king has been identified as either Sobekhotep II\(^{1222}\) or Sobekhotep III,\(^{1223}\) but arguments noting the differences between the family of the latter and the royal family in Papyrus Bulaq 18/1

\(^{1214}\) Cairo 6139. The papyri were seemingly found next to a rishi coffin, the existence of which has been questioned. A. Mariette, Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Bulaq, vol. 2 (Paris, 1872); G. Miniaci and S. Quirke, ‘Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the Tomb of Noferhotep: A Mid 13th Dynasty Rishi Coffin (?)’, Egitto e Vicino Oriente 31 (2008), 13, 18-20, 24; G. Miniaci and S. Quirke, ‘Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom. The Burial of the Accountant of the Main Enclosure Noferhotep at Dra Abu al-Naga’, BIFA 209 (2009), 341. For references discussing the papyri, see A. J. Spalinger, ‘Notes on the Day Summary of P. Bulaq 18 and the Intradepartmental Transfers’, SAK 12 (1985), 179, n. 1.

\(^{1215}\) Neither is fully published.

\(^{1216}\) Quirke, Administration, 10.

\(^{1217}\) Quirke, Administration, 10-12.

\(^{1218}\) Quirke, Administration, 11.

\(^{1219}\) Quirke, Administration, 10-12.

\(^{1220}\) Quirke, Administration, 11-12.

\(^{1221}\) Quirke, Administration, 12-13.


suggest that this manuscript concerns events during Sobekhotep II’s Year 3. Accordingly, the reference to Year 5 of Papyrus Boulaq 18/2 should be allocated to either Sobekhotep II or his successor, Khendjer. This late Middle Kingdom period agrees with a recent re-dating of the tomb’s assemblage, providing support for the papyri’s composition during Dynasty 13.

Papyrus Boulaq 18/1 relays the daily accounts associated with the king’s visit to the Theban Residence. It contains lists of royal individuals and officials, references to offerings for Montu at Medamud, a report on the visit of a Medjay delegation and subsequent feasts at the palace. Attestations to Asiatics are found among a list of 62 officials invited to such a feast in the with y-hall for the Festival of Montu. The Asiatics are: The Asiatics are: "the elder of the portal; and s.t.m. ‘police official’... Nehy’s son, ‘im.t’.

Papyrus Boulaq 18/2 records the accounts of an estate. The accounts are related to a high ranking official, possibly the vizier Ankhua who frequently appears in the document.

One entry reads: "Arrival of the herdsman of hounds(?), Senbenef and the coming from the north with the chief scribe to the vizier Resseneb. He has brought with this nobleman from the north: the head of (?) the ‘im.t numbering 1[8].’ Fragments following the entry feature at least two Asiatic women...

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1224 Von Beckerath, JNES 17/4 (1958), 268; Quirke, Administration, 12.
1225 Quirke, Administration, 13.
1226 Miniaci and Quirke, BIFAO 209 (2009), 357.
1227 Ina Scharff, ‘Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie’, ZÄS 57 (1922), 51-68, pls 1**-24**; Quirke, Administration, 17-24.
1228 Columns XXXVII-XXXIX. Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), pls 18**-19**; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 35-36.
1229 Transcriptions are based on Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), pls 18**-19**. Transliterations and translations are by author.
1230 Quirke, Administration, 87-89; Ward, Index, 152 [1309].
1231 Ward, Index, 54 [431].
1232 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 207 [15].
1233 An im.y-w.t Nhy is attested in two further instances in Papyrus Boulag 18/1 and can perhaps be associated with this ‘im.t. See Papyrus Boulag 18/1, XLV11,11 and XLVI,2 as transcribed in Scharff, ZÄS 57 (1922), pl. 23**.
1234 Mariette, Boulag, pls 47-55; Quirke, Administration, 196-197.
1235 Quirke, Administration, 196.
1236 Column 2, 11.14-7. Transcription is based on Quirke, Administration, 197 and Mariette, Boulag, pl. 49. Transliterations and translations are by author.
supplying *bık.w*,\(^{1237}\) one by the name of Iunofer offering *dübw* ‘figs’\(^{1238}\) and the other of uncertain name bringing *šbw* ‘kneading dough’.\(^{1239}\)

The two documents refer to the employment of Asiatics by the elite. Papyrus Boulaq 18/1 provides evidence for two Asiatic men working in security and advisory roles within the inner palace of the king’s Theban residence while Papyrus Boulaq 18/2 cites the delivery of products by Asiatic women from the north. Both confirm the presence of Asiatics within Thebes during the first half of Dynasty 13, demonstrating that such individuals were acquainted with high ranking officials of the administration.

### 4.5.4 Edfu, Tell

**Lat. Lon.**  24°57’N 32°50’E

**Refs**  

**Chron.**  
Twelfth to Fifteenth / Seventeenth Dynasty

A main settlement in the Second Upper Egyptian nome, Tell Edfu preserves layers dating across the Pharaonic period. Excavations by the Institut Français d’archéologie Orientale, Cairo, have revealed extensive remains of a Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period settlement and cemetery near the remaining Ptolemaic Temple of Horus (Figure 4.184).\(^{1240}\) A large administrative complex was also found to contain significant evidence on relations between Upper and Lower Egypt. As the excavations are ongoing, publications are preliminary but pertinent data can already be extracted from preliminary reports.

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\(^{1237}\) Columns 2, 1.6. Mariette, *Boulaq*, pl. 55[b]; Quirke, *Administration*, 197.

\(^{1238}\) Column 2, 1.6. Mariette, *Boulaq*, pl. 55[b]; Quirke, *Administration*, 202, n. 27.

\(^{1239}\) Quirke cautiously reads the name as either Rehut or Tjehut. Column 3, 1.2. Mariette, *Boulaq*, pl. 55[a]; Quirke, *Administration*, 202, n. 27.

4.5.4.1 Stela

The southwestern end of Tell Edfu features the tomb of Sixth Dynasty nomarch Isi (Figure 4.184).\textsuperscript{1241} Reused in the Middle Kingdom, the tomb may have been the centre of a local cult dedicated to the official.\textsuperscript{1242} Stelae uncovered within the tomb and cemetery mention Isi in their offering formulae, indicating that the nomarch was possibly attributed with divine status.\textsuperscript{1243} One stela unearthed in his mastaba, in a niche of Room J’s south wall, features \textsuperscript{1244} \( P^3 \cdot \text{sm} \) (Figure 4.185).\textsuperscript{1245} The stela is dedicated by \( w^b \)-priest Ptahhotep and has been stylistically dated to the late Thirteenth or ‘Sixteenth’ Dynasty.\textsuperscript{1246} \( P^3 \cdot \text{sm} \)’s name is curiously written on the right hand side of the bottom register and could belong to the figure pictured above. The individual is portrayed as an Egyptian offering a vessel to a seated Ptahhotep and his wife. Conversely, the label may have been intended for a figure in the space between the label and Ptahhotep’s son in the bottom register. The name \( P^3 \cdot \text{sm} \) is found in Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446\textsuperscript{1247} as well as Lahun’s UC 32124,\textsuperscript{1248} both of the late Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{1249} Therefore, the inclusion of \( P^3 \cdot \text{sm} \) on the stela suggests that an individual of Asiatic descent was in close contact with, and possibly working for, a \( w^b \)-priest in Tell Edfu during the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

4.5.4.2 Administrative complex

An administrative complex was recently uncovered along the eastern side of Tell Edfu’s Old Kingdom enclosure wall (Figure 4.184).\textsuperscript{1250} Thus far, the compound consists of two large columned halls with stratigraphical sequences assigned from the Twelfth Dynasty to the early Second Intermediate Period (Figures 4.186-188). The halls were subsequently

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1241} R. Ibrahim, ‘Rapport sur un mastaba découvert à Edfu en 1932-1933’, ASAE 33 (1933), 132-134.
\item \textsuperscript{1242} Grajetzki, Middle Kingdom, 88.
\item \textsuperscript{1243} Grajetzki, Middle Kingdom, 88; PM 5, 201-202.
\item \textsuperscript{1244} The \( \square \) could be a \( \square \) for \( P^3 \cdot \text{sm} \) however this name is not attested elsewhere. Other strange features of the stela, such as a reversed \( f \) in the offering formula or the placement of an offering stand atop a mat rather than the reverse, support a misrendering of signs. M. Marée, ‘Edfu under the Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The Monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw’, British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 12 (2009), 51.
\item \textsuperscript{1245} Warsaw 141.266. Marée, British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 12 (2009), 51, fig. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{1246} Marée, British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 12 (2009), 51.
\item \textsuperscript{1247} Verso, 58. See Chapter 4.6.3 and Translation 8: Hayes, Papyrus, pl. 11.
\item \textsuperscript{1248} Line ii.B. See Chapter 4.3.5.2, Translation 2 and Table 12; Collier and Quirke, Letters, 58-59.
\item \textsuperscript{1249} Another instance is found on a fragment of an unprovenanced stela. I. E. S. Edwards, ‘Lord Dufferin’s Excavations at Deir El-Bahri and the Clandeboye Collection’, JEA 51 (1965), 27 [6], pl. 12 [1]; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 13. See also Ranke, Personennamen 1, 102 [21] for a New Kingdom attestation.
\item \textsuperscript{1250} Moeller and Marouard, A&L 11 (2011), 87-121; Moeller, NEA 75/2 (2012), 116-125.
\end{itemize}
abandoned and dismantled, after which large silos were constructed during Dynasty 17.\textsuperscript{1251} 

The southern columned hall seems to have been abandoned before the northern columned hall, which continued in activity until the second half of Dynasty 13.\textsuperscript{1252} Finds displaying contact with the north are explored below.

**Characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics**

An accumulation of discarded objects along the sides of the southern columned hall’s final occupation layer (US 2079 and 2280) featured two fragmentary vessels of Levantine Painted Ware.\textsuperscript{1253} One is a bi-chrome long-necked jug with a black criss-cross design and bands of red and black, similar to a jug from MBIIA Tomb 235 at Tell Nami.\textsuperscript{1254} The second is a dipper juglet with horizontal red band zones, parallels for which can be found at such MBIIA sites as Aphek, Megadim and Khargi.\textsuperscript{1255} A foundation trench of a silo (405) dug into late Middle Kingdom levels revealed further fragments of a vessel decorated with a red spiral motif.\textsuperscript{1256} Bagh suggests it could belong to a long-necked jug such as that from MBIIA Megadim, or a handless jar similar to a vessel from MBIIA Majdalouna.\textsuperscript{1257} The stylistic details as well as the vessels’ find-spots support Moeller’s dating of the Levantine Painted Ware to the late Twelfth or beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{1258}

Reports mention the discovery of ceramics with Levantine fabrics as well as Nubian Pan-Grave bowls and cooking pots from the southern columned hall’s late Middle Kingdom layers.\textsuperscript{1259} Personal communication with Natasha Ayers confirms the rarity of imports from the Levant and the north, which are only represented by Levantine Painted Ware and northern Marl C zirs.\textsuperscript{1260}


\textsuperscript{1254} Bagh, *TeD* 23, 64, fig. 51 [d]; Moeller, *The Oriental Institute News and Notes* 206 (2010), 7, fig. 12.

\textsuperscript{1255} Bagh, *TeD* 23, 28, 64, figs 2 [c], 37 [e, g], 52 [h], 74 [g]; Saidah, *Berytus* 41 (1993/4), pl. 11 [2].


\textsuperscript{1257} Bagh, *TeD* 23, 64.

\textsuperscript{1258} Bagh, *TeD* 23, 64, n. 201.


\textsuperscript{1260} Personal communication with Natasha Ayers, whom I gratefully thank for her comments regarding the unpublished pottery at Edfu.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

Scarab seal impressions

Over 1,400 seal impressions have been uncovered in the columned halls, some of which bear non-Egyptian designs.\textsuperscript{1261} A common motif decorating 123 impressions is that of a standing male figure carrying a lotus flower (Figure 4.186).\textsuperscript{1262} While the figure wears an Egyptian loincloth and is represented in a typical Egyptian stance, the crossed bands on the chest and the palaeography of hieroglyphs before him resemble Levantine elements akin to those on scarabs from, for example, Tell el-\textsuperscript{`}Ajjul.\textsuperscript{1263} Some have suggested that the scarab used for the sealings was made in the Southern Levant,\textsuperscript{1264} although it is similarly possible that it was manufactured in an Egyptian workshop influenced by Levantine art forms, like that of Tell el-Dab\'a. Moeller suggests that the individual using this scarab could have been linked to such a workshop.\textsuperscript{1265} He could be identified as an official from the workshop’s centre, travelling to Edfu where the seal was used.\textsuperscript{1266} Another possibility is that he could have sealed the items at the workshop, and then the products were sent to Edfu.\textsuperscript{1267} A further scenario is that the items were sealed at Edfu after the scarab was received as a traded item or gift.\textsuperscript{1268} The first two propositions are favoured based on the context of the seal impressions as described below.

The majority of seal impressions portraying the standing figure (82 instances) were unearthed in the northern columned hall’s abandonment layer (US 2654) in a dense deposit along the western side of the room (Figure 4.186).\textsuperscript{1269} Their back-types show impressions of round pegs, wooden material, baskets and fabric, indicating that the original scarab sealed a variety of commodities.\textsuperscript{1270} The same deposit included 40 royal-name seal impressions of Khay\textsuperscript{}an.\textsuperscript{1271} The back-types denote that the seals were likewise impressed onto wooden items, round pegs and fabric.\textsuperscript{1272} Because the two types of seals are both numerous and in the same context, it is highly likely that they were created and deposited within a relatively short period

\textsuperscript{1261} Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 118.
\textsuperscript{1262} Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 121-123, fig. 14; Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A&L} 11 (2011), 103, 110, fig. 12 [3: 2654.s.1].
\textsuperscript{1263} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 10A. Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A&L} 11 (2011), 110; Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 121; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 148; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{IEJ} 47/3 (1997), 181, fig. 10.
\textsuperscript{1264} Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A&L} 11 (2011), 103, 110; Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 121.
\textsuperscript{1265} Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 122.
\textsuperscript{1266} Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 122.
\textsuperscript{1267} Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 122.
\textsuperscript{1268} Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 122.
\textsuperscript{1269} Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 121; Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A&L} 11 (2011), 103, 110, fig. 7.
\textsuperscript{1270} Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A&L} 11 (2011), 103; Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 122, chart 3.
\textsuperscript{1271} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 7B3. Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A&L} 11 (2011), 100, 109-110, figs 7, 11 [1: 2654.s.18, 19, 35, 45, 75; 1: 2590.s.1, 3]; Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 121; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 92, 106, pl. 43 [5, 8].
\textsuperscript{1272} Moeller, \textit{NEA 75 /2} (2012), 123, chart 4.
of time. Thus, it has been postulated that deposit US 2654 comprised of the refuse from a delivery of products imported from the Fifteenth Dynasty administration.\textsuperscript{1273}

The published evidence makes a strong case for assigning the northern hall’s abandonment layer to the early Second Intermediate Period.\textsuperscript{1274} The Egyptian ceramic corpus shows affinities to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty and early Second Intermediate Period forms.\textsuperscript{1275} Moreover, context US 2654 and US 2591 yielded sealings of Sobekhotep IV along with the impressions of Khayan and the standing figure (Figure 4.186).\textsuperscript{1276} The discovery suggests that the reigns of Sobekhotep IV and Khayan were close to one another,\textsuperscript{1277} consequently placing Khayan in the first half of Dynasty 15. Hence, the scarab seal impressions provide evidence of direct contact, most likely related to trade and diplomacy, between the early Fifteenth Dynasty and the Second Upper Egyptian nome.\textsuperscript{1278}

4.5.4.3 Other

Fragments of Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware have been uncovered at Tell Edfu. Their precise context is uncertain, but their presence is worthy of mention in view of the postulated trade connections with Lower Egypt. The fragments include those of a piriform jug (Figure 4.189) with three zones decorated with triangles (top and lower) and rectangles (middle)\textsuperscript{1279} similar to one from Buhen\textsuperscript{1280} and a MBIIA tomb at Tell el-‘Ajjul.\textsuperscript{1281} A wheel-

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\textsuperscript{1273} Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A\&L} 11 (2011), 103; Moeller, \textit{NEA} 75 /2 (2012), 123.

\textsuperscript{1274} Moeller, \textit{NEA} 75 /2 (2012), 93-106.

\textsuperscript{1275} Moeller, \textit{NEA} 75 /2 (2012), 99; Ayers, in Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A\&L} 11 (2011), 115-117, fig. 16.

\textsuperscript{1276} Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A\&L} 11 (2011), passim.

\textsuperscript{1277} The excavators note that the two rulers may be contemporaneous. D. Ben-Tor writes that scarabs bearing cartouches of Thirteenth Dynasty kings are in most cases of contemporary date. Yet, she provides a footnote remarking on New Kingdom posthumous examples of Sobekhotep IV’s seals. The king’s seal impressions at Edfu, or the commodities to which they were attached, may have also been circulated for some time following his reign. As such, while the context points to the late Thirteenth Dynasty, it does not necessarily correlate Sobekhotep IV’s reign with that of Khayan. The context does, however, suggest that Khayan’s reign should be placed in the early Fifteenth Dynasty to coincide with the ceramic evidence of the northern hall’s abandonment layer. See Chapter 2.3; Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A\&L} 11 (2011), 107; R. M. Porter, ‘The Second Intermediate Period according to Edfu’, \textit{GM} 239 (2013), 75-80; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 38-39, n. 127; Forstner-Müller and Rose, in \textit{Nubian Pottery from Egyptian Cultural Contexts}, 184.

\textsuperscript{1278} Moeller and Marouard further theorise that the sealings could represent cultic relations, perhaps donations to the Temple of Horus at Tell Edfu. Moeller and Marouard, \textit{A\&L} 11 (2011), 106-107.

\textsuperscript{1279} Unpublished vessel from the Cairo Museum (JE 46743). Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian II Type I.2.1a. Mirrellies, \textit{Trade and Transcendence}, 67; Kaplan, \textit{Tell el-Yahudiyyeh Ware}, fig. 25 [b]; Aston and Bietak, \textit{TeD} 8, 33, 144, figs 87, 99.

\textsuperscript{1280} Aston and Bietak, \textit{TeD} 8, 144, fig. 87.

\textsuperscript{1281} Tomb 303b. Aston and Bietak, \textit{TeD} 8, 144; Petrie, \textit{Ancient Gaza} 3, 7, pl. 38 [60MS]; Kaplan, \textit{Tell el-Yahudiyyeh Ware}, fig. 77 [b].
made globular vessel\textsuperscript{1282} (Figure 4.189) with parallels from Tell el-Yahudiyyah\textsuperscript{1283} was also found, its shape and decoration pointing to the Fifteenth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{1284}

The findings shed light on relations between Upper Egypt and the north. While northern commodities reached the site during the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty, individuals of Asiatic descent, such as \textit{Ps-\textit{\textit{Sin}}}, may have been residing in the region from the late Thirteenth Dynasty. This period, or shortly thereafter, witnessed the import of products from the early Hyksos regime. Therefore, the evidence implies consistent peaceful and commercial relations between Tell Edfu’s officials and a Levantine-(influenced) culture from the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty to the early Fifteenth Dynasty.

\textbf{4.5.5 Hol, Wadi el-}

\textit{Lat.Lon.} 25°53’N 32°28’E

\textit{Ref.} Darnell et al., \textit{AASOR} 59 (2005), 64-124.\textsuperscript{1285}

\textit{Chron.} Late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty

Approximately halfway on a path cutting through the Qena Bend and along a route connecting Thebes with Hou, Abydos and the Western Desert oases, is Wadi el-Hol (Figure 4.190).\textsuperscript{1286} The strategic route was accessed by military personnel, trading caravans and other individuals as evident by the graffiti left behind from the Predynastic to early Islamic periods.\textsuperscript{1287} Most texts date between the Middle to early New Kingdom, with many assigned to the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasties.\textsuperscript{1288} Four of these inscriptions are connected to a Levantine culture, two of which are Egyptian texts and two are linear scripts of a Northwest Semitic language.

\textsuperscript{1282} Stockholm MM 979. Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian IX L.9.5a. Kaplan, \textit{Tell el-Yahudiyyeh Ware}, fig. 17 [e]; Aston and Bietak, \textit{TeD} 8, 257, figs 187, 189.
\textsuperscript{1283} Figures 4.56 [4], 4.58 [8].
\textsuperscript{1284} Aston and Bietak, \textit{TeD} 8, 254-257, 552.
\textsuperscript{1287} Darnell et al., \textit{AASOR} 59 (2005), 74.
\textsuperscript{1288} Darnell et al., \textit{AASOR} 59 (2005), 74.
4.5.5.1 *Egyptian texts*

The hieratic inscriptions date palaeographically and onomastically to the late Twelfth Dynasty.1289 The first (A)1290 is written within an incised border or, as epigraphers suggest, a ship’s sail and mast (Figure 4.191).1291 Based on associated texts with repeated names and titles, the inscription may be approximately dated to Amenemhat III’s reign.1292 It reads:  

\[ \text{im.y-r}: m\text{š} n(y) \text{ `overseer of the expedition of `im.w, Bebi'}. \]

1293 The title is otherwise attested in Lahun’s P Berlin 10004, also dated to Amenemhat III’s reign.1295 While the determinative in P Berlin 10004 was transcribed with only a seated male figure,1296 the determinative here has both male and female figures, leading scholars to infer that the expedition included soldiers and their families.1297 There is some evidence of women partaking in missions,1298 so the presence of this determinative may not necessarily relate only to the `im men’s wives. Inscription A does indicate that Bebi was responsible for a host of foreigners, insinuating a bureau specifically for the organisation of `im men and women. Related officials in the inscription, such as a ‘royal messenger’ and ‘courier’, suggest that the expedition was probably arranged by the Residence for relaying communiqués. Thus, Inscription A indicates the passage through Wadi el-Hol of a specialised group of Asiatics under the auspices of the king, most possibly Amenemhat III.

The second inscription (B) is positioned near the first and so could also be assigned to the same period.1299 It reads:  

\[ \text{Msy msi n Nb.t-Kpn 'Mesy, born to Nebet-Kpn' (Figure 4.192).} \]

1300 The Egyptian name referring to Baalat-Gebel, the Byblite goddess related to Hathor, signifies an awareness of the Northern Levantine city and its pantheon.1302

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1289 Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 89.
1290 The complete publication of the inscriptions is in preparation. As such, the letters allocated to the inscriptions here are not as classified by epigraphers.
1291 Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 89.
1292 Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 89, 102-106, figs 23-27.
1293 Ward, *Index*, 29 [206].
1294 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 95 [16]; Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 88-89, fig. 21.
1295 See Chapter 4.3.5.2, Translation 2 and Table 12. Kaplony-Heckel, *Handschriften* 1, 3 [4].
1296 See Chapter 4.3.5.2, n. 154; Kaplony-Heckel, *Handschriften* 1, 3 [4].
1297 Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 88.
1298 Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), n. 7; Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey* 1, 119 [9].
1299 Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 89.
1300 For a similar name, see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 164 [18].
1301 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 189 [17]; Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 88-89, fig. 22.
1302 See Chapter 4.3.5.2, Translation 2 and Table 12 for UC 32196, a papyrus of Amenemhat IV’s reign in which the Lady of *Kpny* is mentioned. See also n. 1169.
4.5.5.2 Proto-Alphabetic texts

Two Proto-Alphabetic inscriptions are located in an area closest to the main route (Section C).\textsuperscript{1303} Inscribed on rock surfaces of good quality, in prominent locations and surrounded by Egyptian texts dating from the Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period, the Proto-Alphabetic writings could generally be assigned to the MBIIA.\textsuperscript{1304} They are written from right-to-left utilising signs derived from lapidary hieratic and hieroglyphic traditions (Figure 4.193)\textsuperscript{1305} with one of the inscriptions additionally bearing an adjoined ‘\( \text{nh} \)' symbol (Figure 4.194). The horizontal inscription includes 16 letters (\( r b \ h(?) \) \( n m n h n p m h(?) \) \( a s(?) \) \( m h r \) ) and the vertical inscription has 12 (\( m t t r h(?) \) \( c w t p t(?) \) \( a l \) ).\textsuperscript{1306} Some speculative attempts have been made to decipher the texts,\textsuperscript{1307} but only two words, Semitic \( \text{rb} \) ‘chief’ at the beginning of the horizontal inscription and the name of Levantine deity \( \text{al} \) ‘El’ at the end of the vertical inscription, have been accepted.\textsuperscript{1308} On palaeographic and orthographic grounds, scholars have suggested a reliance on early Middle Kingdom prototypes and thus view the texts as two of the earliest recorded linear Semitic writings.\textsuperscript{1309} Others interpret them as evidence for the reproduction of the Proto-Alphabetic script developed by illiterates in the Sinai.\textsuperscript{1310}

The evidence does not allow for the inscriptions’ precise dating, but it indicates that the writers were (a) Northwest Semitic; (b) knowledgeable in hieroglyphic and hieratic traditions; (c) knowledgeable in Egyptian religious symbols (i.e. the ‘\( \text{nh} \)' sign); (d) inscribing in an area heavily frequented by couriers and military personnel during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period; and (f) inscribing in an area frequented by specialised Asiatics during late Dynasty 12. The Proto-Alphabetic inscriptions denote that literate Levantines, well-acquainted with the Egyptian language and religion, chose to mimic the Egyptians by leaving behind their own informal writings. They were not uneducated but, so far as the evidence suggests, were possibly specialists voyaging through a well-travelled route well within Egyptian territory.

\textsuperscript{1303} Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 75.
\textsuperscript{1305} Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 75-85.
\textsuperscript{1306} Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 75-85.
\textsuperscript{1308} Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 85-86.
\textsuperscript{1309} Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 86-91; Hamilton, Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet, 295-296.
\textsuperscript{1310} Goldwasser contends that the inscriptions were by illiterates with little to no access to a “papyri hieratic”. Goldwasser, A&L 16 (2006), 146-147, 150-151. See Chapter 5.2.4.2.
4.5.6 Karnak

Lat. Lon. 25°43'N 32°40'E


Chron. Mid-Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasty

Specific data relating to Asiatics or the Hyksos from the period under examination is absent from Karnak, a temple precinct and Middle Kingdom settlement of the Fourth Upper Egyptian nome. Only circumstantial evidence, such as conflagration layers dating before the beginning of Dynasty 18 and statements referring to problematic foreigners or an impoverished city, hint at possible conflict. A stela of Sobekhotep IV uncovered in the Hypostyle Hall at the Karnak Temple conveys the king’s dedication to Amun and Thebes. It also includes a reference to imports:

[transcription and translation by author]


1313 Transcription as in Helck, MDAIK 24 (1969), pl. 1. Transliteration and translation are by author.
The passage notes the import of Û-s-wood from Ḫnty-Û. The product is prized for its nfr ‘good’ and mỉ ‘true’ qualities. It additionally implies the pharaoh’s access to the imported item and the continuance of Thirteenth Dynasty trade relations with the Northern Levant.

The settlement to the east of the Temple of Amun’s sacred lake additionally yielded Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware. Two fragments of piriform vessels have been published: L.S.868 with two or three zones of decoration (Figure 4.195 [1]) and closest parallels deriving from Tell el-Dab’a strata F-E/2 and Kumba, Sudan; and L.S.939 with three zones of decoration that are also similar to the vessel from Kumba (Figure 4.195 [2]). Aston and Bietak stylistically classify these types of vessels as MBIIA or early MBIIIB wares imported into Egypt between the mid-Thirteenth and early Fifteenth Dynasties.

The stela and Tell el-Yahudiyyah vessels indicate the import of Levantine commodities for sacred and residential use. While Northern Levantine cedar was employed in temple architecture, the settlement’s Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware signifies the influence of Levantine products on daily life. It is therefore possible to deduce some commercial relations between Karnak and the Levant during the mid-Thirteenth and early Fifteenth Dynasties.

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1314 As also in the Mit Rahina inscription. See Chapter 4.3.7 and Translation 3.
1315 They were originally identified as and with Pan-Grave pottery fragments. J. Lauffray, Karnak d’Egypte. Domaine du divin. Dix ans de recherché archéologiques et de travaux de maintenance en cooperation avec l’Égypte (Paris, 1979), 205.
1318 Aston and Bietak’s Levanto-Egyptian III Type I.2.2f and I.2.2g. Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 152, figs 94-96; Kaplan, Tell el-Yahudiyyeh, figs 26 [a], 27 [b].
1319 Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 553, figs 252-253.

188
4.5.7 Medamud, Nag’ el-

Lat. Lon. 25°44’N 32°42’E

Refs PM 5, 145; Bisson de la Roque, Médamoud 1, 67, fig. 37.

Chron. Mid-Twelfth Dynasty

 Approximately five km north of Karnak is the Temple of Montu at Medamud. The temple was extensively rebuilt by Senwosret III with further renovations added by Thirteenth Dynasty kings. A broken slab dating to Senwosret III’s reign records

\[\text{bs.t St.t ini.w=sn} \text{ rgh(b.w)} [r] \text{'h nsw.t bi.ty If-[k:i.w]-R'w}\]

‘[...] the foreign land of St.t, their products are presented [to] the palace of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kha[kau]ra (Senwosret III)’ (Figure 4.196). The text may refer to a diplomatic visit by Asiatics from St.t, where the imported products are distributed to temples throughout Egypt. Due to the fragmentary nature of the inscription, only relations between Senwosret III’s administration and Asiatics from St.t may be deduced.

Another fragment, perhaps of a gateway, is assigned between the reigns of Senwosret III and Sobekemsaf, and is decorated with bound and kneeling figures, four of which are preserved (Figure 4.197). An accompanying block portraying the king’s legs in a smiting stance is depicted with a captive before his feet, so the bound captives are likely facing this aggressive king. The remaining fragments do not preserve facial details to identify the captives; however, hieroglyphs in between the figures read

\[\text{ptpt Twn.twy} [\ldots] \text{hr.t Ks} \text{hsi.t ‘trampling the Twn.twy} [\ldots], defeating the miserable Ks’]. The fragments denote the portrayal of foreigners as subjugated enemies. Their inclusion in the temple increases the scene’s topos as an attempt to show the king as a strong protector and controller of foreign lands and people.

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1320 PM 5, 145.
1321 M. Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1926), vol. 1 (Cairo, 1927), 67, fig. 27; Delia, Senwosret III, 121.
1322 Perhaps similar to that which is mentioned in the Mit Rahina text. See Chapter 4.3.7 and Translation 3.
1323 M. Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1929), vol. 1 (Cairo, 1930), 96-97, fig. 87, pl. 10.
4.5.8 Mostagedda

Lat. Lon. 27°05’N 31°23’E

Refs PM 5, 6; Brunton, Mostagedda.

Chron. Fifteenth Dynasty

Mostagedda is located around 10 km south of Asyut on the east bank of the Nile, opposite Deir Rifeh. Excavated and published by the British Museum Expedition, two main types of burials were unearthed: those adhering to Egyptian traditions; and those with elements assigned to the Pan-Grave culture. Based on the latter’s degree of ‘Egyptianisation’ as well as the Egyptian ceramic corpus, Bourriau identifies two archaeological phases before the Eighteenth Dynasty, both displaying increasingly close ceramic links with Upper Egypt. Williams further refines the chronology by dividing it into four phases from the beginning of the Fifteenth to the early Eighteenth Dynasty. The material culture from the earliest phase varies from that of nearby Deir Rifeh, leading Bourriau to suggest that Mostagedda dates slightly later than Deir Rifeh, although the differences could also be related to status. Very few finds from Mostagedda attest to contact with a Levantine culture. However, because of the site’s theorised strategic importance, they are listed here:

- Tell el-Yahudiya vessel (Figure 4.198): One cylindrical jug uncovered in Tomb 3146 with parallels from Tell el-Dab’a stratum E/1. The tomb was assigned to Williams’s Group B (early-to-mid Hyksos Age 2), despite its rectangular shape;

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1324 See Chapter 4.4.5.
1326 For example, oval and circular burial pits, Nubian pottery, and leatherworks. Brunton, Mostageda, passim.
1327 Bourriau, in Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik (Mainz, 1981), 28, figs 3-4; Bourriau, in Studies on Ancient Egypt, 44-45. For problems with the ‘Egyptianisation’ theory, see A. de Souza, ‘The “Egyptianisation” of the Pan-Grave Culture: A New Look at an Old Idea’, BACE 24 (2013), 109-126. My sincerest thanks to Aaron de Souza for sending me a draft of his paper prior to publication as well as for his time and comments regarding the Pan-Grave culture.
1328 Williams, Second Intermediate Period, 196-199.
1330 Bourriau, in Ancient Egypt, 190.
1331 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian XII L.12.2d (Cylindrical II). Brunton, Mostagedda, 117, pl. 72 [60]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 265, 513-515, figs 199, 201, pl. 107 [600-601].
1332 The rectangular shape of tombs has been argued to date to a later phase of the Second Intermediate Period. Williams, Second Intermediate Period, 197; de Souza, BACE 24 (2013), table 1.
Scarabs (Figure 4.199): Six scarabs from Egyptian burials and two from late Second Intermediate Pan-Grave tombs displaying Levantine designs, including\(^{1333}\) two pairs of oblong scrolls,\(^ {1334}\) paired scrolls united at the base along with a Levantine-style \(k\) glyph,\(^{1335}\) cobras confronted with animals,\(^ {1336}\) a crocodile,\(^ {1337}\) a sphinx,\(^ {1339}\) and the head of a mythical figure;\(^ {1340}\)

Adornments: Two oval graves, one of an adolescent (3170)\(^ {1341}\) and the other of an elderly female (3120),\(^ {1342}\) each with a silver torque around the neck of the deceased (Figure 4.200). Like those from Abydos and el-Lahun, the Mostagedda torques are of thick wire with hammered, coiled ends.\(^ {1343}\) Grave 3120 has been assigned to the beginning of the Fifteenth Dynasty,\(^ {1344}\) while the oval shape of Grave 3170 infers a date in the early Second Intermediate Period. Accompanying funerary equipment for both graves indicates their use by Pan-Grave individuals.

Due to the similarities between Mostagedda’s ceramic corpus and that of Upper Egypt, Bourriau postulates that Mostagedda’s Pan-Grave group, including mercenaries,\(^ {1345}\) safeguarded Theban commercial interests along the Nile while the inhabitants at/near Deir

\(^{1333}\) Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 69 [15, 32-37]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 50.

\(^{1334}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 7B2(ii). Brunton, *Mostagedda*, 127, pl. 69 [15]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 29, n. 86, pl. 16 [16].


\(^{1336}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9C3 and 9C5. Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 69 [33, 37]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 95-96.

\(^{1337}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9E. Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 69 [34-36]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 97.

\(^{1338}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9D. Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 69 [36]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 97.

\(^{1339}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9F. Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 69 [33]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 97.

\(^{1340}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 10A. Brunton, *Mostagedda*, pl. 69 [32]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 98.

\(^{1341}\) Brunton, *Mostagedda*, 118, pl. 65 [18].

\(^{1342}\) Brunton, *Mostagedda*, 116, pl. 65 [16].

\(^{1343}\) Brunton, *Mostagedda*, 129. See Chapters 4.3.5.1 and 4.5.1.2.

\(^{1344}\) Williams’s Group A (early-to-mid Hyksos Age 1) and de Souza’s Stage 2. Williams, *Second Intermediate Period*, 196; de Souza, *BACE* 24 (2013), table 1; Bourriau, in *Studien zur altägyptischen Keramik*, 37, fig. 3 [7].

\(^{1345}\) Only 11 out of the 107 tombs at Mostagedda contained weapons, signalling that the individuals at the site were not all associated with a militaristic profession (that is, assuming that weapons in a tomb point to the interred individual’s occupation as a soldier, which is not always the case). See Liszka, *Medjay and Pangraie*, 491-509, table 21.
Rifeh would have served the Hyksos.\textsuperscript{1346} The above evidence suggests further trade relations between Mostagedda and the north, hinting that the Pan-Grave and Egyptian cultures were not completely cut off from Levantine and Levantine-influenced products. In fact, as the latter occur in funerary contexts, a certain symbolic significance was attributed to the items, denoting some cultural influence from the north. Such influence was not restricted to trade but, in reference to the torques, could be status signifiers. Unlike prior suppositions, the data supports contact between the Pan-Grave and Levantine cultures at Mostagedda during Dynasty 15, although it was seemingly only occurring to a limited degree.

4.5.9  Rizaiqat, el-

\textit{Lat.Lon.} 25°36’N 32°28’E

\textit{Refs}  PM 5, 161-162; Priese, \textit{Ägyptische Museum}, 58 [37]; Martin, \textit{Altägyptischen Denkmäler} 1, 97-100.

\textit{Chron.}  Thirteenth Dynasty – early Second Intermediate Period

Opposite Tod on the west bank of the Nile lies the cemetery of el-Rizaiqat. Two stelae reportedly from the site refer to Asiatics in the region.\textsuperscript{1347} Both date between Dynasty 13 and the early Second Intermediate Period.\textsuperscript{1348}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STELA</th>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>STELA OWNER</th>
<th>TRANSLATION\textsuperscript{1349}</th>
<th>REFS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Berlin  | 4.201  | Montuhotep  |  aAm.t [...Hr...]
          |        |             |  aAm.t Sat-Hathor\textsuperscript{1350} | Priese, \textit{Ägyptische Museum}, 58 [37]; Schneider, \textit{Ausländer in Ägypten} 2, 29. |
|        |        |             |  c3m.t St.t-Hw.t-\textit{hr}      | Martin, \textit{Altägyptischen Denkmäler} 1, 97-100; Schneider, \textit{Ausländer in Ägypten} 2, 29. |
| Bremen  | 4.202  | Montusewew  |  aAm.t [...hr...]
          |        |             |  c3m.t [...hors...]               | Martin, \textit{Altägyptischen Denkmäler} 1, 97-100; Schneider, \textit{Ausländer in Ägypten} 2, 29. |

The similarities between the two stelae, including palaeography of signs, selection of depicted offerings and individuals, as well as the name of Montuhotep’s and

\textsuperscript{1346} Liszka, \textit{Medjay and Pangrave}, 23; Bourriau, in \textit{Studies on Ancient Egypt}, 46; Bourriau, in \textit{Ancient Egypt}, 190; Bourriau, in \textit{Second Intermediate Period}, 23.

\textsuperscript{1347} Both were bought at Luxor but attributed to el-Rizaiqat. PM 5, 162; K. Martin, \textit{Die Altägyptischen Denkmäler}, vol. 1: \textit{Mit einem Beitrag von Eva Martin-Pardey} (Mainz, 1991), 97.

\textsuperscript{1348} For further comments regarding the stelae’s date, see Priese, \textit{Ägyptische Museum}, 58 [37]; Martin, \textit{Altägyptischen Denkmäler} 1, 97-100; Schneider, \textit{Ausländer in Ägypten} 2, 29-30.

\textsuperscript{1349} Transcriptions either follow the figures or the texts as presented in the references. Transliterators and translations are by author.

\textsuperscript{1350} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 291 [14].
Montusewew’s mother (Benenet), implies that the two individuals were kin,\footnote{Martin, Altägyptischen Denkmäler 1, 98; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 29-30.} possibly creating their stelae in the same workshop. Berlin 22.708 shows Montuhotep standing before offerings. His body is coloured red yet his face is left unpainted and thus chalk-white. Between his legs is a mumiform figure with the translated label written behind Montuhotep’s lower body. Some have suggested that the figure is of Montuhotep’s deceased wife,\footnote{Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 29; K. H. Priese, Ägyptische Museum / [herausgegeben von] Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Mainz, 1991), 58 [37]; D. Wildung, ‘Kat. 97’, in M. Bietak and I. Hein (eds), Pharaonen und Fremde. Dynastien im Dunkel. Kataloge der 194 (Vienna, 1994), 137.} but it is also possible that she is a deceased daughter. Bremen 4558 represents a similar case in which the woman, a \textit{\textit{ms.t}}, is in mumiform.\footnote{Montusewew is the son of Benenit while Montuhotep is the son of Benenet. Perhaps Benenit and Benenit are the same individual, making Montusewew and Montuhotep brothers, both married or related to Asiatic women. Martin, Altägyptischen Denkmäler, 97-100.} She stands behind Montusewew who, like Montuhotep, is illustrated with his body painted red and his face left uncoloured. Both stelae owners have shoulder-length hair and a long beard.

The portrayal of the \textit{\textit{ms.t}} women denotes that they had accepted Egyptian fashion and funerary customs. While the white faces of the men may be reflective of a connection to Osiris, they could also indicate their foreign origin, much like the ‘fair-skinned men’ at Beni Hassan,\footnote{See Chapters 4.4.1.2, 4.4.1.3 and Figures 4.120, 4.131-133.} hinting that the stelae belong to brothers of Asiatic descent. Even if they were not of Asiatic descent, evidently they were related to Asiatic individuals. Therefore, the stelae provide evidence for marital relations involving acculturated Asiatic women during the Thirteenth Dynasty or early Second Intermediate Period.

4.5.10 Tjauti, Gebel

\textit{Lat.Lon.} 26°11′N 31°55′E

\textit{Ref.} Darnell, Theban Desert Road Survey 1, 56-58.

\textit{Chron.} Thirteenth Dynasty

Gebel Tjauti is situated on the west side of the Qena Bend, on a path connecting Thebes with Hou and Abydos (Figure 4.190).\footnote{Along the Alamat Tal road. Darnell, Theban Desert Road Survey 1, 5, fig. 1.} Inscriptions at the site attest to the route’s use by military personnel and traders throughout the Predynastic to Coptic periods.\footnote{Darnell, Theban Desert Road Survey 1, 5-10.} Second Intermediate Period towers on the path north of western Thebes also indicate its strategic significance.\footnote{Darnell, Theban Desert Road Survey 1, 9.} Three rock graffiti inscribed on the Gebel Tjauti Inscription Shelf
(Sections 17-18) present Asiatics.\textsuperscript{1358} The texts are stylistically similar, suggesting that they were carved around the same time or by the same person.\textsuperscript{1359} They are written from right to left and have been dated paleographically and onomastically to the Thirteenth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{1360}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSCRIPTION</th>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION\textsuperscript{1361}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.203</td>
<td>im.y-ht s3, w pr, w c3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Police official,\textsuperscript{1362} c3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>4.204</td>
<td>im.y-ht NHy s3, c3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attendant,\textsuperscript{1363} Nehy’s\textsuperscript{1364} son, c3m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.205</td>
<td>im.y-ht c3m s3, im.y-r, tyw Rn-snb(w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Attendant,\textsuperscript{1365} c3m’s son, overseer of metalworkers,\textsuperscript{1366} Renseneb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inscriptions 14-15 may refer to the same individual while Inscription 16 could name the son of the ‘police official’. Sharing c3m’s title and name is an im.y-ht s3\,-pr\, w NHy s3\, c3m attested in the Thirteenth Dynasty Papyrus Boulaq 18/1.\textsuperscript{1367} It is probable that the two are the same person, thereby supporting a Thirteenth Dynasty date for the inscriptions. Like the texts at Wadi el-Hol,\textsuperscript{1368} the graffiti at Gebel Tjauti imply that Asiatics passed through the desert route, perhaps on an expedition. Their security roles further emphasise Asiatics’ employment in the administration. Moreover, as Inscriptions 14-16 combine hieroglyphic and hieratic elements, they highlight the Asiatics’ knowledge in Egyptian scripts.

\textsuperscript{1358} Darnell, \textit{Theban Desert Road Survey} 1, 56-58, pls 2, 7 [a-b], 16 [a-b], 32 [c-d], 33 [a-b].
\textsuperscript{1359} Darnell, \textit{Theban Desert Road Survey} 1, 56.
\textsuperscript{1360} Darnell, \textit{Theban Desert Road Survey} 1, 56-58.
\textsuperscript{1361} Transcriptions either follow the figures or the texts as presented in Darnell, \textit{Theban Desert Road Survey} 1, 56-58. Transliterations and translations are by author.
\textsuperscript{1362} Ward, \textit{Index}, 54 [431].
\textsuperscript{1363} Ward, \textit{Index}, 54 [429].
\textsuperscript{1364} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 207 [15].
\textsuperscript{1365} Ward, \textit{Index}, 38 [281].
\textsuperscript{1366} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 222 [26].
\textsuperscript{1367} See Chapter 4.5.3.
\textsuperscript{1368} See Chapter 4.5.5.
4.5.11 Tod

Lat. Lon.  25°35’N 32°32’E


Chron. Early Twelfth Dynasty

Tod is located on the east bank of the Nile, 25 km south of Thebes. Dating from at least the Fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Dynasty and possibly restored by Senwosret I are the remains of the Temple of Montu.¹³⁶⁹

4.5.11.1 Inscription of Senwosret I (?)

Upon the west face of the rear wall, south of the axial doorway of the temple, is an inscription assigned to Senwosret I’s reign or, more securely, to the rule of a king with the ‘Senwosret’ name.¹³⁷⁰ Pertinent passages are shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LINE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION¹³⁷¹</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x+3</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x+26</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
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¹³⁷¹ Transcriptions either follow the figures or the texts as presented in Buchberger, in Von Reichlich Ägyptischem Verstande, fig. 3; Redford, JSSEA 17/1 (1987), figs 1-2. Transliterations and translations are by author.

¹³⁷² See Redford, JSSEA 17/1 (1987), 49, n. 41.
The fragmentary inscription begins with an encomium (x+1-13), perhaps with mythological undertones, followed by a recount of the king’s journey to a temple where rites are then officiated (x+14-26). A direct speech by the king intervenes with a description of the temple’s ruin (x+26-29), the punishment of local and foreign enemies (x+30-38) and the king’s temple renovations and festivities (x+50-63). The account closes with a second-person eulogy directed to the king (x+64-66).  

The text coordinates religious and political material to express the needs of the pharaoh.  

In the references to Asiatics, it is possible to discern two key representations. The first (x+26) mentions foreign labour with a determinative illustrating a seated, bound captive with the coiffed, possibly mushroom-shaped, hairstyle of Asiatics. This may either reflect the employment of foreigners or the placement of foreign captives in service for the temple. It indicates the appeal, and perhaps exotic nature, of foreign labour in Egypt, implying the presence of Asiatics as far south as Tod. The second portrayal (x+32, x+35-37)

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1373 Barbotin and Clère, BIFAO 91 (1991), 24, n. 117.
1374 Barbotin and Clère, BIFAO 91 (1991), 24, n. 118.
1375 Barbotin and Clère, BIFAO 91 (1991), 25, n. 127; Redford, JSSEA 17/1 (1987), 43.
1376 Or hr.n St.t ‘the St.t have fallen’. The toponym is suggested by Barbotin and Clère, BIFAO 91 (1991), 25, n. 128.
1377 Barbotin and Clère, BIFAO 91 (1991), 25, n. 129.
1378 Redford suggests that the king’s speech is before the court. For similar divisions of the text’s narrative, see Barbotin and Clère, BIFAO 91 (1991), 28-29; Redford, JSSEA 17/1 (1987), 44.
1379 The inscription has been described as an early Königsnoveille. Helck, in Ägypten, Dauer und Wandel, 49; K. Muhlestein, ‘Royal Executions: Evidence bearing on the Subject of Sanctioned Killing in the Middle Kingdom’, JESHO 51 (2008), 189.
is of bellicose activity against rebels, Asiatics and Nubians, the reason for which is described in lines x+26-x+32 and assumed to be the devastation of the southern temples.\textsuperscript{1380} Placing the blame on foreigners is likely a royally-instigated \emph{topos} portrayal of the king inscribed on what was believed to be sacred walls.\textsuperscript{1381} The ideological representation of the other is therefore heightened, emphasising the king’s sacrosanct duty to pacify foreigners.\textsuperscript{1382}

4.5.11.2 The Tod Treasure

Four copper chests were uncovered beneath the stone foundations of the Temple of Montu.\textsuperscript{1383} Two are incised with the name of Amenemhat II.\textsuperscript{1384} The chests were buried neatly in pure sand in the temple’s Middle Kingdom corridor pavement (Figure 4.206), supporting their purposeful deposition at one time.\textsuperscript{1385} The stratigraphy does not eliminate the possibility of a burial following Amenemhat II’s reign,\textsuperscript{1386} so scholars have assigned the chests to various epochs in the Middle and New Kingdoms.\textsuperscript{1387} However, analyses of the objects within the chests support a date contemporary to Amenemhat II’s rule.

The chests contain raw and manufactured imported products (Figure 4.207). Some are complete while others show signs of deliberate damage.\textsuperscript{1388} This ‘treasure’ contains: gold objects (one cup, two fleur-ettes and 10 ingots); silver objects (jewellery, a mirror, figurines, pendants, a holster and more than 150 cups and bowls); copper objects (four boxes with nails and two shafts); products of lapis lazuli (cylinder, stamp and scarabs seals, pendants,

\textsuperscript{1380} Redford, \textit{JSSEA} 17/1 (1987), 36-44, 46; Redford, \textit{Egypt, Canaan and Israel}, 75-76.

\textsuperscript{1381} See Barbotin and Clère, \textit{BIFAO} 91 (1991), 30.

\textsuperscript{1382} For more on the historicity of the text, see Muhlestein, \textit{JESHO} 51 (2008), 191-193.


\textsuperscript{1384} CG 70502 of the Cairo Museum and E. 15128 of the Louvre Museum. Bisson de la Roque, \textit{Le Trésor de Tôd}, 2-11, pls 1-2; Bisson de la Roque, Contenau and Chapouthier, \textit{Le Trésor de Tôd}, 7-9.


\textsuperscript{1388} The silver cups, for example, appear to be intentionally crushed. Bisson de la Roque, \textit{Le Trésor de Tôd}; Bisson de la Roque, Contenau and Chapouthier, \textit{Le Trésor de Tôd}; Kemp and Merrillees, \textit{Minoan Pottery}, 295; Marcus, \textit{A&L} 17 (2007), 158.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

plaques, beads, figurines and lumps); as well as small items of other minerals (carnelian, quartz, obsidian and amethyst).\textsuperscript{1389}

The quality and quantity of assets within the chest point to their foreign origin. Lead isotope analysis on 53 silver samples suggests separate sources for the silver (the Taurus Mountains and the Aegean).\textsuperscript{1390} The lapis lazuli indicates a Central Asian origin, a provenance confirmed by Porada’s study on the treasure’s seals which showed some stylistic similarities to those from Eastern Iran and possibly Afghanistan.\textsuperscript{1391} Two cylinder seals bear Mesopotamian influences assigned to the Third Dynasty of Ur and the consequent First Dynasty of Isin.\textsuperscript{1392} Northern Levantine elements are additionally reflected in the designs of a few seals\textsuperscript{1393} and pieces of jewellery,\textsuperscript{1394} with Lilyquist stressing a northern origin for the granulated gold set on one of the silver bracelets.\textsuperscript{1395} The shape of the silver vessels has parallels across Anatolia, the Northern Levant and Crete\textsuperscript{1396} while a metrological analysis of the ingots proposes a similarity with a Near Eastern standard of weight.\textsuperscript{1397} Therefore, the Tod treasure collects an assortment of valuable products imported from a number of sources surrounding the Eastern Mediterranean and the Northern Levant.

The placement of such a medley of imported items could be either functional or ritualistic. A functional purpose would entail the chests’ burial as a means for safekeeping.\textsuperscript{1398} The items could have been donated to the temple’s treasury and then, after accumulation, packed and (re-)buried in the chests.\textsuperscript{1399} The chests may have also been offered as a ritualistic donation to Montu.\textsuperscript{1400} The latter proposition is favoured,

\textsuperscript{1389} Marcus, A&L 17 (2007), 158; Bisson de la Roque, Le Trésor de Tôd; Bisson de la Roque, Contenau and Chapouthier, Le Trésor de Tôd.
\textsuperscript{1390} M. Menu, ‘Analyse du trésor de Tôd’, BSFE 130 (1994), 41-42.
\textsuperscript{1391} Porada, in Societies and Languages, 285-303.
\textsuperscript{1392} Also known as the Larsa Dynasty. Porada, in Societies and Languages, 285-303.
\textsuperscript{1393} Porada, in Societies and Languages, 285-303.
\textsuperscript{1394} Lilyquist, BASOR 290/291 (1993), 35-36.
\textsuperscript{1395} Lilyquist, BASOR 290/291 (1993), 36.
\textsuperscript{1399} Porada, in Societies and Languages, 292; Kemp and Merrillees, Minoan Pottery, 295-296.
based on the inscriptions of Amenemhat II’s cartouche as well as the specific mention of the ruler’s relation to Montu,\textsuperscript{1401} but it still remains questionable as to how the treasure was amassed. Many theories have been proposed, such as the chests’ connection to tribute or booty or a Northern Levantine ruler’s dispatch of goods collected over a period of time.\textsuperscript{1402}

The Mit Rahina inscription offers further insight.\textsuperscript{1403} Recording imported commodities from expeditions during Amenemhat II’s reign, the text references the dispersal of products across Egypt and names the Temple of Montu at Tod as one receiver of Amenemhat II’s endowment.\textsuperscript{1404} Marcus provides some correlations between the products from $Hnty$ and those of the Tod chests, including 23 kg of silver in the text compared to an estimated 13 to 18 kg in the treasure, the $C\text{\textit{im}}$ seal as well as other minerals such as quartz.\textsuperscript{1405} Despite the parallels between the two, linking the Mit Rahina text with the Tod treasure remains circumstantial.\textsuperscript{1406} Nonetheless, the text hints that such items of quality and quantity were most likely products of trade, possibly from a Northern Levantine source with access to a wide-range of products. It also supports the ritualistic function of the treasure as an endowment to Montu. As for who dedicated the chests, the inscriptions naming Amenemhat II,\textsuperscript{1407} combined with the stylistic date of the seals as well as the Mit Rahina text, suggest that Amenemhat II donated the treasure to a temple that was restored by his father.\textsuperscript{1408}

It is clear that the treasure’s deposition was purposeful and possibly symbolic, hence the assortment of products should be seen in the same light. The administration would have surely known the value of the items within the chests, notwithstanding the silver chests themselves. The collection featured products from the north and the northeast, ideologically reflecting the pharaoh’s access to these areas and his ability to extract

\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{1402} Bisson de la Roque, Contenau and Chapouthier, Le Trésor de Tôd, 32; Maxwell-Hyslop, Anatolian Studies 45 (1995), 250; J. Vandier, ‘À propos d’un depot de provenance asiatique trouvé à Tôd’, Syria 18 (1937), 174-182.
\item\textsuperscript{1403} See Chapter 4.3.7 and Translation 3.
\item\textsuperscript{1404} M9-10. See Chapter 4.3.7 and Translation 3.
\item\textsuperscript{1405} Marcus, A&L 17 (2007), 158.
\item\textsuperscript{1406} Marcus, A&L 17 (2007), 158.
\item\textsuperscript{1407} It is rare for endowments to be buried only with inscriptions of former rulers. Lilyquist, BASOR 290/291 (1993), 35.
\end{enumerate}
valuable resources for his godly patrons.\textsuperscript{1409} It additionally denotes the administration’s duty to appease the gods with imported luxury products,\textsuperscript{1410} effectually implying the king’s attempt to ritualistically ensure the continuance of successful trading expeditions. Therefore, the treasure represents the importance of maintaining continued trade relations with the Levant during the early Twelfth Dynasty, not only for commercial reasons but also for the maintenance of the pharaoh’s prestige in the worldly and heavenly spheres.

\textsuperscript{1409} Marcus, A&L 17 (2007), 160.
\textsuperscript{1410} Wastlhuber, Die Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und der Levante, 180-181.
4.6  SELECTED LITERARY TEXTS AND UNPROVENANCED ARTEFACTS

4.6.1  Berlin Exection Bowls

Ref.  Sethe, Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten.

Chron.  Mid-late Twelfth Dynasty

The Berlin bowls constitute one of the largest corpora of Middle Kingdom Exection Texts. The hieratic texts are written on 289 broken red ceramics purchased in Luxor and now in Berlin.\textsuperscript{1411} They are thought to derive from one of the graves of the west Theban necropolis.\textsuperscript{1412} Sethe originally assigned the vessels to the Eleventh Dynasty or the end of the EB IV/MB I period.\textsuperscript{1413} The dating altered with Posener’s publication of the Saqqara figurines, after which the Berlin bowls were accordingly placed in the late Twelfth Dynasty or MBIIA period, around a generation before the Saqqara texts.\textsuperscript{1414} Cohen noted an unpublished evaluation of the bowls’ physical characteristics by Do. Arnold, writing that they are typical of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, between the reigns of Senwosret I and Amenemhat II.\textsuperscript{1415} A dating between the mid-late Twelfth Dynasty is favoured here. Like the Saqqara figurines, the bowls feature a rebellion formula followed by lists of individuals and groups. These include Egyptians, Nubians, Libyans and Asians. Entries regarding the latter are provided in Volume II: Translation 7.

The collected sherds specifically name 29 rulers governing a sum of 14 lands (e1-30). One entry is listed for the combined rulers of Y-isipi (e31) and four more toponyms are recorded in the entries for the Ç3m.w inhabitants (f1-21), whereby bringing the total of foreign lands to 19.\textsuperscript{1416} The texts add the hnk.w ‘acquaintances’ of each ruler, as well as the nht.w ‘strong men’, wt n.w nmt.t ‘quick men’, sm3.w ‘allies’ and dmdjyw ‘assemblies’ of the Ç3m.w inhabitants (g1-4). The Mntw of St.t are also mentioned (g5).

\textsuperscript{1411} K. Sethe, Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässerben des Mittleren Reiches, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil-Hist Klasse No. 5 (Berlin, 1926), 5-7.

\textsuperscript{1412} Sethe, Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, 5-7.

\textsuperscript{1413} Sethe, Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, 18, 21.

\textsuperscript{1414} See Chapter 4.3.8 and Translation 4. For a review on the various proposed dates, see Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 98-113. See also Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 88; A. Ben-Tor, in Essays on Ancient Israel, 64-65; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 16-17.

\textsuperscript{1415} Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 16-17, n. 14.

\textsuperscript{1416} The lands not mentioned in the list naming particular rulers are Kpny, Îwâyî, Y-î3m(w)t, Dmîw and St.t. Y-î3m(w)t is mentioned twice, but counted as one.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

The ratio between rulers and regions has caused scholars to interpret the texts as a portrayal of a tribal Levantine society.\(^{1417}\) But, their nature and function as well as the medium upon which they are written,\(^{1418}\) warn against forming such conclusions. The texts were most likely associated with ritualistic purposes.\(^{1419}\) Their red colour and broken fragments suggest that the bowls were deliberately broken in ceremonial execration rites as, for instance, Ritner’s ‘Breaking the Red Pots’ ritual.\(^{1420}\) This infers that the ceremony itself may influence a selection of rulers that was heavily reliant on the scribes’ resources as well as the quality and quantity of the ceramics employed.

An additional clue that the ratio between rulers and regions could be suggestive of various interpretations comes from the entry for ŠWTW (e4-e6). Three rulers are listed in the Berlin texts but the same toponym occurs in the Saqqara Figurines as an Upper ŠWTW and a Lower ŠWTW, each with a different ruler.\(^{1421}\) As no such divisions are written for the toponyms in the Berlin bowls, the inclusion of several rulers for one foreign land may simply be due to scribal choice.

As such, the Berlin bowls cannot be considered as a notation on the foreigners’ social structure or as a definitive reflection on the political situation in the Levant.\(^{1422}\) Nonetheless, they imply the presence of Egyptian records on the geography and ruling elite of Levantine regions. Such records highlight Twelfth Dynasty interests in Levantine politics as well as the ideological subjugation of foreigners for the benefit of Egyptian prosperity and security.

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\(^{1417}\) Sethe, Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, 43-45; Albright, BASOR 184 (1966), 26-35; Aharoni, Land of the Bible, 133; Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 91.

\(^{1418}\) See Chapter 4.3.8. Posener, Princes et pays, 40-43; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 48.

\(^{1419}\) For a greater discussion, see Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 48; Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 89; Ritner, Egyptian Medical Practice, 136-153.

\(^{1420}\) Ritner, Egyptian Medical Practice, 144-147.

\(^{1421}\) Volume II: Translation 4, E52-E53. See also A. Alt, ‘Herren und Herrensitze Palästinas im Anfang des zweiten Jahrtausends v. Chr.’, ZDPV 64 (1941), 37; Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 115-116.

4.6.2 Instructions of Amenemhat I

Refs Helck, *Lehre Amenemhets I.; Adrom, Lehre des Amenemhet*.

Chron. Early Twelfth Dynasty – Reign of Senwosret I

The Instructions of Amenemhat I follow the teachings of Amenemhat I to his son, Senwosret I, after a possible attempted assassination on the former king. Preserved on several papyri, tablets and ostraca of the New Kingdom, it includes the accomplishments of Amenemhat I as well as the duties imparted upon his son. Current consensus assigns the text to Senwosret I’s reign, following the posited assassination of Amenemhat I in Year 30 and his son’s rise to the throne.

One portrayal of foreigners appears in the didactic text, presenting Amenemhat I’s success in overpowering non-Egyptians:

\[ \text{iwr knb.n (= i) mš.s.w iwr ṯy.w im mš.s.w iwr dṬ.n=i W3wȝ.yw iwr mš.s.w iwr dṬ.n=i} \]

\[ \text{iri.y=i ḫr St.ts.t ṯm.t ṯsm.w ‘I have subjugated lions and I have caught crocodiles. I have placed/suppressed the W3wȝ.yw and I have caught the Mḏȝ.yw. I caused that the St.ts.t do the walk of the dogs.’} \]

The composer equates lions with W3wȝ.yw, crocodiles with Mḏȝ.yw and St.ts.t with dogs. Such a topos representation places foreigners on par with animals. They are wild, resilient and, as elements of nature, must be pacified by the king.

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1425 Ostraca Petrie 77 and Malinine contain \[ \text{ḏr.n=i ‘I subdued’, the more frequently translated version as in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1, 137. Adrom, *Lehre des Amenemhet*, 69.} \]


4.6.3 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446

Ref. Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*.

Chron. Mid-Thirteenth Dynasty – Reign of Sobekhotep III

In the late nineteenth century, fragments of a papyrus originally over two metres in length were purchased in Egypt.\(^{1428}\) Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, which is thought to be from Thebes,\(^{1429}\) features entries concerning administrative lists, letters, decrees and deeds, the majority of which are connected to the *hnwr.t* wr ‘main enclosure’.\(^{1430}\) Based on palaeography, entries on the recto have been dated to the late Twelfth (Amenemhat III?) and Thirteenth Dynasties (between Sobekhotep II and III) while those on the verso are attributed to Sobekhotep III’s reign.\(^ {1431}\) The latter is primarily due to the inclusion of the king’s nomen\(^{1432}\) and decrees addressed to Ankhu, a vizier in Khendjer’s administration\(^ {1433}\) who can also be found in Papyrus Boulaq 18.\(^{1434}\)

A list of individuals on the verso enumerates household members associated with Senebtysy, the subject of the verso’s Insertions A-C. Two of these (A and B) concern Senebtysy’s inheritance from her husband\(^ {1435}\) and the third (C), inserted last, labels the list with ‘her people, being generous gifts, are these’, followed by a regnal date.\(^ {1436}\) The meaning of ‘her people’ has been interpreted as a reference to either Senebtysy’s workers\(^ {1437}\) or ancestors.\(^ {1438}\) Their domestic occupations make the first proposition more likely. The list is presented in Volume II: Translation 8 and is divided into four columns: (1) ‘A’ identifies the individuals; (2) ‘B’ contains their given names; (3) ‘C’ marks their occupation; and (4) ‘D’ records their designation as male, female or child.

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\(^{1428}\) W. C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)* (2nd reprint, Brooklyn, 1972), 5-6.

\(^{1429}\) Hayes originally theorised that the papyrus came from a tomb in Thebes, probably that of “Senebtisy, in whose favor the texts on the verso were drawn up”. Menu suggests a deposition similar to that of Papyrus Boulaq 18, in a tomb of a scribe. The entries all apparently concern the Theban region, supporting an Upper Egyptian provenance for the papyrus. Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, 16-17; B. Menu, ‘Le papyrus du Brooklyn Museum n° 35.1446 et l’immigration syro-palestinienne sous le Moyen Empire’, *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 5 (2012), 23.

\(^{1430}\) For the *hnwr.t*, see Quirke, *RdE* 39 (1988), 83-106; Quirke, *Titles*, 94-95.

\(^{1431}\) Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, 11-16.


\(^{1433}\) Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, 13, 73-74.

\(^{1434}\) See Chapter 4.5.3.

\(^{1435}\) Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, 87, 111-123, pls 13-14.

\(^{1436}\) As reconstructed by Hayes, the king named is Sobekhotep III. Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, 123-124, pls 8-10.

\(^{1437}\) Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, 111-125.

The list comprises approximately 98 entries, 84 of which are wholly or partially preserved. Out of these, 79 have identifiable names. Based on the use of ḫm or ḫm.t, 45 individuals are certainly of Asiatic descent. Around 15.6% are adult males, 64.4% are adult females, 11% are male infants and 9% are female infants. Asiatics with non-Egyptian names account for approximately 78%. The majority are in column ‘A’ with column ‘B’ providing their Egyptian nicknames; however, one child, Anku, seems to have a given name identifying his foreign origins.1439 All other Asiatic children, along with three adults, have names most possibly derived from the Egyptian.1440

From the remaining 34 workers, two seemingly have Semitic names.1441 The rest are derived from the Egyptian, a marker which Hayes has used to identify their Egyptian ancestry.1442 However, only 25 of the 32 are specifically labelled as ḫm-nsw.t or ḫm.t. If we are to take this appellation as an ethnic signifier, which is not always the case,1443 then the remaining seven partially preserved entries do not necessarily have to belong to Egyptians. Notations of Asiatics with both Egyptian names and nicknames do exist in the list,1444 thereby rendering the incomplete seven as individuals of unknown ancestry. Therefore, 57% of individuals are Asiatic, 2.5% are possibly Asiatic, 31.6% are labelled as ḫm-nsw.t or ḫm.t and 8.9% are of unknown origin.

The Asiatic population is involved in several daily activities. Men are connected to the preparation of foods (‘cooks’ and ‘brewers’) as well as the positions of ‘major-domo’ and ‘tutor’. Women work with textiles (‘weavers’ and ‘warpers’[?] of ḫs.t and ḫ.tyw cloth) and as ‘labourers’. Their specialty in cloth-making signals a possible appreciation of Levantine textile methods and, perhaps, the Asiatic women’s specific employment for such handiwork.1445 No entries in column ‘C’ are present for any children, indicating that they were too young to work and/or were still dependent upon their parent(s). So, it appears that Senebtysy’s ‘people’ included a large number of Asiatic descendants employed in numerous domestic positions, most likely in Senebtysy’s own household.

1439 Line 58.
1440 Children: Lines 8, 24, 30-31, 34, 36, 58; Adults: Lines 6-7, 61.
1441 Lines 64 and 88.
1442 Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 90-92; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 77-81.
1443 The term ḫm or ḫm.t is related more to status and position rather than ethnicity. Menu has recently argued that all individuals on the list are of Asiatic descent. Menu, Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne 5 (2012), 26-29; B. Menu, ‘Onomastique et statut des immigrés syropalestiniens dans l’Égypte du Moyen Empire’, Droit et Cultures 64 (2012), 51-68.
1444 Two notations of adults labelled ḫm.t have both Egyptian names and nicknames. Lines 7 and 61. See also Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, 136-137. Saretta, however, proposes that the Asiatics may have been considered as ‘cheap labour’.
Hayes expanded on this point, suggesting that the Asiatics were slaves.\textsuperscript{1446} Consequently, their presence in an Upper Egyptian household emphasises the “brisk trade in Asiatic slaves”.\textsuperscript{1447} While their Semitic names suggest that they had recently migrated into Egypt,\textsuperscript{1448} there is no evidence for their treatment as slaves or their purposeful capture for servitude. They are only labelled as ‘generous gifts’ in the fragmentary Insertion C, perhaps denoting that they were sent to Upper Egypt for vocational opportunities as immigrants. They are listed alongside the individuals labelled as $hm$-nsw\textsubscript{t} and $hm$.t, retain references of their parentage, and are generally classified by the term $rmn$.t which is otherwise commonly utilised to refer to Egyptians. They are not segregated as a ‘possessed’ or subjugated group nor are they specifically designated as captives. Therefore, the claim that they are ‘slaves’ (a term that is in itself heavily loaded with more modern historical connotations) is not warranted.

Still, the Asiatics of Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 indicate a rise in the number of Levantine workers employed by Upper Egyptians, stressing that the Upper Egyptian household was well acquainted with Asiatics of all ages, sexes and professions during Sobekhotep III’s reign.

\textbf{4.6.4 Papyrus Leiden I.344 (Admonitions of Ipuwer)}

\textit{Refs} Gardiner, Admonitions; Enmarch, Dialogue of Ipuwer; Enmarch, World Upturned.

\textit{Chron.} Middle Kingdom

The Admonitions of Ipuwer are preserved on the \textit{recto} of Ramesside Papyrus Leiden I.344.\textsuperscript{1449} The orthography and language reflect a late Middle Kingdom style\textsuperscript{1450} whereas the contents may date between the First and Second Intermediate Periods. Gardiner first identified the text as a Twelfth Dynasty composition.\textsuperscript{1451} Others following him include Spiegel and Ward, the latter of which depends on this date for his reconstruction of First Intermediate Period events.\textsuperscript{1452} Conversely, some proposed a late Dynasty 13 date based on the use of certain Middle Kingdom

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1446} Hayes, \textit{Papyrus Brooklyn}, 99.
\item \textsuperscript{1447} Hayes, \textit{Papyrus Brooklyn}, 99.
\item \textsuperscript{1448} Hayes, \textit{Papyrus Brooklyn}, 99; Albright, JAOS 74 (1954), 222-223.
\item \textsuperscript{1451} Gardiner, Admonitions, 18; Gardiner, \textit{Egypt of the Pharaohs}, 109.
\item \textsuperscript{1452} J. Spiegel, \textit{Soziale und Weltanschauliche Reformbewegungen in alten Ägypten} (Heidelberg, 1950); Ward, \textit{Egypt and the East Mediterranean}, 21, 57. See also Redford, \textit{Egypt, Canaan and Israel}, 63, 66-67; Redford, \textit{Pharaonic King-Lists}, 144, n. 69.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
terms. Although this has received criticism, scholars remain cautious, setting the text in the general Middle Kingdom. Because of the questionable date, the Admonitions are only used here as a Middle Kingdom source for the topos representation of Asiatics.

While the beginning and end of the text are not preserved, the text follows Ipuwer’s laments to the ‘Lord of All’, either the king or a deity. The Admonitions emphasise the contrast between chaos and order, describing an anarchic Egypt where norms of life are upturned by calamity and a lack of security. The portrayal is often contradictory and littered with the repetitive use of hyperbole. Generally the realm sees lower classes assuming positions of wealth and power, allies becoming enemies and Egypt’s ideological enemies becoming neighbours. This upper class perspective finds the spread of foreigners as part of the chaotic, topsy-turvy land lacking in efficient border control. Key passages on this situation can be found in Volume II: Translation 9.

The Admonitions of Ipuwer have been used as evidence for foreigners invading the Delta and a mutiny by Asiatic mercenaries against the state. Van Seters also argued for the text’s Second Intermediate Period date as an expression of the tumultuous Hyksos period. Yet, one must consider the text’s use of the ‘lament’ genre that highlights a flurry of chaos to display the consequences of a weak government. The destabilised administration apparently results in a land teeming with foreigners (1.9, 3.1.2) who mostly amass in the Delta (4.8), a region in need of security (1.4). Northerners mentioned in the

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1454 Ward, Egypt and the East Mediterranean, 21, ns 78-79; Redford, Pharaonic King-Lists, 144, n. 69; Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 138, n. 120.
1455 The Admonitions refer to a ‘Majesty’ (15.3) and a ‘Residence’ (2.11), suggesting a composition either at the end of the Old Kingdom or the Middle Kingdom. The latter date is more likely considering the text’s style. Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 138, n. 120; Enmarch, World Upturned, 24; W. F. Albright, ‘Further Light on the History of Middle-BronzeByblos’, BASOR 179 (1965), 40-41; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature 1, 149-150; W. K. Simpson, The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry (3rd edition, Yale, 2003), 188-189.
1457 For instance, the presence of fine linen in line 7.11-12 contrasts with its absence in 10.3-10.6. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature 1, 149.
1458 See Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 67; Gardiner, Admonitions, 91.
1459 Van Seters, Hyksos, 103-120; van Seters, JEA 50 (1964), 13-23.
1460 Enmarch, World Upturned, 36-38.
1461 Line 3.13 has been translated by Gardiner as ‘Lo, every foreign country comes (?) That is our water! That is our happiness’, insinuating that the foreigners may be in Egypt in search for water. Despite the similarities with the Prophecies of Noferty (see below, Chapter 4.6.5) and the Instructions for Merikara (see n. 1463), the hieroglyphic text is open to several interpretations.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

Admonitions\textsuperscript{1462} include the $P_d.tyw$, a threatening group who occur as outsiders and as rebel mercenaries (3.1-2, 14.14-15.1), and $St.tyw$, who are knowledgeable in Egyptian affairs (15.1). An entry for the $\text{e}m.w$ may have also been written, but is not preserved (14.12).

Some similarities between the Admonitions and the Prophecies of Noferty exist. The ideological portrayal of how foreigners entered Egypt (lack of border security) and their apparent destination (the Delta) is the same in both.\textsuperscript{1463} The depiction of foreigners as the cause of escalating chaos in the marshlands seems to be a literary device used in the texts’ ‘order versus chaos’ topos.\textsuperscript{1464} The fragmentary Admonitions infer that the foreigners in the north are formidable,\textsuperscript{1465} some being knowledgeable in Egyptian affairs. Perhaps the Admonitions reflect the composer’s concern for an escalated Asiatic presence in the Delta or, if the reversal should be considered the norm, they may inadvertently portray the necessity for effective border patrol, particularly near the Delta region. Similarly, the $P_d.tyw$ could be those in the military service of the crown, rather than rebel mercenaries.

Information on foreign relations is offered in 3.6-7, notably the significance of trade with $Kpny$. The Northern Levantine city is represented as a source for $\text{es}$-timber of which a continued supply was necessary for cultic processes such as the mumification process and coffin production. Its inclusion amidst the laments denotes the administration’s duty to ensure that such valuable products were constantly and consistently imported but probably only for the upper classes of society.

\textsuperscript{1462} Quirke, for example, translates the passage as ‘that is, when every land is our loyal subject, that is our flourishing’. Gardiner, Admonitions, 34; Quirke, Egyptian Literature, 142.
\textsuperscript{1463} For comments regarding the groups, see van Seters, JEA 50 (1964), 15-16.
\textsuperscript{1464} Another text with a similar treatment of foreigners is the First Intermediate Period Instructions to Merikara. The didactic piece describes the Delta as a divided region with a large $P_d.tyw$ population who infiltrated the Delta because of lax border control. Unlike the Admonitions, the Instructions connect the $P_d.tyw$ with the $\text{e}m.w$, clarifying their northeastern origins. While the composition has been paleographically dated to either the First Intermediate Period or the early Twelfth Dynasty, the majority of scholars agree that its contents date to the First Intermediate Period. As such, it is not examined here in detail. For more on the Instructions to Merikara, see W. Golënscheff, Les papyrus hiératiques nos. 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l’Ermitage impérial à St-Petersburg (St. Petersburg, 1916); A. Scharff, Der historische Abschnitt der Lehre für König Merikarê, SBAW 8 (1936); Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature 1, 97-109; Ward, Egypt and the East Mediterranean, 22; G. Burkard, Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reiches, ÄgAb 34 (Wiesbaden, 1977), 6; P. Seibert, Die Charakteristik: Untersuchungen zu einer altägyptischen Sprechsitte und ihren Ausprägungen in Folklore und Literature, vol. 1: Philologische Bearbeitung der Bezeugungen; Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 17 (Wiesbaden, 1967), 88; Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 139-142.
\textsuperscript{1465} See Chapter 4.6.5 for a discussion on the Prophecies of Noferty.
Overall, the Admonitions of Ipuwer characterise Asians1466 in two ways. The first is their portrayal as a threat, their spread in Egypt being a force of chaos. Subsequently, the management of Asiatic immigration symbolises the ideological control of chaos. The second represents the Levant as a source for precious commodities with ongoing trade corresponding to a successful administration. Thus, the Admonitions express the state’s ideological control of foreign affairs for security and trade, the ultimate benefactors of which were most likely the elite.

4.6.5 Prophecies of Noferty


Chron. Early Twelfth Dynasty

Preserved on several New Kingdom sources, the literary ‘Prophecies of Noferty’ follow the sage Noferty in King Sneferu’s court.1467 As he relays, several chaotic events will arise and be brought to an end by an ‘Ameny’, or Amenemhat I.1468 The reflection on Amenemhat persuaded scholars to read the piece as political propaganda, purposed to legitimise and promote Amenemhat’s reign.1469 The text was then assigned to the reign of Amenemhat I or that of Senwosret I.1470 The Prophecies indeed endorse Amenemhat, and it is in this ideological setting that the representations of Asians should be studied. Pertinent extracts are in Volume II: Translation 10.

The Prophecies speak of a time when the ‘Im.w and St.twy of the east entered Egypt. Widespread devastation ensued due to their need for water (Lines 35, 68).1471 At a time of civil unrest, the ‘Im.w met no resistance.1472 Noferty describes the foreigners as terrorising the

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1466 In fact, the two characterisations can be applied to the representations of other foreigners and foreign lands in the Admonitions, excluding the MdJw.

1467 In line 10, Noferty is described as ‘lector-priest of Bastet... a noble-rich man of greater possessions than any equal of his’. Hence, his upper-class status, combined with his Delta origins, make him the most suitable character to describe the influence of the Asians on this region to the king. Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature 1 (London, 1975), 139; Simpson, Literature of Ancient Egypt, 214. For the variant sources recording the text, see Quirke, Egyptian Literature, 139; H. W. Helck, Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj (Wiesbaden, 1970), 1-2.

1468 Quirke, Egyptian Literature, 135-140.

1469 Posener, Littérature et politique, 21-60; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 36-37; S. A. Younis, ‘Itj-towy and the Prophecies of Neferti’, GM 195 (2003), 97-108. For more on the problems on interpreting such texts as propagandistic, see Quirke, Egyptian Literature, 47-51.

1470 Posener, Littérature et politique, 46; W. A. Ward, Egypt and the East Mediterranean World 2200-1900 B.C. Studies in Egyptian Foreign Relations during the First Intermediate Period (Beirut, 1971), 64-65; Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 142; Simpson, Literature of Ancient Egypt, 214; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies and Connections, 36; Williams, in The Seed of Wisdom, 22.

1471 As also noted in the Instructions for Merikara, lines 91-92, 99. See n. 1463.

1472 For similarities with the Admonitions of Ipuwer, see Chapter 4.6.4.
people instead of being terrorised by the king (Line 19). Such a reversal of the orderly is then repaired by Amenemhat, who re-instilled fear in the $\text{s}m.w$. The historicity of the Prophecies as a reflection of early Dynasty 12 events\textsuperscript{1473} is decreased by this topos of ‘order versus chaos’, as well as the composer’s intention to abet Amenemhat. Perhaps, the $\text{s}m.w$’s representation as strong enemies\textsuperscript{1474} was employed to enhance the need for the reconstructed Walls-of-the-Ruler,\textsuperscript{1475} but it also remains possible that the $\text{s}m.w$ were stronger by the time of Amenemhat. In both cases, the Prophecies of Noferty note the presence of $\text{s}m.w$ in the Delta, emphasising Amenemhat’s attempts to protect Egypt’s permeable borders.\textsuperscript{1476}

4.6.6 Stela Louvre C 21

Ref. Gayet, Stèles de la XIIe dynastie, 3, pl. 11.

Chron. Twelfth Dynasty

Stela Louvre C 21 presents evidence on the influence of Asiatics in Egypt. The unprovenanced item dates to the Twelfth Dynasty and belongs to the ‘steward’ Senwosret.\textsuperscript{1477} One of his family members is portrayed as: $\text{s.n.t=f S.n.t-} \text{s}m.t \text{i.r.i.t n H.t.p.t m\textsuperscript{5}.t-h.r.w}$ ‘his sister, Senet-\text{s}m.t,\textsuperscript{1478} born to Hotepet, justified’. Her name can be literally translated as ‘she who resembles a/the \text{s}m.t woman’,\textsuperscript{1479} thereby showing that Asiatics were considered to be physically distinct from Egyptians. It also insinuates that the term \text{s}m.t need not necessarily be associated with negative connotations. It can be utilised to describe the unique physical characteristics and perhaps attractiveness of a woman otherwise of apparent Egyptian origin.

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\textsuperscript{1473} Ward, Egypt and the East Mediterranean, 64-65; Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 142-143.

\textsuperscript{1474} The \text{s}m.w travel in strength (line 17-19), are well-provisioned and, as Redford remarks, acquainted with the art of siege warfare (lines 30-37). Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 69.

\textsuperscript{1475} Amenemhat I was indeed active in the eastern Delta region, not only constructing the Walls-of-the-Ruler, but also adding to the temple of Bastet at Bubastis. Berman, Amenemhat I, 122.

\textsuperscript{1476} Like Amenemhat I, further east and approximately 100 years earlier, Shusin of Ur is known to have “built the fortress of mar.tu which keeps the Tidnum away” (A. Ungnad, ‘Datenlisten’, in Reallexikon der Assyriologie, vol. 2 [Berlin, 1938], 144). Akkadian sources situate mar.tu and tidnum (or Amuru) west of the Euphrates in the Northern Levant. G. Roux, Ancient Iraq (3rd edition, London, 1992), 175, n. 26; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 38, n. 38; Saretta, Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites, 61-62.


\textsuperscript{1478} Ranke, Personennamen 1, 262 [22]. Louvre C 21 is listed as the sole reference for this name.

\textsuperscript{1479} Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 70.
4.6.7 Stela Moscow I.1.a.5349 (4161)

Refs Hodjash and Berlev, Reliefs and Stelae, 77-79 [34].

Chron. Late Twelfth – early Thirteenth Dynasty

A stela of unknown provenance at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, features a number of Asiatics.1480 Dated between the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty, the stela is for the ‘hall-keeper and butler’ Senwosret.1481 He is pictured seated before an offering table facing four women of his immediate family (Figure 4.208). Below him are three horizontal registers, the first two each illustrating five kneeling men and the third portraying eight kneeling women. The bottom two registers contain Asiatics. Their entries are presented in Volume II: Translation 11.

The two registers depict three or five male1482 and eight female Asiatics. In comparison to the individuals not identified by the устрой element, this amounts to 11/20 or 13/20 of Senwosret’s household members. Most Asiatics are given an Egyptian name with the possibility of one bearing a name with Semitic origins (F3) and another denoting worship of the Lady of Byblos (F6).1483 Artistically, all Asiatics are portrayed as Egyptians with no particular features delineating them as foreigners (Figure 4.206). Even the men’s skin colour is noted to be red, the same colour used for the other men represented on the stela.1484 Hence, the item provides a good example of (1) the number of Asiatics in Egyptian households, here outnumbering the seemingly Egyptian members; and (2) the representation of Asiatics as Egyptians, the only marker for their ethnicity being the term устрой or устрой.

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1480 Postulated to be from Abydos, the owner of the stela possibly residing near el-Lisht or Thebes. S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (Leningrad, 1982), 77-79 [34]; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 59.
1481 Hodjash and Berlev, Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae, 77-78.
1482 E4 and E5 may be Asiatic, although they are not specifically designated as such.
1483 See n. 1169.
1484 Hodjash and Berlev, Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae, 77.
4.6.8 Stela Musée Joseph Déchelette, Roanne Nr 163

Refs Meulemaere, CdE 40 (1985), 75-84, fig. 1.
Chron. Thirteenth Dynasty

Stela Musée Joseph Déchelette, Roanne Nr 163, offers a unique case of an Asiatic represented differently from her Egyptian counterparts. Postulated to come from Abydos, it is for the ‘overseer of the treasury’, Senebsumu. The stela is typologically and palaeographically assigned to Dynasty 13 and illustrates a standing woman in the bottom left corner (Figure 4.209). She is labelled as ‘his beloved, Senebheqa’. Sporting a long, one-shouldered garment reaching the shin, Senebheqa wears her hair with a slight bob-like protrusion at the back of the head resembling a bun held in place by two wedge-shaped nodules. The wedge-like pieces and bun are akin to those of Wekhhotep’s offering bearers at Meir while the garment is styled like the Asiatic women’s dresses in Khnumhotep II’s tomb, Beni Hassan. Senebheqa’s foreignness is emphasised by the ethnonym ‘m.t, her hairstyle and dress, but her name and facial features are Egyptian.

The Asiatic appears in a sequence of individuals who, in the register above, stand before the ‘overseer of the storehouse and treasury’, Heriawah. In front of her is the ‘butler of the beer-pantry’, Werenheqa and behind her is the ‘lady of the house’, Henut. The suffix pronoun ‘m.t=f mr.yt=f could refer to either Heriawah or Werenheqa. While Henut is ‘lady of the house’, Senebheqa is visually more prominent, appearing in front of Henut and larger than the individuals before her. Her epithet as ‘his beloved’ further delineates her status as an important individual within the household. Therefore, the stela provides a representation of a respected Asiatic with mixed attributes in a household of officials from the middle to high echelons of Egyptian society.

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1485 M. Gabolde, Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée Joseph Déchelette (Roanne, 1990), 35-38; H. de Meulenaere, ‘Les monuments d’un haut dignitaire de la 13 dynastie’, CdE 60 (1985), 77-80, fig. 1; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 70.
1486 Gabolde, Catalogue, 35-38; de Meulenaere, CdE 60 (1985), 77-80.
1487 The name is not attested in Ranke, Personenamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.
1488 The offering bearers have a slightly more voluminous bun. See also the hairdo of the statuette from Beni Hassan. Chapters 4.4.1.4 and 4.4.4.3, Figures 4.137 and 4.143.
1489 No details, however, are present. Chapter 4.4.1.3, Figures 4.124, 4.128.
1490 Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 70; Gabolde, Catalogue, 36-37, n. 8.
1491 Gabolde, Catalogue, 36-37, n. 8.
1492 Perhaps a concubine or second wife. Gabolde, Catalogue, 36-37, n. 8.
4.6.9 Tale of Sinuhe

Refs Gardiner, Notes on Sinuhe; Koch, Sinuhe.

Chron. Twelfth Dynasty – Reign of Senwosret I

The Tale of Sinuhe is preserved on five papyri of the Middle Kingdom and Eighteenth Dynasty, and over 30 ostraca of the New Kingdom. The text situates its events in the rule of Amenemhat I and his successor, dating its composition to or after Senwosret I’s reign. It follows the Egyptian Sinuhe who, after the attempted assassination of Amenemhat I, flees Egypt and takes refuge in the Levant where he establishes himself as a ruler. Years later, he returns to Egypt at the behest of the succeeding pharaoh, Senwosret I. Volume II: Translation 12 contains the most relevant passages pertaining to Sinuhe’s experience in the Levant. Significant notations may be extracted from each of the selected passages, a summary of which is presented below:

- R1-R2: Sinuhe’s title as ‘administrator of the estates of the sovereign of the lands of the St.tyw’. Whether this title was assigned to the character before his travels or after his return, it emphasises the portrayal of foreign lands as subordinates to Egypt;

- B11-19: The passage follows Sinuhe’s flight. He journeys north from Itjtawy to Ng3w, crossing a body of water and travelling past a quarry until he reaches the Walls-of-the-Ruler. The latter are described as an enclosure specifically built to repel the St.tyw and Nmi.w-3’. The significance of efficient border control with northeastern lands is insinuated;

- B19-23: Beyond the limits of Egyptian border control, Sinuhe almost experiences death;

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1494 Baines, in Study of the Ancient Near East, 355; Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 132, n. 85.

1495 The text in its entirety is worthy of a detailed study on the foreign element but such an analysis is beyond the scopes and limits of this thesis.


1497 Goedicke proposes that Sinuhe passed through Tell el-Maskhuta (Ptn) and Lake Timsah or the Bitter Lakes (Kmwr) on his journey. H. Goedicke, ‘Where did Sinuhe stay in “Asia”? (Sinuhe B 29-31)’, CdE 67 (1992), 28-29.
• B23-28: Sinuhe is rescued by the St.tyw. They have cattle, water and milk, as well as some knowledge in Egyptian affairs;

• B28-31: As a commodity, Sinuhe passes through several lands and heads towards Kpn until he reaches Kdm, where a ruler of Upper Rtnw, ʿmwššnšš, summons him. None of the foreign lands are given determinatives associated with cities;

• B31-36: ʿmwššnšš has considerable knowledge in Egyptian affairs. Other Egyptians are also in Upper Rtnw;

• B45-75: Sinuhe’s Hymn to Senwosret I, referring to the newly appointed king as a suppressor and crusher of the foreign, namely the Pd.tywr, St.tyw and Nmi.w-šc. The bellicose treatment of Asiatics evidently accentuates the portrayal of a strong, subjugating pharaoh, although relations with the southern lands appear to be more violent than those with the north;

• B75-81: ʿmwššnšš endows Sinuhe with power, offering him his daughter in marriage as well as the best piece of his land;

• B81-85: Description of Bbi, a flat land fertile with foods and animals that is most possibly in a region where elevation permits the production of honey as well as the growth of olive trees, fig trees and vineyards. As contested elsewhere, the most plausible location for Bbi is in the Beqaa valley of modern Lebanon;\(^\text{1498}\)

• B85-92: Sinuhe is treated well and offered bread, wine, meat, fowl, cattle and a variety of dairy dishes;

• B92-99: Many years are spent in Upper Rtnw during which contact frequently occurs with Egyptians travelling to and from Itjtawy. The St.tyw appear as enemies of Sinuhe and the conglomeration of ‘the rulers of foreign lands’;

• B99-109: Sinuhe is a strong commander in ʿmwššnšš’s army, again symbolising Egyptian superiority;

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CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

- B109-146: Sinuhe’s duel with a formidable warrior from Upper Rtnw,\(^{1499}\) representing the Egyptian perception of Levantine battles on the field, with tent encampments and one-on-one sparring. Despite the mention of tents, the warrior from Upper Rtnw is also from a place with a gate and walls. The Pd.tyw are associated with the Delta and the 'Im.w are the inhabitants of Upper Rtnw;

- B174-176: The pharaoh sends gifts to rulers of Upper Rtnw, specifying diplomatic Egyptian-Levantine relations;

- B197-198: From the pharaoh’s decree to Sinuhe, indicating the importance of an interment following Egyptian elite traditions. The description of funerary customs associated with Asiatics or, more correctly, non-elite ways, signifies the importance of burying Sinuhe according to his Egyptian traditions and high status;

- B219-223: From Sinuhe’s reply to the pharaoh, with a list of three toponyms whose rulers are to be brought before the king. Rtnw’s relationship with the pharaoh is equated with that of dogs (loyalty and submissiveness), stressing Egyptian dominance in foreign diplomatic matters;

- B238-245: Sinuhe leaves T33, transferring his possessions and responsibilities to his eldest son. Assisted by the St.tyw, he travels south to the Ways-of-Horus and enters Egyptian domain, noting the king’s gifts for the St.tyw;

- B264-266: Sinuhe appears before the royal family. The queen and children are taken aback by his foreign appearance.\(^{1500}\)

Much has been written on the historical worth of the Tale of Sinuhe. Some accept that it is a literary creation\(^{1501}\) and others propose that it is based on the life of a historic individual.\(^{1502}\) Several studies examine the text’s literary creativity by deconstructing its


\(^{1500}\) Goedicke suggests that the queen’s reaction is because Sinuhe was her relative and possibly her brother. Goedicke, in From Illuhun to Djeme, 59.


\(^{1502}\) For example, Wilson, in Ancient Near Eastern Texts, 18; J. W. B. Bars, ‘Sinuhe’s Message to the King. A Reply to a Recent Article’, JEA 53 (1967), 13-14; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 40-41; Rainey, BASOR 295 (1994), 82; Rainey, IOS 2 (1972), 369-408; Rainey, in Archaeological and Historical Studies, 281.
language, themes and characters, rightly interpreting these elements as products of the Egyptian literary ingenuity. But, defining the extent as to how much of the text is fiction and how much is fact remains difficult. Sinuhe’s account of Egypt, the death of Amenemhat I, the rule of his successor and the description of the marshlands and the Walls-of-the-Ruler, place Sinuhe’s adventures within a historical framework familiar to the Egyptian audience. Across Egypt’s borders, scholars have postulated that the text enters into the realm of the beyond or of the other. The representation of the foreign is certainly affected by this concept, yet can this be equated to a realm entirely of fiction?

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There are some indications that the Levantine geography, topography and, to a limited extent, society, as depicted in the story may be based on some fact:

- **Toponyms frequently attested in Egyptian sources:** Evidence corroborates the presence of an MBA settlement at Kpn with close religious and commercial contacts with the Twelfth Dynasty.\(^{1508}\) The toponyms Upper Rtnw\(^{1509}\) or simply Rtnw\(^{1510}\) are also commonly found. Additionally, several Middle and New Kingdom sources refer to Kdm and Tτ;\(^ {1511}\)

- **Foreign names:** No evidence for the ruler ʾmwsʾinnšši exists, yet the construction of his name with ʾmwn follows that of Levantine rulers of, for instance, the Execration Texts\(^ {1512}\) or Fourteenth Dynasty king ʾmwn.\(^ {1513}\) Semitic-sounding names attested in other Egyptian sources include Mki\(^ {1514}\) and Fnh.w;\(^ {1515}\)

- **Egyptian-Levantine relations:** Contact between the MBA Levant and Egypt is corroborated by such texts as the Mit Rahina inscription,\(^ {1516}\) Khnumhotep II’s record at Beni Hassan,\(^ {1517}\) Khnumhotep III’s biography at Dahshur\(^ {1518}\) as well as a plethora of archaeological evidence examined in this thesis.\(^ {1519}\) Khnumhotep III’s biography also supports Sinuhe’s testimony of decrees sent by the pharaoh to a foreign land.\(^ {1520}\)

If we accept these elements as fact, then other details within Sinuhe’s text can be revised. Underestimating the Egyptian audience’s knowledge of foreign lands does not suffice. On the contrary, the author(s) most likely had access to data on the geography, topography and socio-political situation of the Levant. Perhaps, then, one should ask why the author(s)...

\(^{1508}\) See Chapter 6.3.3.
\(^{1509}\) Sinuhe, B31.
\(^{1510}\) Sinuhe, B100, B109, B222.
\(^{1511}\) For more on the toponyms, see Mourad, GM 238 (2013), 78-81.
\(^{1512}\) For example E14, E22, E41, E49, E54, E57 of the Saqqara Execration Texts. See Chapter 4.3.8 and Translation 4.
\(^{1513}\) Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 364-366.
\(^{1514}\) Sinuhe, B219. The name is attested as Mki in Khnumhotep III’s biography, Mkiy in E37 (toponym) and E62 of the Saqqara Execration Texts, and Mki in el-Lahun’s P Berlin 10002. See Chapters 4.3.1.2, 4.3.8 and 4.3.5.2, respectively.
\(^{1515}\) Sinuhe, B221. *Wb* 1, 577.
\(^{1516}\) See Chapter 4.3.7.
\(^{1517}\) See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
\(^{1518}\) See Chapter 4.3.1.2.
\(^{1519}\) See, for example, Tell el-Dab’a (Chapter 4.2.2), el-Lahun (Chapter 4.3.5) and el-Lisht (Chapter 4.3.6).
\(^{1520}\) See Chapter 4.3.1.2.
would employ fictitious toponyms and incorrect geographical information when correct
data would have been both accessible and beneficial in forming a realistic setting for the
character’s travels.

It should be stressed that Sinuhe’s character development is the tale’s focal point. The
description of foreign lands and groups is subordinate to and dependent on Sinuhe’s own
experiences. This explains why, for instance, the St.tyw are portrayed as both helpers and
enemies. It also justifies Sinuhe’s position in Asiatic society: fleeing Egypt as a middle-class
man, he was able to achieve high rank in the Levant, his superiority in leadership and
military prowess representing the pharaoh’s dominance over the northeast while ensuring
Sinuhe’s fulfilment of Egyptian precepts. Despite the years spent in the Levant, the
Egyptian homeland, language, customs and mortuary practices remain favoured. Sinuhe’s
appearance in the royal court also results in shrieks of either fear or ridicule, necessitating
the removal of the foreign from Sinuhe and his reinstatement into Egyptian society. The
Egyptian remains the norm, preferred and perhaps considered superior to the other.

With this in mind, the text’s portrayal of Levantine society can be assessed. Firstly, debate has
fuelled over whether Sinuhe’s Asiatics were semi-nomadic or settled. The tale is
particularly vague on the subject, its analysis open to interpretations. There are the
Pd.ty, Asiatics in Egypt who are against the marsh-dwellers, and the Nmi.w-š who are
crushed at the border. Not much is written on the St.ty, except that they frequently
appear near Egyptian borders. The Asiatics in Upper Rtmw, identified as wh.yt, ñm.w and

1521 Sinuhe B24-28, B97-99, B245.
1522 Sinuhe B78-81, B85-92, B99-109, B129-B146.
1524 For instance, the language of Egypt is pleasing and Sinuhe returns to Egypt leaving behind his
wife and children. Sinuhe B31, B238-242. O’Connor, in Never Had the Like Occurred, 169-170;
1525 Sinuhe B265-266.
1526 Sinuhe is washed and anointed, his hair cut and combed and the foreign clothes replaced with
fine Egyptian linen. Sinuhe B279-295; O’Connor, in Never Had the Like Occurred, 170; Baines,
JE 68 (1982), 43; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 39, n. 43.
1527 Supporters of a pastoral Levant see a cultural group “largely undifferentiated as to economic or
societal function” (Redford), whereas others find an MBIIA society with an “organized
settlement with well developed military and political consciousness” (Rainey). Redford, BASOR
301 (1996), 78; Rainey, IOS 2 (1972), 378. See also Redford, Egypt, Canaan and Israel, 86-87;
Bárta, Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs, 41-43; Rainey, BASOR 295 (1994), 82-84; Rainey, in
Archaeological and Historical Studies, 282-289; Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and
Connections, 18-19.
1528 Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 18-19.
1529 Sinuhe B17-18, B52, B60-61, B63, B71-73, B121-122.
1530 Sinuhe B24-28.
rm$t$, are only mentioned in relation to Sinuhe rather than a particular city.\(^{1531}\) In fact, designations for cities or towns are not utilised in the story. There are only instances of the strong man’s $s3$ ‘gate’ and $inh.wt$ ‘walls’ which stand in contrast to his $im3(w)$ ‘tent’ and $fj3.y$ ‘encampment’, the latter two in a military context where warriors would be removed from their residence.\(^{1532}\) The only true portrayal of a foreign land is that of $T33$ which, with its vineyards, plantations and honey production, supports a locale with a settled population.\(^{1533}\) However, $T33$ was inhabited by Sinuhe, who himself originates from a sedentary society. Therefore, such ambiguities hinder reaching a sound conclusion on the Levantines’ mode of subsistence and emphasise that the central focus of the tale is not on the Levantines, but on Sinuhe.

Secondly, the text offers some details on the Asiatics’ local affairs. Sinuhe is a ruler of $T33$, subordinate to the overarching ruler of Upper $Rtnw$, $mws3nm$t\(_{1}\). The latter controls his territory through marital ties\(^{1534}\) and military force,\(^{1535}\) his army equipped with bows, daggers, axes and javelins.\(^{1536}\) Fighting amongst the variant groups in $Rtnw$ could transpire and be settled by duels.\(^{1537}\) Additionally, rulers either within $Rtnw$ or in the surrounding regions share a common enemy, the $St.tyw$, against whom they advance as a conglomeration termed the $hk3.w$ $h3s.wt$,\(^{1538}\) a title similar to the $hk3$ $h3s.t$ of Khnumhotep II’s tomb at Beni Hassan and the later $hk3$ $h3s.wt$.\(^{1539}\) The Asiatics are involved in farming, horticulture, hunting and animal husbandry, their diet featuring an assortment of vegetables, grains, fruits, meats and dairy products.\(^{1540}\) Thus, the Asiatics are not portrayed as a chaotic force. They are well-organised and betray a ‘quasi-Egyptian’ society.\(^{1541}\)

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\(^{1531}\) Sinuhe B84, B93-94, B104, B113, B130, B141.


\(^{1533}\) Sinuhe B81-92, B241; Rainey, in *Archaeological and Historical Studies*, 286. For an opposing view, see Redford, *BASOR* 301 (1996), 79.

\(^{1534}\) Sinuhe B78-79.

\(^{1535}\) Sinuhe B99-101.

\(^{1536}\) Sinuhe B105, B127-129, B134-140.


\(^{1538}\) Sinuhe B98-B99; J. L. Foster, ‘Cleaning up Sinuhe’, *JSSEA* 12/2 (1982), 84-85. Senwosret I, like Sinuhe and those loyal to him, also subdues the $St.tyw$ (Sinuhe B18, B71-75).

\(^{1539}\) See Chapter 4.4.1.3 and Figure 4.126. See also Chapter 7.3.4 for more on the titles.

\(^{1540}\) Sinuhe B81-92, B241.

\(^{1541}\) Moers infers that this representation is a literary device to assist the Egyptian audience in conceptualising a foreign land. While this is certainly possible, the attempt to ‘humanise’ Egypt’s neighbours does not solely have to be regarded as literary or fictional. It could merely be a less bellicose treatment of non-Egyptians. Moers, in *Narratives of Egypt and the Ancient Near East*, 171-173.
Thirdly, there are several insights regarding Egyptian-Levantine relations. They comprise of gift-exchange, trade and letter-correspondence. Egyptians are constantly travelling unhindered through Ṣ B and Upper Ṣ tw, pointing to Senwosret I’s diplomatic relations with Levantine regions. Asiatic rulers are informed of Egyptian affairs: the mtn of the Ṣ tyw as well as Ṣnwṣ Ṣnṣī recognize Sinuhe, the latter enjoying the company of other Egyptians. Peaceful dealings are evident with the Ṣ tyw, who assist Sinuhe’s journeys on the northern border of Egypt, exchanging products and people at the Walls-of-the-Ruler. Renowned rulers of the Levant, Mki from Kšml, Ḥnty.w-š of Ḥnty-kšw and Mnws from the two flat lands of the Fnḥ.w, could also visit Egypt. Still, the bellicose treatment of foreigners appears in instances concerning Senwosret I, heightening the segments’ representation of Egyptian dominance. Interestingly, the Ṣm.w are not treated negatively. It is the Ṣ tyw, Pd.tyw and Nmī.w-š who attract Egyptian antagonism. However, wherever points of contact occur between the Egyptian and Asiatic, it is the former that emerges as the stronger, orderly force. As such, the border between the two, represented by the Walls-of-the-Ruler and Ways-of-Horus, must be efficient and watchful, protecting Egypt from the beyond.

Overall, Sinuhe portrays diplomatic and peaceful Egyptian-Levantine relations. The king mostly ignores the internal politics of the Levant, unless it impacts the interests or security of Egypt. The text further provides important data on the similarities and differences between the Egyptian and foreign, placing the former as the dominant power. Nonetheless, it demonstrates that the Egyptians were knowledgeable about their northeasterly neighbours who generally lived in comfort, much like the Egyptians.

1542 Sinuhe B174-178, B204-205, B244-B246.
1543 Sinuhe B34, B94-95.
1544 Sinuhe B24-26, B34.
1545 Sinuhe B24-28, B263-266; Thompson, Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives, 133.
1548 Sinuhe B17-19, B242-244.
4.7 CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 4 gathered data from 34 sites in Egypt: 11 in the Delta region; eight in the Memphite region; five in Middle Egypt; and 10 in Upper Egypt (Map 2, Tables 15-16). Nine additional unprovenanced artefacts were selected for their significance (Table 17). The following presents a summary of the findings along with observations regarding the development of Egyptian-Levantine relations and the rise of the Hyksos.

4.7.1 The First Half of the Twelfth Dynasty – Amenemhat I to II

Pertinent data from the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, or the reigns of Amenemhat I to II, is primarily associated with royal activities. The beginning of Dynasty 12 was evidently troubled with major conflicts involving Asiatics. The tombs of Baqet, Khety and Khnumhotep I at Beni Hassan, and the Hatnub graffiti note that Asiatic and Nubian mercenaries were allied with Egyptians to secure royal power.\footnote{1549} Apparently, different divisions or units of Asiatics were involved in close-combat and siege attacks. One Asiatic is distinctly portrayed as the leader of his unit, indicating the organisation of Asiatic troops and the presence of high-ranking Levantines. Such individuals most likely joined forces with the Egyptians at the behest of the king who, as Khnumhotep I’s biography relays, personally visited Middle Egypt to quell the opposition. The military alliance consequently led to an influx of foreigners into Middle Egypt.

As the first king of a new dynasty, Amenemhat I was possibly involved in other security initiatives. Nesumontu’s stela at Abydos (Louvre C1) suggests that, at the end of his reign, the king was associated with attacks on fortresses of the Twn.tyw, Mntw.tyw and Ḥr.tyw.\footnote{1550} Despite their ideological and literary connotations, the Prophecies of Noferty and the Tale of Sinuhe also mention the construction of the Walls-of-the-Ruler along the northeastern Egyptian borders.\footnote{1551} The royally-instigated walls were seemingly built to manage the flow of goods and peoples, and control the number of ḫm.w and St.tyw in the Delta.

Evidently Amenemhat I was, at least in the didactic text to his son successful in restraining the ‘dog-like’ St.tyw.\footnote{1552} This negative treatment continues in the decorative programme of Senwosret I’s mortuary temple at el-Lisht,\footnote{1553} where Asiatics are depicted in subjugated

\footnote{1549} See, respectively, Chapters 4.4.1 and 4.4.3.\footnote{1550} See Chapter 4.5.11.\footnote{1551} See Chapters 4.6.5 and 4.6.9.\footnote{1552} The Instructions of Amenemhat I. See Chapter 4.6.2.\footnote{1553} The block from Amenemhat I’s mortuary temple at el-Lisht is too fragmentary for a secure assessment. See Chapter 4.3.6.1.
positions. The inscription from Tod’s Temple of Montu, which may also be of this king’s reign, similarly represents belligerent activity against Asiatics with mention of foreign labour.\footnote{1554}{See Chapter 4.5.11.} References to Senwosret I in other media, such as Montuhotep’s stela at Abydos (CG 20539) or the Tale of Sinuhe, follow suit, noting the pharaoh’s prowess in crushing Asiatics.\footnote{1555}{See, respectively, Chapter 4.5.1.1 and 4.6.9.} The latter text repeats the association of Asiatics with dogs, highlighting their metaphoric submissiveness. All these aforementioned examples occur in royally-instigated texts, royal funerary complexes or instances directly mentioning the king’s office. They portray a topos representation reaffirming the king’s duty to protect Egypt’s borders from chaotic foreigners. Although some military activity may have occurred, the Asiatics’ negative treatment cannot be confirmed by any other non-royal sources.

In contrast to this bellicose ideological treatment of foreigners, the tombs of Beni Hassan and the Hatnub graffiti indicate that the Egyptian administration was allied with Asiatics.\footnote{1556}{See Chapter 4.4.1 and 4.4.3.} Khnumhotep I’s biography at Beni Hassan mentions that the king travelled in ships of cedar, a small hint that trade with the Northern Levant had resumed during Amenemhat I’s reign. Such trade is supported by the archaeological evidence from Tell el-Dab’a, the only site in the Delta to reveal evidence from this period.\footnote{1557}{See Chapter 4.2.2.} Locally-made cooking pots were unearthed, indicating that Asiatics may have resided in the Delta region. Additionally, imported Syro-Palestinian store-jars and Levantine Painted Ware dipper juglets were found, attesting to commerce with the Northern Levant, particularly Byblos. Similar dipper juglets and store-jars are depicted in the tombs of Sobeknakht and Rehuerdjersen at el-Lisht, as well as Amenemhat’s tomb at Beni Hassan.\footnote{1558}{See, respectively, Chapter 4.3.6.1 and 4.4.1.2.} The scenes portray Egyptian men working with the jars, suggesting access to imported commodities and knowledge of Levantine pottery-making technologies. Meir’s tomb of Wekhhotep (B2) as well as Beni Hassan’s Shaft Tomb 181 and Amenemhat’s tomb contain further representations of Egyptian-Asiatics in low to middle ranking positions.\footnote{1559}{See Chapter 4.4.4.1, 4.4.1.2 and 4.4.1.4.} They provide evidence for the artistic mixture of Egyptian elements with such Asiatic characteristics as a lighter skin-tone for men or a foreign hairstyle and dress for females, pointing to local artists’ attempt to portray the individuals’ mixed heritage. While Asiatics were working in Middle Egypt, the Tale of Sinuhe notes Egyptians travelling to the Levant, especially the Northern Levant, where diplomatic relations were officiated.\footnote{1560}{See Chapter 4.6.9.} Gift-
exchange, trade, letter-correspondence, and envoys ensured that both Egyptian and Levantine parties were well-versed in each other’s languages, social hierarchy, and geography.

Egyptian-levantine relations under the following king, Amenemhat II, were of the same nature. Excerpts from his daybook verify gift-exchange between the Egyptian administration and Levantine rulers, as well as the reception of delegations in Egypt. The Mit Rahina text refers to assaults on fortresses at Twḥ(i) and Ṭ3ṣy, the main outcome of which was the capture of Asiatics who were then transferred to an Egyptian town. This situation finds parallels with the aforementioned inscription from Tod, where foreign labour is associated with a temple district. The Tod temple also yielded a treasure containing an assortment of imported products. Assigned here to Amenemhat II’s reign, the collection supports attestations in the Mit Rahina text for large-scale sea-borne trade with the Northern Levant (Hnty-S).

While such evidence signals the diplomatic and often bellicose nature of relations between the Egyptian administration and the Levantine elite, the evidence from non-royal tombs denotes a growing Egyptian-Asian community. At Dahshur, at least one Asiatic descendent was supplied with a possible false door, indicating his employment within the Egyptian administration as well as his adoption of Egyptian funerary traditions. The tomb of Wekhhotep (B4) at Meir also specifies Middle Egyptian nomarchs’ continued employment of Asiatics residing in the region.

Thus, the evidence from the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty points to close Egyptian-Levantines alliances which helped secure the establishment of Dynasty 12. Asiatic presence can be traced at Tell el-Dab’a, Dahshur, Beni Hassan and Meir while sites bearing evidence only of access to Levantine products are el-Lisht and Tod (Map 5). Border control along the northeast as well as the planned settlement at Tell el-Dab’a was royally instigated to manage the flow of goods and peoples. Trade with the Northern Levant, particularly Byblos and Hnty-S, was the most active. Once imported, commodities were evidently sent to administrative and temple complexes of the royalty and the elite. It is, then, no surprise that these same institutions and their neighbouring regions first feature the presence of Asiatic individuals as warriors under Amenemhat I, then as warriors, captives, officials, and delegates seeking trade and/or diplomacy under Senwosret I and Amenemhat II.

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1561 See Chapter 4.3.7.
1562 See Chapter 4.5.11.1.
1563 See Chapter 4.3.1.1.
1564 See Chapter 4.4.4.2.
4.7.2 The Second Half of the Twelfth Dynasty

Most of the sites with evidence for contact during the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty also bear signs of Egyptian-Levantine relations in the second half. Evidence for individuals of Asiatic descent is found at Tell el-Dab’a, Beni Hassan, and Meir, but is newly attested at el-Lahun, el-Lisht, Abydos, Tell ed-Deir and Wadi el-Hol, supporting the spread of Asiatics to the south of Egypt (Map 6). Sites producing only Levantine products include Dahshur, Kom Rabi’a and Deir el-Bersha.

Senwosret II’s reign is represented by evidence from only one tomb, albeit a very significant one. The tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan verifies diplomatic relations between Levantines and the Middle Egyptian elite.\textsuperscript{1565} This chapter also argued that the tomb, like that of Amenemhat, provides evidence for the presence of Egyptian-Asiatics, the ‘fair-skinned’ men, who were now employed in managerial roles. Furthermore, such Levantine commodities as ‘f’-wood and, perhaps, carob, are represented, indicating the elite’s access to Northern Levantine products.

The connection between the Beni Hassan elite and the Levant apparently continued in Senwosret III’s reign. A fragmentary inscription from the tomb of Khnumhotep III at Dahshur recounts dealings with Levantines.\textsuperscript{1566} The official evidently travelled to ṫmn for cedar when, following some mishaps with rulers of ḫny and Ṽw/t, letter-correspondence with the Egyptian king ensued. The text is not without bias, highlighting the pharaoh’s ideological control over foreigners. Therefore, as with the texts from the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, royalty was still in control over the foreign domain. Adding to this portrayal of royal might are Princess Mereret’s pectoral from Dahshur, el-Lahun’s Hymns of Senwosret III and the smiting scene from Montu’s temple at Nag’ el-Medamud.\textsuperscript{1567} Whether from Khnumhotep III’s voyage or another, Senwosret III’s pyramid complex was inevitably supplied with ships of cedar, confirming trade with the Northern Levant.\textsuperscript{1568} Other imports are attested textually as products of the St.t at the Temple of Montu at Nag’ el-Medamud,\textsuperscript{1569} and archaeologically as imported ceramics in a temple at Tell el-Dab’a.\textsuperscript{1570}

\textsuperscript{1565} See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
\textsuperscript{1566} See Chapter 4.3.1.2.
\textsuperscript{1567} See, respectively, Chapters 4.3.1.3, 4.3.5.2 (UC 32157) and 4.5.7.
\textsuperscript{1568} See Chapter 4.3.1.2.
\textsuperscript{1569} See Chapter 4.5.7.
\textsuperscript{1570} See Chapter 4.2.2.
Khnumhotep III was not the only Egyptian to encounter Asiatics during Senwosret III’s reign: two stelae at Abydos (CG 20296 and Rio de Janeiro 627) record Asiatic descendants in Egyptian households;\(^\text{1571}\) a papyrus from el-Lahun, Papyrus Berlin 10050, refers to Asiatics in service of Senwosret II’s valley temple;\(^\text{1572}\) and the tomb of Wekhhotep (C1) at Meir portrays Egyptian-Asiatic females bringing imported and local offerings from the Delta.\(^\text{1573}\)

Further, Khusobek’s stela at Abydos mentions his experiences in the military, noting the king’s involvement in a skirmish at Skmm.\(^\text{1574}\) This mission is evidently the last recorded military expedition against the Levant.

Evidence from Amenemhat III’s reign is largely similar in nature to that of former periods. Trade with the Levant is confirmed by the Syro-Palestinian store-jars in his pyramid complex.\(^\text{1575}\) A number of Asiatics residing in Egypt are also observed in texts dating to his rule, including two stelae from Abydos representing Egyptian-Asiatics partaking in Egyptian activities and duties (CG 20231 and E.207.1900), and at least seven papyri from el-Lahun.\(^\text{1576}\) They list Asiatic retainers, dancers, singers and other workers at the temples and settlement. They further point to the presence of institutions for the coordination of relations between Asiatics and the local population. As some Asiatics bear Semitic names, it is likely that Levantines were still migrating into Egypt at this time.

Significant developments are noticeable in the ideological treatment of these foreigners. The last attested smiting scene against Asiatics occurs on a pectoral from Princess Mereret’s tomb at Dahshur of Amenemhat III’s reign.\(^\text{1577}\) It is also the only recorded portrayal of this pharaoh’s negative treatment of Asiatics. The second half of the Twelfth Dynasty also marks the appearance of numerous groups of Execration Texts that were ritually buried for magical protection or empowerment against rebellious Egyptians and foreigners. Uncovered in funerary contexts at Saqqara, el-Lisht and perhaps Thebes, the texts reveal the administration’s awareness of the geography and ruling aristocracy of the Levant, and signal concern over defiant forces within and beyond Egypt’s borders.\(^\text{1578}\)

\(^{1571}\) See Chapter 4.5.1.1.
\(^{1572}\) See Chapter 4.3.5.2.
\(^{1573}\) See Chapter 4.4.4.3.
\(^{1574}\) Manchester 3306. See Chapter 4.5.1.1.
\(^{1575}\) See Chapter 4.3.1.3.
\(^{1576}\) See Chapter 4.5.1.1 and 4.3.5.2.
\(^{1577}\) See Chapter 4.3.1.3.
\(^{1578}\) See Chapter 4.3.6.2, 4.3.8 and 4.6.1.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

The following two pharaohs, Amenemhat IV and Sobeknoferu, are only attested in a limited number of representations. In this chapter, only one text definitively dates to Amenemhat IV’s reign, and is a papyrus from el-Lahun that refers to Hathor as ‘lady of Kpmry’.1579

The rest of the evidence for the second half of the Twelfth to the very beginning of the Thirteenth Dynasty cannot be assigned to a particular reign. It agrees with the above in the number, status, and treatment of Levantines in Egypt. Texts from el-Lahun, Abydos, Wadi el-Hol and an unprovenanced stela (Moscow I.1.a.5349) list Asiatics in a variety of positions.1580 They are household members, attendants, priests, workmen, temple staff and, perhaps, officials in the viziriate. The majority have Egyptian names and are often represented alongside Egyptian officials. Consequently, their literacy in the Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts is highly likely, and indeed inferred in the earliest Proto-Alphabetic texts at Wadi el-Hol.1581 Positions such as those of the ‘scribe of the ḫm.w’ and ‘overseer of the expedition of ḫm(w)’ denote the administration’s continued management of intercultural relations within the community.

Such relations are evident by the Levantine influences on the Egyptian populace. Individuals of apparent Egyptian descent are attested with names referring to an Asiatic resemblance,1582 or the goddess of Byblos.1583 Levantine commodities were uncovered in elite tombs as: cedar coffins at Dahshur and Deir el-Bersha; an axe-head from Abydos; as well as Northern Levantine wine in an Egyptian vessel at Dahshur.1584 Furthermore, the elite of Tell Edfu’s administrative complex received such imports as Levantine Painted Ware and Lower Egyptian zirs.1585

The zirs suggest that Levantine products were distributed across Egypt from a northern location, most likely Tell el-Dab’a. The archaeological evidence at Tell el-Dab’a points to the presence of a heterogeneous Egyptian-Levantine population residing in the region, supporting the evidence from other Egyptian sites for the acculturation of Asiatics.1586 Some residents were of the middle to high social echelons and evidently constructed tombs and houses carrying Northern Levantine features. Imported ceramics also indicate direct trade links with the coastal Northern Levant.

1579 UC 32196. See Chapter 4.3.5.2.
1580 See, respectively, Chapter 4.3.5.2, 4.5.1.1, 4.5.5.1 and 4.6.7.
1581 See Chapter 4.5.5.2.
1582 Stela Louvre C21. See Chapter 4.6.6.
1583 Wadi el-Hol Inscription B. See Chapter 4.5.5.1.
1584 See, respectively, Chapter 4.3.1.3, 4.4.2.2, 4.4.1.4 and 4.3.1.3.
1585 See Chapter 4.5.4.2.
1586 See Chapter 4.2.2.
Apparently, relations with Levantines were intensifying throughout the second half of Dynasty 12. Major changes are evident with the royal treatment of Asiatics: the last recorded militaristic expedition (Senwosret III); the last artistic bellicose representation (Amenemhat III); and a new need for Exeuvation Texts, emphasising Egyptian interests in foreign lands and security. The latter occurred during or shortly after the records of Khnumhotep III and Khusobek from Senwosret III’s reign concerning foreign affairs and the maintenance of efficient and secure commercial links with the Levant. These links would have been of utmost importance for the persistent flow of goods which archaeologically occur mainly as Northern Levantine prestige items in funerary, administrative and religious contexts of the ruling elite. The demand for these items possibly influenced the growing settlement at Tell el-Dab’a which also featured Egyptian-Levantines bearing Northern Levantine cultural elements, whose power and wealth possibly developed due to their management of commerce with the Levant. The origins of other Levantines from across Egypt are harder to ascertain. The available evidence suggests that some were new immigrants, apparently settling in areas with already-established Asiatic communities for possible commercial and vocational opportunities, and many were of acculturated and mixed Egyptian-Levantine ancestry.

### 4.7.3 The Thirteenth Dynasty

The early Thirteenth Dynasty witnessed the growing significance of Tell el-Dab’a as a hub of cultural and commercial activity. A large Egyptian-style administrative complex was constructed in Area F/I, its rooms producing Levantine design scarabs as well as a cylinder seal, possibly locally-made, illustrating Egyptian and Levantine elements connected to the myth of Baal. The seal corroborates a find from Tell el-Habwa which refers to a high official with the ‘Baal’ element in his name (‘pr.-B’fr). Tombs in the complex’s courtyard at Tell el-Dab’a likely belonged to elite Levantines with goods reflecting Northern Levantine features. Scattered between the courtyard’s plundered tombs were also fragments of a statue bearing hybrid Egyptian-Asiatic characteristics. The combination of artistic elements is similar to those of a sphinx figurine from Abydos. The hybridisation mirrors the mixed Egyptian and Levantine archaeological finds at Tell el-Dab’a as well as the mixed ancestry of the growing Asiatic community within Egypt. It is likely that the two items are a response to this community’s increased influences on the elite who, whether of Asiatic ethnicity or not, were cleverly represented with Egyptian and Asiatic features.

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1587 See Chapter 4.2.2.
1588 See Chapter 4.2.4.1.
1589 See Chapter 4.4.1.4.
CHAPTER 4: TRACING ASIATICS IN EGYPT

The statue at Tell el-Dab’a was, however, intentionally damaged, the complex in which it appears suddenly abandoned.\footnote{1590} The Mayor’s Residence at Tell Basta, which is architecturally very similar to Tell el-Dab’a’s complex, was also abandoned and burnt.\footnote{1591} Moreover, a conflagration layer of a slightly earlier date was uncovered at Tell el-Dab’a’s A/II H and G/4-1.\footnote{1592} Evidently, the Delta region was experiencing some turmoil during the early Thirteenth Dynasty. As there is no major change in the material culture of the subsequent phases or an evident interruption in commercial ties, the turbulence was likely due to shifting political alliances. Significantly, the elite of Tell el-Dab’a, Tell el-Habwa and Tell Basta were no longer buried in Memphis. Therefore, it is perhaps at this juncture that the Memphite rulers began to lose their control of the Delta, paving the way for the rise of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties.

Following the intermission, settlements developed in Tell el-Dab’a F/I c and A/II G/4-1. Levantine imports and locally-made Levantine shapes mostly parallel Northern Levantine forms, although some are also similar to Southern Levantine vessels. The MBA ceramics increased in number, signalling a rise in trade relations, demand for foreign wares, or an influx of peoples. The material culture reveals adherence to both Egyptian and Levantine customs, but the latter are more noticeable in funerary traditions.

The concluding stages of F/I c and A/II G/3-1 are represented by a crisis leading to a high mortality rate. This marks the second point in the Thirteenth Dynasty where regional instability is determined. Unlike the first juncture in the early Thirteenth Dynasty, the following phase at Tell el-Dab’a and, in fact, other regions in Egypt, witnessed major developments.

The mid-Thirteenth Dynasty is marked by the re-organisation of settlement plots, the appearance of a new settlement, and the construction of a sacred precinct at Tell el-Dab’a A/II, where a large temple (III) was built following Northern Levantine architectural traditions. Connections with the Northern Levant continue to be emphasised by the types

\footnote{1590} See Chapter 4.2.2.3.
\footnote{1591} See Chapter 4.2.1. In an early publication, Bietak connects the abandonment of Tell el-Dab’a’s complex of Stratum d/1 with that of Tell Basta’s administrative building, suggesting that both were perhaps influenced by the establishment of Nehsy’s kingdom. This theory was later abandoned in favour of the proposition that the complex housed the Thirteenth Dynasty king Hornedjheritef. As seen in Chapter 4.2.2.3, the connection between this Thirteenth Dynasty king and the complex of Stratum d/1 cannot be justified by the available material. See Bietak, *Avaris and Piramesse*, 294.
\footnote{1592} See Chapter 4.2.2.4. The left door jamb fragments that name ‘pr-B’\textsuperscript{r} from Tell el-Habwa I were also damaged by fire. Unfortunately, the report is not clear as to how or when the fragments may have been burnt. See Chapter 4.2.4.1; Abd el-Maksoud, *Tell el-Heboua*, 271.
of weapons buried with the elite as well as funerary offering pits. Newly attested in A/II and F/I are attendant burials denoting social differentiation. The introduction of large tri-partite houses in F/I similarly attest to greater social divisions. As the material culture indicates a continuance of the same heterogeneous Egyptian-Levantine elements, the developments should not be associated with an invading, external force. Instead, they symbolise a freedom to express ethnicity, wealth, status and religion. Possibly a response to socio-political shifts in the region, this expression could theoretically legitimise the power and independence of an emerging dynasty. The independence continued into the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty with the renovation of Temple III, the construction of new temples inspired by Egyptian and Levantine architecture, as well as the first recorded occurrence of infant burials in Syro-Palestinian store-jars.

While these developments were taking place at Tell el-Dab’a, Asiatics across Egypt remained socially active. Their presence has been traced in (Map 7):

- Dahshur: the graffiti of Senwosret III’s pyramid;
- El-Lahun: Levantine organic products, a torque and a Proto-Alphabetic text;
- El-Lisht: a statue of an Egyptian-Asiatic official and a statuette of a possible Levantine cultic figure;
- Hawara: an official’s fragmentary tomb inscription naming an Asiatic worker;
- Abydos: stelae dedications recording Egyptian-Asiatic household members and officials, one of which belonged to Asiatics living in Egypt for six generations;
- Dra’ Abu el-Naga’: Papyrus Boulaq 18 mentioning Egyptian-Asiatic officials in the Theban administration as well as Asiatic offering-bearers from the Delta;
- Tell Edfu: a stela listing an Asiatic household member;
- El-Rizeiqat: stelae recording Asiatics;
- Gebel Tjauti: graffiti left by Asiatic military personnel and officials; and
- Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446: a lengthy list of Asiatics probably residing at Thebes.

The representations suggest that the individuals were of mixed Egyptian-Asiatic ancestry. An exception is Stela Musée Joseph Déchelette, Roanne Nr 163, which depicts a female Asiatic with an Egyptian name but a foreign hairstyle and dress, and the Dahshur graffiti which were arguably composed by Asiatics themselves.1593 This may be explained by the aforementioned ‘freedom of expression’ which is also observable in el-Lisht’s cultic

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1593 See Chapter 4.6.8 and 4.3.1.4.
Chapter 4: Tracing Asians in Egypt

Individuals of Asiatic descent additionally appear in low to middle class positions. A greater number are attested in higher positions within the Egyptian administration. Evidently, Asians had an established and respected community within Egyptian society, holding positions of some power from which they may have been able to steer social, political, and commercial relations.

Egyptians had access to Levantine commodities that occur in occupation levels and funerary contexts. A tomb at Tell Basta comprised a scarab of Nehsy and tombs at Abydos contained Tell el-Yahudiya ware, a torque, and scarabs of Fourteenth Dynasty kings. Vessels from occupation levels were collected from el-Lisht, el-Lahun and Kom Rabî’a, the majority of the latter ascertained to be of Northern Levantine origins. This data agrees with two texts of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, the first is from Abydos and lists an official responsible for products from Kpny, and the second is a stela of Sobekhotep IV referring to the utilisation of ʿš-wedj of Hnty-š in temple architecture.

Therefore, it is evident that Dynasty 13 witnessed significant socio-political developments associated with Asians. Firstly, two main tumultuous intervals affected the first half of the dynasty. Initially only administrative centres appear to be affected but, when the general population suffered from a high mortality rate, the elite of Tell el-Dab’a responded by constructing the largest documented MBA temple as well as new and re-organised settlement plots. Architectural and funerary symbols of wealth and status became more prevalent, reflecting strong connections with Northern Levantine customs. Secondly, a ‘freedom of expressing’ this ethnic identity is clear. Finds across Egypt indicate that Levantines could practice their religion and wear distinctly non-Egyptian dress. Thirdly, there is the increasing differentiation in social echelons. There were the elite of Tell el-Dab’a, palatial officials, administrative officials, treasurers and military personnel. There were also butchers, retainers, cooks, musicians and weavers. The Asians intermingled with the Egyptians, with greater numbers of Asiatic wives and concubines. Judging by their names, a few may have been newly migrated from the Levant, but the majority seem to be descendants of acculturated Levantines, some living in Egypt for over a century. While these developments took place, trade with the Levant continued and intensified. Ties with the Southern Levant began to form but relations with the Northern Levant were more dominant. Northern Levantine commodities remained prized by the Egyptian and Levantine

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1594 See Chapter 4.3.6.4.
1595 See Chapter 4.2.1 and 4.5.1.2.
1596 See Chapter 4.5.1.1 and 4.5.6.
elite, and offices emerged within the Egyptian administration for the management of products from Byblos. No definitive textual evidence for such offices has yet surfaced for Tell el-Dab’a’s elite. However, this chapter has argued that they themselves were of Northern Levantine ancestry. This perhaps helped form continued alliances with Northern Levantine rulers, which may have inevitably led to the rise of the Hyksos.

4.7.4 The First Half of the Fifteenth Dynasty

The first half of the Fifteenth Dynasty marks the complete establishment of Tell el-Dab’a as the commercial capital of the Delta.\(^{1597}\) Excavations have revealed two areas with administrative complexes: R/III, where a seal impression of Khayan was found; and F/II, where a large palatial complex is still being unearthed. The F/II compound features a plethora of Levantine(-inspired) wares, a storage and workshop quarter, magazines comprising imported goods, a large hall with ritualistic offering pits notably yielding decapitated human hands, and a courtyard for cultic assemblies with offering pits filled with local, Memphite, and imported ceramics. Seal impressions bear the names of Thirteenth Dynasty kings, Fifteenth Dynasty ruler Khayan, and a ruler of Rtmw whose name is lost. The latter impression, along with one other seal, depicts Near Eastern elements. An Akkadian cuneiform tablet was additionally unearthed. All elements point to the compound’s use by elite officials practicing Levantine customs while trading with the Levant, Memphis/Fayum, the Egyptian Oases, Nubia, Mesopotamia and Cyprus.

Heightened prosperity is indicated by developments in other sectors. Temples were constructed and renovated in A/II and F/I, their architecture borrowing from Egyptian, Southern and Northern Levantine traditions. Ritual banqueting is evident by the many offering pits filled with ceramics for storing, preparing and serving food. Settlements rapidly expanded in A/II, F/I and A/V and more tombs are detected, retaining the same burial architecture and forms of funerary goods. Further subtle developments in the material culture are observed: a local Tell el-Yahudiyah ware industry surfaced, producing new Levantine-inspired styles; local scarab workshops gained popularity; local pottery workshops began to produce distinct types of pottery or creoles influenced by MBA shapes; and imported Cypriote as well as Nubian wares are more prominent in occupation levels. Consequently, a growing regionalisation or ‘Nilotisation’ is discernible.

\(^{1597}\) See Chapter 4.2.2.
Tell el-Dab’a’s population apparently increased and, as a result, new industries and places of worship were established. The site’s administration was not only able to efficiently manage the industries and construction projects, it also ensured the consistent import of foreign goods. Trade with the Northern Levant continued, that with the Southern Levant increased, and emerging links with Nubia, the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia are witnessed. Such progress stresses regional stability, prosperity as well as an independence from Egyptian hegemony. Interestingly, Stager’s ‘port power’ model of Levantine trade can be applied to these findings. It follows that the power of a trading centre, such as Tell el-Dab’a, in a decentralised system, like the Second Intermediate Period, could be exercised through economic ties in a heterogeneous and integrated network of market exchange.¹⁵⁹⁸

Evidence suggests that, once Tell el-Dab’a’s own stability was established, its rulers turned focus to the Delta (Map 8). New settlements emerged with Levantine or, more precisely, Egyptian-Levantine, material traits. They are situated at Tell el-Habwa and Tell el-Maskhuta, both strategically positioned on land-based routes leading to the Levant.¹⁵⁹⁹ Tell el-Habwa most likely supplied Tell el-Dab’a’s growing population with grains and foods, while Tell el-Maskhuta was possibly a trading settlement controlling the flow of goods through the Wadi Tumilat, guaranteeing land-based access to the Sinai, the Southern Levant and perhaps even the Red Sea. The data thereby supports that these two sites represent new initiatives by the Fifteenth Dynasty to manage this ‘integrated network’ of local and regional trade, and warrant its population’s wealth and independence.

Tombs with Levantine(-influenced) ceramics, weapons, scarabs and equid burials point to other Egyptian-Levantine settlements in the Delta. They are found at Tell Farasha, Inshas, Tell el-Yahudiyah and probably el-Khata’na and Tell el-Sahaba (Map 8). Perhaps the increased prosperity of Tell el-Dab’a attracted Egyptian-Levantines to settle in the eastern Delta.

Fifteenth Dynasty trade with other regions is supported by the discovery of a few Levantine(-influenced) goods. Within the Memphite region, Tell el-Yahudiyah ware is

attested at el-Harageh, el-Lahun and el-Lisht, Syro-Palestinian store-jars are found at Kom Rabi’a and el-Lisht, and Levantine design scarabs and seals occur at el-Lisht. The Upper Egyptian sites of Abydos, Karnak and Tell Edfu also yielded Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware.

Between Upper Egypt and Memphis, only two sites produced commodities of the north: Deir Rifeh and Mostagedda. As discussed in the chapter, some propose that Deir Rifeh was a Fifteenth Dynasty garrison while Mostagedda was under Seventeenth Dynasty control. The examined evidence includes: from Deir Rifeh, Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware as well as a button-shaped seal amulet inscribed with Proto-Alphabetic signs; and from Mostagedda, Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware, silver torques and Levantine design scarabs. All except for the amulet come from burials, suggesting that they were of funerary significance, perhaps related to status. Whether or not the sites were garrisons under two separate hegemonies, they both evidently had access to Levantine and Fifteenth Dynasty products, hinting at trade with the Delta.

Therefore, the first half of the Fifteenth Dynasty was involved in stabilising the internal security at Tell el-Dab’a and strengthening the city’s ‘port power’ and commercial ties. Administrative complexes with magazines, a reception hall and spaces for ritual banqueting were set up. Population numbers increased, the material culture reflecting a continuance and development of mixed Egyptian-Levantine traits. Demand for commodities, ceramics and scarabs secured the popularity of emerging local industries. Trade links with Memphis and Upper Egypt were limited, but products were still being transported throughout Egypt. New initiatives secured strategic posts in the eastern Delta, emphasising the importance of commerce and trade for the prosperity of Tell el-Dab’a. Clearly, the city’s rulers were interested in opening new avenues of trade via land and sea. Perhaps, in the course of securing commercial alliances, some conflict took place. F/II’s decapitated hands and its magazines’ conflagration layer hint that the first half of Dynasty 15 was not without qualms. On the whole, however, the establishment of the Fifteenth Dynasty was apparently peaceful. No evidence supports an invasion of a completely foreign race. Instead, the general populace as well as the elite seem to be of the same mixed culture as that of earlier periods: the creole populace is of heterogeneous character and the elite mostly follow Northern Levantine traditions. What distinctly surfaces during the Fifteenth Dynasty is the Hyksos’s escalating control of the Delta as well as the elite’s complete economic and commercial independence. These two factors assured the dynasty’s stability, security and affluence.

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1600 See Chapter 4.4.5 and 4.5.8.
5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Eastern Desert presents a periphery zone connecting Egypt with the Levant and other African and Arabian lands further south. Rich in mineral deposits and other organic products, the area was constantly visited by Egyptians throughout its history. While ideologically under the king’s auspices, the Eastern Desert cannot be considered Egyptian terrain, although control of the mines ensured the procurement of valuable commodities for the Egyptian state. Titles such as ‘overseer of the Eastern Desert’¹ suggest the establishment of an organised administrative division specifically for the management of voyages to the east.

This chapter gathers published evidence for Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period contact between Levantines and Egyptians at the Eastern Desert. Sites are divided into: (1) Mount Sinai and the Red Sea coast; and (2) the Southeastern Desert. For the sites’ geographical location, see Map 9. As in Chapter 4, each site includes its location by Latitude and Longitude, a list of selected references and its temporal placement within the Egyptian chronology. The data is then reviewed, noting the nature of contact between Egyptians and Levantines, the origins of and evidence for Levantine groups, and the development of Egyptian-Levantine relations.

¹ See Chapters 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.3 for individuals who held this title. For more, see Ward, Index, 44 [340]; Aufrère, in Egypt and Nubia, 207-214.
5.2 MOUNT SINAI AND THE RED SEA COAST

5.2.1 Ayn Sukhna

Lat.Lon. 29°36′N 32°20′E


Chron. Twelfth Dynasty to early Second Intermediate Period

Ayn Sukhna is located almost 120 km east of Memphis, on the west coast of the Red Sea’s Gulf of Suez. Since 2001, excavations by the Institut français d’archéologie orientale and the University of Paris-Sorbonne,2 have uncovered Old and Middle Kingdom remains principally at: (1) sector ‘Kom 14’, where a temporary camp with hearths, workshops and other installations were found near the coast;3 (2) Middle Kingdom metal workshops;4 and (3) 10 storage galleries cut into the mountainside.5 Inscriptions on the mountain’s rock face and within the galleries point to the site’s connection with the Sinai Peninsula, relating Ayn Sukhna with Pharaonic expeditions purposed to obtain turquoise, copper and possibly bronze.6 Excavators believe that Ayn Sukhna acted as a point of arrival/departure for seafaring expeditions along the Red Sea, especially those on route to the Sinai mines.7

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3 Abd el-Raziq et al., in *Red Sea in Pharaonic Times*, 8-10.

4 Abd el-Raziq et al., in *Red Sea in Pharaonic Times*, 7-8; M. Abd el-Raziq et al., *Ayn Soukhna*, vol. 2: *Les ateliers métallurgiques du Moyen Empire*, FIFAO 66 (Cairo, 2011).


6 Tallet, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012), 148-149; Abd el-Raziq et al., in *Red Sea in Pharaonic Times*, 4-5; M. Abd el-Raziq et al., *Les inscriptions d’Ayn Soukhna*, MIFAO 122 (Cairo, 2002).

7 Tallet, *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012), 149; Abd el-Raziq et al., in *Red Sea in Pharaonic Times*, 4-5.
Two Middle Kingdom boats used in such voyages were found dismantled and neatly stored in Galleries G2 and G9. The boats were each around 14 to 15 m long and assembled using Egyptian shipbuilding methods but with Lebanese cedar (Cedrus libani). An exact date for their construction is unknown, yet radiocarbon dating on timber samples indicates that they were stored at the end of the Middle Kingdom or the Second Intermediate Period. Following their deposition, the boats were exposed to fire, as evidenced by their charred remains, leading excavators to infer that they were deliberately destroyed during the Second Intermediate Period. Reasons for this assumption are not provided although, if correct, the destruction could signal the intentional and violent termination of expeditions along the Red Sea. The planks of cedar show the Egyptians’ preference for the timber in the construction of seafaring ships, offering evidence for trade with the Northern Levant during the Middle Kingdom.

5.2.2 Gawasis, Wadi / Mersa (Saww)

Lat.Lon. 26°33’N 34°02’E

Refs Sayed, RdE 29 (1977), 150-173; Bard and Fattovich (eds), Harbor of the Pharaohs; Bard and Fattovich, JAEI 2/3 (2010), 1-13; Bard and Fattovich, in Offerings to the Discerning Eye, 33-38.

Chron. Twelfth Dynasty to Second Intermediate Period

Wadi/Mersa Gawasis on the west coast of the Red Sea is around 378 km south of Ayn Sukhna. Investigations by Sayed and Bard and Fattovich uncovered a harbour with adjoining storage and administrative facilities dating from the Old to New Kingdoms (Figures 5.1-5.2). The Twelfth

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9 Abd el-Raziq et al., in Red Sea in Pharaonic Times, 5; Tallet, British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan 18 (2012), 150; Tallet, in Navigated Spaces, Connected Places, 35.

10 Around 1,700 BC. Tallet, in Navigated Spaces, Connected Places, 35.

11 Tallet, in Navigated Spaces, Connected Places, 35.


Dynasty witnessed the occupation of the eastern and western terraces, as well as the harbour.\[^{14}\] Lack of monumental permanent architecture indicates the site’s temporary habitation. This is also marked by encampments at the top and southern slope of the western terrace.\[^{15}\] Other parts of the terrace, including galleries cut into the coral reef, were utilised as storage facilities, administrative quarters, wood workshops and food-processing areas.\[^{16}\]

Finds from the storage areas and wood workshops of Galleries or Caves 1-3 (Figure 5.2) include Lebanese cedar hull planks, deck planks, a strake reused as a work bench and other small fragments.\[^{17}\] A production area in front of the caves consisted of fire pits with charcoal, samples of which also include Lebanese cedar, oak and pine from the Northern Levant.\[^{18}\] Cedar objects such as the strake\[^{19}\] and a wooden spoon from an administrative area outside Cave 8\[^{20}\] attest to the timber’s functional reuse. From the overall wood samples, Lebanese cedar appears to be one of the most commonly used timbers alongside acacia and sycamore from Egypt.\[^{21}\] In relation to the site’s function as a harbour, it is possible that cedar was essential for the construction of seafaring ships. Consequently, its importation\[^{22}\] was important for the continuance of trade along the Red Sea.


\[^{22}\] A stela at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis for Senwosret I’s vizier, Intefoker, describes how the ships were constructed at Qift (Coptos) and transported to Gawasis, where they were reassembled. So, the
The strong timber was not the only import from the Levant. Fragments of Syro-Palestinian store-jars have been found in at least three excavation units across the site: (1) an area outside the caves of the western terrace (WG 31, SU 1) where a piece of Lebanese cedar, rope fragments, hearths and pottery dating between the Second Intermediate Period and the early Eighteenth Dynasty were uncovered;\(^\text{23}\) (2) a beach near the harbour (WG 47). The sherd was of a handle uncovered in a storage area with Egyptian jars belonging to the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty as well as one cooking pot of Nile E fabric of the eastern Delta;\(^\text{24}\) and (3) near the edge of the harbour below Cave 8 (WG 69) in an area utilised as a refuse for broken pottery throughout Dynasty 12.\(^\text{25}\) The three contexts point to the utilitarian and non-elite use of the Syro-Palestinian store-jars between the Twelfth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period which, as WG 47’s pottery insinuates, were most likely imported via the eastern Delta, perhaps Tell el-Dab’a.\(^\text{26}\) It should be noted that wares from southern lands, such as South Arabia and Nubia, were more abundant than these northern fabrics, possibly signalling the presence of Nubians or local inhabitants alongside the Egyptians.\(^\text{27}\) The presence of Levantine peoples cannot, however, be substantiated by the current excavated material. Nevertheless, the existence of Levantine ceramics and timbers signals an active flow of trade in utilitarian goods, some of which were necessary for maintaining the very function of the site as a trading harbour.

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\(^{26}\) It is possible that Minoan sherds from the site, a Middle Minoan IB White Banded Kamares sherd and a Middle Minoan IIIA Fine Buff Crudeware sherd, were similarly transported from the Delta. Wallace-Jones, in *Mersa/Wadi Gawasis 2007-2008*; Bard and Fattovich, *JAII* 2/3 (2010), 9-9.

CHAPTER 5: BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE LEVANT

5.2.3 Maghara, Wadi

Lat.Lon. 28°54′N 33°22′E

Refs PM 7, 339-345; Petrie, Sinai; Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai* 1, pl. 11; Černy, *Inscriptions of Sinai* 2, 67-68.

Chron. Twelfth Dynasty

Wadi Maghara is located in the southwestern Sinai Peninsula. Explorations include those by Lepsius (1845), Petrie (1904-5) and Valbelle (1987). Findings consist of an Old Kingdom settlement as well as inscriptions mainly dating from the Old to Middle Kingdoms. Middle Kingdom inscriptions are assigned to the reign of Amenemhat III, Amenemhat IV and the general Middle Kingdom period. Wadi Maghara was mostly exploited for its turquoise ores with a possibility of copper manufacturing at the settlement. Data relating to Egyptian-Levantine contact includes:

- Inscription Nr 24-24a (Figure 5.3): Two fragments of a commemorative stela dating to Year 2 of Amenemhat III's reign for the 'remover of scorpions', Iti. Among the list of named individuals is Išsi, Išma Tmš=iš-šm i "Išma Iuseni'. A seated figure at the bottom of the fragment acts as a determinative for the name, although its larger scale indicates that could it be an image. It portrays a man with a long pointed

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35 Tools, copper slag, ore chips, ingot moulds and crucible fragments were uncovered at the site. Petrie, Sinai, 51-53; Mumford, in *Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, 1075; Shaw, *Antiquity* 68 (1994), 115.
36 See also Nr 23 for a reference to the same individual. Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai* 1, pl. 11 [24-24a]; Černy, *Inscriptions of Sinai* 2, 67-68 [Nrs 23-24a].
37 Rank, *Personennamen* 1, 15 [4].
38 For a similar use of a determinative, see Inscription Nr 163 from Serabit el-Khadim (Chapter 5.2.4.1; Figure 5.29; Table 18). Černy, *Inscriptions of Sinai* 2, 68.
beard, a throw-stick in his hands and a somewhat coiffed hairstyle. A drawing immediately behind the neck, similar to [V19] may also be related to the figure;39

- Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 348 (Figure 5.4): The exact context of the inscription is unknown but it may have been engraved onto a rock-face.40 Sass identifies 10 characters of the vertical, now missing, text (m ? š t m h b ✯ l t) and leaves it untranslated41 while Butin reads eight letters for št mh 'št, cherished of Baalat'.42 In both renditions, the final six characters are the same, suggesting that the inscription possibly featured the Levantine goddess Baalat. Due to the uncertain location of the text, its exact date cannot be ascertained;

- Inscription Nr 32: A text dated after Amenemhat III’s Year 20.43 Among a list of expedition members is the ‘interpreter Nehy’44 whose expertise may have been necessitated for contacting locals or other foreigners involved in the venture.

Despite the uncertain dating of Nr 348, the hieroglyphic inscriptions imply that Asiatics were working alongside Egyptians at Wadi Maghara during Amenemhat III’s reign. Based on the Egyptian name of the foreigner in Nr 24-24a, he was most likely not a local inhabitant of the Sinai but possibly accompanied the expedition from Egypt. He, along with his Egyptian associates, would have then required an interpreter such as Nehy of Nr 32 to communicate with the locals and/or other foreigners in the area.

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39 Perhaps the figure and symbol are a garbled writing of the title ir.y-ṣ.t n.y md.t ‘hall-keeper of the stable’. Ward, Index, 59 [479].
40 Sass, Genesis of the Alphabet, 16.
41 Sass, Genesis of the Alphabet, 16-17, figs 23-26.
43 Gardiner and Peet, Inscriptions of Sinai 1, pl. 12 [32]; Černý, Inscriptions of Sinai 2, 70-71 [Nr 32]. An ‘overseer of the ‘Imn.w’ is also listed, the determinative of ‘Imn.w possibly being that of a foreign land. Gardiner and Peet, Inscriptions of Sinai 1, pl. 12 [32]; Černý, Inscriptions of Sinai 2, 70.
5.2.4 Serabit el-Khadim

Lat. Lon. 29°02’N 33°28’E

Refs PM 7, 345-366; Petrie, Researches in Sinai; Gardiner and Peet, Inscriptions of Sinai 1; Černy, Inscriptions of Sinai 2; Starr and Butin, Studies and Documents 6; Beit-Arieh, BA 45/1 (1982), 13-18; Beit-Arieh, Levant 17 (1985), 89-116; Sass, Genesis of the Alphabet, 10-45; Valbelle and Bonnet, Le Sanctuaire d’Hathor; Hamilton, Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet, 332-389.

Chron. Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty (?)

Around 18 km northeast of Wadi Maghara is Serabit el-Khadim. The site was exploited for its turquoise and copper mines since the Chalcolithic period. With the resumption of mining activity in the Sinai following the First Intermediate Period, the site began to be visited by Egyptian expeditions, some of whom were involved in building a rock-cut temple in honour of Hathor, ‘lady of Mฟk�:', and Sopdu. Perhaps initially a shrine instigated by Amenemhat I, the temple was renovated throughout the Middle Kingdom’s Twelfth Dynasty and the New Kingdom’s Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties. Its remains, as well as other finds from the surrounding region, were uncovered by, for instance, Petrie, Albright, Beit-Arieh and, more recently, Valbelle. Evidence for Egyptian-Levantine relations mainly stems from the Egyptian texts, although some data may be extracted from the Proto-Alphabetic inscriptions.

5.2.4.1 Egyptian texts

A total of 29 Egyptian texts written on stelae, statues, an altar and wall inscriptions refer to Asiatics and/or Levantine toponyms (Table 18; Translation 13). Of those with a known context, only one was found in Mine C (Nr 54), the rest being from several sections of the Hathor Temple. One dates to Senwosret III’s reign, 19 or 20 are to Amenemhat III’s, three

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46 Černy, Inscriptions of Sinai 2, 33-38.
47 Černy, Inscriptions of Sinai 2, 35-36.
48 Černy, Inscriptions of Sinai 2, 33-38.
49 Petrie, Researches in Sinai.
are to Amenemhat IV’s and five are of the general Middle Kingdom period. Details regarding their specific context, the portrayal of Asiatics and bibliographic references can be found in Table 18. The table includes further instances of Asiatics that are only represented artistically. Translations of the inscriptions and their figure references are provided in Volume II: Translation 13. The texts represent: (1) individual Asiatics; (2) groups of Asiatics; and (3) toponyms of Asiatic lands not associated with particular Asiatics.

*Individual Asiatics*

There are 34 instances of Asiatic individuals of varying status, including those clearly within the Egyptian administration and those whose origins are more obscure. Three references can be ascribed to low to middle ranking officials with such titles as ‘hall-keeper’ (Nr 85) and ‘major-domo’ (Nr 112). They occur in lists of expedition members dating mainly to the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III.

13 inscriptions belong to high-ranking officials. Eight are for Amenyseshenen who is known as the ‘sealer of the King of Lower Egypt’ as well as ‘deputy of the chief steward’ (Nrs 93-99 and 402). His foreign origins are indicated by the presence of a pointed beard on his representation in Nr 95 (Figure 5.18) as well as his mother’s designation as ‘im.t. Her name is of Egyptian origin, suggesting that she was either a first or second generation immigrant to Egypt. Accordingly, Amenyseshenen would have been raised in Egypt, an inference supported by Nr 98 in which he is described as the foster-child of Amenemhat III and a pupil of Horus. His high status and connection to royalty is further enforced by his inscribed name on a statuette of Amenemhat III’s daughter, Princess Neith-ikret (Nr 98).

Another high official is the ‘(chief) chamberlain of the treasury’, ‘im or Ptahwer, who occurs in four inscriptions most possibly of Amenemhat III’s reign (Nrs 54, 108-109 and 414). His identification as an Asiatic is solely based on Nr 414 in which Ptahwer is his ‘beautiful name’ whereas ‘im is his true name. No mention of his foreign origins can be extrapolated from Nrs 54, 108 or 109, highlighting that Asiatics may not necessarily be represented as foreigners in Egyptian texts. His association with the treasury may have contributed to his involvement in expeditions to the northeast as implied by the epithets in Nr 54 signalling exploratory missions to foreign lands.

Duties of a religious nature are associated with the Asiatic ‘senior chief lector priest’, Werkherephemut (Nr 123). A high priest of Memphis, the official was involved in sending

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53 As identified by the inscription’s mention of ‘boundaries of the foreign lands’, the ‘mysterious valleys’ and the ‘total end of the unknown’.
rations and offerings to the Hathor Temple during Amenemhat IV’s rule. The text does not reveal whether he visited the temple. Nonetheless, his attainment of such a position stresses the ability for Asiatics to hold powerful and influential religious roles.

Thus far, 16 out of the 34 references have been assigned to six Asiatics: three are low to middle ranking officials and three are of high status. Their Egyptian names, titles, epithets and relations advocate their accomplishment with the Egyptian expeditions to Serabit el-Khadim and/or their employment within Egypt. Therefore, they are most likely not inhabitants of Serabit el-Khadim. The Asiatics, namely the high officials, would not have been involved in mining duties but in the management of labourers, coordination of activities and, in reference to Wekherephemut, the distribution of temple offerings.

The remaining references concern those with foreign names and/or depictions. Four such instances specifically mention the ‘brother of the ruler of ṭmnw, ḫḥdḏ(m)’ (Nrs 85, 87, 92 and 112). He is textually represented in three inscriptions in a list of expedition members (Nrs 85, 92 and 112, south face).54 A further two inscriptions artistically portray him as a foreigner: Nr 87 illustrates him in a row of officials with a coiffed hairdo (Figure 5.7); and Nr 112 (west face) shows him with a similar hairstyle while riding a donkey, the staff he carries probably denoting his status (Figure 5.20A). A parallel may be found on a dagger from Byblos which portrays a donkey-rider carrying a staff across the shoulder while wearing a banded kilt.55 This ‘donkey-rider’ portrayal is repeated in three other inscriptions that thereby may also be attributed to ḫḥdḏ(m) (Nrs 103, 115 and 405; Figures 5.20, 5.24 and 5.22), one of which preserves his yellow skin-colour and red-banded kilt (Nr 405). All representations of ḫḥdḏ(m) emphasise his foreign origins which, based on his name and portrayal as a ‘donkey-rider’,56 stemmed from the Levantine elite. Further, his inclusion in

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54 Goldwasser, following Sass, proposes that the west and south faces of Nr 92 were inscribed by one who mixed the Egyptian and Proto-Alphabetic signs, probably a ‘Canaanite’ in ḫḥdḏ(m)’s group. Due to the script’s poor workmanship and erroneous renderings of hieroglyphs which Goldwasser and Sass associate with the Proto-Alphabetic script, the stela could thus be evidence of an Asiatic’s knowledge in the Egyptian and Proto-Alphabetic scripts. While the theory is attractive, it remains reliant on a fragmentary and weathered stela. For instance, the ‘poor workmanship’ of the signs is described by Goldwasser in opposition to the east face’s “upper 10% quality-scale of hieroglyphs in Sinai”, despite the latter being only around a quarter preserved. Yet, if correct, the theory would not only suggest the presence of bi-lingual Levantine scribes in the Sinai, it would also offer a Middle Kingdom date for the Proto-Alphabetic script. O. Goldwasser, ‘The Miners Who Invented the Alphabet – A Response to Christopher Rollston’, JAEI 4/3 (2012), 14-17; Sass, Genesis of the Alphabet, 143.

55 See Chapter 6.3.3.1 and Figure 6.20.

expedition lists dating from at least Year 4 to 25 of Amenemhat III’s reign infers continuing diplomatic relations between the king and the ruler of Ṭīm.  

Artistically, Ḥbd(m) or the ‘donkey-rider’ is never the solely depicted foreigner. He is accompanied by one or two individuals who, where captions are present, have Semitic-sounding names (Nrs 103, 112, 115 and 405). One is also described as the son of Ḥbd(m) (Nr 112). Preserved characteristics show these individuals with coiffed hairstyles, multi-banded kilts and foreign products such as a Syro-Palestinian store-jar (Nr 112; Figure 5.20). Some also carry spears or axes, perhaps of the duckbill shape, indicating their ability to remain armed in Serabit el-Khadim. Their ‘flanking’ of the donkey heightens the status of the ‘donkey-rider’, suggesting that they may have acted as his personal guard. Nr 115 also seems to associate six men from Ṭīm with the donkey-rider, increasing the number of his entourage. Therefore, it is observed that these individuals accompanied Ḥbd(m) and could have been of the same origin.

However, was Ḥbd(m) from the Sinai region? Disregarding the location of Ṭīm,57 a significant clue that Ḥbd(m) travelled from Egypt to Serabit el-Khadim occurs in Nr 87 (west face). As Černy reconstructs it, an official notes ‘... [my forces arrived] complete in their entirety, there never occurred any loss among them...’58 This is followed by two registers listing the officials, one of whom is Ḥbd(m). The text indicates that he was part of the expedition from Egypt rather than the brother of a ruler in the Sinai who had developed relations with the visiting Egyptians.59 Consequently, similar journeys to Serabit el-Khadim involving Ḥbd(m) would have consisted of Egyptians as well as his armed entourage. Reasons for his presence there are unknown but could be related to: (a) overseeing Asiatic personnel from his place of origin; (b) developing or mediating relations with locals at Serabit el-Khadim; or (c) overseeing the quarrying of minerals to be transported to Ṭīm via Egypt. Considering Ḥbd(m)’s high status as well as his frequent visitation to the area across a period of at least 20 years, a combination of all three suggestions is likely. Effectually, this proposition infers that the Ṭīm royal was visiting or perhaps residing in Egypt as his base of trading operations for at least 20 years. It also points to Amenemhat III’s involvement in a significant trading and diplomatic venture with the ruler of Ṭīm.

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57 Černy attests that the Sinai is part of Ṭīm, although this is not definitive. J. Černy, ‘Semites in Egyptian Mining Expeditions to Sinai’, ArOr 7 (1935), 389. See Chapter 7.3.2 for more on the toponym.

58 Černy, Inscriptions of Sinai 2, 95 [87].

59 Hoffmeier notes a personal communiqué with Bietak who posits that Ḥbd(m) and his brother were travelling from Avaris. J. K. Hoffmeier, ‘Sinai in Egyptian, Levantine and Hebrew (Biblical) Perspectives’, in H. Barnard and K. Duistermaat (eds), The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert (California, 2013), 115-116, n. 20.
Such an interpretation implies the presence of other Asiatics from the Levant at Serabit el-Khadim. Obelisk Nr 163 features three references to Semitic-sounding names, [...]i-ši and his two sons. Two of the names preserve the coiffed hairstyle and pointed beard of their determinatives and all three carry duckbill (?) axes and rectangular-shaped shields (Figure 5.29), perhaps of the same type as those of Khety’s Asiatics at Beni Hassan.\(^{60}\) The use of hieroglyphs indicates knowledge of the Egyptian language yet the individuals’ names and artistic depictions suggest that they were not yet fully integrated within Egyptian society. As the only other representations of Asiatics with foreign names and dress belong to \(\text{Hbdh}(m)\) and his entourage, it is likely that the obelisk was for an Asiatic from the Levant, either a recent migrant or perhaps part of \(\text{Hbdh}(m)\)’s entourage. It is also possible that the obelisk belonged to an individual from the Sinai, but this would represent the only reference to local inhabitants, rendering origins from further afield more likely.

Overall, the 34 references to Asiatics at Serabit el-Khadim, and potentially the three in Nr 163, represent foreigners travelling from Egypt to the Eastern Desert. They include six individuals from the Egyptian administration, three of whom were associated with the management of activities, as well as \(\text{Hbdh}(m)\) and his retinue, who were most likely on a diplomatic venture. Markers of foreign ethnicity are more noticeable in the latter, indicating the acculturation of those within the Egyptian administration. No Asiatic is treated negatively. They were noted for their contributions to the expeditions, highlighting the cooperative nature of relations between Egyptians and Asiatic descendants.

The presence of Egyptians alongside Asiatics implies the existence of intercultural relations. Such relations would have been mediated not only by such elite personnel as \(\text{Hbdh}(m)\), but also by the interpreters referenced in the Middle Kingdom inscriptions. At least one is known for an expedition by Amenemhat II (Nr 83), 13 are on Amenemhat III’s missions (Nrs 85, 88, 92, 94, 100, 105, 112 and 133) and 15 appear in other Middle Kingdom inscriptions (Nrs 133, 136, 141, 143, 153, 412, 510-511).\(^{61}\) None specify the interpreters’ exact origins, their Egyptian names not necessarily reflective of their ethnicity, and it is uncertain if they were interpreting for the foreign Asiatics and/or the local population. However, their frequent occurrence signifies the importance of effective communication between the various cultures. Their tasks as mediators would also primarily require knowledge in Egyptian and foreign languages, implying that the Middle Kingdom kings employed multilingual officials to promote their diplomatic relations.

\(^{60}\) See Chapter 4.4.1, Figures 4.107, 4.110.
\(^{61}\) For their translations, see Černý, \textit{Inscriptions of Sinai} 2, 17, passim.
Groups of Asiatics

Five inscriptions dating from the reigns of Amenemhat III to Amenemhat IV list groups of Asiatics. Two represent them as ʕim numbering 10 (Nr 85) and 20 (Nr 110), the latter specifically from Ḥmn. The remaining texts record them as men from ṫmwn, their numbers ranging from six (Nr 115) to 20 (Nr 120). One inscription also refers to 10 ṫmwn men as ḫs.tw (Nr 114), listing them among 209 other members which brings their contribution to around 4.8% of the entire expedition. Nr 120 mentions 20 Asiatics among 200 Egyptian workers,62 or 10% of the expedition. From such numbers, Černy concludes that the Asiatics were not employed as miners but as mediators.63 While this is possible, the groups’ small numbers indicates that they could also be specialists associated with mining, mineral processing and/or diplomatic relations. At least one party of ṫmwn men is connected with the brother of ṫmwn’s ruler and so it is likely that other ṫmwn groups were similarly travelling from Egypt to Serabit el-Khadim at the behest of Ḥbd(m). The inclusion of ʕim groups from regions perhaps not within ṫmwn supports the Egyptians’ alliance with Asiatics from various locales, subsequently providing further evidence for peaceful foreign relations during the late Twelfth Dynasty.

Toponyms of Asiatic lands not associated with particular Asiatics

Two toponyms not associated with particular Asiatics occur: Si.t (Nrs 54, 91, 121 and 411) and ṫmwn (Nr 136). Unfortunately, Nrs 91 and 136 are fragmentary. The rest appear in connection to officials’ ability to travel to distant regions to acquire valuable commodities. Nr 411 includes such items as turquoise and lapis-lazuli, the former derived from the Eastern Desert but the latter from much further afield. As with the representations of individual Asiatics and groups of foreigners, the toponyms are portrayed in a positive light, benefitting the Egyptian officials who visited them for peaceful trade ventures.

5.2.4.2 Proto-Alphabetic texts

The literature on Serabit el-Khadim’s Proto-Alphabetic texts is filled with discussion and debate.64 As a thorough examination is not possible here, a general overview is provided to

62 Černy, ArOr 7 (1935), 385.
63 Or, “perhaps even as hostages against the annoyance of various kinds which were to be expected from surrounding tribes”. Černy, ArOr 7 (1935), 385.
highlight the texts’ significance, with a selection of inscriptions that reflect intercultural relations. Over 30 inscriptions originate from the site: 20 were uncovered at and around the entrance of Mine M, one was within the mine, five were near or within Mine L and four were found within the Hathor Temple.\textsuperscript{65} Several individual examples were found near other mines and outside the Hathor Temple, as well as along the site’s plateau.\textsuperscript{66} They are inscribed on walls, stelae, stelaform panels, statuettes and other fragments of such items.\textsuperscript{67}

Scholars have questioned the date of the texts, their language, translation, script and scribes.\textsuperscript{68} Current consensus agrees that the texts are of a Northwest Semitic speaking population. Chronological hypotheses generally span the period between the Middle and New Kingdoms for their creation.\textsuperscript{69} However, following the discovery of the inscriptions in Wadi el-Hol,\textsuperscript{70} scholars now favour a Middle Kingdom, MBIIA date for the texts.\textsuperscript{71} It is agreed that their script is influenced by the Egyptian but it is uncertain whether it was the hieroglyphic and/or hieratic that inspired its creation. The Proto-Alphabetic texts from Wadi el-Hol, which are arguably

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69. See references in n. 64 above, as well as H. May, 'Moses and the Sinai Inscriptions', BA 8/4 (1945), 93-99; J. L. Siegel, 'The Date and Historical Background of the Sinaitic Inscriptions', \textit{AJS} 49/1 (1932), 46-52; M. J. Leibovitch, 'The Date of the ProtoSinaitic Inscriptions', \textit{Le Museum} 76 (1963), 201-203.


71. See Chapter 4.5.5.2; Darnell et al., \textit{AASOR} 59 (2005), 64-124.
earlier than those at Serabit el-Khadim, imply that both Egyptian scripts were used, thereby inferring that the scribes were literate in the hieroglyphic and hieratic traditions.\textsuperscript{72}

Goldwasser contends that the Proto-Alphabetic script was invented in the Sinai by Semitic illiterates who visually imitated hieroglyphic inscriptions that they encountered.\textsuperscript{73} Negating the postulated earlier date of the Wadi el-Hol texts, she asserts that the creators were miners who, separated from the Egyptian population and without free access to the Hathor Temple, invented the written system to satisfy their spiritual yearnings.\textsuperscript{74} The script was then learned by elite Levantines at Serabit el-Khadim.\textsuperscript{75} Goldwasser does not explicitly link the creators with a local population, yet argues that the Proto-Alphabet remained with (semi-)nomadic marginal populations for almost 600 years.\textsuperscript{76} Counterarguments contend that the inventors were sophisticated members of the Levantine elite who had close ties with the Egyptian administration.\textsuperscript{77} In support of the rebuttal are: a lack of archaeological data for a local population settled at Serabit el-Khadim; the absence of evidence for the Asiatics’ separation from Egyptians; the location of several texts within the Hathor Temple; and the evidence for Asiatics and Egyptians working, travelling and presenting offerings together at Serabit el-Khadim. Because of the Proto-Alphabetic texts’ anomalous dates, their questioned translations and their rarity,\textsuperscript{78} a conclusive argument regarding the identity of the scribes cannot yet be reached. If the Wadi el-Hol texts are taken into account, then the evidence would lean in favour for the literacy of the scribes.

Whether the inventors were literate or illiterate, Goldwasser does not deny that some Levantines at Serabit el-Khadim were possibly knowledgeable in both Egyptian and Proto-

\textsuperscript{72} See Chapter 4.5.5.2; Darnell et al., AASOR 59 (2005), 64-124; Hamilton, \textit{Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet}, 290-294. For a counter argument, see Goldwasser, A&L 16 (2006), 135, 150-151; Goldwasser, in \textit{Culture Contacts}, 273-274.


\textsuperscript{74} Goldwasser, \textit{A&L} 16 (2006), 151-152; Goldwasser, in \textit{Culture Contacts}, 267-268, 290.

\textsuperscript{75} Goldwasser, \textit{JAEI} 4/3 (2012), 14-19; Goldwasser, \textit{A&L} 16 (2006), 143-144.

\textsuperscript{76} Goldwasser, \textit{A&L} 16 (2006), 153; Goldwasser, in \textit{Culture Contacts}, 284-287.

\textsuperscript{77} Rollston, ASOR Blog (2010).

Alphabetic scripts. Moreover, all theories rely on the site being a ‘melting-pot’ of cultures.\textsuperscript{79}

Other than the script itself, the evidence that best reflects intercultural contact is:

- Distribution: All texts were uncovered in the same or near areas where Egyptian inscriptions were found, including the Hathor Temple and the mines.\textsuperscript{80} This would indicate that, if a MBIIA date for the texts is accepted, the areas were frequented and/or mined by both populations at the same time;

- Medium: Four texts from the Hathor Temple were inscribed on statuettes carved in the Egyptian fashion. Nr 345 is of a reclining sphinx wearing a possible nemes headress (Figure 5.31).\textsuperscript{81} The remaining three, a block statuette (Nr 346; Figure 5.32) and two busts (Nrs 347 and 347a; Figures 5.33-34), follow Twelfth Dynasty sculptural forms.\textsuperscript{82} Despite their crude carving, the items signify the Levantines’ attempts to mesh Egyptian religious dedications with their unique Semitic script. Perhaps the Proto-Alphabetic texts on stelae and stelaform panels also reflect such attempts;

- Deities: A Levantine deity identified in such expressions as \textit{lb\textquoteleft}lt and \textit{m’hb\textquoteleft}lt is Baalat, the goddess synonymous with Hathor.\textsuperscript{83} Her recurrence in the texts mirrors the Egyptians’ dedications to Hathor in the hieroglyphic inscriptions.\textsuperscript{84} The presence of four statuettes at the Hathor Temple additionally supports the goddess’s worship by the Levantines. Apparently, Egyptians and Levantines were employing the one sacred space for their religious dedications, presenting similar sculptural artefacts to mark their devotion to Hathor/Baalat within and outside the temple. Although mere conjecture, perhaps some areas of the Hathor Temple served as a centre for intercultural mingling, where the Egyptians and Levantines came together to share in their worship of this goddess.

\textsuperscript{79} For example, Albright, \textit{BASOR} 110 (1948), 13; Sass, \textit{Genesis of the Alphabet}, 143; Goldwasser, \textit{A&L} 16 (2006), 151.

\textsuperscript{80} Sass suggests that it is because of the similarities in distribution that the Proto-Alphabetic texts could not have been inscribed by locals. Sass, \textit{Genesis of the Alphabet}, 143.

\textsuperscript{81} The artefact was originally attributed to Hatshepsut’s reign, but recent arguments convincingly date the sphinx to the late Middle Kingdom. Černy, \textit{Inscriptions of Sinai} 2, 202; Sass, \textit{Genesis of the Alphabet}, 12-14, 135-139; figs 1-8; Hamilton, \textit{Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet}, 333-335, fig. A.7.


\textsuperscript{83} Gardiner, \textit{JEA} 3/1 (1916), 1-16; Goldwasser, \textit{A&L} 16 (2006), 128, n. 41.

\textsuperscript{84} See, for example, the translations of Egyptian Inscriptions Nrs 54, 93-95, 97-98 in Translation 13; Černy, \textit{Inscriptions of Sinai} 2, 41-42.
Another Proto-Alphabetic inscription portrays Ptah as a large figure holding a sceptre while standing on a platform within a shrine (Nr 351; Figure 5.35). Whether the inscriber worshipped Ptah or was merely emulating Egyptian inscriptions in the area, Ptah’s inclusion alongside a Proto-Alphabetic text highlights the influence of Egyptian art on the Levantine scribe;

- Two scripts on one artefact: Sphinx Nr 345 offers a unique case where a Proto-Alphabetic text is written beneath hieroglyphs (Figure 5.31). The sphinx contains: on the left of the base, a Proto-Alphabetic inscription with an identifiable lb‘lt ‘for Baalat’; between the paws, uncertain hieroglyphs; and on the right shoulder, \textit{mr.y Hw.t-Hr.w [nb.t] Mfk\textsc{i}.t.} ‘beloved of Hathor, [lady] of Mfk\textsc{i}.t’ above a Proto-Alphabetic \textit{m‘hblt} ‘beloved of Baalat’. The two texts of the latter are almost synonymous while Goldwasser posits that the hieroglyphic inclusion of \textit{m} instead of \textit{Hr.w} within the enclosure for Hathor’s name is “typically Canaanite writing”. The two scripts could have been written by the same implement as evident by the thickness and depth of the inscribed characters. In such a case, the sphinx could indicate a bilingual Levantine purposely relating Hathor with Baalat in his dedication.

5.2.4.3 Other

Little archaeological evidence attests to a settlement at Serabit el-Khadim. Ceramic remains near the Hathor Temple include late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty Egyptian-style pottery. Additionally, a few unpublished sherds of Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglets were uncovered, pointing to the use of imported Levantine products at the site.

\textsuperscript{86} For examples, see Gardiner and Peet, \textit{Inscriptions of Sinai} 1, pls 41 [126], 47 [124-125], 51 [140]; Valbelle and Bonnet, \textit{Le Sanctuaire d’Hathor}, 40, figs 52-53.
\textsuperscript{87} Sass, \textit{Genesis of the Alphabet}, 12.
\textsuperscript{88} Sass suggests that this is the name of a Twelfth Dynasty king, although published photos are unclear. Sass, \textit{Genesis of the Alphabet}, 139.
\textsuperscript{89} Sass, \textit{Genesis of the Alphabet}, 12-14.
\textsuperscript{90} Goldwasser, A&L 16 (2006), 135, n. 86.
\textsuperscript{91} This assessment is based on the photographic publication of the sphinx (Figure 5.31a, c, e).
\textsuperscript{94} R. Giveon, \textit{The Stones of Sinai Speak} (Tokyo, 1978), 61.
The evidence at Serabit el-Khadim emphasises the occurrence of Egyptian-Levantine relations from at least Senwosret III’s reign. The Egyptian texts point to the presence of Asiatics from mixed backgrounds and various echelons of society. They were low to middle ranking officials of the Egyptian household, high officials of the Egyptian treasury, bands of personnel from Levantine regions, and royalty from Ṛḏnw. Those within the Egyptian administration and priesthood were represented as acculturated individuals whereas those from abroad retained a portrayal of foreignness. While the Egyptian inscriptions refer to multilingual interpreters of uncertain origins, the evidence from the Proto-Alphabetic texts suggests that bilingual Levantines were also in the area. Perhaps the two groups were one and the same or influenced each other, creating a hub of cross-cultural learning. The Proto-Alphabetic texts additionally reflect other influences of the Egyptian culture, ranging from the appropriation of Egyptian artistic forms to inspirations on Levantine religious expression. The Egyptian, Egyptian-Asiatic and Levantine populations all worshipped Hathor, ensuring their monumental and written dedications to this goddess. As such, Serabit el-Khadim offers a unique case where the various groups were able to gather and work together in an environment which was foreign to many of them. While the Levantines acquired several intellectual, artistic and perhaps religious influences from the Egyptians, the latter textually and artistically approached the northeasterners positively and inclusively, ensuring the continuance of peaceful ventures at Serabit el-Khadim.

5.2.5 Zeit, Gebel el-

*Lat.Lon.* 27°57’N 33°28’E (Site 2)


*Chron.* Second Intermediate Period

The west coast of the Red Sea comprises a galena mining site, Gebel el-Zeit, south of Ayn Sukhna. Excavations by the Institut français d’archéologie orientale unearthed two areas: Site 1, with mines, encampments and a sanctuary; and Site 2, with mine-shafts, shelters and votive structures.95 Unique inscriptions from Dynasty 13 kings Nebnun and his successor

Seweskhtawy as well as the Sixteenth Dynasty ruler Bebiankh signal late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period activity.96

Excavators note the discovery of MBA juglets and scarabs at Site 2.97 One of the vessels is a hawk-shaped figural Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglet with parallels from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata E/1-D/2,98 another is a biconical juglet like those of Tell el-Dab’a’s strata D/3-D/2,99 and two are red-burnished juglets (one piriform and the other ovoid).100 A scarab displaying cobras confronting a mythical figure is also influenced by MBIIA–MBIIC Levantine designs and can thus be assigned to Dynasty 15.101 The presence of these Levantine-influenced products emphasises the continuance of trade relations with the north during the Second Intermediate Period at Gebel el-Zeit. Whether or not they were deposited by Levantines themselves remains uncertain.102

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96 Castel and Soukiassian, BIFAO 85 (1985), 285-293; Ryholt, Political Situation, 78, 159.
98 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Type Group L.15.2. Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 288, 524, fig. 214, pls 111 [634], 112 [635-640]; 25 ans de découvertes archéologiques sur les chantiers de l’IFAO 1981-2006 (Cairo, 2007), 56 [37].
99 Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Type Group L.5.3. 25 ans de découvertes archéologiques, 56 [38]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 231, 470, fig. 163, pl. 80.
100 25 ans de découvertes archéologiques, 56 [38].
101 25 ans de découvertes archéologiques, 57 [40].
102 Bomann and Young suggest that the Asiatics of the Sinai mines may have mined galena at Gebel el-Zeit. A. Bomann and R. Young, ‘Preliminary Survey in the Wadi Abu Had, Eastern Desert, 1992’, JEA 80 (1994), 31.
5.3 SOUTHEASTERN DESERT

5.3.1 Hammamat, Wadi el-

Lat.Lon. 25°55’N 33°20’E

Refs PM 7, 328-337; Couyat and Montet, Ouâdi Hammâmât, 40, 48-51, pls 5, 13-14; Gasse, BIFAO 87 (1987), 207-218.

Chron. Twelfth and Seventeenth Dynasties

Almost midway between the Red Sea coast and Qift (Coptos) is Wadi Hammamat, where gold and bekhen-stone were quarried.103 The site features hieroglyphic inscriptions of Old to New Kingdom mining operations.104 Well represented are Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasty kings although texts point to the continuance of quarrying activities during Dynasty 13 under Sobekhotep IV105 and Dynasty 17 under a Sobekemsaf Sekhemrawadjkhaw.106

Four texts refer to Asiatics: three are of epithets and one represents an Asiatic individual (Table 19). The latter was first assigned to Sobekemsaf I of the early Seventeenth Dynasty107 and then reclassified to Sobekemsaf II, who may be of the early108 or mid-late Seventeenth Dynasty.109 As the exact date remains uncertain, the inscription is only included to indicate Asiatic presence during the Second Intermediate Period. The texts are translated below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr</th>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>Senwosret III Year 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8 ... titi n=f b3s.wt lwnt(y)w in(f) n=f 9 m35,w nfr(.w) n(y) Thnw n 10c.t n(y) b3.w hm=f...

8 ... the one who tramples the foreign lands of the lwnt(y)w for him; the one who brings the fine products of the Thnw through the greatness of the power of his majesty ...

---

108 Polz, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches, 45-50, table 2.
110 Transcriptions follow Couyat and Montet, Ouddi Hammâmât; Gasse, BIFAO 87 (1987), pls 39-42. Transliterations and translations are by author. For individual references for each inscription, see Table 19.
Khuy’s inscription mentions the *Iwn.tyw* and Libyan goods while those of Amenemhat III’s reign group the *ɛsɛm(w)* with the *Nhhs.yw* alongside connotations of opening the lands for possible trade. The Dynasty 12 inscriptions are thus associated with the expeditions’ primary purpose to exploit foreign lands, presenting the foreigners and their regions as sources of commodities. Conversely, the fourth inscription lists one Asiatic as part of an expedition, his inclusion signalling the employment of northerners within the Theban Dynasty during the Second Intermediate Period. Hence, while Asiatics had claimed power in the Delta, the south still comprised of Asiatics within its administration, representing them alongside Egyptians in a clearly non-belligerent manner.

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111 The translation of this term follows *Wb* 4, 40; R. Leprohon, ‘Remarks on Private Epithets Found in the Middle Kingdom Wadi Hammamat Graffiti’, *JSSEA* 28 (2001), 136.

112 Ward, *Index*, 45 [347].

113 The name has been read by Gasse as *Kmḥw* although the final letter *m* renders the reading *ɛsɛm* more likely. Gasse, *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 212, 216 [bb].
5.3.2 Hudi, Wadi el-

Lat.Lon. 17°42’N 34°17’E

Refs PM 7, 319-320; Rowe, ASAE 39 (1939), 187-191, pl. 25; Fakhry, Wadi el Hudi, 35-38, fig, 29, pl. 14; Sadek, Wadi el Hudi 1, 38-39, 84-88; vol. 2, pls 8, 23.

Chron. Twelfth Dynasty

Situated southeast of Aswan is Wadi el-Hudi, where minerals such as amethyst and barytes were mined.114 Archaeological investigations were carried out by the Egyptian Topographical Survey115 and Fakhry116 with a most recent survey by Shaw and Jameson.117 The site features Middle Kingdom mines and a settlement, the latter including a Twelfth Dynasty fort built between the reigns of Senwosret I and III.118 Two pertinent stelae are (Table 20):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nr</th>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION119</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>5.40</td>
<td>Senwosret I</td>
<td><img src="https://example.com/image.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. ‘nh Hr.w ‘nh msi.(w)t nb.ty ‘nh msi.wt nsw.t bi.ty Hpr-ki-R’.w [s3] R’.w S-n-wsr.t nfr nfr dn Twn.(y)w 2 sni wsr.t imi.w St.t iti.y ‘rf H3.w-nb.w ini dr.w rs.t ‘Nhs.(y)wt sk tp.w lb.(w)t h3k.(w)t-lb wsḥ 3iš pd nnt.t ‘smz nfr.w=f t s.wy nb [3].t sn[d].w(=f) m h3s.wt 120 shr.n sš=t=f rs.t 5 sk.n bKn.w=f n sš.t hm=f sp[h.n]=f hft.y=f…

8. The living Horus, life of births, the two-goddesses, life of births, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkara, [son of] Re, Senwosret (I), the good god who kills the Twn.(y)w,2 who cuts the throats of those who are in the St.t lands, the sovereign who encloses the H3.w-nb.w,121 who reaches the

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116 A. Fakhry, The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi el Hudi (Cairo, 1952).
118 Shaw and Jameson, JEA 79 (1993), 81-97; Shaw, Antiquity 68 (1994), 115, fig. 5.
119 Transcriptions follow references as in Table 20. Transliterations and translations are by author.
120 Sadek reads suffix-pronoun sn following this term, however see K.-J. Seyfried, ‘Zur Inschrift des Hor (Wadi el Hudi Nr. 1 [143]’), GM 81 (1984), 60-63; Sadek, Wadi el-Hudi, 85-86.
121 For more on this term and its association with people of the north, see C. Favard-Meeks, ‘Le Dela Egyptien et la mer jusqu’à la foundation d’Alexandrie’, SAK 16 (1989), 39-63.
CHAPTER 5: BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE LEVANT

boundaries of the $^3\text{Nhns.}(y)\text{wt}$ rebels,\textsuperscript{122} who cuts the heads of the disaffected groups, who widens the boundary, who extends the stride, $^4$whose perfection unites the two lands, lord of [striking power], (whose) respect is in foreign lands, whose knife has overthrown the rebels, $^5$whose defiant ones have perished by the knife of his majesty, he who has lassoed his enemies ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>17</th>
<th>5.41</th>
<th>Senwosret III Year 13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 $\overline{\text{[strike power]}}$</td>
<td>Senwosret III Year 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 $\text{wdp.w (w'b.w) (dbh.w) (\text{sm Snb-b-w}}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11 Butler,\textsuperscript{123} pure of fingers, $^5\text{jm Senbebu}$\textsuperscript{124}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nr 143, the stela of Hor, begins with a eulogy for Senwosret I, describing his prowess over foreign lands and peoples. Despite Wadi el-Hudi’s situation to the south of Egypt, northern enemies such as the $\text{Iwn.tyw}$ and $\text{Hb.w-nb.w}$ as well as those in the $\text{St.t}$ lands are included.\textsuperscript{125} The text is ideological in nature, purposed to commemorate and idolise the reigning king’s power over foreign lands.\textsuperscript{126}

Conversely, Nr 17 includes a foreigner as part of an Egyptian household. The ‘butler’ Senbebu possesses the same name as his master, the ‘trustworthy sealer’ Senbebu.\textsuperscript{127} It is likely that he was given this name following either his migration into Egypt or his employment by Senbebu. Whether or not the foreigner accompanied Senbebu to Wadi el-Hudi is uncertain.

Overall, the texts at Wadi el-Hudi offer two representations of Asiatics: (1) the topos portrayal as conveyed in a king’s eulogy; and (2) the mimetic representation in an Egyptian’s stela. The two effectively display the effects of genre on the portrayal of Asiatics during the first half of the Middle Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{122} For more this term, see Sadek, \textit{Wadi el-Hudi}, 85-86; Ritner, \textit{Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice}, SAOC 54 (Chicago, 1993), 185; R. K. Ritner, ‘So-called ‘Pre-dynastic Hamster-headed’ Figurines in London and Hanover’, \textit{GM} 111 (1989), 85-95.

\textsuperscript{123} Ward, \textit{Index}, 90 [755].

\textsuperscript{124} Ranke, \textit{Personnenamen} 1, 315 [6].


\textsuperscript{126} For more on the stela’s use of private and royal themes, see Galán, \textit{SAK} 21 (1994), 65-79.

\textsuperscript{127} Also noticed by Fakhry in \textit{Wadi el-Hudi}, 39 [17].
5.4 CONCLUSIONS

The chapter examined seven sites, two in Mount Sinai, three on the northern Red Sea coast, and two in the Southeastern Desert (Table 21, Map 9). Most of the evidence is dated to Dynasty 12 but a few indications of Second Intermediate Period activity exist.

5.4.1 The Twelfth to the Early Thirteenth Dynasty

All sites bar Gebel el-Zeit feature evidence of the Twelfth Dynasty (Map 10). The earliest reference to Asiatics comes from Inscription Nr 143 at Wadi el-Hudi. The text’s eulogy to Senwosret I is particularly belligerent against the Iwn.tyw and St.t, and clearly asserts the pharaoh’s authority over the foreign. The next attestation occurs in a stela of Amenemhat II’s reign mentioning an interpreter in an expedition list. Three inscriptions are then assigned to Senwosret III: one from Serabit el-Khadim, one from Wadi el-Hudi and one from Wadi el-Hammamat. While the latter provides a sequence of epithets directed towards controlling the Iwn.tyw’s lands, the first two contain references to individual Asiatics as expedition and household members. They have Egyptian names and most likely resided in Egypt.

The greatest number of inscriptions is assigned to Amenemhat III’s reign. They include one from Wadi Maghara, 19-20 from Serabit el-Khadim, and two from Wadi el-Hammamat. Only the latter two represent foreigners belligerently, referring to ȝm.w in connection to their lands as doorways to commodities. The rest comprise mimetic representations of Asiatics. Individuals possibly living and working in Egypt are depicted as members of households, expeditions and the treasury. They are represented as Egyptians and have Egyptian names but are identified by the ethnonym ȝm. The foreign ancestry of one official, Ptahwer, is confirmed in one out of four of his inscriptions, emphasising that, by the second half of Dynasty 12, Egyptian-Asiatics may not necessarily be marked as foreigners. Also mentioned are relatives of the ruler of Rynw, who are distinctly represented as Asiatics with their weaponry, clothing and hairstyle. As this chapter argued, they were involved in a diplomatic trading venture with Amenemhat III that witnessed their frequent voyage to Serabit el-Khadim from Egypt between, at least, Years 4 and 25. Perhaps included in this venture are men from Rynw. Other groups sent to the Sinai are Asiatics from Ḥmū.

128 See Chapter 5.3.2.
129 See Chapter 5.2.4.1.
130 See, respectively, Chapter 5.2.4.1, 5.3.2 and 5.3.1.
131 See, respectively, Chapter 5.2.3, 5.2.4.1 and 5.3.1.
The same situation continued into Amenemhat IV’s reign, when three inscriptions are engraved at Serabit el-Khadim and, for the first time, an Egyptian-Asiatic occupied the office of high priest at Memphis.\textsuperscript{132} Therefore, the Sinai emerged as a hub of intercultural activity where Egyptians, Egyptian-Levantines, non-local and, perhaps, local Levantines came together, their worship of Hathor/Baalat being a shared commonality. Such activity eventually resulted in all groups leaving behind inscriptive testimony in the hieroglyphic and Proto-Alphabetic form, emphasising cross-cultural influences in art, script and possibly religion.

The groups likely reached Mount Sinai via harbour sites. Perhaps they travelled in seafaring ships constructed of Lebanese cedar, similar to those at Ayn Sukhna and Wadi / Mersa Gawasis.\textsuperscript{133} The Northern Levantine timber was utilised in ship-building and recycled into functional pieces. The Northern Levant also supplied Wadi/Mersa Gawasis with other hard timbers such as oak and pine. These, along with the Syro-Palestinian store-jars, attest to an active flow of trade in Levantine commodities during the Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasties.

### 5.4.2 The Thirteenth Dynasty to the Second Intermediate Period

The Thirteenth Dynasty to Second Intermediate Period witnessed a definite decrease in Egyptian-Levantine relations (Map 11). The seafaring ships of Ayn Sukhna were apparently burnt and destroyed,\textsuperscript{134} and no inscriptions mentioning Asiatics were found at Mount Sinai. Nonetheless, a few fragments of Tell el-Yahudiyah ware from Serabit el-Khadim attest that some individuals may have travelled to the area.\textsuperscript{135} Tell el-Yahudiyah vessels and a Levantine design scarab were also unearthed at Gebel el-Zeit, signifying continued access to Fifteenth Dynasty items.\textsuperscript{136} Interestingly, a Seventeenth Dynasty inscription at Wadi el-Hammamat supports the inclusion of Egyptian-Asiatics in expeditions to the Eastern Desert.\textsuperscript{137} Evidently, the fragmentation of Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period did not give rise to ambivalence towards Asiatic descendents or to items of a Levantine culture in Upper Egypt.

\textsuperscript{132} See Chapter 5.2.4.1.
\textsuperscript{133} See Chapter 5.2.1 and 5.2.2.
\textsuperscript{134} See Chapter 5.2.1.
\textsuperscript{135} See Chapter 5.2.4.3.
\textsuperscript{136} See Chapter 5.2.5.
\textsuperscript{137} See Chapter 5.3.1.
6.1 INTRODUCTION

Assessing the nature and extent of relations between Asiatics and the Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasties necessitates an examination of the data from the Levant. The following chapter gathers evidence of contact and explores key areas that experienced interconnections with the Egyptian civilisation (Map 12). Egyptian presence in the MBA Levant has generally been considered to be: (a) imperialistic, seeking political or economic dominance;\(^1\) (b) diplomatic, seeking trade or commercial ties;\(^2\) (c) watchful and interventient, only when its political and/or commercial interests were in peril;\(^3\) or (d) inconsequential and even non-existent in certain regions and particular periods.\(^4\) Fifteenth Dynasty rulers have also been suggested to have governing power over parts of the Levant, especially the south of modern Israel.\(^5\)

While tracing Egyptian presence in the Levant relies on the Egyptian(-influenced) elements found across its sites, determining Hyksos relations is marred by the very fact that their culture is largely Levantine. Differentiating which markers represent contact with the Hyksos and which are Levantine is a difficult task that can lead to several misinterpretations. For instance, MBA fortification systems have been frequently attributed to the Hyksos, their use signalling their domination over the Levant.\(^6\) Recent studies have clearly shown that the so-called ‘Hyksos fortifications’ are Near Eastern in origin.\(^7\) Similarly, some have considered Hyksos royal-name scarabs as evidence of their control,\(^8\) but they can also be interpreted as

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1 See, for example, Albright, *JPOS* 2 (1922), 110-138; Albright, *JPOS* 8 (1928), 223-256; Giveon, in *Egypt, Israel, Sinai*, 23-40; Mazar, *IEJ* 148 (1968), 65-97.
4 See, for example, Weinstein, *BASOR* 217 (1975), 12-13.
6 See, for example, Albright, *JPOS* 2 (1922), 123; Albright, *JPOS* 15 (1935), 224; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 3-10; Engberg, *Hyksos Reconsidered*.
7 See A. A. Burke, “Walled Up to Heaven”: The Evolution of Middle Bronze Age Fortification Strategies in the Levant (Winona Lake, 2008).
items of trade. The most plausible means for ascertaining the relations between the Hyksos and the Levant would thereby require the identification of elements that are uniquely connected to the Hyksos. This chapter selects features related to the rulers’ Egyptian and mercantile connections. It investigates contact with the Egyptian in the Levant, gathering data on Egyptian imports, Egyptian-influenced products and Egyptian(-influenced) customs.

The chapter is classified into two main sections: sites in the Southern Levant and those in the Northern Levant (Maps 1, 12). Each site includes its location by Latitude and Longitude, a list of selected references and its temporal placement within the Egyptian as well as the Levantine chronology. Selected sites are those with significant, provenanced evidence of Egyptian-Levantine contact. Appendix A features a further selection of sites with artefacts utilised by scholars as evidence for Hyksos relations, along with a discussion regarding their ambiguities and, consequently, reasons for their omission from this chapter.

The chapter incorporates Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglets of Egyptian origin. Some vessels are akin to shapes found solely in Egypt but only a handful have been chemically or petrographically analysed, the results pointing to Levantine as well as Egyptian fabrics. Due to the local production and most likely Levantine origin of Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware,9 only the vessels that are scientifically of indisputable Egyptian origin are included here.

Imported stone vessels are also featured,10 their material classification reliant on the terminology used by excavators. The most inconsistent identifications concern ‘alabaster’ and ‘Egyptian alabaster’.11 The latter refers to a stone containing the calcium carbonate ‘calcite’ that was used for Egyptian vessels.12 ‘Alabaster’, however, contains the hydrated calcium sulphate ‘gypsum’ and was used for Levantine vessels.13 The chapter favours the terms ‘alabaster’ where the stone is not identified in its publication(s), ‘calcite-alabaster’ for imported Egyptian vessels and ‘gypsum-alabaster’ for locally made vessels.14

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9 Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 551-552.
10 For more on imported Egyptian stone vessels, see R. T. Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, The Palestine Exploration Fund Annual 8 (Leeds, 2007), 267-270.
12 Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 5.
13 Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 5.
14 Terms proposed by others include ‘travertine’ and ‘Egyptian alabaster’ for the imported Egyptian variety. Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 5; Ben-Dor, QDAP 11 (1944), 94-96; D. Klemm and R. Klemm, ‘Calcit-Alabaster oder Travertin?’, GM 122 (1991), 57-75; D. Klemm and R. Klemm, Steine und
Sites with meagre Egyptian and Egyptian-influenced artefacts have not been selected. This includes sites with only stone vessels, scarabs, seal impressions or cylinder seals that could either be of Egyptian or, as several studies have proven, local manufacture, signifying the appropriation of Egyptian artistic traditions by Levantines. The popularity of seals and impressions is evident in Table 22, which provides a list of some sites not discussed here.

Mention should also be made of Middle Kingdom statues unearthed in uncertain, often less-than-secure contexts. They are also not included in this chapter, but comments on some may be found in Appendix A. The statues are of royals and high officials, and were found across Western Asia (see Table 23). Some scholars propose that they were brought into the Levant during the Fifteenth Dynasty. While this is likely, there is currently no evidence linking the statues with the Hyksos and it is equally possible that the artefacts were indirectly transported to the sites before the rise of the Hyksos, perhaps during the Middle Kingdom itself, to be later kept as luxury products or heirlooms until the time of deposition. Similarly, they could have been sent during the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when relations with Egypt had once again intensified.

The questionable nature of these finds represents just one problem inherent in the study of Egyptian elements in the Levant. The chronology and stratigraphy of Levantine sites have additionally been under fervent debate. Adding to this situation is, as mentioned in Chapter 1.5.1, the different cultural development of Levantine sites following the collapse of the EBA and the varying state of archaeological research across the Levant, with areas such as the Bqaa Valley of Lebanon or southern Israel receiving little attention. Until such problems are resolved, this chapter relies on the sites’ most recent publications, chronological classifications and revisions. References to radiocarbon results and their synchronisations with the Egyptian relative chronology are additionally mentioned where applicable.

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6.2 THE SOUTHERN LEVANT: ISRAEL, JORDAN AND THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES

6.2.1 ‘Ajjul, Tell el-

Lat.Lon. 31°22′N 34°27′E

Refs PM 7, 370-371; Petrie, Gaza 1-4; Mackay and Murray, Gaza 5; Petrie, City of Shepherd Kings; Tufnell, Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 3 (1962), 1-37; Stewart, Tell el ‘Ajjul; Fischer and Sadeq, A&L 10 (2000), 211-226.

Chron. Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty / Late MBIIA – MBIIIC Period

Tell el-‘Ajjul lies southwest of Ashkelon, around 1.8 km from the Mediterranean coast.\(^{16}\) Strategically positioned along an estuary, the site possibly had access to an ancient harbour allowing small vessels to reach the city.\(^{17}\) Excavations by several researchers, such as Petrie\(^{18}\) and, most recently, Fischer and Sadeq,\(^{19}\) revealed EBIV cemeteries west and east of the tell,\(^{20}\) a ‘Courtyard Cemetery’ of the tell itself with MBIIA remains,\(^{21}\) and other material from later periods.\(^{22}\) The quality and quantity of evidence from the MBA and LBA suggest that the site reached its zenith during these periods. Based on Tell el-‘Ajjul’s location and remains, Kempinski has identified it with Sharuhen,\(^{23}\) which has been widely accepted in the literature.\(^{24}\)

The published remains and their contexts, as well as Petrie’s excavation plans and stratigraphy, are confused and incomplete. Studies attempting to re-phase the site have reached various dates for its periods of occupation (Table 24).\(^{25}\) Recent studies identifying

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\(^{17}\) Fischer and Sadeq, A&L 10 (2000), 213, fig. 1.


\(^{22}\) Fischer and Sadeq, A&L 10 (2000), 212.


\(^{24}\) Stewart, Tell el ‘Ajjūl, 3; Bietak, Avaris, 60-63; Weinstein, BASOR 241 (1981), 8; Oren, in Hyksos, 253-283; Morris, Architecture of Imperialism, 51-53. For an alternate view, see Kopetzky, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 227.

MBIIC-LBI material in Palace I and Stratum III have corroborated Albright’s proposed dates. As this thesis does not explore material from the MBIIC period, the following presents finds from below Stratum III, as well as newly discovered remains from Fischer and Sadeq’s excavations. For further information on Egyptian finds from Strata III to II that have been used as evidence for Hyksos relations, see Appendix A.1.

6.2.1.1 Vessels

Stone vessels include Egyptian imports during the MBA. The earliest recorded vessel is a cylindrical calcite-alabaster jar from intramural Burial 2139 in Area GH1, level 817. The burial was found underneath a wall of the Lower City, or Stratum III, indicating a date prior to the MBIIC period and thus before the second half of the Fifteenth Dynasty. Preliminary publications of Fischer and Sadeq's excavations additionally mention a sherd of an Egyptian piriform jar. Of unknown fabric, the fragment was recovered from Horizon 8, a level in Trench 7 which has been preliminarily dated to the second half of the MBA. Thus, it may attest to contact with the late Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasties.

6.2.1.2 Scarabs and seal impressions

Petrie’s excavations uncovered over 1,000 scarabs and seal impressions, the most unearthed at any site in the Southern Levant. They feature designs bearing Levantine as well as Egyptian influences, the latter also representing the largest and most unique corpus of Egyptian design and royal-name scarabs. However, only a few from the Courtyard Cemetery can be more securely assigned to the MBIIA to MBIIB period. Three display Levantine designs, two of which are from MBIIA tomb 1406 (Figure 6.1 [1-2]) and one

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Tell el-‘Ajjul in the Bichrome Ware Period: A Comparative Stratigraphical Analysis (PhD Dissertation, University of Utah, 1994), 231-261; B. M. Robertson, The Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age Tombs at Tell el Ajjul (PhD Dissertation, University of Utah, 1999), 113-166; Kempinski, IEJ 24/3-4 (1974), 147; Kopetzky, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 226.

26 For instance, chocolate-on-white ware, bichrome wheel-made ware, early Eighteenth Dynasty Marl zir forms as well as stone vessels of the New Kingdom. Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 205-206; Kopetzky, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 226-227.

27 W. M. F. Petrie, City of Shepherd Kings (London, 1952), pl. 19 [32]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 206, 314 [417].

28 Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 314 [417].


31 The tomb belongs to Tufnell’s Group 4. Petrie, Gaza 2, pl. 7 [103-104]; Tufnell, Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology 3 (1962), 19, fig. 7 [1-2].
from early MBII B tomb 1410B (Figure 6.1 [3]). Another tomb, 303, of the late MBIIA or MBIIA-B period contained two further scarabs, one of the *r|l|-* type (Figure 6.1 [4]) and the other with spirals enclosing three *hp*r-*beetles (Figure 6.1 [5]). Their late Middle Kingdom design suggests that they were possibly imported.

Overall, the evidence is indicative of minimal trade relations with the Thirteenth and early Fifteenth Dynasties. Such a conclusion significantly affects the validity of claims regarding the influences of the so-called ‘Kingdom of Sharuhen’ on the rise of the Hyksos and advises that, until further excavation is carried out, the extent of relations between Tell el-‘Ajjul and the early Fifteenth Dynasty cannot be firmly ascertained.

### 6.2.2 Ashkelon

**Lat.Lon.** 31°40′N 34°33′E

**Refs** Stager, Schloen and Master, *Ashkelon* 1; Stager and Voss, *Eretz-Israe*l 30 (2011), 119*-126*; Stager and Voss, in TeD 8, 559-575.

**Chron.** Late Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty / MBIIA – MBIIIC Period

Positioned on the Mediterranean coast south of Tel Aviv is Ashkelon, the largest known ancient seaport in the Southern Levant. Its MBA occupation is marked by a thriving fortified, urban settlement and seaport. Ceramics imported from Crete, Cyprus and the Northern Levant highlight Ashkelon’s role in the MBA Mediterranean sea trade. Evidence of relations with Egypt can be tracked across several strata throughout the MBIIA to MBIIIC periods. Material assigned between Dynasty 12 and early Dynasty 15 is examined here.

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34 D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 118, n. 574.

35 Oren, in *Hyksos*, 253-255.


37 For an examination of the fortification, see Burke, *MBA Fortification Strategies*, 237-243, figs 61-66.

38 Stager, in *MBA in the Levant*, 353-362.

39 Not included is the Egyptian pottery from Phase 10 (MBIIIC) representing the largest corpus of Egyptian finds at Ashkelon (3.45% of the complete ceramic corpus by rim fraction) that suggests increased contact with late Dynasty 15. For more, see L. E. Stager and R. J. Voss, ‘Egyptian Pottery in Middle Bronze Age Ashkelon’, *Eretz-Israe*l 30 (2011), 123-125; L. E. Stager and R. J. Voss, ‘A Sequence of Tell el Yahudiya Ware from Ashkelon’, in D. A. Aston and M. Bietak, *Tell el Dab‘a*, vol. 8: *The Classification and Chronology of Tell el-Yahudiya Ware*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 12 (Vienna, 2012), 572-574.
6.2.2.1 Phase 14 – Mid-MBIIA Period

Ashkelon’s North Tell features an MBA sandstone causeway leading into the settlement’s earliest Gate 1 (Figure 6.2).\(^{40}\) Extending over the causeway and cut into the bedrock is a fosse lined with black ash (the ‘Moat Deposit’).\(^{41}\) This ash lining contained over 45 seal impressions made almost entirely by scarabs bearing late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty Egyptian designs.\(^{42}\) Although not all published,\(^ {43}\) the sealings were reportedly used on such products as a knobbled box or chest,\(^ {44}\) perhaps imported from Egypt. Neutron Activation Analysis and petrographic tests reportedly confirm that the sealings are of both Levantine and Egyptian clays,\(^ {45}\) signifying their impression at Egyptian and local administrative units. D. Ben-Tor identifies Tell el-Dab’a as the most likely Egyptian administrative centre, proposing small-scale trade with MBIIA Ashkelon.\(^ {46}\)

Ceramics from outside Gate 1 support this proposition. The Moat Deposit contained one rim of a Marl C, Type 4 Egyptian zir as well as a Marl C-1 store-jar (Figure 6.3 [3]).\(^ {47}\) The two vessels are comparable to ceramics from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata G/4-3 (early Dynasty 13).\(^ {48}\) Layer 166 of the courtyard in front of Gate 1’s outer entrance yielded three more fragments of Egyptian pottery.\(^ {49}\) Two are of Marl C-1 store-jars (Figure 6.3 [1-2]) and the third is a Marl C ring-stand.\(^ {50}\) The latter finds parallels with ring-stands from Tell el-Dab’a’s G/4-3.\(^ {51}\) In comparison to the entire ceramic repertoire at Ashkelon, the Egyptian pottery adds up to almost 0.18% by rim fragment calculations.\(^ {52}\)

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\(^ {40}\) Stager and Voss, *Eretz-Israel* 30 (2011), 120*.
\(^ {41}\) Stager and Voss, *Eretz-Israel* 30 (2011), 120*; Stager, in *MBA in the Levant*, 353.
\(^ {42}\) Stager, in *MBA in the Levant*, 353.
\(^ {43}\) L. Bell is reportedly preparing the sealings for publication. For an image of one of the sealings, see Stager, in *MBA in the Levant*, 353, fig. 1. For further comments regarding some designs, see D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Sealings, and Interconnections*, 69, 135, ns 345, 647.
\(^ {44}\) Stager, in *MBA in the Levant*, 353.
\(^ {45}\) The results of the analysis have not been published. Stager, in *MBA in the Levant*, 353; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Sealings, and Interconnections*, 118, n. 570.
\(^ {46}\) D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Sealings, and Interconnections*, 118.
\(^ {47}\) Stager and Voss, *Eretz-Israel* 30 (2011), 120*-121*, pl. 1 [3].
\(^ {48}\) Stager and Voss, *Eretz-Israel* 30 (2011), 120*-121*; M. Bietak et al., *Synchronisation of Stratigraphies: Ashkelon and Tell el-Dab’a*, A&L 18 (2008), 49-52, fig. 2 [8, 16].
\(^ {50}\) Stager and Voss, *Eretz-Israel* 30 (2011), 121*, pl. 1 [1-2].
\(^ {51}\) Stager and Voss, *Eretz-Israel* 30 (2011), 121*-122*.
\(^ {52}\) Stager and Voss, *Eretz-Israel* 30 (2011), 125*.
CHAPTER 6: CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIAN IN THE LEVANT

6.2.2.2 Transitional Phase 13 to 12 – Late MBIIA to MBIIA-B Period

No Egyptian imports have been reported in Phase 13 and Phase 12 contexts. But, during the construction of Phase 12’s Gate 3, Phase 13’s Gate 2 was buried and covered with a fill of sandstone, ash and clay.\footnote{Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 122*.} The fill over the gate’s barrel-vaulted chamber contained one sherd of a Type 4 or 5 Egyptian zir of Marl C fabric (Figure 6.3 [5]), offering a date in the first half of Dynasty 13.\footnote{The sherd was found in Layer 185, Square 85. Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 122*, pl. 1 [5].} Another Egyptian Marl C vessel (Figure 6.3 [4]) from the fill over Gate 2’s inner courtyard finds parallels with vessels from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata G/1-3 to D/3.\footnote{The vessel was found in Layer 40. Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 122*, pl. 1 [4].}

6.2.2.3 Phase 11 – MBIIIB Period

A major structural modification and reduction in size from Phase 12’s Gate 3 to Phase 11’s modest Gate 4 denotes a shift in the entryway’s function.\footnote{Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 122*; Burke, MBA Fortification Strategies, 242-243.} The rampart of the pedestrian Gate 4 now led to the so-called ‘Sanctuary of the Silver Calf’ (Figure 6.2),\footnote{Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 122*; Burke, MBA Fortification Strategies, 242-243.} the route containing scattered ceramics of Egyptian fabrics: (a) three cooking pots of Nile E-2 fabric, one at the footgate and two along the route (Figure 6.3 [7-8]);\footnote{Respectively, from Layer 99, Mudbrick Floor 103, Southern Revetment Wall 97 and Street 117. Cooking pots of the same shape (Ashkelon’s Type CP7) are common in Phase 11 and, discounting the three Egyptian imports, are all locally made. Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 122*, pl. 1 [7-8]; Bietak et al., A&L 18 (2008), 52, fig. 5 [6, 12].} (b) four fragments of Egyptian Marl C, Type 5, zirs along the route (Figure 6.3 [9]);\footnote{Three were collected from Street 90 and one from Street 117. Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 122*.-123*, pl. 1 [9]; Bietak et al., A&L 18 (2008), 52, fig. 6 [14, 16].} and (c) one fragment of a biconical (?) Tell el-Yahudiyah juglet composed of Nile silt from the Sanctuary’s Room 5 (Figure 6.3 [15]).\footnote{Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Type Group L5 (Biconical III). Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 123*; Stager and Voss, in TeD 8, 572, fig. 7 [41]; Bietak et al., A&L 18 (2008), 52, fig. 5 [3, 9].} All vessels find parallels from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata E/2-D/3 (Dynasty 15).\footnote{Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 122*; Bietak et al., A&L 18 (2008), 52, figs 5 [3, 6]; 6 [14]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 231.}

Chamber tombs within the necropolis additionally contained Egyptian imports. While the tombs were in use throughout the MBA, excavators have been able to ascribe particular deposits to Phase 11, a few of which preserved Tell el-Yahudiyah ware.\footnote{Stager and Voss, in TeD 8, 565, 570-572, figs 6-7.} Petrographic analysis on some purportedly revealed the use of Egyptian fabrics for:\footnote{To the author’s knowledge, the results of the tests have not been published but are mentioned throughout Stager and Voss, in TeD 8, 559-575.} (a) one biconical
juglet from Chamber Tomb 5 (Figure 6.3 [10]) similar to juglets from Tell el-Dab’a’s E/2;
(b) four biconical juglets from Chamber Tomb 11, two biconical juglets (Figure 6.3 [11, 13]) with parallels from Tell el-Dab’a’s E/2-D/3,65 and one biconical and one piriform vessel (Figure 6.3 [12, 14]) comparable to those from E/1-D/3.66 Evidently, the imported Tell el-Yahudiyah ware provides further correlations with Dynasty 15.

Out of the entire ceramic repertoire from Phase 11, 2.45% has been calculated to be of Egyptian origin.67 In contrast to Phase 14’s 0.18%, the Egyptian imports appear in more varied forms and contexts. Phase 14’s Egyptian corpus is represented by storage containers along the entrance of Gate 1 whereas Phase 11’s repertoire contains storage containers and vessels for food preparation at the entrance of its modest gate through to the sanctuary.68 Phase 11 also marks the first instance of imported Tell el-Yahudiyah juglets which were not only found at the sanctuary, but also within funerary contexts. Albeit influenced by Levantine designs, the juglets provide an added function for imported Egyptian goods at Ashkelon.

Therefore, it is possible to discern continuous trade relations between Egypt and Ashkelon. The material from Phase 11 denotes small-scale trade with the late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty. A reduction occurs across Phases 12 and 13, or the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, followed by renewed and heightened contact during the Hyksos Period. While no Egyptian pottery has been found in the site’s domestic quarters, the range of Fifteenth Dynasty imports implies direct cross-cultural contact. Individuals from Ashkelon may have visited Egypt, bringing back Egyptian-made MBA cooking pots, or those of mixed Egyptian-Levantine ancestry could have sailed to Ashkelon. Perhaps, after delivering a shipment of goods from, for instance, Tell el-Dab’a, the traders visited the ‘Sanctuary of the Silver Calf’, offering their homage and leaving some of their wares behind.

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64 Grid 50, Square 48, Layer 487. Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Type Group L.2.2 (Biconical 1). Stager and Voss, in TeD 8, 570, fig. 6 [34]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 211, 450, figs 149, 153, pl. 67 [383].
65 Grid 50, Square 47, Layer 315. Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Type Group L.2.2 (Biconical 1) and Group L.5 (Biconical 3). Stager and Voss, in TeD 8, 570, fig. 7 [36, 38]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 211, 221-231, 450, figs 149, 153, pl. 67 [383].
66 Layer 311. Aston and Bietak’s Late Egyptian Type Group L.1.3 (Piriform 2a) and Group L.5 (Biconical 3). Stager and Voss, in TeD 8, 570-572, fig. 7 [37, 39]; Aston and Bietak, TeD 8, 206, 221-231, 435-438, figs 141, 147, pls 58 [332], 59 [334-338].
67 By rim fragment calculations. Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 125*.
68 Stager and Voss, Eretz-Israel 30 (2011), 125*.
CHAPTER 6: CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIAN IN THE LEVANT

6.2.3 Beth Shean / Hons, Tell el-

Lat.Lon. 32°29'N 35°32'E

Refs PM 7, 376-380; Rowe, Catalogue of Scarabs, 3 [10], 56-57 [214b], pls 1 [10], 6 [214b]; Mazar and Mullins (eds), Beth Shean 2; Maeir and Mullins, in Tel 8, 577-589.

Chron. Late Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty / MBIIB – MBIIC Period

Beth Shean lies west of the Jordan River, near major routes linking highland Jordan with the coastal Mediterranean plain.69 Excavations in Area R by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (1921-1933)70 and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (1983, 1989-1996)71 unearthed remains of an EBIII settlement, minor EBIV/MBI finds and no MBIIB evidence except for some tombs in the surrounds.72 The site was reoccupied during the MBIIB as a small domestic settlement.73 Data on Egyptian relations are presented below according to the Hebrew University’s stratigraphical designations, R-5 and R-4.74

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72 For instance, Tomb 92 of the Northern Cemetery consisted of EBIV/MBI grave goods with evidence of a later reuse for Roman burials. A frit design scarab bearing Egyptian glyphs has been linked to the tomb, yet it cannot be confirmedly assigned to the EBIV/MBI. Mazar and Mullins, in Beth Shean 2, 12-13; Oren, Northern Cemetery, 61-67; A. Mazar, ‘Chapter 3 Appendix 1. A Note on the Middle Bronze Age Burials in Area M’, in A. Mazar and R. A. Mullins (eds), Excavations at Tel Beth Shean 1989-1996, vol. 2: The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata in Area R (Jerusalem, 2007), 199-200; M. Cohen, ‘A Middle Bronze Age IIa-B Tomb at Bet She’an’, Atiqot 59 (2008), 11*-20*, 195-196; A. M. Maeir, ‘In the Midst of the Jordan’. The Jordan Valley during the Middle Bronze Age (Circa 2000-1500 BCE). Archaeological and Historical Correlates, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Denkschriften der Gesamatakademie 64 (Vienna, 2010), 49; Weinstein, BASOR 217 (1975), 2.
73 Mazar and Mullins, in Beth Shean 2, 13-17.
74 The following stratum, R3, of the MBIIC period coincides with approximately the end of the Fifteenth Dynasty and is not examined here. It is linked with the University Museum’s Level XA. Mazar and Mullins, in Beth Shean 2, 16; A. M. Maeir, ‘The Middle Bronze Age II Pottery’, in A. Mazar and R. A. Mullins (eds), Excavations at Tel Beth Shean 1989-1996, vol. 2: The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata in Area R (Jerusalem, 2007), 263-264, 279-282; A. M. Maeir and J. Yellin, ‘Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis of Selected Pottery from Tel Beth-Shean and the
6.2.3.1 Stratum R-5 – MBIIB Period

Stratum R-5 represents the most fragmentary MBA stratum at Beth Shean.⁷⁵ Egyptian remains were recovered from both occupation debris as well as funerary contexts. The beaten-earth surface’s occupation debris of Locus 10547, stratum R-5b, produced a scarab with a scroll and three decorative hieroglyphs (Figure 6.4 [1]).⁷⁶ Brandl typologically connects it to Milnar’s Type IIIb of the Early Tell el-Dab’a workshop (strata F-E/2) of the late Thirteenth or early Fifteenth Dynasty Egypt.⁷⁷ Two other scarabs found in occupation debris (Loci 10544 and 10316) are likely of Levantine origin: one displays meaningless hieroglyphs; and one bears addorsed cobras, with lotus flowers on the back (Figure 6.4 [2-3]).⁷⁸ Therefore, R-5’s occupation debris retained three scarabs, one of possible Egyptian origin and two from Levantine workshops influenced by such Egyptian elements as lotus flowers and hieroglyphs.

Egyptian influence is also evident in gypsum-alabaster fragments. The base of a small jar or ovoid bottle was collected from the floor of an open area (Locus 10574) and assigned to stratum R-5c (Figure 6.5 [5]).⁷⁹ Another vessel is a globular stone vase found on a plaster floor (Figure 6.5 [8]).⁸⁰ Prototypes of both forms occur in Twelfth Dynasty Egypt.⁸¹

Of Area R’s graves, two burials produced Egyptian imports.⁸² A child’s burial (Burial 38201) yielded four gold earrings as well as MBIIB pottery vessels.⁸³ Near the deceased’s left arm
were two calcite-alabaster vessels (Figure 6.5 [1-2], 6.6), one a cylindrical jar and the other a miniature shouldered jar, paralleling Twelfth to early Eighteenth Dynasty vessels. An amethyst scarab mounted on a gold ring was also found near the body, its fine workmanship and material suggesting its Egyptian manufacture. Such a combination of Egyptian imports with gold jewellery represents the child’s elite status and indicates the funerary significance of Egyptian goods, perhaps as prestige markers, during the MBIIB period.

Burial 1822 reportedly contained scarabs with hieroglyphs. One scarab bears such Levantine elements as meaningless signs along with two scrolls. A second contained hieroglyphs reading \( \text{nfr} \text{Hpr-}h^2\text{-Rt} \) ‘the good lord, Kheperkhar (Senwosret II)’, its back also incised with a crosshatched design. While some have dated the latter scarab to the early Twelfth Dynasty, D. Ben-Tor rightly argues that the back type is of Levantine origin, the scarab thereby being a royal-name scarab bearing mixed Levantine and Egyptian influences.

6.2.3.2 Stratum R-4 – Late MBIIB Period

Stratum R-4 is marked by a continuance in the site’s domestic occupation. Locus 105225, the stone bedding of a R-4b street, contained a scarab inscribed with \( \text{nfr} \text{Hfr-}s\text{hm-Rt} \) ‘the good god, Khasekhemra (Noferhotep I), born to the god’s father, Haankhef’ (Figure 6.4 [4]). The genealogical royal-name scarab is most likely of Egyptian origin, exported during Noferhotep I’s reign. As no MBIIB levels were found at the settlement, the scarab would have been in circulation for some time, and perhaps across various centres, before its final deposition.

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petrographic analysis on the fabric of the bottle from Burial 10342 points to its local origin. Maeir, in *Beth Shean* 2, 282, photo 4 [68-69], pls 16 [10], 17 [4]; Maeir and Yellin, in *Beth Shean* 2, 563.

83 Mazar and Mullins, in *Beth Shean* 2, 15-16, fig. 1 [5]; Mullins and Mazar, in *Beth Shean* 2, 50.

84 Mazar and Mullins, in *Beth Shean* 2, 15-16, fig. 1 [5]; Clamer, in *Beth Shean* 2, 627-629, figs 10 [1.1-1.2], photos 10 [1a-1b].

85 Mazar and Mullins, in *Beth Shean* 2, 15-16, fig. 1 [5]; Brandl, in *Beth Shean* 2, 586-587, fig. 8 [4], photo 8 [4].

86 Mazar and Mullins, in *Beth Shean* 2, 15-16; Mullins and Mazar, in *Beth Shean* 2, 50.

87 Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, 3 [10], 56-57 [214b], pls 1 [10], 6 [214b].

88 Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, 56-57 [214b], pl. 6 [214b].

89 Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, 3 [10], pl. 1 [10].


91 Stratum R-4 corresponds to the University Museum’s Level XB. Mullins and Mazar, in *Beth Shean* 2, 52-60, 72-85.

92 Brandl, in *Beth Shean* 2, 587-589, fig. 8 [5], photo 8 [5].

93 Brandl, in *Beth Shean* 2, 589.
A piriform Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglet was discovered in an unclear, R-4b context, possibly a foundation trench (Figure 6.7). The vessel is typologically similar to juglets of the MBIIB and, for instance, those from Tell el-Dab’a’s strata E/2-D/2 (Dynasty 15). Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis deduced that it is of Egyptian origin, and so the juglet may be used as evidence for imports from Fifteenth Dynasty Egypt.

The following phase R-4a contained two objects of Egyptian influence. The first is a plain scarab, of either Egyptian or Levantine origin, deposited in an accumulation (Locus 58117) (Figure 6.4 [5]). The second is a scarab retrieved from the makeup of an R-3 floor (Locus 78327b) and bears meaningless hieroglyphs signalling its local origin (Figure 6.4 [6]).

Like stratum R-5, R-4 contained both Egyptian imports as well as locally-made scarabs displaying Egyptian influences. Despite the assortment of goods, only the piriform Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglet definitively indicates trade with Dynasty 15. Combined with items from stratum R-5, the juglet, calcite-alabaster vessels and, perhaps, the scarab from stratum R-5b, demonstrate Beth Shean’s access to Egyptian goods imported from the late Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Dynasties during the MBIIB period. Their quantities indicate that individuals from Egypt were most likely not present at the site. Nonetheless, inhabitants at Beth Shean were evidently familiar with Egyptian(-influenced) products.
6.2.4 Gezer / Jazari, Tell

Lat.Lon. 31°53’N 34°57’E

Refs PM 7, 374-375; Macalister, Gezer 1-3.

Chron. Second Intermediate Period / MBIIB – MBIIC Period

Gezer is strategically situated along a route from the coastal plain to the highlands of Israel. Stratigraphical data for the settlement and its MBA tombs is somewhat lacking and confused while a complete repertoire of finds, particularly from the Palestine Exploration Fund’s excavations, is unpublished. Examples of contextual uncertainties are apparent in reports on Gezer’s Egyptian statuettes which are presented in Appendix A.2. The current work directed by Ortiz and Wolff may shed more light on Gezer’s MBA occupation. Until then, pertinent material only occurs as ‘alabaster’ and faience vessels, as well as scarabs.

6.2.4.1 ‘Alabaster’ and faience vessels

The tomb of Cave 15.I comprised mixed EBA and MBA burials. An MBIIA deposit in the cave’s first chamber included an ‘alabaster’ vessel of possible Twelfth Dynasty origin (Figure 6.8 [1]). One other Egyptian-style vessel is a bluish-green, round-based faience bottle (Figure 6.8 [2]) from Tomb 3, a burial of the ‘Second Semitic Period’ (the Thirteenth to Eighteenth Dynasties) with MBA weaponry as well as scarabs bearing early MBIIB features (see below). The bottle’s shape is akin to an Egyptian vessel from Tomb 7196 at

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103 Macalister, Gezer 1, 86-93; Weinstein, BASOR 217 (1975), 4.
104 Another ‘alabaster’ vessel was apparently found in the cave; however its context is not mentioned. Macalister, Gezer 1, 90; vol. 3, pls 21 [1], 22 [2]; Weinstein, BASOR 217 (1975), 4.
105 As the pottery from Gezer’s Tomb 3 is not published, the burial’s date cannot be confirmed. The recorded artefacts do, however, imply an MBIIB date. Macalister, Gezer 1, 303-304, fig. 160 [9].
Badari,\textsuperscript{106} evidently of the Second Intermediate Period, as well as a bottle from an MBIIC tomb at Jericho.\textsuperscript{107} If Tomb 3’s dating to the MBIIB or MBIIC period is correct, the vessel may be considered as an item influenced by late Thirteenth to early Eighteenth Dynasty faience workshops.\textsuperscript{108}

6.2.4.2 Scarabs

Gezer’s collection of sealings displaying Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period designs has been utilised as proof for MBIIA and MBIIB relations with Dynasties 12-15.\textsuperscript{109} An examination of the published evidence reveals that the majority of scarabs assigned to Macalister’s ‘Second Semitic Period’ are of unpublished or uncertain contexts. As their date and manner of deposition cannot be confirmed, the scarabs have not been analysed here. However, it should be noted that the group includes a scarab of Sheshi,\textsuperscript{110} and a Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period scarab of official Imeny.\textsuperscript{111}

Of the scarabs from known contexts, only a small number may be examined.\textsuperscript{112} These include one scarab inscribed with \textit{Hk\textordmasculine}s Ht\textordmasculine}s wt Ht\textordmasculine}s n ‘ruler of foreign lands, Khyan’ from the top of the fortification’s inner wall at the north end of trench 3 (Figure 6.9 [7]).\textsuperscript{113}

\textsuperscript{106} Brunton, \textit{Qau and Badari} 3, 11-12, pl. 21 [7196].
\textsuperscript{107} Kenyon, \textit{Jericho} 2, fig. 238 [7].
\textsuperscript{108} The item may have been imported, but studies have supported the presence of MBA faience workshops in the Southern Levant, indicating that the bottle could be a product of such a workshop. Other faience vessels from the site are recorded, but Macalister makes no mention of their context. C. Sagona, ‘Middle Bronze Faience Vessels from Palestine’, \textit{ZDPV} 96/2 (1980), 101-120; Macalister, \textit{Gezer} 2, 336-339; vol. 3, pl. 211.
\textsuperscript{110} The scarab was reportedly ‘\textit{found on the same day and on the same level, a short distance from the spot where the vase was deposited}’. The vase here refers to a vessel from a trench in the Central Valley assigned to the ‘Second Semitic Period’. R. A. S. Macalister, ‘Nineteenth Quarterly Report on the Excavation of Gezer’, \textit{PEQ} 40 (1908), 287-289, pl. 4 [17].
\textsuperscript{111} Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 21 [209].
\textsuperscript{112} Other scarabs with recorded contexts include a steatite scarab from IV.18’s cistern, another from an infant burial in III.16, two scarabs from III.17 and a scarab from underneath the foundations of a structure at the north end of IIIa.27, 28. A description of the scarabs’ findspots and their associated material is not included in Macalister’s report, so their ascription to the ‘Second Semitic Period’ cannot be confirmed. Macalister, \textit{Gezer} 2, 314-319. For provenanced scarabs with Egyptian-inspired designs from the late MBIIC to LBI period (beyond the chronological scope of this study), see J. D. Seger, ‘Reflections on the Gold Hoard from Gezer’, \textit{BASOR} 221 (1976), 133-140.
\textsuperscript{113} Macalister, \textit{Gezer} 2, 316, pl. 204b [16]; R. Giveon, ‘A Sealing of Khyan from the Shephela of Southern Palestine’, \textit{JEA} 51 (1965), 204.
The wall is thought to be of MBIIB-C construction,\textsuperscript{114} providing a possible date for the scarab’s deposition. As Khayan’s position within Dynasty 15 is not verified, the scarab’s context does not necessarily imply a correlation with his reign. It alternatively points to the flow of Fifteenth Dynasty products from Lower Egypt to Gezer during the MBIIB-C period.

The only other tomb with scarabs possibly of the MBIIB to MBIIC is Tomb 3. As aforementioned, the tomb is of the ‘Second Semitic Period’, its published material ascribing to an MBIIB or MBIIC date (see above).\textsuperscript{115} The scarabs’ designs bear features of D. Ben-Tor’s Early and Late Palestinian Series. Early MBIIB designs include the sign of union (\textit{sm3 b.wy}) (Figure 6.9 [2]),\textsuperscript{116} ‘L-shaped’ red crowns addorsed on a \textit{nb}-sign (Figure 6.9 [3, 6])\textsuperscript{117} and concentric circles (Figure 6.9 [4]).\textsuperscript{118} Elements common in the Early and Late Series are the standing figure bordered on six oblong scrolls (Figure 6.9 [1])\textsuperscript{119} and ‘L-shaped’ red crowns (Figure 6.9 [3, 6]).\textsuperscript{120} Based on the designs’ popularity in the Levant, the scarabs are most likely of Levantine origin.\textsuperscript{121} The red-crowns, sign of union and concentric circles are, however, inspired by Egyptian designs.

Tomb 3’s scarabs, as well as the ‘alabaster’ and faience vessels, support the presence of Egyptian artistic influences on funerary items in Gezer. The faience vessel, in particular, suggests that such influences were possibly concurrent with the Second Intermediate Period. Further support surfaces in the scarabs of Sheshi and Khayan which, despite their uncertain contexts, imply relations with Lower Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period. However, the extent of Egyptian contact with Gezer appears limited to commercial and artistic influences.

\textsuperscript{114} Burke, \textit{MBA Fortification Strategies}, 261-262.
\textsuperscript{115} Macalister, \textit{Gezer 1}, 303-304, fig. 160.
\textsuperscript{117} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B3a and 3B3d. Macalister, \textit{Gezer 1}, fig. 160 [15]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 129, 162-163.
\textsuperscript{120} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B3d. Macalister, \textit{Gezer 1}, fig. 160 [12]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 163.
6.2.5 Ifshar, Tell / Hefer

Lat./Lon.  32°22′N 34°54′E


Chron. Twelfth Dynasty / MBIIA Period

Tell Ifshar is located on a presumably navigable river in the southern coastal plain of Israel.122 Three areas (A, B and C) expose a fortified settlement occupied from the EBI to the Byzantine period.123 MBIIA levels, which are principally represented at Area C, have been divided into eight main phases (A-H) spanning the entire MBIIA period.124 Phases A-C revealed Middle Kingdom pottery.125

6.2.5.1 Phase A

Two sub-phases have been identified in Phase A: Phase A ‘early’ and Phase A ‘late’.126 The latter is characterised by the final deposits and fill before Phase B127 and revealed three Egyptian sherds: (1) a rim and shoulder of a Marl C-1 jar typologically akin to Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty Egyptian zir rims (Figure 6.10 [1]);128 (2) a rim and neck of a Marl A-4 bottle, with parallels from the reigns of Amenemhat II to Senwosret III (Figure 6.10 [2]);129 and (3) a body sherd of a Marl C-2 jar which has been assigned between late Senwosret I

124 Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 185; E. S. Marcus et al., ‘The Middle Kingdom Egyptian Pottery from Middle Bronze Age IIA Tel Ifshar’, A&L 18 (2008), 205.
125 Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008),205.
126 Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 185.
127 Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 185, fig. 15 [2].
128 Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 206, fig. 2 [1].
129 Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 207, fig. 2 [2].
and Amenemhat III (Figure 6.10 [3]).\(^{130}\) The first two sherds were respectively found in the make-up of Phase B floors and the third comes from Pit L754.\(^{131}\) Together, they denote trade with Upper and Lower Egypt during the first half of Dynasty 12, a synchronism that is supported by the recent radiocarbon dating of the phase.\(^{132}\)

6.2.5.2 Phase B

Phase B is characterised by a large public or elite Mittelsaalhaus complex.\(^{133}\) Its precise function remains unclear but its monumental scale, the use of such architectural elements as cedar supporting beams, the presence of ceramic imports from the Northern Levant as well as painted vessels of most likely elite character, imply that the complex was of administrative and/or ritual significance.\(^{134}\) One room to the building’s southeast\(^{135}\) comprised the greatest number of Middle Kingdom sherds belonging to a minimum of four and a maximum of seven Egyptian vessels, including: \(^{136}\) a reconstructed burnished globular jar of marl clay similar to those of the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty (Figure 6.10 [4]);\(^{137}\) the rim and shoulder of a Marl C-2 globular jar, similar to the third sherd discussed above under Phase A (Figure 6.10 [5]);\(^{138}\) the rim and upper body of a Marl C-1 zir (Figure 6.10 [6]) of the Twelfth or early-mid Thirteenth Dynasty;\(^{139}\) and the base of a Marl C-1 zir paralleling zirs of the Twelfth Dynasty to the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty (Figure 6.10 [7]).\(^{140}\)

The Egyptian pottery supports relations between Tell Ifshar and the first half of Dynasty 12. Such contact is verified by the chronological correlations offered by the radiocarbon results,\(^{141}\) linking Tell Ifshar’s Phase B with the early-mid Twelfth Dynasty (Table 27).

\(^{130}\) Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 207, fig. 2 [3].
\(^{131}\) Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 206.
\(^{132}\) Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 198, tables 15.3-15.4.
\(^{133}\) Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 188, fig. 15 [2]; Marcus, Porath and Paley, A&L 18 (2008), 226-228.
\(^{134}\) Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 188; Marcus, Porath and Paley, A&L 18 (2008), 226-228.
\(^{135}\) Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 207.
\(^{136}\) Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 207.
\(^{137}\) The fabric is Marl DAN E3, which has not been classified in the Vienna System. It is of Upper Egyptian origin. Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 205, 207-209, fig. 3 [1].
\(^{138}\) The rim type parallels shapes deriving from Amenemhat III and later. Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 209-210, fig. 3 [2].
\(^{139}\) Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 207, 210, fig. 3 [3].
\(^{140}\) Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 207-210, fig. 3 [4].
\(^{141}\) Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 198, tables 15.3-15.4.
6.2.5.3 Phase C

Phase B’s complex was destroyed by a conflagration then rebuilt, with minor modifications, in Phase C1. After its renovation in Phase C2, the building was again burnt and destroyed. Either from Phase C2 or earlier is the upper body of a Marl C-1 bag-shaped jar from the south of the excavated complex, (Figure 6.10 [8]) its shape typical of jars from the end of the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Dynasty. Also retrieved south of the complex is a complete Marl A-3 bottle from within Phase C’s destruction phase (Figure 6.10 [9]). While no close parallels for the vessel are found in Egypt, Do. Arnold proposes that it is of the Twelfth Dynasty, dating approximately between the end of Amenemhat III’s reign to that of Senwosret III. A recent analysis of its shape and decoration agrees with this dating.

Overall, Phases A to C comprised a minimum of eight and a maximum of 12 imported vessels. The Marl A and C fabrics reflect trade with Upper and Lower Egyptian workshops exporting storage containers such as bottles, jars and zirs. Imported goods are higher in number during the later phases, particularly Phase B. This could point to an increase in trade, but it may also be linked with the construction of a new monumental complex in Area C. The rise in Egyptian imports is also correlated with imported goods from the Southern and Northern Levant, denoting a trade network circulating Levantine and Egyptian goods across the Mediterranean coast. While Tell Ifshar’s Egyptian assemblage is reportedly the largest thus far found in the Southern Levant, it is only but a fraction of the entire ceramic assemblage at the site. The evidence implies only some trade with Egypt between Phases A-C of MBIIA Tell Ifshar and the first three quarters of the Twelfth Dynasty.

142 Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 188, fig. 15 [2].
143 Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 188.
144 Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 210-211, fig. 4 [1].
145 For the history of research on the vessel, see Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 203-205, 211-213, fig. 4 [2]. While the latter assigns the bottle to either Phase C or E, Marcus recently notes that a reanalysis of the stratigraphy supports its deposition in a Phase C deposit beneath Phase E. Marcus, in Radiocarbon, 188.
146 Bietak, in High, Middle or Low?, 96; Bietak, BASOR 287 (1981), 54; Weinstein, BASOR 288 (1992), 34-35; Paley and Porath, in Hyksos, 373.
147 Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 211-213.
148 Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 213.
150 Marcus et al., A&L 18 (2008), 213.
151 The assemblage has been published in preliminary form in Marcus, Porath and Paley, A&L 18, 221-244.
Almost 10 km from the Dead Sea within the southern Jordan Valley is the site of Jericho. Excavations have uncovered an occupation spanning almost the entire MBA period.\textsuperscript{152} Publications of the tell’s tombs and settlement are not without complications and faults,\textsuperscript{153} yet the available material comprises a significant number of scarabs, seal impressions, faience and stone vessels. They are discussed below chronologically utilising Kenyon’s divisions of MBIIB tombs into Groups I-III, later revisions of these divisions, as well as the stratigraphical phases determined by the recent University of Rome explorations.

6.2.6.1 Late MBIIA or MBIIB-B Period (Kenyon’s Group I; University of Rome’s Phase IVa)

Two tombs excavated by Kenyon comprising Egyptian-influenced material likely date to the late MBIIA or transitional MBIIB-B period.\textsuperscript{154} Phase 3 of Tomb B48 contained two drop-shaped


vessels of ‘alabaster’ (Figure 6.12 [1-2])\(^{155}\) and seven scarabs,\(^{156}\) one of which displays a single line thread on its lower part and a sign of union on its upper part indicating its likely Egyptian manufacture (Figure 6.11 [2]).\(^{157}\) Another tomb of Phase 1, Tomb A34, consisted of a gypsum-alabaster drop-shaped alabastron which can be attributed to a Levantine workshop.\(^{158}\)

The University of Rome’s recent excavations unearthed another tomb, D.641, assigned to stratum IVa-2.\(^{159}\) The tomb held two scarabs, one bearing a \(\text{šš} \) hieroglyph in a design akin to Middle Kingdom scarabs,\(^{160}\) and another displaying a reclining lion with a possible fish (Figure 6.11 [22]).\(^{161}\) The latter design has been translated as ‘\(\text{d mr Rh} \) ‘administrator of Jericho’;\(^{162}\) however, the lion motif is very common in the MBA Levantine series, and should not be construed as a phonogram.\(^{163}\) Arguably, the scarab is of Levantine production.

Therefore, only two scarabs from this period could be Egyptian imports, the rest of the material being of Levantine or uncertain origin but undoubtedly inspired by Egyptian designs.

\section*{6.2.6.2 MBA Period (Kenyon’s Groups II-III; University of Rome’s Phase IVb)}

Calcite-alabaster vessels occur in three tombs from Group II: Tomb J54 with one drop-shaped alabastron (Figure 6.12 [3]);\(^{164}\) Tomb D9 comprising four drop-shaped alabastra and one cylindrical jar (Figure 6.12 [4-6]);\(^{165}\) and Tomb J14 containing three drop-shaped

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\item \(^{155}\) Kenyon, \textit{Jericho} 2, 208-209, 221-222, fig. 100 [2-3]; Sparks, \textit{Stone Vessels in the Levant}, 381-382 [1246], 383 [1270].
\item \(^{158}\) Kenyon, \textit{Jericho} 1, 353, 366, fig. 144 [1]; Sparks, \textit{Stone Vessels in the Levant}, 234, 351 [884].
\item \(^{159}\) Maeir dates the tomb to the early MBA. He also argues for the entire phase’s early MBA date. Maeir, \textit{Jordan Valley during the MBA}, 58-59; Marchetti, in \textit{Synchronisation of Civilisations}, 295-321; L. Nigro, ‘The Built Tombs on the Spring Hill and the Palace of the Lords of Jericho (\(\text{d mr Rh} \)) in the Middle Bronze Age’, in J. D. Schloen (ed.), \textit{Exploring the Longue Durée in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager} (Winona Lake, 2009), 361-376.
\item \(^{160}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A3. Nigro, in \textit{Exploring the Longue Durée}, 372, fig. 22; Marchetti, in \textit{Synchronisation of Civilisations}, fig. 9 [b]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 16-17.
\item \(^{161}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9E. Nigro, in \textit{Exploring the Longue Durée}, 372, fig. 23; Marchetti, in \textit{Synchronisation of Civilisations}, fig. 9 [b]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 146-147, 177.
\item \(^{162}\) Nigro, in \textit{Exploring the Longue Durée}, 372-373.
\item \(^{163}\) D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 177; Maeir, \textit{Jordan Valley during the MBA}, 34-35, 58-59.
\item \(^{164}\) Kenyon, \textit{Jericho} 2, fig. 100 [11]; Sparks, \textit{Stone Vessels in the Levant}, 288 [111].
\item \(^{165}\) Kenyon, \textit{Jericho} 2, 283, fig. 100 [16-18]; Sparks, \textit{Stone Vessels in the Levant}, 288 [109], 290 [131, 138], 291 [147], 313 [407].
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
alabastra, three cylindrical jars and one ridge-necked alabastron (Figure 6.12 [7-13]). To these may be added a drop-shaped alabastron from a stratum IVb fill between Fortress A1 and House A2. Gypsum-alabaster vessels are more common, with Group II tombs producing over 26 vessels. As only a small number of the stone vessel corpus is generally designated as ‘alabaster’, more than half of the stone vessels from Group II are evidently of Levantine origin. The following Group III marks a further divide between calcite-alabaster and gypsum-alabaster vessels, the latter representing over 85% of alabasters from Group III tombs in comparison to less than 3% of calcite-alabaster vessels. Apparently, Levantine-made stone vessels became more popular or more accessible during this phase.

Two tombs assigned to the last phase of Group III, Tombs B51 and J20, contained flat-based faience bottles. The bottles are decorated with a pair of parallel and wavy lines bordering a central zigzag design as well as petals in the lowest register. The design is otherwise only attested at Tell el-Far‘ah South, hinting at the bottles’ Levantine manufacture.

Private- and royal-name scarabs are few. Tomb G37 of Group II contained a scarab reading  i.r.y.-t n(y) dšd.w Pn.wy ‘hall-keeper of the audience hall’, Penwy’

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166 Kenyon, Jericho 2, fig. 154 [1-3, 5, 10, 12, 16]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 288 [110], 291 [139-140], 292 [162], 311 [385], 312 [398], 313 [408].

167 Nigro suggests that the item was part of the funerary assemblage of a disturbed burial. N. Marchetti, ‘A Middle Bronze II Alabastron from Tell es-Sultan/Jericho and a Syro-Palestinian Class of Alabaster Vessels’, Isimu 2 (1999), 305-312, figs 2-3; Nigro, in Tell es-Sultan/Jericho in the Context of the Jordan Valley, 33, n. 55, fig. 51.

168 Kenyon, Jericho 1, 313, 326, 338, figs 118 [1-11], 187 [10]; vol. 2, 241, 257, 267, figs 100 [5-6, 8-14], 154 [9, 11]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 344 [809], 351 [885-891], 353 [910-911], 355 [937-938], 361 [1002], 363 [1018-1019], 364-365 [1037-1038], 366 [1055-1058], 367 [1059], 370 [1094-1095], 371 [1101-1102].

169 Kenyon, Jericho 2, 208-209, 221-222, figs 100 [1, 4, 15], 154 [4, 14]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 382 [1247], 383 [1270-1271], 384 [1284], 388 [1344].

170 The remaining vessels are termed simply as ‘alabaster’. Kenyon, Jericho 1, 349, 366, 381, 402, figs 118 [12-16], 171 [1-2, 5-6]; vol. 2, 253, figs 100 [20-24], 171 [3-5, 7, 9, 11-12, 14-16], 179 [1-5, 7-11, 14-22, 24]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 233-234, 344 [811-812], 352 [892-898], 353 [912-915], 353 [916-921], [927-931], 356 [939-942], 357 [954], 358 [963-964], 363 [1020-1023], 365 [1040-1045], 367 [1060-1062, 1066-1068], 368 [1071-1074], 377 [1188], 378 [1195-1196], 382 [1248-1251, 1256-1257], 383 [1264-1265, 1273-1275], 387 [1337], figs 81-82.

171 Some have proposed that Jericho had a gypsum-alabaster workshop. Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 234-235.

172 Kenyon, Jericho 2, figs 171 [1], 179 [12-13]; Sagona, ZDPV 96/2 (1980), 103, fig. 1 (8-10).

173 Sagona, ZDPV 96/2 (1980), 103, fig. 2 [9].

174 Contested scarabs which have been read as that of Intef V (Group II Tomb G37) and Maabira (Group III-V Tomb B51) are not included due to their ambiguous glyphs. For a discussion on the scarabs, see Bietak, AJA 88/4 (1984), 483; Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 55; W. A. Ward, ‘Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context’, AJA 91/4 (1987), 521-522.

175 Ward, Index, 61 [496].
Two scarabs from Group III tombs surfaced: one from Tomb B35 naming Thirteenth Dynasty king, [scribal hieroglyphs] $H^F$-hip-R$^e$.w ‘Khahotepra (Sobekhotep V)’ (Figure 6.11 [20]), and another from Tomb B3 with [scribal hieroglyphs] $\htm$.ty $bi$.ty $im$.y-$r^3$ pr.w wr $Nm$.ty-$m$-wsh.t ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, chief steward’, Nemtyemweskhet’ (Figure 6.11 [24]). The settlement comprised four MBIIIB jar handle seal impressions inscribed with [scribal hieroglyphs] $\s\s\s\s$ s$n$($y$) $\bj$.ty $Snb=f$ whm $\s^nh$ ‘scribe of the vizier’, Senbef, repeating life’. The funerary epithet at the end of the impressions suggests that the original seal was not intended for sealing jars. As D. Ben-Tor writes, Senbef was most likely a Twelfth Dynasty official whose sealings had no connection with the official’s duties. Perhaps the seal was utilised by another individual as a property marker or for decorative purposes. Because of their rarity in the scarab repertoire, the same may be the case with the other private-and royal-name scarabs from Tombs G37, B35 and B3. The artefacts were probably Egyptian items indirectly imported into Jericho and then used as amulets or status identifiers.

The vast majority of design scarabs bear Levantine characteristics. Egyptian designs include interlocking scrolls, paired oblong scrolls, the $sm\s\s$ $t\s\s$.wy sign of union, $w\dj$.t eyes, a lion’s forepart, concentric circles and a single-line thread (Figure 6.11). Of the tombs

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176 The name here follows Martin’s translation. Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 42 [475], pl. 5 [20]; Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 286 [14]. For a similar name, see Ranke, Personennamen 1, 133 [6].

177 Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 292 [13].

178 Ward, Index, 72 [141], 170 [1472].

179 The name here follows D. Ben-Tor’s translation. D. Ben-Tor, BASOR 294 (1994), 14; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 33 [354], pl. 20 [14]; Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 293 [12]; Ranke, Personennamen 1, 69 [19].

180 Ward, Index, 167 [1449].

181 One jar handle was uncovered in Room 17 and three others were in Room 44C. Two further jar handles with the same seal impression were uncovered in uncertain contexts. Rowe, Scarabs, 235, pl. 26 [55]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 121 [1574], pl. 15 [8]; Ranke, Personennamen 1, 314 [5]; D. Ben-Tor, BASOR 294 (1994), 14.


183 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 2B. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, figs 283 [17], 284 [2], 286 [4]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 124, n. 595.

184 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 7B3ii. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 286 [14]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 143.

185 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A1. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 286 [3]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 125.

186 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B4. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 286 [8, 16]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 131.

187 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B7. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, figs 286 [6], 293 [5]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 132.

188 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 4. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 282 [10]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 136.
with calcite-alabaster vessels, Tomb D9 contained one scarab displaying interlocking scrolls of Egyptian origin,\(^{190}\) while Tomb J14 produced an amethyst scarab with a Levantine design (Figure 6.11 [17]).\(^{191}\) D. Ben-Tor suggests that the scarab was imported with a blank base and then engraved locally.\(^{192}\) In contrast to scarab designs from Group II burials, those from Group III contained a limited number of Egyptian elements such as interlocking scrolls\(^{193}\) and a sedge plant (Figure 6.11 [18-19]).\(^{194}\) Hence, like with the stone vessels, scarabs displaying Levantine characteristics became either in greater demand or availability to Jericho’s inhabitants during Group III’s MBIIB phase.

Overall, the evidence clearly shows that Egyptian imports trickled into Jericho from the late MBIIA or transitional MBIIA-B period predominantly in the form of scarabs, when Egyptian influences on locally made stone vessels and scarabs are also apparent. During the beginning of the MBIIB, calcite-alabaster vessels and scarabs of most possible Egyptian origin rise in number and variety but are outnumbered by their locally produced counterparts. The difference in the percentage of Egyptian-influenced and Egyptian-made items increases throughout the MBIIB, when faience bottles also bear Levantine designs. Evidently, Levantine workshops were producing Egyptian-influenced items that were either more popular or more accessible to the locals than Egyptian imports. Some artisans seemingly also had access to such Egyptian imports as an amethyst scarab which was modified to display local designs. Nonetheless, a few scarabs and calcite-alabaster vessels did reach the site, signalling Jericho’s continued access to Egyptian products during the MBIIB.

\(^{189}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 6A1. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, figs 282 [3], 286 [3]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 138.

\(^{190}\) Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 284 [2].

\(^{191}\) Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 288 [13].

\(^{192}\) D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 149.

\(^{193}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 2B. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 291 [3]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 159, n. 753.

\(^{194}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B5. Kirkbride, in Jericho 2, fig. 290 [10]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 164.
6.2.7 Megiddo / Mutasallim, Tell el-

Lat. Lon. 32°35’N 35°11’E

Refs PM 7, 380-381; Loud, Megiddo 2; Guy, Megiddo Tombs; Kenyon, Levant 1 (1969), 25-60; Tufnell, Levant 5 (1973), 69-82.

Chron. Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty / MBIIA – MBIIC Period

Megiddo is strategically positioned southwest of the Jezreel plain on an easily navigable route from the coast to the Jordan Valley.\(^{195}\) Although excavations have unearthed wide exposures of the site’s MBA material culture,\(^{196}\) various problems related to methodology and stratigraphy as well as ceramic and architectural sequences have surfaced.\(^{197}\) Tel Aviv University’s renewed excavations continue to clarify these issues,\(^{198}\) yet a cautious approach is necessary for material from EBIV/MBI to MBIIB strata uncovered during earlier excavations (Strata XV-XI). The Egyptian evidence from these levels is presented in two main bodies: stone vessels and scarabs. Ambiguous artefacts are discussed in Appendix A.3.

6.2.7.1 Stone vessels

Only four ‘alabaster’ vessels were retrieved from MBIIA and MBIIB contexts.\(^{199}\) Two calcite-alabaster vessels were found, including a body sherd possibly of a jar collected near Tomb 4010 of MBIIA stratum XIII (Figure 6.13 [1]).\(^{200}\) Another calcite-alabaster flask with a convex

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\(^{199}\) These do not include two ‘alabaster’ vessels from Tombs 42 and 56. While classified by Guy as MBA vessels, the tombs contain LBA material and so their dating cannot be confirmed. Similarly, a faience jar decorated with wavy bands mimicking the striations of calcite-alabaster was found in Tomb 912B. The tomb comprised of both MBIIA as well as LBII objects. For the ‘alabaster’ vessels, see Guy, Megiddo Tombs, 186, fig. 184 [1-2], pls 107 [17], 114 [7]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 295 [192-193]. For the faience jar, see Guy, Megiddo Tombs, 188, fig. 185 [1], pl. 130 [15]; Weinstein, BASOR 217 (1975), 2.

\(^{200}\) Loud identifies the sherd as of a bowl. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 258 [2]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 338 [735]; Weinstein, BASOR 217 (1975), 2, n. 13.
CHAPTER 6: CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIAN IN THE LEVANT

base comes from Tomb 3095 of MBIIB stratum XII (Figure 6.13 [2]). Of the same stratum are an ‘alabaster’ dipper juglet from tomb 4099 (Figure 6.13 [3]) and a gypsum-alabaster drop-shaped alabastron from Tomb 3111 (Figure 6.13 [4]). The vessels specify the import and imitation of Egyptian products between the MBIIA and MBIIB periods, the uses of which are associated with funerary practices.

6.2.7.2 Scarabs and seal impressions

The earliest scarab is from Tomb 3143 of MBIIA stratum XIV. The scarab is designed with hieroglyphs in both horizontal and vertical settings (Figure 6.14 [1]), features of most likely Levantine origin, although its early date suggests otherwise. Stratum XIII tombs 3109, 3125 and 5090 of the MBIIA also contained scarabs displaying Levantine designs such as three vertical panels with glyphs (Figure 6.14 [2]), and red crowns addorsed on a nb-sign (Figure 6.14 [3]). Kenyon dates two further tombs of stratum XII to an earlier phase: MBIIA Tomb 5106 with one scarab bearing interlocked spirals of a most possible late Middle Kingdom origin (Figure 6.14 [4]); and transitional MBIIA-B Tomb 3087 containing two scarabs with pseudo-hieroglyphs of a likely Levantine origin (Figure 6.14 [5-6]). Thus, the majority of scarabs from these early phases show Levantine characteristics, albeit those influenced by Egyptian designs. In view of this, Tufnell remarks on the overall rarity of scarabs in MBIIA graves, advising that contact with the Egyptian was minor.

201 The tomb is assigned to Kenyon’s MBIIB Group F. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 258 [3]; Kenyon, Levant 1 (1969), 34; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 308 [351].
202 The tomb is assigned to Kenyon’s MBIIB Group A. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 258 [4]; Kenyon, Levant 1 (1969), 28-31; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 387 [1340].
203 The tomb is assigned to Kenyon’s MBIIB Group D. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 258 [5]; Kenyon, Levant 1 (1969), 31; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 352 [901].
204 Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 149 [1]; O. Tufnell, ‘The Middle Bronze Age Scarab-Seals from Burials on the Mound at Megiddo’, Levant 5 (1973), 71, fig. 3 [126].
205 D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 126; D. Ben-Tor, BASOR 294 (1994), 11.
206 Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 149 [3-6].
207 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3E1. The scarab is from Tomb 3109. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 149 [3]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 135, pl. 57 [21].
208 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B3a. The scarab is from Tomb 5090. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 149 [5]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 129, pl. 53 [32].
209 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 2B. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 149 [48]; Tufnell, Levant 5 (1973), fig. 1 [6]; Kenyon, Levant 1 (1969), 26; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 124.
210 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A3. Loud, Megiddo 2, pl. 149 [15-16]; Tufnell, Levant 5 (1973), fig. 1 [3, 7]; Kenyon, Levant 1 (1969), 28; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 126, pl. 51 [7].
211 Not included here are contexts comprising MBIIB material as well as later LBA objects, such as Tombs 24 and 912B. One seal impression on a loom weight is also assigned to Stratum XIIIIB, yet its design is not clear on the published photograph. Guy, Megiddo Tombs, 48-50, 69-72, pls 105-106, 131 [1-14], 164 [1].
212 Tufnell, Levant 5 (1973), 73.
An increase in the number of scarabs occurs in the following strata XII and XI of the MBII B period.\(^{213}\) Again, the majority are decorated with Levantine characteristics.\(^{214}\) Only a small number may be assigned an Egyptian origin. These comprise a private-name scarab from Tomb 5067 of stratum XII inscribed with \(\text{im} \cdot y-r^3 \text{pr.} w \ hsb \ ih. w \ i\text{w}=f\)-\(snb\) ‘steward of reckoning cattle,’\(^{215}\) lufseneb’ (Figure 6.14 [7]).\(^{216}\) The scarab could be an heirloom of late Middle Kingdom origin.\(^{217}\) Another from stratum XII Tomb 4099 bears a child hieroglyph that is also suggestive of its Egyptian manufacture (Figure 6.14 [8]).\(^{218}\) The interlocking spirals of a scarab from Tomb 2135 similarly point to Egypt (Figure 6.14 [9]).\(^{219}\) Also, stratum XI Tombs 3085 and 3110 each comprised one scarab displaying the Middle Kingdom design of interlocking scrolls (Figure 6.14 [11-12]).\(^{220}\) Tomb 3080 additionally contained one scarab with \(w\ibre\) eyes and a distinct Thirteenth Dynasty back type (Figure 6.14 [10]).\(^{221}\)

The number of scarabs possibly of Egyptian origin increases between the MBII A and MBII B periods. Most notable is the private-name scarab of lufseneb which is a definite Middle Kingdom import, though the circumstances under which it reached Megiddo are unknown. The increase in both Egyptian and Levantine designs from MBII A to MBII B contexts highlights the growing popularity of scarabs. The same is apparent from the stone vessels which are similarly of more varied forms and material in the MBII B. Despite these observations, the Megiddo evidence does not stress direct relations with Egypt. It is more likely that the site’s strategic position offered its inhabitants access to trade routes and goods from Egypt as well as Levantine workshops influenced by Egyptian art.

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\(^{213}\) Note that some of the tombs attributed to these strata have been assigned to Kenyon’s Phases MBII A-D, possibly of the early MBII B period. Loud, \textit{Megiddo} 2, pls 149 [8-57], 150; Kenyon, \textit{Levant} 1 (1969), 28-30.

\(^{214}\) D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 156.

\(^{215}\) D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 143.

\(^{216}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 7B3ii. D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 143.

\(^{217}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 7B. Loud, \textit{Megiddo} 2, pl. 149 [41]; Tufnell, \textit{Levant} 5 (1973), fig. 1 [13]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 143.

\(^{218}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 7B. Loud, \textit{Megiddo} 2, pl. 149 [41]; Tufnell, \textit{Levant} 5 (1973), fig. 3 [129]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 124.

\(^{219}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 7B. Loud, \textit{Megiddo} 2, pl. 150 [75, 92]; Tufnell, \textit{Levant} 5 (1973), fig. 2 [55, 59]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 143.

\(^{220}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B4 and 3B7. Loud, \textit{Megiddo} 2, pl. 150 [70]; Tufnell, \textit{Levant} 5 (1973), fig. 2 [67]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 131-132, n. 638.
6.2.8 Nagila, Tell

Lat.Lon. 31°30'N 34°45'E

Refs Amiran and Eitan, *Archaeology* 18/2 (1965), 113-123.

Chron. Second Intermediate Period / MBIIB – MBIIC Period

Southeast of Ashkelon is the settlement of Tell Nagila. A detailed publication of excavations has not yet been produced, but reports note four or five strata dating to the MBIIB-C period (VII-XI) as well as a MBIIB-C tomb south of the tell (Tomb DT 2). Settlement finds purportedly include faience and ‘alabaster’ bottles. From Amiran and Eitan’s preliminary report, it is possible to identify: (1) the drop-shaped form of one alabastroon with its grooved neck (Figure 6.15 [10]), the shape ascribed to a Middle Kingdom form and is likely an Egyptian import; and (2) two white faience bottles with a slightly pointed and decorated base (Figure 6.15 [9]), showing affinities with vessels from MBIIB-C Tell el-Far’ah South and Jericho.

Tomb DT 2’s published scarabs display such designs as a Hathor symbol (Figure 6.15 [1]), an antelope (Figure 6.15 [2]), convoluted coils (Figure 6.15 [3]), a cross pattern (Figure 6.15 [4]), and misrendered signs (Figure 6.15 [6-7]). All are plausibly of Levantine origin. Only the cross pattern and convoluted coils may be Egyptian imports, yet the designs were imitated by Levantine artisans. Thus, the published scarabs cannot certainly point to the import of Egyptian products, but denote Egyptian artistic influences on Levantine workshops.

Overall, the published material only indicates a general correspondence between Tell Nagila and Egypt during the MBIIB-C and the Second Intermediate Period.

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223 Amiran and Eitan, *Archaeology* 18/2 (1965), 123, fig. 16.

224 Sparks, in *Cultural Interaction in the Ancient Near East*, 59.

225 Amiran and Eitan, *Archaeology* 18/2 (1965), 123, fig. 16.


228 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9B. Amiran and Eitan, *Archaeology* 18/2 (1965), fig. 15 [2]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 175.

229 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 6B1. Amiran and Eitan, *Archaeology* 18/2 (1965), fig. 15 [3]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 139.

230 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 5. Amiran and Eitan, *Archaeology* 18/2 (1965), fig. 15 [4]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 137.

231 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A3. Amiran and Eitan, *Archaeology* 18/2 (1965), fig. 15 [6-7]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 126, 160.

6.3 THE NORTHERN LEVANT: LEBANON AND WEST SYRIA

6.3.1 ‘Arqa, Tell

Lat. Lon. 34°31’N 36°02’E


Chron. Mid-Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty / Late MBIIA – MBIIC Period

Tell ‘Arqa is located in the coastal Akkar Plain of modern Lebanon. Recent excavations have unearthed a fortified settlement of which only a section has been explored. Three fragmentary vessels were found in loci of a large building’s room dated to the late MBIIA. (1) fragments of a base belonging to a Type 3 Egyptian zir akin to those of the mid-Twelfth to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty; (2) the upper part of a Marl C-1 jar with a corrugated neck (Figure 6.16 [1]), the low position of the first ridge beneath its rim paralleling forms of the mid-Thirteenth to mid-Fifteenth Dynasty; and (3) the rim and neck of a third Marl C jar with a slightly narrower corrugated neck that also finds similarities to jars from the mid-Thirteenth to mid-Fifteenth Dynasty (Figure 6.16 [2]). The Egyptian ceramics indicate contact with the Middle Kingdom and/or the early Second Intermediate Period. While the precise function of their contexts cannot yet be determined, they were evidently collected from occupation levels, indicating that the site’s inhabitants received and utilised Egyptian storage containers for non-funerary purposes.

234 As mentioned in the introduction (Chapter 1.5.2), the tripartite division of the MBA (MBIIA, MBIIb and MBIIC) does not completely apply to the archaeological sites in modern Lebanon. Thalmann has favoured the attribution of Level 14/Phase N to the ‘MBI’ while Level 13/Phase M is to the ‘MBII’. For more on the chronology and comparative stratigraphy of sites in Lebanon, see H. Charaf, ‘The Northern Levant (Lebanon) during the Middle Bronze Age’, in M. L. Steiner and A. E. Killebrew (eds), The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE (Oxford, 2013), 434-437, table 29.1.
238 Charaf, in Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean, 297, pl. 2 [6].
6.3.2 Burak, Tell el-

**Lat. Lon.** 33°29’N 35°20’E


**Chron.** Middle Kingdom/MBIIB Period

Tell el-Burak is situated on the Mediterranean coast near Sidon. A joint expedition by the American University of Beirut and the University of Tübingen has identified an MBA occupation represented by a monumental fortified building or ‘palace’ (Figure 6.17). Two archaeological phases have been discerned. The first is dated to the beginning of the MBA based on preliminary radiocarbon results, and the second is of the MBIIB period. The structure yielded a few finds, indicating that it was either never inhabited or only utilised for a short time. One such find is an unpublished scarab from Room 1 displaying an antelope with its legs bent inwards under the body, above which is a ‘nh’ sign. The design finds a very close parallel with a Tell el-Dab’a scarab of Mlinar’s Type II from a tomb of strata G/1-3 (Tomb 4). The parallel suggests that the Tell el-Burak scarab could be an Egyptian import, perhaps from Thirteenth Dynasty Tell el-Dab’a.

The filling of the structure’s Room 10 between Occupational Phases 1 and 2 has preserved wall paintings displaying Egyptian influences (Figure 6.17). The influences are apparent in

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243 Personal communication with Professor Hélène Sader.

244 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9B. D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 95, pl. 30 [2]; Mlinar, in *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 116, fig. 5 [1]. Personal examination of photograph provided by Professor Hélène Sader. See also Figure 6.42 [20] for another parallel from Sidon, although from the MBIIB Phase 6.
both the methods utilised in the preparation of the paintings, as well as the represented motifs. The employed techniques included covering the walls with two layers of plaster, the outer of which is a smooth white lime plaster, and then painting red sketch drawings and guidelines using brushes.\textsuperscript{245} Such techniques, particularly of the red sketch drawings, are inspired by Egyptian artistic methods for preparing mudbrick walls to receive paintings.\textsuperscript{246} After the walls were prepared, the scenes were painted with such pigments as red ochre, lime white, vegetal black and, significantly, Egyptian blue, which could have been either imported from Egypt or reproduced on site.\textsuperscript{247}

As for the paintings themselves, the only uncovered scenes are on the south and east walls. They feature geometric as well as figurative motifs.\textsuperscript{248} The section left of the entrance is divided into two registers by a frieze of three horizontal rows bordered in black (Figure 6.18A-B). The middle row is decorated with circles filled with red lozenges\textsuperscript{249} while the upper and lower rows are each decorated with rectangular blocks of red and blue. The blocks are further divided by five vertical strips of black-white-black in a manner reminiscent of the Egyptian banded frieze. While the Egyptian banded frieze commonly borders the entire wall, the Tell el-Burak frieze separates the wall’s registers. It would thus seem that the artist(s) had appropriated an Egyptian motif for use in a non-Egyptian way.

The same is the case with one figurative element. The upper register to the left of Room 9’s entrance depicts at least two black dogs wearing red collars (Figure 6.18A). One dog is clearly shown, its muzzle open and forelegs stretched, as if in a hunting stance. Sader observes that the dog is portrayed in the same manner and even the same red collar as that

\textsuperscript{245} Kamlah and Sader, BAAL 12 (2008), 30.


\textsuperscript{247} Kamlah and Sader, BAAL 12 (2008), 30.

\textsuperscript{248} Kamlah and Sader, BAAL 12 (2008), 30, figs 7, 15; Sader and Kamlah, NEA 73/2-3 (2010), fig. 13.

\textsuperscript{249} For similar lozenges, see those inlaid along the border of a pendant from Royal Tomb II at Byblos. Chapter 6.3.3.2, Figure 6.26.
of Khnumhotep II’s dog from the north wall of his Beni Hassan tomb.\textsuperscript{250} Other figurative elements that have been linked to Egyptian parallels are the standing goat leaning its forelegs on a tree, the type of red kilt worn by the portrayed men, the acacia branches and leaves painted on the floor and ceiling(?) of Room 10, and the chequered design of the floor (Figure 6.18).\textsuperscript{251} While these designs are attested in Egypt, they cannot be specifically identified as uniquely Egyptian: the goat on the tree is common across the Mediterranean,\textsuperscript{252} its winding tree being distinctive in form; the preserved red kilts and chequered design are too fragmentary to provide an accurate comparison; and the acacia plant did grow in the Levant\textsuperscript{253} and so could represent local trees. Thus, until more of Room 10’s paintings are uncovered, the inspiration behind these designs remains uncertain.

Nonetheless, some painting tools and preparation techniques are clearly influenced by Egyptian prototypes. The banded frieze and the hunting dogs also display striking counterparts in Egyptian wall scenes, but they were evidently modified for the room’s unique scene. So, it is likely that the artist(s) were not Egyptian but knowledgeable in Egyptian designs. The evidence additionally suggests that they were trained in Egyptian art either indirectly by non-Egyptian artisans teaching Egyptian techniques or directly by Egyptian artists. The representation of the hunting dogs would in fact favour the latter. Hence, the wall paintings at Tell el-Burak may represent direct Egyptian influences. Together with the imported scarab, they offer evidence for contact between the MBIIA site and the Middle Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{250} In fact, the dog appears on the same register as that of Khnumhotep II’s Asiotics (Figure 4.123). Sader and Kamlah, \textit{NEA} 73/2-3 (2010), 138, fig. 13; Sader, in \textit{Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean}, 182; Kamlah and Sader, \textit{BAAL} 12 (2008), 32.


\textsuperscript{253} Gale et al., in \textit{Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology}, 335.
6.3.3 Byblos/Jbeil

Lat.Lon. 34°08’N 35°38’E

Refs PM 7, 386-392; Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte; Dunand, Byblos 1-5.

Chron. Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty / MBI A – MBI C Period

The EBA and MBA periods of the coastal city of Byblos are represented by a wealth of data reflecting a thriving harbour city with strong links to Cyprus, the Aegean, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Since at least the First Egyptian Dynasty, intermittent contact with Egypt contributed to the city’s growing association with cedar wood and its products as well as its reverence to Baalat-Gebel, a goddess equated with Hathor, lady of Byblos. Poorly excavated, Byblos’s stratigraphy does not take into account the site’s topographic features or contemporaneous stratigraphic phases. The publication of contextual data is also lacking in detail, creating difficulties in determining an artefact’s chronological attribution. The inadequate excavation methods have further complicated dating such artefacts as the MBA or LBA pseudo-hieroglyphic texts, as well as scarabs bearing MBI B to MBI C Levantine designs. Due to these chronological qualms, the following presents pertinent Egyptian(-influenced) material that is generally agreed to belong to the MBA. The evidence occurs in: (1) cultic buildings; and (2) the royal tombs.

254 For a recent overview on Byblos and its trade relations, see M. E. Aubet, Commerce and Colonization in the Ancient Near East (Cambridge, 2013), 201-265.
255 Dunand, Byblos 1, 6-10; O. Negbi and S. Moskowitz, ‘The “Foundation Deposits” or “Offering Deposits” of Byblos’, BASOR 184 (1966), 22.
256 For more on the problems in the excavations and their publications, see M. Saghiheh, Byblos is the Third Millennium B.C.: A Reconstruction of the Stratigraphy and a Study of the Cultural Connections (Warminster, 1983); Burke, MBA Fortification Strategies, 192, n. 4.
258 The scarabs’ uncertain dating has directed D. Ben-Tor to assert that Byblos did not receive Egyptian imports or produce Egyptian-influenced products during the Second Intermediate Period. Dunand, Byblos 1, pls 127 [2835], 128 [2443], 129 [1227], 130 [1400]; D. Ben-Tor, in Synchronisation of Civilisations, 246, n. 20; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 188, n. 265.
6.3.3.1 *The cultic buildings*

The ‘Temple of Obelisks’, is recognised as an MBA building and features a small sanctuary of 26 obelisks.259 One preserves the inscription (1) \[ \begin{array}{c} \text{mry Hr-} \text{sř=f-Rc.w hō.ty-č n(y)} \text{ Kpny Tbsnw wnh §nh} \text{ (2) ħtm.ty nsw=f Kwkwn} \\
\text{Rtt mš=S hrw} \text{ ('(1) beloved of Horshafra, count of Kpny,} \text{ (2) the seal-} \\
\text{bearer of his king, Kwkwn, son of Rtt, justified') (Figure 6.19).261 Following the Egyptian tradition of} \\
\text{honorific transposition, the epithet mry Hr-} \text{sř=f-Rc.w should be placed after Tbsnw's} \\
\text{name,262 but the engraver(s) did not follow this custom, supporting the obelisk's} \\
\text{local manufacture. The title ħtm.ty nsw=f was also used instead of the Egyptian ħtm.ty bi.ty.263 It is} \\
\text{possible that the term bi.ty, 'king of Lower Egypt', was not applicable as there was no such king} \\
in Byblos. Its replacement with nsw=f could refer to a local title translated to the Egyptian. \\

The temple additionally produced a fragmentary bas-relief displaying an individual seated on an Egyptian-style stool, possibly with lion legs.264 Before him is the restored inscription: 

(1) \[ \begin{array}{c} \text{[...]} \text{Nfr-} \text{ḥtp} \text{[...]} \text{[...]} \text{Rc.w-Hr.w-hō.ty di=f [dw]} \text{[...]} \text{mš=f} \\
\text{Rc.w rš nb hš.ty-č n(y)} \text{ Kpš Ḥnrw hš.ty-č [Ryn mš=S hrw] ('[... Sekhemkhara} \\
\text{Noferhotep (Noferhotep I) [...); (2) [...] Ra-Horakhty, that he may give [his praise] (to) Ra} \\
\text{every day, the count of Kpś, Ḥntn,} \text{ of [... Repetition of [...]} \text{yesterday, since} \\
\text{his throne, (2) Ryn, justified']}.267 \\
\text{If the restoration is correct, the relief offers a chronological synchronism between} \\
\text{Noferhotep I and Ḥntn,268 denoting the latter's use of the title hš.ty-č n(y) Kpś during} \\
\text{Dynasty 13. Ryholt notes that the title shows Ḥntn's subordination to Noferhotep I and} \\
\text{Flammini suggests that Ḥntn is paying homage to the Egyptian king.269 But, not enough of} \\
\text{the text survives to assess the nature of political relations between the two individuals.} \\

259 Dunand, *Byblos* 2, 643, 651, fig. 707; M. Dunand, *Byblos. Its History, Ruins and Legends* (Jbeil, 
1973), 50-54.


261 Dunand, *Byblos* 2, pl. 32 [2]; Montet, *Kêmi* 16 (1962), 89-90, fig. 5.

262 Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 89.

263 Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 89.

264 Personal examination of the relief, which is currently exhibited at the National Museum of Beirut, 

265 Ward, *Index*, 107 [882].

266 Ward, *Index*, 104 [864].

267 Many glyphs are now unidentifiable. The reconstruction is based on Dunand, *Byblos* 1, 197- 
198, pl. 30 [3065]; Montet, *Kêmi* 1 (1928), 90-93, figs 8-9.


269 Ryholt, *Political Situation*, 87; Flammini, *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010), 159.
The floor of the courtyard and cella of the ‘Temple of Obelisks’ yielded eight ‘foundation deposits’ of artefacts buried either for safe-keeping or as offerings.270 Some artefacts show Egyptian influence and include: small human figurines (e.g. women wearing the Hathoric wig271 and a child with a finger to the mouth);272 deities (e.g. Bes273 and Hathor);274 and animals (e.g. hippos,275 a crocodile,276 felines,277 hedgehogs,278 baboons,279 and a sphinx).280 Panels with Egyptian signs, such as crocodiles, baboons and wdlt eyes were also found.281 Possibly imported are a headed pendant seal with its base inscribed with 𓊫𓊙𓊮𓊥𓊟𓊝𓊢𓊩𓊓𓊢 imy-rˁ pr.w Wsir ‘nh-nsr ‘steward of Osiris’,282 Ankhnofer’,283 and a private-name scarab naming ḫˁ S-(n)-wsr.t ‘Senwosret’.284 Also of interest is a dagger and sheath of gold, ivory and silver (Figure 6.20).285 The sheath is decorated on each side with a figure riding an equid before a row of animals, while the dagger’s hilt portrays a standing figure in a short kilt and an ḫif-like crown. The individuals are illustrated in the Egyptian profile-view,286 but the stance of some animals, such as the facing antelopes and attacking lion, borrows from the Near Eastern tradition.287

Another cultic structure, the ‘Syrian Temple’, yielded the so-called ‘Montet Jar’ (Figure 6.21).288 The jar’s contents portray Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Levantine traits.289 Egyptian finds were of Old Kingdom to early Middle Kingdom date.290 They include: amulets and pendants of a female head, an ibis and baboons; Egyptian-style cylindrical, barrel, ring and spheroid beads;

270 Dunand, Byblos 2, 643-651, pls 90-141; Seeden, Standing Armed Figurine.
271 Dunand, Byblos 2, pls 94 [15372], 99 [15366].
272 Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 97 [15312].
273 Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 95 [15377].
274 Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 164 [12166].
275 Dunand, Byblos 2, pls 99 [15142], 100 [15121, 15124-15125], 101 [15138-15139], 102 [15140, 15153, 15156].
276 Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 102 [15156].
277 Dunand, Byblos 2, pls 103 [15228, 15244, 15236, 15303], 104 [15241].
278 Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 107 [15288, 15294, 15297].
279 Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 108 [15178, 15194, 15220, 15306].
280 Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 116 [14499].
281 Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 95 [15462-15463].
282 Ward also proposes the translation ‘overseer of the temple of Osiris’. Ward, Index, 23 [146].
283 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 65 [3]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 31 [392], pls 43 [3], 478 [8-9]; Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 95 [15378].
284 The title is illegible. It has been transliterated by Dunand as nb nhr and by Martin as wḥ (ʔ) k. Ranke, Personennamen 1, 279 [1]; Dunand, Byblos 2, 860, pl. 134 [16746]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 98 [1259], pl. 33 [42].
285 Dunand, Byblos 2, pls 114 [5], 117 [14443], 118 [14442].
288 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 127-139.
and a large collection of scarabs and seals (Figure 6.21).\(^{291}\) While some favour a later date for the jar,\(^ {292}\) Ward and Tufnell present a compelling case for its EBIV/MBI to MBIIA date.\(^ {293}\) The Egyptian items may have arrived at Byblos through “trade, barter, booty or as personal souvenirs.”\(^ {294}\) The jar’s contents were possibly also collected over time and then later deposited at the temple.

6.3.3.2 The royal tombs

Around 20 rock-cut tombs were discovered, nine of which are classified as tombs of Byblos’s royalty.\(^ {295}\) Of these, three were intact (Tombs I-III), one was plundered in modern times (Tomb IV), and five were looted in antiquity (Tombs V-IX).\(^ {296}\) Tombs I-IV and VI-IX are dated to the MBA while Tomb V contained Iron Age finds. Most tombs feature a rock-cut shaft leading to a burial chamber containing the funerary equipment. Such architecture may reflect Egyptian influences, yet the lack of comparable royal tombs in the area restricts assessing when the architectural elements were first used in the Levant.

Tomb I

Tomb I’s chamber yielded one calcite-alabaster flask with a convex base and a small ‘alabaster’ jar (Figure 6.22 [1-2]).\(^ {297}\) The sarcophagus contained a necklace with amethyst beads,\(^ {298}\) an amethyst scarab mounted on a gold ring,\(^ {299}\) fragments of a gold \(\text{wsh} \) collar (Figure 6.22 [3-4]),\(^ {300}\) and the soles of a pair of silver sandals postulated to be in the Egyptian

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\(^{291}\) Tufnell and Ward, *Syria* 43 (1966), 165-241, figs 2-5, pls 13-14, 16.


\(^{299}\) Montet, *Byblos et l’Égypte*, 171 [640], pl. 96 [640]; Virolleaud, *Syria* 3 (1922), 286, pl. 65.

\(^{300}\) Montet, *Byblos et l’Égypte*, 169 [623]; 167 [621-622], pl. 96 [621-622]; Virolleaud, *Syria* 3 (1922), 287, pl. 65 [5].
style. An obsidian and gold cylindrical jar was also found (Figure 6.23). Two cartouches on either side of the top of its lid belong to \( \text{Nj-Msyt-R} \). Scholars have correlated the tomb’s date with Amenemhat III’s reign, but the cartouche only provides a \textit{terminus post quem}. The buried individual evidently included prestigious Egyptian items within his tomb and sarcophagus, most of which are personal adornments, insinuating that the elite may have worn Egyptian regalia.

\textit{Tomb II}

The same case is observable in Tomb II. Egyptian-style adornments (Figure 6.24) include a gold \( \text{wsy} \) collar, an amethyst bead, amethyst scarabs mounted on gold rings and a bracelet, a gold amulet representing two female Hathor (?) figures, fragments of a pair of silver Egyptian-style (?) sandals at the feet of the interred, and two gold uraei probably belonging to now-lost diadems. The tomb also produced a pectoral depicting a falcon flanked by two opposing seated individuals, each with an \( \text{stf} \)-crown and a mace (Figure 6.25). The thick-set, disproportionate, legs of the figures could indicate either a late Middle Kingdom date or local manufacture. Another jewellery piece found on the body of the buried individual is a pendant portraying a lozenge-filled border surrounding a \( \text{hpr} \) beetle, a falcon and the cartouche \( \text{YpSmw-ib} \) (Figure 6.26). Due to the glyphs’ substandard carving and multi-directional layout, a Levantine origin is proposed, suggesting that locals were knowledgeable in Egyptian art and language. Another locally made object is a gold belt decorated with a central \( \text{nh} \) sign and the repeated symbols \( \text{mrr} \) (Figure 6.24 [10]), signalling the adoption of hieroglyphs in local elite fashion. Other Egyptian-style products of uncertain origin are a silver

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 173 [650], pl. 101 [650]; Virolleaud, \textit{Syria} 3 (1922), 284, fig. 5 [13].
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 167 [620], pl. 95 [620].
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 169 [625].
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 170 [636], 171 [641-642], pls 96 [641-642], 97 [636].
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 185-186 [707], pl. 94 [707].
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 173 [651], pl. 101 [651].
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 172 [647-648], pl. 98 [647-648].
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 162-164 [617], pl. 93 [617].
\item The name is read from right to left as if in two horizontal lines. The cartouche, however, is facing the opposite direction that is usually reserved for text reading left-to-right.
\item W. S. Smith, ‘Influence of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt in Western Asia, especially in Byblos’, \textit{AJA} 73/3 (1969), 279.
\item Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Egypte}, 171-172 [644], pl. 98 [644].
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
mirror with a papyriform handle (Figure 6.24 [5]), a gold spoon with the arm shaped as a bird’s head (Figure 6.24 [8]), a similar gold and silver spoon, a small bronze papyriform column, two bronze and one gold papyriform cup (Figure 6.24 [9]), as well as two fragments of a drop-shaped ‘alabaster’ jar.

Tomb II contained three inscribed items. The first is a bronze Levantine scimitar sword retrieved from the right hand of the buried individual (Figure 6.27). Neatly incised texts on both faces of the sword read (1) $\text{(1) } h:\text{ty-c} n(y) K\text{pny } Y\text{p} \text{mswy-ib } w\text{hm } s\text{nby (2) } i\text{n } h:\text{ty-c} \text{I} \text{hs} \text{mw } m\text{i-c } \text{h} \text{rw } (1) \text{ count of K\text{pny,}} Y\text{p} \text{mswy-ib,}$ repeating life, (2) born to the count (Figure 6.28). Each glyph is well-executed, yet the neck of the $h:\text{ty}$ sign in (1) is decorated with a disproportionately lengthened neck, a beak-like nose and no ears, providing support that the inscription was produced locally.

The second inscribed item is a cylindrical jar of ‘grey stone’ (Figure 6.28). The shape may be dated to the late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty, supporting the mention of a ruler on its lid: $\text{hm}w \text{ ‘sny(w) } nfr \text{ nfr } s\text{3 } R\text{.w } l\text{mn-m-h\text{ty } nby(s-w) } d\text{.t ‘Offerings: May the good god, son of Ra, Amenemhat live, may he live eternally’. The vessel is evidently an imported item from the reign of an Amenemhat.}$

The third inscribed artefact is an obsidian and gold chest (Figure 6.29). Its lid is inscribed with $\text{mry } Tm \text{ nb } I\text{wn } d\text{i(w) } \text{nby mi } R\text{.w } d\text{.t ‘May the good god, lord of the two lands, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkherura (Amenemhat IV), beloved of Atum, lord of Heliopolis,}$

315 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 161 [616], pls 92-93 [616].
316 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 185 [705], pl. 103 [705].
317 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 185 [706], pl. 103 [706].
318 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 184 [699], pl. 105 [699].
319 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 184-185 [700-702], pls 104 [700], 105 [701-702].
320 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 195 [785], fig. 86; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 292 [154].
321 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 174-177 [653], pls 99-100.
322 Ward, Index, 107 [882].
323 Ward, Index, 107 [864].
324 Personal examination of the artefact, which is housed at the National Museum of Beirut, Lebanon.
325 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 159 [614], fig. 70; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 315 [436].
327 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 157-159 [611], pls 88-90 [611].
live. May he be given life like Ra, eternally’. The cartouche has been used to correlate the tomb’s date with Amenemhat IV’s reign,\textsuperscript{328} however, it only supplies a \textit{terminus post quem}.

Following Montet’s MBIIBA dating of the tombs, Tomb I would belong to \textit{Thbšmw}, contemporary of Amenemhat III, and Tomb II would belong to his son, \textit{Ypšmw-ib}, contemporary of Amenemhat IV.\textsuperscript{329} A familial relation between the individuals buried in the two tombs is highly likely considering that they share a passageway. However, chronological correlations with Amenemhat III and IV cannot be proven by each tomb’s respective finds. While it is possible that the two Twelfth Dynasty kings each sent gifts to the rulers of Byblos, it is equally likely that the items were heirlooms or that the Byblite elite received them at the same time, perhaps as gifts from later Egyptian rulers or as looted items.

\textbf{Tomb III-IV and VI-IX}

Findings from Tombs III-IX are meagre. They include:

- Tomb III: a \textit{wsh} collar,\textsuperscript{330} amethyst scarabs mounted on gold jewellery\textsuperscript{331} and a calcite-alabaster conical alabastron;\textsuperscript{332}

- Tomb IV:\textsuperscript{333} an ‘alabaster’ drop-shaped vessel and other ‘alabaster’ fragments, two of which belong to one vessel inscribed with \textit{[...]} n kš n(y) ir-y-p’t hš.ty-š hšk3 hšk3.w hš.ty-š n(y) Kpn[y...]}n wHm anv ‘ruler of rulers, count of Kpy,\textsuperscript{335} [...]}n, repeating life, lord of reverence’;\textsuperscript{336}

- Tomb VI: an ‘alabaster’ drop-shaped vessel along with a faience cup;\textsuperscript{337}

- Tomb VII: a \textit{hs} faience vase with glyphs reading \textit{[...]} hšk3 hšs.wt ‘ruler of foreign lands’ (Figure 6.30),\textsuperscript{338} as well as amethyst beads and pieces.\textsuperscript{339}

\textsuperscript{328} See n. 303.

\textsuperscript{329} See n. 303.

\textsuperscript{330} Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Égypte}, 166-167 [619], pls 95-96 [619].

\textsuperscript{331} Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Égypte}, 170 [639], 171 [643], fig. 76, pls 92 [639], 96 [643].

\textsuperscript{332} Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Égypte}, 196 [786], pl. 118 [786]; Sparks, \textit{Stone Vessels in the Levant}, 297 [221].

\textsuperscript{333} Three scarabs are attributed to the tomb but are of uncertain context. Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Égypte}, 197-199, fig. 88; P. Montet, ‘Un Égyptien, roi de Byblos, sous la XIlle dynastie étude sur deux scarabées de la collection de Clercq’, \textit{Syria} 8 (1927), 85-92, figs 1-2, 7; Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 19 [174a], 105 [1354], pls 17 [19], 19 [14].

\textsuperscript{334} Ward, \textit{Index}, 104 [864].

\textsuperscript{335} Ward, \textit{Index}, 107 [882].

\textsuperscript{336} Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Égypte}, 196 [787], pl. 117 [787]; 199 [788]; Montet, \textit{Kêmi} 16 (1962), 95, fig. 6; Sparks, \textit{Stone Vessels in the Levant}, 292 [155], 338 [733].

\textsuperscript{337} Montet, \textit{Byblos et l’Égypte}, 207 [820-821], pl. 122 [820].
CHAPTER 6: CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIAN IN THE LEVANT

- Tomb VIII: a blue faience cup and ‘alabaster’ fragments, and

- Tomb IX: calcite-alabaster drop-shaped alabastra, a calcite-alabaster flask, a conical faience vessel with a hs faience vase with (Figure 6.31 [1]), and a hs faience vase with (Figure 6.31 [2]).

As most of the tombs were plundered, the quantity of finds should not be regarded as a decrease in contacts or Egyptian influence. The remaining items are similar in type to those of Tombs I-II and are predominantly cosmetic vessels and personal adornments. The calcite-alabaster and amethyst artefacts could be Egyptian imports, whereas the inscribed pieces of Tombs IV and IX are probably local due to their inclusion of titles and names of Byblos’s elite.

A note on the tombs’ date

Since the tombs’ publication, scholars have agreed with Montet’s dating: Tomb I was assigned to Amenemhat III’s reign; Tomb II to Amenemhat IV; Tomb III to the early Thirteenth Dynasty; and Tombs IV and VI-IX were placed in the early Second Intermediate Period. Yet, the dating of Tombs I and II are not certain and no inscription from the tombs specifically connects a Byblite ruler with an Egyptian king. Some have correctly noted that the published Levantine ceramics, metal vessels and jewellery forms argue for placing Tombs I-III to the late MBIIA or MBIIB period, and Tombs IV and VI-IX between the MBIIB and MBIIC periods. Recently, Kopetzky identified three vessels from photographs in Montet’s publication as of Egyptian origin: one jar from either Tombs I, II or III bears a mid-Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty zir type, while the other two vessels possibly from Tombs

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338 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 208 [826], fig. 94.
339 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 209 [831], 210 [836], pl. 121 [831, 836].
340 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 210 [843-845].
341 The items were found removed from their original context, possibly by looters, and so may have belonged to the connecting Tomb VIII. Dunand, Byblos. Its History, Ruins and Legends, 67.
342 Ward, Index, 107 [882]; Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 211 [846-848], 212 [852-853], pls 122 [846-848], 123 [852-853]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 208 [345], 292 [156-157].
344 O. Tufnell, ‘The Pottery from Royal Tombs I-III at Byblos’, Berytus 18 (1969), 5-33; Dever, in Magnolia Dei, 11, 27, n. 69; Gerstenblith, Beginning of the MBA, 38-41, 103; Ward, AJA 91/4 (1987), 528-529; Lihqvist, BASOR 290/291 (1993), 41-44; D. Ben-Tor, ‘Scarabs of Middle Bronze Age Rulers of Byblos’, in S. Bickel et al. (eds), Bilder als Quellen. Images as Sources. Studies on Ancient Near Eastern Artefacts and the Bible Inspired by the Work of Othmar Keel (Fribourg, 2007), 182-183.
345 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, pl. 124 (back row, fourth vessel from the left); Kopetzky, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 225.
IV or VI-IX are of Fifteenth to early Eighteenth Dynasty shapes. Such evidence warns that the traditional dating of the tombs cannot be accepted. Evidently, late MBIIA to MBIBC artefacts and Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty imports were deposited in the burials, implying contact between Egypt and the Byblos after the MBIIA. Hence, Tombs I-II are cautiously assigned here to the MBIIA, Tomb III is to the late MBIIA to MBIBC and Tombs IV, VI-IX are to the MBIIA to MBIBC period.

6.3.3.3 Other

One fragmentary hieroglyphic stela of unknown context may be linked with the individual named on Tomb II’s scimitar according to the shared names of Ypфрšmwb-ib and his father Tbšmw (Figure 6.32). It reads \[...\] mnh.wt sn[mr] [... ] Ypфрšmwb-ib whm wnfr iri n [h3.ty-?] Ypфрšmwb m3r ḥrw in h3.ty-? Tbšmw m3r ḥrw [... ] fm in h3.ty-? n(y) Kp(n) Ypфрšmwb-ib whm wnfr mw nbw (? ) kn (?) rnp.t 2 3bd 1 šmwb sw 1 \[...\] clothes, incense [... ] Ypфрšmwb-ib, repeating life, born to [the count], Tbšmw, justified. It is the count of Kp(n), Ypфрšmwb-ib, repeating life, who fully completed life, as year 2, month 1 of šmwb, day 1. Hoch identifies the use of hieratic in the text, which would infer that MBIIA scribes were trained in both hieroglyphic and hieratic scripts. The inscription additionally implies the employment of the Egyptian calendar.

Private tombs of the MBA yielded Egyptian-style scarabs. A tomb outside one of the city’s gates and beneath a rampart produced two scarabs: one of lapis-lazuli inscribed with wfr.tw n(y) niw.t Mrw-nfr whm wnfr 'chief administrator of a city,'

346 The jars could also be from the ‘Tombeau de particuliers’. Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, pl. 124 (back row, third vessel from the left; third row, fourth vessel from the left); Kopetzky, in Bronze Age in the Lebanon, 225.

347 Transcription either follows the figure or the text as presented in Montet, Kêmi 17 (1964), fig. 5; K. A. Kitchen, ‘An Unusual Egyptian Text from Byblos’, BMB 20 (1967), 149-153. Transliterations and translations are by author.

348 Hoch, JARCE 32 (1995), 63-64.

349 Hoch translates a pseudo-hieroglyphic text (Stela L) to also feature an Egyptian-style date. Hoch, JARCE 32 (1995), 61-62.

350 Other sealings from Byblos bear Egyptian and Levantine designs as well as private and royal names, such as that of Thirteenth Dynasty king Ibiaw, but are of uncertain context and date. See Dunand, Byblos 2, pls 98-101; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 67 [813], 103 [1319], pls 10 [36], 16 [31]; Ryholt, Political Situation, 89-90, 353.

351 Ward, Index, 84 [698].
Merunofer,\textsuperscript{352} repeating life (Figure 6.33 [1]);\textsuperscript{353} the other reads \textit{ît-ntr Mnt(w)-m-h₃.t} ‘God’s father,’\textsuperscript{354} Montuemhat (Figure 6.33 [2]).\textsuperscript{355} The scarabs are most likely late Middle Kingdom imports. They were found alongside a jar identified as an Egyptian zir of the first half of Dynasty 13\textsuperscript{356} while the rampart itself has been assigned to the MBAIB-C,\textsuperscript{357} suggesting that the tomb is of this period or slightly earlier.

Worthy of mention are six scarabs and one cylinder sealing bearing the names of rulers with the title ‘count of Byblos’.\textsuperscript{358} The sealing comes from Alalakh and follows the style of the Northern Levantine ‘Green Jasper Workshop’.\textsuperscript{359} Wimmer has recently read the glyphs as \textit{ḥ₃.t-n.} n(y) \textit{Kpn Nhsi’n[h m₅] hrw mry} Sth nb \textit{Rb[n]w[n]} ‘count of \textit{Kpn}, Nhsi’n[h], justified, beloved of Seth, lord of \textit{Rb[n]w[n]}’.\textsuperscript{360} If correct, the sealing denotes a Byblite ruler’s reverence to Seth or his Levantine equivalent. Of the seven unprovenanced scarabs, three name \textit{Inn},\textsuperscript{361} one is for \textit{Hs₃m₃},\textsuperscript{362} one is for \textit{R₅nty}\textsuperscript{363} and one is for \textit{K₅n}.\textsuperscript{364} An offering formula evoking Hathor, lady of Byblos, is also inscribed on the latter.\textsuperscript{365} Based on the

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{352} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 152 [5].
\item \textsuperscript{353} M. Dunand, ‘Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles de Byblos en 1962’, \textit{BMB} 17 (1964), 32, pl. 3 [2]; Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 47 [551a], pl. 15 [32].
\item \textsuperscript{354} Ward, \textit{Index}, 69 [570e].
\item \textsuperscript{355} Dunand translated the name as \textit{lmn-m-h₃.t} ‘Amenemhat’. The translation here follows Martin. Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 154 [7]; Dunand, \textit{BMB} 17 (1964), 32, pl. 3 [2]; Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 48 [564], pl. 24 [3].
\item \textsuperscript{357} Burke, \textit{MBA Fortification Strategies}, 196-197.
\item \textsuperscript{358} A seventh scarab has no parallels and so cannot be connected to MBA designs. D. Ben-Tor, in \textit{Bilder als Quellen}, 177-180.
\item \textsuperscript{361} Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 25-26 [261-263], pls 9 [19], 16 [18], 32 [14]; P. E. Newberry, ‘Miscellanea’, \textit{JEA} 14/1 (1928), 109, figs 1-2; D. Ben-Tor, in \textit{Bilder als Quellen}, 177-178, pl. 23 [1].
\item \textsuperscript{362} Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 14 [105], pl. 32 [13].
\item \textsuperscript{363} Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 66-67 [810], pl. 30 [11].
\item \textsuperscript{364} D. Ben-Tor transliterates the name as \textit{In or Inn}. Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 129 [1689], pl. 20 [37]; D. Ben-Tor, in \textit{Bilder als Quellen}, 177.
\item \textsuperscript{365} Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 129 [1689], pl. 20 [37]; D. Ben-Tor, in \textit{Bilder als Quellen}, 177.
\end{itemize}
scarabs’ style and design, D. Ben-Tor ascribes four to the royal Egyptian workshop (two scarabs for "Inn, one for ḫīm and another for Kīn) and two to the early Tell el-Dab’a scarab workshop (one for Inn and the other for ṅyły). She suggests that the Egyptian title was awarded by the Egyptian administration, noting that a cartouche’s inclusion for some names would be peculiar if Egyptian-made.

Such a peculiarity has led to much discussion on the Byblites’ use of Egyptian titles. Some perceive them as a reflection of Egyptian domination, either through direct administrative control or indirect administrative representation, with the titles being awarded by the Egyptian king. Another suggestion is that the rulers recognised themselves as ‘governors’ but were not necessarily viewed as such by the Egyptians. The Byblites may have also simply adopted the titles after years of Egyptian contact and influence. A similar argument identifies the titles, as well as the Egyptian and Egyptian-influenced artefacts, as evidence for elite emulation and a patron-client relationship.

There are few markers directly referencing Middle Kingdom pharaohs and none that can definitively determine an Egyptian administrative presence. An indirect or unofficial administrative representation is possible, but unlikely in view of the use of the term nsw on the abovementioned obelisk and the cartouches bordering local rulers’ names. Extra-Byblite references, such as to Mški of Khnumhotep III’s biography or the lugal ‘king’ in texts from Mari and Drehem, also argue against the Byblite rulers’ subordination to the pharaohs. The title ḫt.y‐n.y Kpny was more likely bestowed by the Byblites themselves, in most cases from father to son. The selection of this label instead of the Egyptian ḫk3 is potentially due to close relations between Egypt and Byblos as well as the Egyptian influences on Byblos. A patron-client relationship is marred by the indefinite chronological synchronism of the Byblites with Egyptian kings. That is, while patronage vies that “by linking themselves to the most prestigious elite of the time, the rulers of Byblos

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366 D. Ben-Tor, in Bilder als Quellen, 177-180.
367 D. Ben-Tor, in Bilder als Quellen, 179-181.
368 Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 92; Albright, BASOR 176 (1964), 42; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 64; Redford, Egypt, Canaan, and Israel, 97; D. Ben-Tor, in Bilder als Quellen, 179.
369 Ryholt, Political Situation, 86-90.
370 Ward, Orientalia 30 (1961), 134-137.
371 Ahrens, in Intercultural Contacts, 291-293, 300-301; Flammini, Tel Aviv 37 (2010), 154-168.
372 Flammini, Tel Aviv 37 (2010), 154-168.
373 See Chapter 4.3.1.2.
375 As also recognised in Flammini, Tel Aviv 37 (2010), 156.
were substantially well positioned in the local system of inter‐elite relationships\textsuperscript{376} the revised tombs’ dating advises that the ‘most prestigious elite of the time’ may not have been the pharaohs. Hence, \textit{h\textsuperscript{c}.ty‐c n.y Kpny} is most likely a direct translation of a local title which emerged following direct contact with the Egyptian culture over successive generations. Perhaps, the Byblites knew of the term \textit{hk3} but regarded the designation \textit{h\textsuperscript{c}.ty‐c n.y Kpny} as a more fitting expression for their administrative roles.

The same may also explain other Egyptian influences at Byblos. The Temple of Obelisks adapts an Egyptian symbol in its architecture while the temple deposits reflect the use of Egyptian artefacts for cultic purposes. The temple inscriptions, stela and other inscribed funerary goods note a local scribal tradition experienced in the hieroglyphic and, perhaps, hieratic scripts. Knowledge and use of the Egyptian calendar, epithets and titles signifies a high understanding and appreciation of the Egyptian culture and administration. Similarly, the interment of Egyptian‐influenced items of personal adornment within elite tombs indicates local knowledge in Egyptian art and emphasises the adoption of Egyptian regalia. The Byblite elite represented themselves in their monuments, tombs and temples to be closely affiliated with the Egyptian culture and its symbols of authority, royalty and power. However, the fact that they mixed elements of this culture with Levantine traits insinuates the appropriation of Egyptian traditions for the benefit of the Levantine city and its maritime connections rather than its subordination to an Egyptian dynasty.

Despite the weakened state of the Thirteenth Dynasty, Byblos still had access to Egyptian goods until at least the beginning of the Fifteenth Dynasty. Like the elite of Tell el‐Dab’a, its rulers utilised a hybrid Egyptian‐Levantine representation, worshipped Egyptian as well as Levantine gods including Seth and Hathor, and used the Egyptian script to commemorate their own monumental activities. The reference to \textit{hk3 h3s.wt} on Tomb VII’s vase may even indicate some connection to the \textit{hk3 h3s.wt} of Egypt. At the very least, one may suggest maritime links between the rulers of Byblos and the Hyksos, links which would explain the late Thirteenth and Fifteenth Dynasty finds at Byblos and warrant the Byblite rulers’ continued affiliation with the Egyptian or, more specifically, the hybrid Egyptian‐Levantine culture.

\textsuperscript{376} Flammini, \textit{Tel Aviv} 37 (2010), 164.
6.3.4 Ebla / Mardikh, Tell

Lat.Lon. 35°52′N 37°02′E

Refs Matthiae, Syria 46 (1969), 1-43, figs 1-3, pls 1-2; Matthiae, BA 47/1 (1984), 18-32; Scandone-Matthiae, in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, 71, pl. 13 [3]; Matthiae, CRAIBL 139/2 (1995), 651-681; Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 415-427, figs 15 [4, 6-9, 11]; Scandone-Matthiae, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, 195-201, figs 1-3, pls 1-2; Peyronel, in Synchronisation of Civilisations, 413, fig. 16.

Chron. Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty / Late MBIIA to MBIIC Period

Northeast of Ugarit is the site of Ebla, the head of a MBA city-state.377 The discovery of several items of Egyptian origin and influence has resulted in postulated ties with Egypt.378 The objects are attributed to Mardikh IIIA2, or the MBIIA, and Mardikh IIIB, or the MBIIA-B to MBIIC period. Final reports on their contexts and a full assemblage of associated finds remain unpublished.

6.3.4.1 Mardikh IIIA2 – Late MBIIA Period

Three elite tombs of possible royalty were found beneath the Western Palace (Area Q) and Temples B1-2 of Ebla's lower city.379 The earliest tomb, the so-called ‘Tomb of the Princess’, has been assigned to the end of Mardikh IIIA2, or the late MBIIA period.380 The individual

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was buried with ‘alabaster’ vessels of uncertain origin, and a necklace of amethyst beads.\(^{381}\) The latter’s material suggests its Egyptian origin.\(^{382}\)

### 6.3.4.2 Mardikh III B – MBIIA-B to MBIIIC Period

**Vessels**

Another tomb beneath Palace Q is the ‘Tomb of the Lord of the Goats’. It contained several stone vessels, including a serpentine drop-shaped alabastron,\(^{383}\) two calcite-alabaster conical alabastra (Figure 6.34 [1]),\(^{384}\) and two calcite-alabaster drop-shaped alabastra (Figure 6.34 [2]),\(^{385}\) all bearing Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period forms.\(^{386}\) A MBA silver bowl decorated with a ‘\(n\hbar\)’ sign was also found (Figure 6.34 [3]).\(^{387}\) The decoration signals Levantine artists’ knowledge of hieroglyphs and their use for artistic purposes.

**Scarabs, a seal and seal impressions**

Three scarabs from Mardikh III B contexts were found.\(^{388}\) A waste deposit atop the ruins of the MBIIA Archaic Palace’s north wing produced one scarab (Figure 6.35 [3]).\(^{389}\) Its base is designed with a continuous oblong scroll bordering a cartouche with the signs \(n\hbar\) and \(k\).\(^{390}\) Parallels derive from late Middle Kingdom scarabs at Kahun,\(^{391}\) Nubt\(^{392}\) and Mirgissa,\(^{393}\)

\(^{381}\) Nigro, in *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 162.


\(^{386}\) Sparks also identifies a breccia jar to be a probable Old Kingdom heirloom. Sparks, *Stone Vessels in the Levant*, 259, 52, 259.

\(^{387}\) Nigro, in *Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean*, 166, fig. 14.

\(^{388}\) A fourth was collected from the surface of the tell. It is designed with a myriad of hieroglyphs that are indicative of its late MBA Levantine origin. D. Ben Tor’s Design Class 3A3, 3B3d and 3B4. G. Scandone-Matthiae, ‘Les scarabées d’Ebla’, in M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications. Papers of a Symposium, Vienna, 10\(^{th}\)-13\(^{th}\) January 2002*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Denkschriften der Gesamtkademie 35 (Vienna, 2004), 195, fig. 1 [4]; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 126-131, 160-163.


\(^{391}\) D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 15 [40]; Petrie, Brunton and Murray, *Lahun* 2, pl. 65 [354].
supporting its Egyptian origin. The second scarab surfaced from one of Palace E’s excavation trenches and displays a ‘S’ scroll (Figure 6.35 [2]) akin to scarab designs from Second Intermediate Period Egyptian contexts as well as MBIIB to MBIIC Levantine contexts.394 While its place of manufacture cannot be determined, the design is originally Egyptian. The third scarab comes from a room in the eastern units south of the Western Rampart (Figure 6.35 [4]).395 The excavator describes the base’s fish-bone design as of Second-Intermediate Period origin, yet a Levantine origin is also possible.396 Thus, of the published scarabs, one could be of Egyptian origin and two show Egyptian influences.

Such influences are also evident on sealings. A seal from the debris of a private home adjacent to Temple B1 (Temple of Reshef) illustrates columns of the repeated “mr” formula bordering human figures, branches, a winged falcon-headed sphinx and a cobra (Figure 6.35 [5]).397 The hieroglyphs and cobra are clearly inspired by Egyptian prototypes but have been combined with Near Eastern elements in this locally produced specimen. Another seal is preserved on impressions on the shoulders of jars from the Western Palace and the area of Temple B1.398 The impressions portray Prince Maratewari, son of Indilimma, the last king of MBIIB Ebla, receiving a stylised “nh” sign as a gift of life from Haddad (Figure 6.35 [6]).399 Otherwise decorated with Northern Levantine iconography of the Aleppo style, the seal’s representation of the Egyptian sign as a symbol for life not only reflects the glyph’s adoption by Levantine artists, it also denotes an understanding of the Egyptian meaning conveyed by the sign.

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392 D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, pl. 12 [20]; W. M. F. Petrie and J. E. Quibell, Naqada and Ballas (London, 1896), pl. 80 [63]; Scandone-Matthiae, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, fig. 2 [4].

393 D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, pl. 16 [2]; B. Gratien, ‘Scellements et contrescellements au Moyen Empire en Nubie l’apport de Mirgissa’, CriPEL 22 (2001), fig. 3 [7A-35].

394 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 2A. Scandone-Matthiae, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, 196, fig. 2 [1]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 74, 159, pls 32 [16, 19-20, 27, 29], 75 [1-5].


396 Peyronel, in Synchronisation of Civilisations 3, 413.

397 Scandone-Matthiae, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, 197, fig. 3 [1].


399 Matthiae, in Cultures in Contact, 106-107.
CHAPTER 6: CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIAN IN THE LEVANT

Other

The ‘Tomb of the Lord of the Goats’ comprised a ceremonial mace (Figure 6.36).\(^{400}\) The handle features a cylinder decorated with two seated baboons, palms up in adoration, flanking hieroglyphs reading \(\text{Htp}-\text{ib-r}^\circ\) ‘Hotepibra’. The \(\text{ib}^\circ\) sign is unusually mounted upside down with only one of its phonetic complements (\(l\)) present. The \(\text{ib}\) glyph is also slightly askew. Scandone-Matthiae and Matthiae have explained the glyphs’ positioning as a result of their restoration by Levantine craftsmen.\(^{401}\) Ryholt adds that the glyphs could have belonged to another item and were then mounted onto the mace.\(^{402}\) The detailed and neat incisions per hieroglyph suggest that the signs are Egyptian-made.\(^{403}\) But the mace itself has no exact Egyptian parallels.\(^{404}\) The third elite tomb beneath the Western Palace, the ‘Tomb of the Cisterns’, produced a similar mace, its handle comprising a cylinder decorated with lozenges resembling that of a Byblite knife handle.\(^{405}\) Consequently, the mace from the ‘Tomb of the Lord of the Goats’ could justifiably be of Levantine manufacture.\(^{406}\)

The reading ‘Hotepibra’ has been associated with Hotepibra \(\text{Hsm.w/Km3.w-Sa-Horunedjheritef}\) of early Dynasty 13, primarily because of the closeness in date between his reign and the ‘Tomb of the Lord of the Goats’.\(^{407}\) Connections between the so-called Asiatic king and the Eblaite dynasty have also been proposed.\(^{408}\) Disregarding the issues in distinguishing this king as an Asiatic,\(^{409}\) the identification of ‘Hotepibra’ with \(\text{Hsm.w/Km3.w-Sa-Horunedjheritef}\) is indefinite.\(^{410}\) ‘Hotepibra’ could be linked to Amenemhat I’s throne name or Thirteenth Dynasty king ‘Sehotepibra’, bearing in mind the possibility that the glyphs were restored and the ‘s’ may have been lost.\(^{411}\) Additionally, the hieroglyphs are not encircled by a cartouche or paired with a title or epithet.\(^{412}\) Only the baboons’ posture signals that they are of significance. Therefore, the mace cannot be employed as evidence for direct relations between Ebla and \(\text{Hsm.w/Km3.w-Sa-Horunedjheritef}\)’s reign. But, it does evince three key points: (1) it reflects the fusion of Egyptian

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400 Matthiae, BA 47/1 (1984), 27-28; Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 417-420, fig. 15 [5].
401 Matthiae, BA 47/1 (1984), 28; Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 418.
403 Lilyquist suggests that the hatching in the \(\text{ib}\) sign points to its Levantine origin. Ryholt, BASOR 311 (1998), 4; Lilyquist, BASOR 290/291 (1993), 46.
405 Matthiae, BA 47/1 (1984), 27; Nigro, in Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean, 164-165, fig. 12; Montet, Byblos et l’Égypte, 180, pl. 102 [655].
406 As also inferred in Lilyquist, BASOR 290/291 (1993), 46; Ryholt, BASOR 311 (1998), 4.
408 Matthiae, BA 47/1 (1984), 25, 28; Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 417-420.
409 See Chapter 4.2.2.3, n. 79, for attestations of this name and for further discussion.
411 Ryholt, BASOR 311 (1998), 4; Bietak, BASOR 281 (1991), 49 n. 22.
and Levantine characteristics, as well as Egyptian hieroglyphs; (2) its artistic elements indicate wealth; and (3) its deposition in an elite tomb demonstrates its relation to Levantine funerary customs. Accordingly, the mace is likely a marker of prestige and status.

Another significant find occurs in a room within the Northern Palace (P).\textsuperscript{413} Ivory plaques were discovered on the floor, possibly detached from a piece of furniture such as a bed-head or a throne.\textsuperscript{414} They represent a variety of detailed figures, some of which emulate the Egyptian style. For example, one male head is shown in profile with an ḫt-f crown (Figure 6.37A),\textsuperscript{415} two others wear the double feather crown,\textsuperscript{416} a female is adorned with horns and a sun-disk (Figure 6.37b), and a lotiform panel is preserved (Figure 6.37c).\textsuperscript{417} Two additional antithetic fragments represent a falcon-headed figure, whereas another inlay preserves the full body of a crocodile-headed individual (Figure 6.37d).\textsuperscript{418} Such Egyptian elements are manifestations of royalty and divinity. The Levantine artist(s) who crafted the inlays was thereby well-versed in Egyptian symbolism and art. The choice to pair the inlays with a palatial furniture piece further highlights the association of Egyptian art with Eblaite elitism and power.

This association is supported by the other finds from Ebla. From the late MBIIA, burials of the ruling elite comprised Egyptian imports and imitations with an apparent rise in number during the second half of the MBA. Contexts of administrative function, such as a unit near the Western Rampart as well as the Northern and Western Palaces, yielded items of mixed Egyptian-Levantine artistic styles, some of which bear symbols of royalty and divinity. While the contextual data on the scarabs and ḫmr cylinder seal is not yet published, the objects’ presence in occupation levels suggests that another echelon of Eblaite society could have access to Egyptian-influenced products. Whether these products were locally made or imported from another Levantine centre is unclear, yet it is evident that Egyptian symbols

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\textsuperscript{413} There is some confusion in the literature regarding the find-spot. Ahrens writes that the ivories are from a room “close to the throne room” while Akkermans and Schwartz report that they are from the throne room itself. Matthiae’s recent publication is followed here. P. Matthiae, ‘Furniture Inlay’, in J. Aruz, K. Benzel and J. M. Evans (eds), Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C. (New York, 2008), 37; Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 420; Ahrens, in Intercultural Connections, 298; Akkermans and Schwartz, Archaeology of Syria, 300.

\textsuperscript{414} Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 420; Matthiae, in Beyond Babylon, 37.

\textsuperscript{415} Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 420, fig. 15 [6]; Matthiae, in Beyond Babylon, 37, fig. 9; A. Ahrens, ‘Strangers in a Strange Land? The Function and Social Significance of Egyptian Imports in the Northern Levant During the 2nd Millennium BC’, in K. Duistermaat and I. Regulski (eds), Intercultural Contacts in the Ancient Mediterranean. Proceedings of the International Conference at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo, 25\textsuperscript{th} to 29\textsuperscript{th} October 2008, OLA 202 (Leuven, Paris, Walpole, 2011), fig. 5.

\textsuperscript{416} Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 420.

\textsuperscript{417} Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 420, fig. 15 [7]; Akkermans and Schwartz, Archaeology of Syria, 300, fig. 9 [7].

\textsuperscript{418} Scandone-Matthiae, in Hyksos, 420-421, fig. 15 [8, 11].
were adapted by Levantines, signalling the Eblaite elite’s representation of their own nobility and status through Egyptian iconography.

6.3.5 Fad’ous, Tell / Kfarabida

Lat.Lon. 34°13’N 35°39’E

Refs Genz et al, BAAL 13 (2009), 78; Genz et al, BAAL 14 (2010), 247-249, 252, 265, figs 10, 12, pls 4 [2], 5 [5], 13; Genz, Berytus 53-54 (2010-2011), 116-118, figs 7 [3], 14 [1-2].

Chron. Late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty / Late MBA or MBA-B Period

The coastal site of Tell Fad’ous is situated north of Byblos. The tell’s MBA settlement is preliminarily suggested to be of rural rather than maritime nature, dedicated to agricultural and fishing activities. The existence of regional and Egyptian imports indicates that at least some inhabitants had access to high-value commodities. The Egyptian material occurs in contexts assigned to Area II Phase VI or the late MBA to transitional MBA-B period:

- Tomb 736: A hemispherical cup with a round base was found, parallels of which are attested at Tell el-Dab’a (Figure 6.38). The form is typical of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. The Tell Fad’ous/Kfarabida example does not show signs of knife-trimming on its base and its fabric is of local clay. Thus the cup is likely a local imitation of an Egyptian food/drink receptacle.

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422 Genz et al., BAAL 14 (2010), 249, pl. 4 [2]; Genz, Berytus 53-54 (2010-2011), 116, fig. 7 [3]; Tufnell, Berytus 18 (1969), fig. 2 [2-4]; Czerny, in Levant in the MBA, 133-134; Aston, TeD 12, 62-66.

423 Czerny, in Levant in the MBA, 133-134; Genz et al., BAAL 14 (2010), 249; Genz, Berytus 53-54 (2010-2011), 116; Aston, TeD 12, 62-66.

424 Genz et al., BAAL 14 (2010), 249; Genz, Berytus 53-54 (2010-2011), 116-117.
A scarab was deposited on one of the right hand fingers of the buried female.\textsuperscript{425} Its base is designed with a paired scroll border encapsulating symmetrical \textit{wd\textmits t} eyes and a \textit{nbw} sign (Figure 6.39).\textsuperscript{426} The border’s vertical setting is akin to late Middle Kingdom examples.\textsuperscript{427} The \textit{wd\textmits t} design gains popularity towards the late Middle Kingdom and is found on scarabs displaying both Egyptian and Levantine characteristics.\textsuperscript{428} Therefore, the exact origin of the scarab cannot be ascertained.\textsuperscript{429} The designs, however, are suggestive of a date in the late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty,\textsuperscript{430} agreeing with the dates offered by radiocarbon tests on samples from the tomb.\textsuperscript{431}

- Context 1707: A pit, possibly for storage, containing a late Middle Kingdom carinated bowl with a spout (Figure 6.40 [1]).\textsuperscript{432}

- Context 531: A pit, perhaps for storage,\textsuperscript{433} yielding a globular cooking pot akin to late Twelfth Dynasty vessels, as well as body sherds of an Egyptian zir (Figure 6.40 [2]).\textsuperscript{434}

The Egyptian vessels’ shapes point to their use for storing, preparing, and serving food, indicating some degree of Egyptian influence over local customs. Similarly, the locally made Egyptian-type cup from Tomb 736 highlights the existence of such influences on local pottery workshops. This cup, together with the scarab, signify the use of Egyptian(-influenced) items for local funerary traditions. For a site that was apparently rural, the variety of such Egyptian finds emphasises that Tell Fad’ous was in contact with Egypt during the late MBA or MBA-B period. The site’s excavator suggests that the items first arrived at Byblos and were then transported overland to Tell Fad’ous, but whether or not Egyptians visited the site cannot be verified by the present evidence.\textsuperscript{435} Nonetheless, it is clear that its inhabitants were receiving, using and modifying Egyptian products of the contemporary late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty.

\textsuperscript{425} Genz et al., \textit{BAAL} 14 (2010), 247-249, figs 10, 12, pl. 13.
\textsuperscript{426} Respectively, D. Ben-Tor’s Design Classes 7B1ii, 3B4 and 3B. Genz et al., \textit{BAAL} 14 (2010), 265, pl. 13; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 19, 28, 142, 131.
\textsuperscript{427} D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 19, 28, 131, 142, pl. 16 [10-15].
\textsuperscript{428} D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 17, 131.
\textsuperscript{429} This has also been surmised in Genz et al., \textit{BAAL} 14 (2010), 265.
\textsuperscript{430} Genz et al., \textit{BAAL} 14 (2010), 265.
\textsuperscript{431} Genz et al., \textit{BAAL} 14 (2010), 267-268, figs 28-29.
\textsuperscript{432} Genz et al., \textit{BAAL} 14 (2010), 252, pl. 5 [5]; Genz, \textit{Berytus} 53-54 (2010-2011), 116, 118, fig. 14 [1]; Aston, \textit{TeD} 12, 90-91.
\textsuperscript{433} Genz et al., \textit{BAAL} 13 (2009), 78; Genz, \textit{Berytus} 53-54 (2010-2011), 116.
\textsuperscript{434} Personal examination. I greatly thank Associate Professor Hermann Genz for showing me the zir fragments. Genz, \textit{Berytus} 53-54 (2010-2011), 118, fig. 14 [2]; Czerny, in \textit{Levant in the MBA}, 138, fig. 23.
\textsuperscript{435} Personal communication with Associate Professor Hermann Genz.
6.3.6 Sakka, Tell

*Lat.Lon.* 33°26'N 36°27'E


*Chron.* Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasty / Late MBIIA – MBIIB Period

Excavations at Tell Sakka have uncovered a large public building, possibly a palace. The structure is attributed to the site’s level 4 of the late MBIIA to MBIIB period. The floor of a major columned hall yielded fragments of wall paintings. Although partially published, the paintings imbue several Egyptian aspects. One fragment pictures two bearded men (Figure 6.40A). They are shown in Egyptian profile-view but their clothing and hairstyle are not of the Egyptian style. Another fragment depicts a head, also in profile-view, wearing a white headband decorated with a cobra, an šep-crown and ram horns (Figure 6.40a). Remnants of an arc above the head suggest that it could be standing in a niche-like structure such as a shrine. Taraqji identifies the figure as either a deity or a royal, noting the adaptation of Egyptian status markers by Tell Sakka’s elite.

A third unpublished fragment reportedly illustrates women wearing colourful ornamented garments inspired by Egyptian female dress. Tell Sakka’s paintings clearly bear Egyptian inspirations, but the presence of fragments displaying Near Eastern motifs advises other Levantine influences. The customisation of the Egyptian elements with local details implies that the artists were not Egyptian, although they were considerably knowledgeable in Egyptian art, particularly Egyptian symbols of power and divine authority.

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438 The excavation report does not comment on the painting technique or whether there were any traces of red guidelines or sketches. Additionally, no analysis has apparently been done on the pigments used. Taraqji, *BSFE* 144 (1999), 36-37; A. F. Taraqji, ‘Wall Painting Fragments’, in J. Aruz, K. Benzel and J. M. Evans (eds), *Beyond Babylon: Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium B.C.* (New York, 2008), 128.


440 Taraqji, *BSFE* 144 (1999), 39, fig. 10; Taraqji, in *Beyond Babylon*, 128, fig. 70 [a].

441 Taraqji, *BSFE* 144 (1999), 39; Taraqji, in *Beyond Babylon*, 128-129.

442 Taraqji, *BSFE* 144 (1999), 39; Taraqji, in *Beyond Babylon*, 128-129.

443 Taraqji, *BSFE* 144 (1999), 39-40; Taraqji, in *Beyond Babylon*, 128-129

444 Taraqji, *BSFE* 144 (1999), 39, fig. 11; Taraqji, in *Beyond Babylon*, fig. 70 [b]; Bietak, in *Synchronisation of Civilisations* 3, 279; Akkermans and Schwartz, *Archaeology of Syria*, fig. 9 [20].
6.3.7 Sidon

Lat.Lon. 33°32’N 35°22’E

Refs  

Chron. Twelfth to early Fifteenth Dynasty / MBIIA – MBIIC Period

Sidon comprises eight MBA strata: levels 1-3 containing MBIIA burials and offering deposits; and levels 4-8 with MBIIA-B to MBIIC cultic structures, burials and funerary deposits. Its position on the coast possibly supplied links to a trade network spanning the east Mediterranean region. Egyptian(-influenced) artefacts occur across all MBA phases and are presented below according to their stratigraphy with the exclusion of MBIIC levels 7-8. As publications are preliminary, the nature and function of several contexts cannot yet be determined. Some relevant material also remains unpublished. This includes Egyptian scarabs as well as a large number of Egyptian ceramics of Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty forms from occupation deposits.

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448 Doumet-Serhal and Kopetzky are currently working on clarifying the levels’ correlations with the Egyptian chronology. X-ray spectrometry analyses carried out on some sherds verify their Egyptian origin. Personal communication with Dr. Claude Doumet-Serhal and Dr. Karin Kopetzky, whom I thank for their advice and comments regarding Sidon’s excavations at Sidon; D. Griffiths and M. Ownby, ‘Assessing the Occurrence of Egyptian Marl C Ceramics in Middle Bronze Age Sidon’, *AHL* 24 (2006), 63-77.
6.3.7.1 Level 1 – MBIIA Period

Level 1 burials occur in a fine sand deposit raised over the EBA settlement.\(^{449}\) The tombs’ construction and equipment suggest that this phase was possibly used by the elite.\(^{450}\) Five published tombs contain Egyptian(-influenced) items: (1) Burial 12 with three scarabs bearing scrolls ending in lotus flowers that parallel scarabs from the first half of Dynasty 12 (Figure 6.42 [1-2]);\(^{451}\) (2-3) Burial 74 and 74-75, the first with a scarab displaying interlocking scrolls and hieroglyphic symbols (Figure 6.42 [3]),\(^{452}\) and the other’s scarab portraying a nbw sign surmounted by two confronting red crowns (Figure 6.42 [4]).\(^{453}\) Both have parallels in Egypt and the Levant, but are more akin to late Middle Kingdom examples;\(^{454}\) (4) Burial 78 with two scarabs displaying geometric motifs,\(^{455}\) one scarab with a lotiform design,\(^{456}\) and a fourth with a s3 hieroglyph (Figure 6.42 [5]).\(^{457}\) All are likely early Middle Kingdom imports;\(^{458}\) and (5) Burial 13 comprising a handmade globular Marl C jar (Figure 6.44 [1]) comparable to Twelfth Dynasty vessels dating from the reign of Senwosret I to late Dynasty 12.\(^{459}\) Based on these finds, Doumet-Serhal has preliminarily correlated level 1 with the first half of Dynasty 12.\(^{460}\)

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\(^{449}\) Doumet-Serhal, in *Bronze Age in the Lebanon*, 17.


\(^{454}\) D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pls 4 [28, 54, 56-57], 8 [45-46, 48-50].

\(^{455}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 1B. Loffet, *AHL* 34-35 (2011/2012), 111; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 10.

\(^{456}\) D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 1E. Loffet, *AHL* 34-35 (2011/2012), 112; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 10-11.

\(^{457}\) Loffet classifies the scarab as of the ‘omega’ class, which only appears after the beginning of the MBIIIB. Vanessa Boschloos, who is currently studying the Sidon scarabs, has confirmed that the scarab bears the ś3 hieroglyph, supporting the tomb’s assignment to Phase 1. The scarab is therefore of D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A3. Personal communication with Vanessa Boschloos; Loffet, *AHL* 34-35 (2011/2012), 112; D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 15-17.

\(^{458}\) Personal communication with Dr. Claude Doumet-Serhal and Vanessa Boschloos.


\(^{460}\) Doumet-Serhal, *AHL* 18 (2003), 9.
6.3.7.2 Level 2 – MBIIA Period

Level 2 is defined by burials within the sandy deposit overlaying EBA structures. Scarabs with features indicative of their Egyptian origin were retrieved from three tombs (Burials 42, 45 and 55) (Figure 6.42 [6-7]). The bases display such designs as a central motif ending with a lotus on two sides, and double horizontal bows connected by three central lines. An imported amethyst scarab was additionally collected from Burial 55.

The ceramic repertoire consists of two complete vessels indicating trade with Upper and Lower Egypt during the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty: (1) a globular Marl C-1 zir used in a secondary context as a burial container (Burial 24) (Figure 6.44 [2]). The zir is of rim Type 3 dating from the period post-Senwosret II to the middle of Dynasty 13; and (2) a globular Marl A-2 jar, found above a burial (Figure 6.44 [3]), showing similarities to jars dating between the reigns of Senwosret I and III. Three other fragments of zirs have additionally been reported from level 2, although their contexts are not published.

6.3.7.3 Level 3 – MBIIA Period

The last stratum within the sandy deposit is level 3. Burial 10 contained a scarab that can be almost definitively identified as an import. The base is divided into two rows depicting a lotus flanked by stylised signs and a ‘nh’ sign with two symbols (Figure 6.42 [8]). Parallels from el-Lahun and Uronarti suggest that the scarab is a Thirteenth Dynasty import.

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462 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 1E and 5. Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 8 (2007), 54; Doumet-Serhal, in Networking Patterns, 21 [23]; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 10-12, 23-24, pls 1 [48-50], 12 [45].
463 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 1B. Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 8 (2007), 55-56; Mlinar, AHL 29 (2009), 23-24; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 122.
464 Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 8 (2007), 60.
468 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 1E and 3A3. Doumet-Serhal, Levant 36 (2004), 92, 112, table 14; Mlinar, AHL 20 (2004), 62-63; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 10-12, 16-17, pls 1 [14], 7 [19], 28-29.
469 Petrie, Brunton and Murray, Lahun 2, pls 64 [274], 65 [337].
19 sherds of Egyptian fabric have also been noted by the excavator, twelve of which reportedly belong to zirs and seven to small globular jars and long corrugated jars. Details on their contexts and fabrics have not been published, but they have been used to synchronise level 3 with Thirteenth Dynasty Egypt. The date agrees with that of Burial 10’s scarab.

6.3.7.4 Level 4 – MBIIA-B Period

Level 4 represents the first occupation layer above the sandy deposit. Burial 29 yielded the site’s earliest recorded attestation of a private-name scarab. The item bears interlinked oblong scrolls bordering as im.y-r 3 md.wt lmn-(m)-h(j,t)-nfr-iw ‘overseer of cattle-pens,’ Amenemhat-Noferiu’ (Figure 6.42 [9]). The scarab has been stylistically dated to Dynasty 12 and is most likely an import. Although it is possible that it was made for the individual interred in Burial 29, a few cases of private-name scarabs from Levantine tombs have exact parallels in Egypt, suggesting that the Sidon scarab was more likely retrieved from its original Egyptian context and then transported to the Levant. Scarabs displaying Levantine characteristics such as meaningless hieroglyphs have also been found in Burials 20, 22 and 95, demonstrating the manufacture of scarabs for local funerary traditions.

Over 50 sherds of Egyptian Marl C clay come from level 4’s cultic occupation deposits, the highest number thus far uncovered in the Levant. The majority are of zirs with rim Type 3 dating after Senwosret II’s reign until the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. Other sherds belong to globular medium-sized jars with parallels from post-Senwosret I’s reign to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, bag-shaped medium-sized jars akin to late Twelfth to mid-Fifteenth Dynasty forms, as well as large jars with corrugated necks paralleling vessels from the Twelfth to mid-Fifteenth Dynasty. A jar with a rolled rim was also found, its rare form similar to a late

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474 Ward, *Index*, 30 [216].
475 The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*, but is clearly of Egyptian origin. For similar names, see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 28 [8-13].
477 For more on private-name scarabs in Levantine contexts, see D. Ben-Tor, *BASOR* 294 (1994), 7-22.
Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty jar from Elephantine. As all vessels are suitable for the transport of commodities, they signify Sidon’s access to a variety of Dynasty 13 goods.

6.3.7.5 Level 5 – Early-mid MBIIB Period

The second occupation layer produced scarabs with MBIIB Levantine characteristics including stylised sḫ signs with decorative elements, misrendered hieroglyphs, and a cross pattern. Burial 104 produced a private-name scarab with features typical of the late Middle Kingdom. The base reads $\text{Sbk-wr ir.y }}* t \text{ nb im\text{‘}} \text{‘Sobekwer,}$ a hall-keeper, lord of reverence’ (Figure 6.42 [10]). As with Burial 29’s scarab from level 4, it was possibly collected from an Egyptian context and then imported into Sidon. Other imported scarabs displaying Egyptian designs include (Figure 6.42 [12-17]): one from Burial 69 with a late Middle Kingdom design of interlocking scrolls; three from Burial 1 stylistically dating to the first half of Dynasty 12, two of which bear a red crown atop a nb-sign and one showing a scroll pattern; one from Burial 4 with a convoluted coil comparable to designs of the late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty; and one from Burial 67 portraying a central cable with encompassed coils that parallels a scarab of Milnar’s Type III from Thirteenth Dynasty Tell el-Dab’a. Overall, the scarabs comprise Twelfth Dynasty heirlooms, Thirteenth Dynasty imports, a Levantine imitation influenced by Egyptian designs, and Levantine-made scarabs.

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482 Forstner-Müller, Kopetzky and Doumet-Serhal, AHL 24 (2006), 54-55, fig. 4; Kopetzky, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 166, fig. 4 [2].
483 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A3. Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 30-31; Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 113-115; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 126.
484 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A3. Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 31; Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 114-115; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 126.
485 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 5. Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 32; Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 122; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 137-138.
486 Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 32; Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 106.
487 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 303 [27].
488 An unprovenanced scarab bears the same name and title. Ward, Index, 54 [452]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 108 [1391], pl. 41 [30].
489 Vanessa Boschloos suggests that the scarab is a late Middle Kingdom import (personal communication). D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 2B. Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 31; Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 109; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 124, 139, 143.
492 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 6B2. Doumet-Serhal, Levant 36 (2004), 131, table 25; Taylor, Levant 36, 157, fig. 1; Milinar, AHL 20 (2004), 62; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 139.
CHAPTER 6: CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIAN IN THE LEVANT

One ‘alabaster’ vessel was retrieved from Burial 69 (Figure 6.45 [1]).

No classification of its material has been presented, but its shape is similar to unguent containers from Tell el-Dab’a strata F-E/1. Burial 4 contained two further items of interest: the first is a medium-sized Marl C jar stylistically assigned to the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties; and the second is a hemispherical cup with a broad red band at the rim and signs of trimming at the base with a knife. Such features parallel those of Egyptian cups. The Sidon cup, however, was produced on a fast wheel, its fabric indicating its Levantine manufacture. According to its cup index, the vessel’s form can be dated to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. It denotes Egyptian influences on local potters as well as the locals’ knowledge of contemporary Egyptian pottery techniques.

6.3.7.6 Level 6 – MBIIB Period

Level 6 deposits produced scarabs and stone vessels. Two scarabs from Burial 102 are created from imported materials (amethyst and rock crystal) and so could be from Egypt. Published scarabs from Burials 83 and 100 are incised with characteristics such as two red crowns surmounting a nbw sign, floral motifs combined with hieroglyphic symbols or scrolls, a recumbent caprid smelling a lotus flower, and stylised wḏq signs (Figure 6.42 [18-21]). While the scarab depicting the latter is likely of Levantine origin, the other designs could be of either Egyptian origin or inspiration. Both cases indicate that scarabs continued to be part of the funerary assemblage.

494 Doumet-Serhal, in Cultures in Contact, 134, fig. 2; Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), fig. 46. The image in the latter is incorrectly captioned as an ‘alabaster’ vase from Burial 102.

495 Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 41-42; Forstner-Müller, TeD 16, pls 84a [9,5426], 216a [5,2273].

496 Doumet-Serhal, AHL 24 (2006), 39, fig. 14; Kopetzky, TeD 20, 157-159, fig. 47, pls 12, 37.

497 Doumet-Serhal, Levant 36 (2004), 130, 139, table 25, fig. 73 [S1735]; Forstner-Müller and Kopetzky, in Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean, 150, fig. 8.

498 Kopetzky, in Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean, 150, fig. 8.


500 Forstner-Müller and Kopetzky, in Interconnections in the Eastern Mediterranean, 150, fig. 8.


502 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3B2c and 3B6. Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 39; Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 116; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 130, 132.


504 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9B. Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 118-119; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 95, 146-147; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 122-123, 126.

505 D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A3. Loffet, AHL 34-35 (2011/2012), 113; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 126.

506 D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 126.
One scarab has been published from a cultic context. It was found on a floor near MBAIB burials and ovens used for cultic meals.\(^{507}\) Some have dated the scarab to the late Twelfth Dynasty\(^{508}\) while others assign it to the late MBAIA and MBAIB periods.\(^{509}\) Extensive damage on the scarab’s side and back restricts a typological confirmation and lack of parallels limit further refinements in its date of manufacture. The base is engraved with \(\text{Ddk} \text{mr} \text{Sih} \text{nb Tiy ‘Ddk} \text{mr},\) beloved of Seth, lord of Tiy (Figure 6.42 [22]).\(^{512}\) Based on the orthography of hieroglyphs, Loffet writes that the scarab was produced locally.\(^{513}\) The knowledge of the Egyptian script is apparent in the well-drawn signs and the use of proper Egyptian grammar. Further, the inclusion of an Egyptian deity’s name signals that the inhabitants of Tiy, or at least Ddkmr, revered Seth.\(^{514}\) The scarab marks the only near definite case of Levantines producing private-name scarabs during the MBAIB.

Egyptian influence is also apparent on a cylinder seal from Burial 100 (Figure 6.43). The seal is incised with schematic Mesopotamian and Levantine motifs as well as a few Egyptian elements such as a hawk wearing an Egyptian crown, a ‘nh symbol, and a \(\text{dl} \) pillar.\(^{515}\) Doumet-Serhal notes the Egyptian-influenced postures of the depicted individuals.\(^{516}\) Two are represented with one leg raised and arms reaching forward, palm up, in a dance step reminiscent of the Sixth Dynasty ‘layout dance’.\(^{517}\) The arms, however, are crossed in a manner comparable to that of a dancer depicted in Twelfth Dynasty tombs.\(^{518}\) The crossed arms are also found on other ‘Egyptianised’ MBA cylinder seals.\(^{519}\) The Egyptian motifs’

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\(^{507}\) Doumet-Serhal, in *Cultures in Contact*, 135.


\(^{510}\) The sign \(\text{h} \text{aka} \) could also refer to Baal.

\(^{511}\) Loffet translates the name as Semitic ‘Sadoke-Re’ (Loffet, *AHL* 24 [2006], 78). The name could also be related to the Egyptian Djedkara, although this is written differently. For the Egyptian spelling, see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 412 [17].

\(^{512}\) For more on the toponym, see Mourad, *GM* 238 (2013), 69-84. It has been connected to Sinuhe’s ‘th and utilised as evidence of the latter’s existence and proximity to Sidon. See Chapter 4.6.9 for the Tale of Sinuhe. Loffet, *AHL* 24 (2006), 78-84; Gubel and Loffet, *AHL* 34-35 (2011/2012), 79, 86.


\(^{518}\) For instance, one of the dancers depicted on the north wall of Amenemhat’s tomb, Beni Hassan. Newberry, *Beni Hasan* 1, pl. 13; Kanawati and Woods, *Beni Hassan* pl. 52.

\(^{519}\) A. Ben-Tor, ‘A Decorated Jewellery Box from Hazor’, *Tel Aviv* 36 (2009), 27; Doumet-Serhal, *AHL* 34-35 (2011/2012), 97.
combination with other Levantine and Mesopotamian elements provides evidence for the appropriation of Egyptian artistic elements and their modification to suit local artistic styles.

Burial 102 further offered three stone vessels not yet published in detail (Figure 6.45 [2-4]). One of these is a steatite container which, based on its material, could be of Egyptian or Levantine origin.\(^{520}\) Another is a piriform faience jar with a thick everted rim comparable to Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period vessels.\(^{521}\) The third is a haematite piriform jar with a flat top for which no exact contemporary Levantine parallels have yet been found.\(^{522}\) Based on the rarity of Burial 102’s piriform jars in MBII B contexts, an Egyptian origin is possible.

All discussed levels at Sidon contain evidence of contact with Egypt. Beginning with the first MBII A phase at the site, a few valuable Twelfth Dynasty goods are attested. A steady flow of imports continued into MBII A levels 2-3 with a slight rise in Egyptian ceramics specifically for the transport of commodities and the presence of Upper Egyptian imports. Level 4 contained the greatest number of Egyptian sherds, the majority of which belong to storage containers. Some rare Egyptian forms also occur, pointing to unique relations between MBII A-B Sidon and Egypt. This variety of imports proposes that Sidon was likely directly trading with Dynasty 13. The impact of such trade is apparent in the presence of a private-name scarab as well as design scarabs clearly of Levantine origin. The influences continue into the MBII B levels 5-6, developing into locally made imitations and adaptations of Egyptian styles. Egyptian pottery was mimicked, the private-name scarab tradition was modified for a Levantine individual, and artistic elements were fused in locally produced sealings. The Levantines were utilising Egyptian language, art and pottery styles for their own commercial and funerary needs. While such influences were growing, Egyptian imports were still incoming, although – as the present evidence suggests – at a reduced scale. Therefore, it is clear that Sidon sustained relations with Egypt throughout the Twelfth to early Fifteenth Dynasties.

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\(^{520}\) Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 39-40; Doumet-Serhal, in Cultures in Contact, 134, fig. 2.

\(^{521}\) Doumet-Serhal, in Cultures in Contact, fig. 3; Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 42, fig. 48; Aston, Ancient Egyptian Stone Vessels; Petrie, Gaza 3, pl. 26 [9]; Dunand, Byblos 2, pl. 203 [9361]; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 52-53, 317 [459-461].

\(^{522}\) Similar vessels are attested from later contexts. Doumet-Serhal, BAAL 13 (2009), 42, fig. 48a; Doumet-Serhal, in Cultures in Contact, 134, fig. 3; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 52-53, 316 [449-453]; Petrie, Gaza 3, pl. 36 [7-8]; vol. 4, pl. 38 [46]; Mackay and Murray, Gaza 5, pl. 20 [51].
6.4 CONCLUSIONS

The chapter has investigated a total of eight Southern Levantine sites and seven Northern Levantine sites (Tables 25-26). Egyptian material from three or more stratigraphical phases at Ashkelon, Tell Ifshar and Sidon have provided correlations with the Egyptian chronology indicating that, contrary to earlier theories, the Southern Levant had some contact with Egypt in the Twelfth Dynasty while the Northern Levant continued its relations with the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasties. Based on the preliminary publications of these sites, chronological synchronisations with Egypt and Tell el-Dab’a are suggested in Table 27.

6.4.1 The MBIIA Period and the Early to Mid-Twelfth Dynasty

Only four sites provide evidence for contact with the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty: (1) Tell Ifshar; (2) Megiddo; (3) Byblos; and (4) Sidon (Table 26; Map 13). The Southern Levantine site of Tell Ifshar contained a number of fragments derived from Upper and Lower Egypt in its administrative complex. Megiddo yielded one scarab, possibly imported, from a burial. Also in a funerary context are other imported scarabs at Sidon where an additional small globular Egyptian jar was collected from a level 1 tomb. While finds from Byblos are of questionable context, the ‘Temple of Obelisks’ as well as a few temple deposits, such as the Montet jar, can be assigned to the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty. The obelisks are of Egyptian inspiration, and cultic deposits comprise a myriad of small but valuable Egyptian goods. Unlike other finds from the Levant, the deposits collect items of the First Intermediate Period to early Middle Kingdom, insinuating ongoing contact between Byblos and Egypt from the very beginning of the MBA.

Thus, Egyptian imports of the first half of Dynasty 12 are scarce. Scarabs are imbued with a funerary, cultic and most likely elite significance, vessels for storage and transportation occur in an administrative context, and ‘heirloom’ artefacts and figurines are found in a cultic setting. Therefore, the early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty appears to have shared predominantly small-scale commercial relations with sites on easily navigable trade routes. Items of prestige occur in the Northern Levant, especially Byblos, where Egyptian influence is most apparent.

523 See, for example, Weinstein, BASOR 217 (1975), 11-13; D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 185-192.
524 See Chapter 6.2.5.
525 See Chapter 6.2.7.
526 See Chapter 6.3.7.1.
527 See Chapter 6.3.3.1.
6.4.2 The MBIIA Period and the Mid-Twelfth to Early Thirteenth Dynasty

Sites yielding evidence of contact with the mid-Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty are: (1) Ashkelon; (2) Gezer; (3) Tell Ifshar; (4) Megiddo; (5) Byblos; and (6) Sidon (Table 26; Map 14). Tell Ifshar features only two imported vessels, the reduction in number possibly due to the administrative complex’s destruction.\(^{528}\) Ashkelon has greater evidence for contact, producing local and imported sealings, a zir, ring-stand and several store-jars at/near the settlement’s gate.\(^{529}\) Burials at Gezer and Megiddo produced stone vessels while Gezer additionally yielded scarabs bearing Egyptian designs.\(^{530}\) Sidon again consisted of scarabs in burials, but the burials also contained Egyptian storage and transport vessels from Upper and Lower Egypt, one of which was used secondarily for a jar burial.\(^{531}\) Royal Tombs I-II of Byblos include a variety of valuable Egyptian imports such as incised stone vessels, bodily adornments and scarabs, as well as precious, locally made and engraved items showing Egyptian influence.\(^{532}\)

The evidence suggests a continuation in Egyptian and Levantine relations which, like the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, point to commercial relations with sites positioned on trade routes. Imported ceramics are mostly for storage and transportation, and are deposited in contexts alluding to trade (Ashkelon’s gateway) or funerary significance (Sidon’s jar burial). The finds become slightly more numerous in funerary contexts as Egyptian items begin to be imitated by local artisans. Artefacts produced by workshops supplying Byblos betray the greatest Egyptian influence, revealing knowledge in Egyptian hieroglyphs, titles, epithets and artistic motifs. The evidence indicates that such objects, alongside prestigious imports, were initially connected to elite individuals. Apparently, Byblite ruling officials represented themselves as Levantine rulers wearing and utilising Egyptian elements of power, authority and prestige.

6.4.3 The Late MBIIA to Early MBIIB Period and the Thirteenth Dynasty

A marked increase in relations between the late MBIIA and early MBIIB is clear. Sites with attested Egyptian and Egyptian-influenced items include: (1) Tell el-‘Ajjul; (2) Ashkelon; (3) Jericho; (4) Megiddo; (5) Tell el-Burak; (6) Sidon; (7) Tell Sakka; (8) Byblos; (9) Tell Fad’ous; (10) Tell ’Arqa; and (11) Ebla (Table 26; Map 15). To these may be added sites where only scarabs and impressions were found, such as Tell Aphek, Tel Aviv, Beth

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\(^{528}\) See Chapter 6.2.5.
\(^{529}\) See Chapter 6.2.2.1.
\(^{530}\) See Chapter 6.2.4 and 6.2.7.1.
\(^{531}\) See Chapter 6.3.7.2.
\(^{532}\) See Chapter 6.3.3.2.
Shemesh, Tell el-Far’ah (N), Fassuta, Ginnosar, Tell Kabri, Rishon Lezziyon, Safed and Nahariya in the Southern Levant, and Ruweise in the Northern Levant (Table 22; Map 15).

Evidence for contact with the Egyptian culture appears in varied forms and contexts:

- Stone vessels occur in burials: the imported variety is at Tell el-‘Ajul, Megiddo and Byblos while those of local or uncertain origin are at Megiddo, Jericho, Sidon and Ebla;

- Scarabs and seal impressions predominantly feature in funerary contexts. They are also attested in occupation levels at, for instance, Tell el-Burak and Tell Aphek. Designs are more prominently of Levantine or local origin, especially at sites where only scarab seals remain as items of Egyptian influence. The earliest recorded instances of Egyptian royal-and private-name scarabs also occur. They comprise three Twelfth Dynasty private-name scarabs, two at Sidon in MBIIB-B and early MBIIB burials \(^{533}\) and a third in an early MBIIB burial at Megiddo, \(^{534}\) as well as one royal-name scarab of Noferhotep I in a MBIIB-B tomb at Fassuta. \(^{535}\) Such items are most likely heirlooms, supporting an association of imported Egyptian goods with prestige and value;

- Imported vessels of Lower Egyptian fabrics come from Ashkelon, Sidon, Tell Fad’ous and Tell ‘Arqa. Ashkelon’s gate retained two sherds of storage and transport vessels. \(^{536}\) Ceramics of the same function were retrieved from Sidon’s cultic and funerary deposits, late MBIIB occupation loci at Tell ‘Arqa, and a pit at Tell Fad’ous. \(^{537}\) The latter site uniquely contained Egyptian pottery for preparing and serving food, the first of such finds in the MBA. The site preserved a cooking pot and a carinated bowl in a pit as well as a locally-made Egyptian-style cup in a burial. A similar cup of local fabric was unearthed in a slightly later tomb at Sidon; \(^{538}\)

- Small prestige or high-value items were collected from elite burials at Byblos and Ebla;

- Egyptian-influenced wall paintings adorn the Northern Levantine palaces of Tell el-Burak and Tell Sakka, the former possibly of an earlier date.

The evidence suggests both direct and indirect contact with Egypt. Indirect contact is represented by Egyptian-influenced, Levantine-made, objects. These are mostly found in

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\(^{533}\) See Chapter 6.3.7.4 and 6.3.7.5.
\(^{534}\) See Chapter 6.2.7.2.
\(^{535}\) See Chapter 6.2.2.2.
\(^{536}\) See Table 22.
\(^{537}\) See, respectively, Chapter 6.3.7.3, 6.3.7.4, 6.3.1 and 6.3.5.
\(^{538}\) See Chapter 6.3.7.5.
burials and in the form of scarabs and stone vessels. Scarabs continued to be imported but local workshops began to produce a variety of Levantine design scarabs imitating Egyptian motifs. An increase in their popularity and demand has been attributed to direct relations with Asiatics in the Delta. However, the evidence suggests that it is more likely related to scarabs’ earlier use by the elite in funerary and cultic contexts. A rise in demand would consequently warrant the establishment of local markets specialised in imitations and/or the supply of imports. So, what was first only accessible to the elite as imported prestige items was later popularised by local workshops, retaining its connection with funerary traditions and becoming associated with amuletic significance. This also explains why Middle Kingdom Egyptian royal-and private-name scarabs appear in secondary burial contexts as heirlooms. It is also similarly reflected by the establishment of local workshops skilled in the production of Egyptian-style stone and faience vessels.

The presence of local Egyptian-style cups at Tell Fad’ous and Sidon may hint at a local ceramic workshop knowledgeable in Egyptian pottery-making. However, as they remain the only recorded examples of their kind and are of different periods, the cups likely indicate direct contact with Egyptians. As with other ceramics from Tell Fad’ous, the vessels suggest that non-elite individuals were using Egyptian-style ceramics for preparing and cooking foods, denoting Egyptian influence on daily life as well as the possibility that individuals of Egyptian ancestry were in the area. Their deposition in tombs emphasises their funerary significance and it is probable that they are a remnant of a funerary ritual tradition. The vessels mark a significant development in the nature of relations between Egypt and the Levant. The context and function of other imported ceramics corroborate the continuation of trade relations with Lower Egypt. As all sites are along the coast, maritime-based trade is likely. The majority are also situated in the Northern Levant.

The north further comprises influences on monumental art in the form of wall paintings. Symbols of power and divinity were appropriated by Tell Sakka’s artists whereas typical Egyptian artistic techniques and motifs were applied on Tell el-Burak’s walls, although these may be of an earlier MBIIA date. Both sites betray paintings with mixed Egyptian-Levantine characteristics, indicating local artisans’ knowledge and employment of Egyptian artistic traditions. They additionally link such traditions with elitism and palatial architecture.

Therefore, the late MBIIA to early MBIIIB period witnessed new and continued Egyptian influences. Small, high-value, Egyptian adornments remained in tombs of the elite, especially

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539 D. Ben-Tor, BASOR 294 (1994), 11; D. Ben-Tor, JAEI 1/1 (2009), 1-7.
those of the Northern Levant. Imported scarabs and stone vessels were deposited in funerary and occupation levels, and trade relations were concentrated at coastal Levantine sites, where only Lower Egyptian vessels are attested. Egyptian-inspired objects, formerly reserved as luxury items of the elite, became more common as local markets supplied the demand for scarabs and stone vessels. The period also observed the first recorded instances of: royal-and private-name scarabs in secondary funerary contexts; Egyptian ceramics for serving and preparing food; Egyptian-style local ceramics; and, possibly, the appropriation of Egyptian artistic traditions in Northern Levantine palatial wall paintings. Combined, the evidence insinuates that the elite of coastal cities retained control of maritime commerce with Egypt, possibly distributing imported items to markets trading with local scarab and stone workshops. The effects of such trade may have resulted in Egyptian influences on the daily life of non-elite individuals near harbour cities like Byblos and Ashkelon, which could have feasibly received Egyptian and Egyptian-Levantine travellers, and/or newly imported technologies.

6.4.3 The MBIIB to MBIIB-C Period and the Fifteenth Dynasty

Egyptian-Levantine relations continue to develop in the MBIIB to MBIIB-C period. Contact with Egyptian cultural elements is attested at (1) Tell el-‘Ajul; (2) Ashkelon; (3) Tell Nagila; (4) Gezer; (5) Jericho; (6) Beth Shean; (7) Megiddo; (8) Sidon; (9) Byblos; and (10) Ebla (Table 26; Map 16). Some sites include sealings only, such as Beit Mirsim, Tell el-Far‘ah (S), Hazor, Lachish, Pella, Rishon Lezziyon and Shechem in the Southern Levant, as well as Alalakh and Kamid el-Loz in the Northern Levant (Table 22; Map 16).

As with the late MBIIA to early MBIIB period, the evidence comprises:

- Stone vessels, which are mostly found in burials at Beth Shean, Jericho, Byblos, Sidon and Ebla. A few were collected from occupation levels at Beth Shean and Jericho. As for the vessels’ origin, some are imported (Beth Shean, Jericho and Ebla), some are locally made (Beth Shean, Jericho and Byblos), and a few are of uncertain material (Tell Nagila, Byblos and Sidon). Faience vessels are further attested at such sites as Gezer and Tell Nagila (uncertain origin) as well as Jericho (locally made);

- Scarabs and seal impressions in funerary contexts. Scarabs bearing Egyptian designs are far less common in burials as locally made sealings are attested in greater numbers. Egyptian private-name scarabs in funerary contexts come from Jericho and Byblos, their Middle Kingdom form suggesting an heirloom function. Royal-name
scarabs likewise feature in burials as, for instance, that of Sobekhotep IV at Jericho\textsuperscript{540} or the locally made scarab of Senwosret II at Beth Shean.\textsuperscript{541} A tomb at Sidon also contained a cylinder seal with mixed Egyptian-Levantine elements;\textsuperscript{542}

- Scarabs and seal impressions in occupation and cultic contexts. Egyptian-Levantine features are found on cylinder seals from administrative, cultic and perhaps domestic contexts at Ebla. Other Egyptian and Levantine design scarabs were retrieved from the site’s occupation levels. They also occur at Beth Shean’s settlement.\textsuperscript{543} Jar sealings made with a Middle Kingdom private-name scarab were unearthed at Jericho\textsuperscript{544} and royal-name scarabs were found in late MBIIIB occupation contexts at, for instance, Beth Shean (Noferhotep I) and Gezer (Khayan).\textsuperscript{545} A cultic deposit at Sidon produced a unique locally-made private-name scarab inscribed in hieroglyphs.\textsuperscript{546} The earliest provenanced example of its kind, the scarab signals local knowledge in the Egyptian script and the appropriation of an Egyptian administrative and funerary custom. It can perhaps be compared to the unprovenanced sealings of Byblite rulers;\textsuperscript{547}

- Imported Egyptian ceramics from (1) Tell el-‘Ajjul; (2) Ashkelon; (3) Beth Shean; and (4) Byblos. The Tell el-‘Ajjul fragment was in a level of uncertain function,\textsuperscript{548} those at Ashkelon were collected around its footgate and sanctuary,\textsuperscript{549} and the two vessels from Beth Shean and Byblos were found in burials.\textsuperscript{550} They belong to a piriform jar (Tell el-‘Ajjul), zirs (Ashkelon and Byblos), Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware (Ashkelon and Beth Shean), and cooking pots (Ashkelon). A decrease in imported vessels between the late MBIIA to early MBIIIB period and the MBIIIB to MBIIIB-C period is evident, though it may be related to the state of archaeological research at these four sites. The gate at Ashkelon, for instance, had altered its function by this stage and so goods could have been transported via another route, and the absence of evidence from Sidon could be explained by a known lack of publications which are, however, forthcoming;

\textsuperscript{540} See Chapter 6.2.6.2.
\textsuperscript{541} See Chapter 6.2.3.1.
\textsuperscript{542} See Chapter 6.3.7.6.
\textsuperscript{543} See Chapter 6.2.3.
\textsuperscript{544} See Chapter 6.2.6.2.
\textsuperscript{545} See, respectively, Chapter 6.2.3.2 and 6.2.4.2.
\textsuperscript{546} See Chapter 6.3.7.6.
\textsuperscript{547} See Chapter 6.3.3.3.
\textsuperscript{548} See Chapter 6.3.1.
\textsuperscript{549} See Chapter 6.2.2.3.
\textsuperscript{550} See, respectively, Chapter 6.2.3 and 6.3.3.3.
• High-value items from funerary contexts, including an imported amethyst ring from Beth Shean551 and a mace with a silver vessel portraying a 'nh sign at Ebla.552 The mace was most likely produced locally but utilised Egyptian imported hieroglyphic inlays; and

• Egyptian-influenced ivory inlays possibly adorning a furniture piece from a palace at Ebla.553 The inlays reflect local knowledge and use of Egyptian motifs related to royalty and divinity, coinciding with their elite context.

The Southern and Northern Levant both present evidence for relations with Egypt. The most popular items are stone vessels and sealings. Local workshops evidently continued supplying various sites along trade routes with Egyptian heirlooms, imports and imitations, as well as Levantine-made items. The growing need for such workshops and, consequently, the increasing economic power of these markets possibly led to the formation of new trade links across the Levant. Items such as locally made royal-and private-name scarabs imply gradually evolving markets. The locally made, private-name scarab at Sidon emphasises that locals were knowledgeable and literate in the Egyptian script. Instead of simply mimicking the Egyptian text as in other Levantine-design scarabs, the scarab was utilised to identify a particular Levantine individual in the Egyptian manner. Although the artefact surfaced in a cultic context, one may question the reason for its manufacture. Was it simply an item of prestige, or was it for sealing items traded with others literate in hieroglyphs? Perhaps the presence of scarabs belonging to the rulers of Byblos suggests that Levantines had adopted an Egyptian administrative tradition to promote their own commercial dealings in the Levant and, perhaps, Egypt. The private-name scarab would then coincide with the proposed development of a trade network comprising regions across the Levant.

Despite this development, maritime trade continued, seemingly at a reduced scale. Vessels for storage and transportation were imported, while those for cooking and serving occur at Ashkelon, perhaps in relation to the site’s sanctuary. Imported Tell el-Yahudiya ware is also attested for the first time, surfacing in funerary and cultic contexts. The ruling class evidently still had some control over trade relations. High-value items in their tombs and the ivory inlays at Ebla’s palace support their utilisation of Egyptian motifs for power and prestige. However, the prestige items are mostly of local manufacture, perhaps signalling decreased trade with Egypt or limited access to imported prestige items.

551 See Chapter 6.2.3.1.
552 See Chapter 6.3.4.2.
553 See Chapter 6.3.4.2.
Overall, the evidence points to continued trade links with Egypt. From the early MBIIA, commodities were imported mostly into coastal cities where seals, stone vessels and other prestige items are found in elite funerary contexts and cultic areas. The mid-MBIIA witnessed workshops beginning to appropriate elements of the Egyptian culture for locally-made imitations and hybrid products that mixed Egyptian artistic motifs and script(s) with Levantine items. They initially supplied the elite, most likely at their behest, who possibly later promoted scarab and stone-vessel workshops in the region during the late MBIIA and early MBIIB.

Throughout the MBIIB, these items become more common in occupation deposits, hinting at their growing popularity. While Levantine designs were more popular, some market demand remained for Egyptian imports and was possibly supplied by a ruling class that accordingly established new trade links across the Levant. Other Egyptian influences, however, are more regionally concentrated: Egyptian and Egyptian-style vessels for cooking and serving foods are found in Ashkelon, Sidon and Tell Fad’ous, all three sites strategically positioned near harbours; the use of the Egyptian script to record Levantine names and matters is only attested at Sidon and Byblos, as is reverence to a deity equivalent to Seth; and Egyptian artistic motifs were adapted for the monumental and palatial complexes at Byblos, Ebla and Tell Sakka. Evidently, direct contact with the Egyptian culture is greater in the Northern Levant, where the elite adopted Egyptian symbols of power and divine authority. The one site that is represented in all discussed phases is Byblos. Other significant sites with a concentration of evidence across the examined period are Ashkelon and Sidon. It seems reasonable to conclude that relations with Egypt were predominantly of maritime nature. Controlled by the elite, they became largely influential for the development of local and regional markets. The period of greatest contact and influence is the late MBIIA to early MBIIB period which significantly coincides with the Thirteenth Dynasty and the rise of Hyksos rule.
SECTION 3
'The land is cast to pain through the sustenance of the St.tyw who pervade the land. It is the enemies who will arise in the east. It is the ḫm.w who will descend to Egypt.'

Prophecies of Noferty, 31-33.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the course of examining the rise of the Hyksos, much discussed textual and artistic evidence was analysed anew. Artefacts were re-translated and reassessed according to their socio-political and geographical contexts, providing significant data on the changing Egyptian ideology of the other. This chapter offers observations on the nature and developments of Egyptian textual and artistic representations of Asiatics and the Levant. The plethora of this evidence is divided into the following contextual categories, each discussed in the first section of this chapter:

- Category 1: Inscriptions and texts from royal and administrative complexes;
- Category 2: Royal funerary complexes;
- Category 3: Temples and religious texts;
- Category 4: Non-royal settlements and occupation levels;
- Category 5: Non-royal graffiti;
- Category 6: Non-royal cemeteries and tombs of officials; and
- Category 7: Literary pieces.

The discussion is followed by a succinct overview of specific terms relating to the Levant and Levantines, as well as a review of shifting artistic elements in Egyptian portrayals of Asiatics.
CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT

7.2  CONTEXT AND GENRE: INTERPRETING THE EVIDENCE ‘BETWEEN THE LINES’

7.2.1  Category 1: Inscriptions and Texts from Royal and Administrative Complexes

Category 1 comprises royal inscriptions as well as texts from administrative complexes. Due to their administrative function, the belligerent portrayal of the other is reduced as events are likely connected to historical occurrences. Representations belonging to the examined period are rare: one is ascribed to Dynasty 12 and two are from Dynasty 13 (Table 28).

As a daybook of activities relating to Amenemhat II’s administration, the Mit Rahina text indicates both peaceful and bellicose activities in the Levant.1 They mainly involve the state-controlled dispatch of expeditions for the acquisition of natural and manufactured resources. While the greatest quantity of cargo was retrieved from the Northern Levantine coast (Hn.ty-š), other areas such as the Sinai were apparently frequented. A great number of captives and labourers were acquired from areas targeted by warfare, and a minority are listed amongst the returned cargo from diplomatic trade missions.

State-controlled contact with the Northern Levant continued into the Thirteenth Dynasty, as insinuated by a cylinder seal from an early Thirteenth Dynasty level at Tell el-Dab’a (F/I d/1).2 The seal expresses Levantine-influences not only on local workshops but also on local religion. Utilising Egyptian and Levantine elements, its proposed depiction of the myth of Baal supports the deity’s worship in the Delta. It also signals that such myths were acceptable forms of cross-cultural communication by the Egyptian administration.

Further pointing to the heterogeneity of Lower Egypt is Papyrus Boulaq 18 in which Asiatic women are listed among offering bearers from the Delta.3 No expeditions to the Levant are purported; however Asiatcs within the administration are noted to have been invited to a palatial dinner. This signifies a major development in the role and status of Asiatcs, for while they were received as guests from the Levant during Amenemhat II’s reign, they were now within the administration itself, received as Egyptian officials and offering bearers in Upper Egypt.

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1  See Chapter 4.3.7.
2  See Chapter 4.2.2.3.
3  See Chapter 4.5.3.
7.2.2 Category 2: Royal Funerary Complexes

The second category encompasses representations from royal tombs and funerary complexes (Table 29). They date from the reigns of Amenemhat I to III, and the Thirteenth Dynasty. Portrayals possibly include warfare scenes in the mortuary temples of the first two kings of Dynasty 12. A smiting scene is also featured in Senwosret I’s tomb. More diverse representations are attested in late Dynasty 12. Asiatics remain illustrated as subdued and conquered elements in two pectorals from Princess Mereret’s tomb; however, one is presented in a more peaceful stance as a statuette from Princess Nubhotepti-khered’s tomb.

The bellicose nature of depictions may be explained by their funerary context. Deposited in the eternal resting place of royalty, the items and scenes would necessitate the presentation of Pharaonic strength and success in maintaining order for the hereafter. All preserved bellicose instances betray a topos representation. The introduction of instances depicting Asiatics as less chaotic elements and the absence of negative portrayals from Dynasty 13 may signal changing royal, social and political prerogatives.

7.2.3 Category 3: Temples and Religious Texts

Portrayals of Asiatics assigned to Category 3 are embedded in religious, cosmic and ideological principles (Table 30). Royally-instigated examples from Dynasty 12 focus on the subjugation of forces threatening Egypt, emphasising the king’s dominion over foreign lands, peoples and resources. Texts from the reigns of Senwosret I and III note the king’s punishment of Iwn.tyw and Pd.tyw. Belligerent action against *sm.w is further mentioned in the Tod inscription. The action of punishing an entire foreign group is narrowed in the Execration Texts to only include the rebels and rebellious actions of Levantines. Underscoring the state’s knowledge in foreign aristocracy, geography and affairs, they note the persistent ideological requirement to ritually protect Egypt from foreign forces. As with the representations of Category 2, the shift in representation, in this case being from an entire foreign group to particular rebels, may point to socio-political changes.

These changes are further highlighted by a rise in the number of mimetic and diplomatic texts from Senwosret III’s reign. Firstly are instances representing foreign lands as sources

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4 See Chapter 4.3.6.1.
5 See Chapter 4.3.6.1.
6 See Chapter 4.3.1.4.
7 See Chapter 4.5.11 and 4.3.5.2.
8 See Chapter 4.5.11.
9 See Chapter 4.3.6.2, 4.3.8 and 4.6.1.
of commodities:¹⁰ foreign products of St.t and Ḥn.ty-š were offered to temples by the pharaoh and could be utilised in the construction of cultic architectural elements. Secondly are the many attestations of individuals of Asiatic descent working or offering homage to Egyptian temples.¹¹ These include Asiatic door-keepers, attendants, singers, dancers and priests in service of el-Lahun’s temples, expedition members travelling to Serabit el-Khadim, and a senior chief lector priest sending temple offerings to Serabit el-Khadim. While some of these individuals are of mixed Egyptian-Levantine ancestry, the men from Rtnw, a few of whom were of Levantine royalty, were also commemorated in lists of expedition members at Serabit el-Khadim’s Hathor Temple.¹² The evidence suggests that, at least from Senwosret III’s reign, Levantines and Egyptian-Levantines were represented as active participants in Egyptian religious customs and temple activities.

7.2.4 Category 4: Non-Royal Settlements and Occupation Levels

The Levant and Levantines are represented in very few pieces of evidence from non-royal settlements and occupation levels, all of which date to the Thirteenth Dynasty and the Second Intermediate Period (Table 31). Levantine individuals are mentioned in undated papyri from el-Lahun’s settlement as members of the community,¹³ one of whom apparently had a statue fashioned in his honour while another worked in the vizierate. A statuette from el-Lisht supports the existence of Asiatics or artists influenced by Levantine designs living in Memphis.¹⁴ Possibly a cultic figure, the statuette represents a freedom to express Levantine religious and/or cultic beliefs in an area largely recognised for its Egyptian cults.

7.2.5 Category 5: Non-Royal Inscriptions and Graffiti

Sources belonging to Category 5 (Table 32) are divided into hostile and peaceful/diplomatic representations. The former primarily date between the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret III. They include military skirmishes against foreigners,¹⁵ yet the term designating the group Ḍm.w is not employed in bellicose portrayals. Instead, the terms Ṭwn.tyw, Mn.tyw, Ḥr.tyw-š and St.tyw are favoured. The last militaristic campaign is ascribed to Senwosret III’s

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¹⁰ See Chapter 4.5.7.
¹¹ See Chapters 4.3.5.2 and 5.2.4.1.
¹² See Chapter 5.2.4.1.
¹³ See Chapter 4.3.5.2.
¹⁴ See Chapter 4.3.6.2.
¹⁵ See Chapters 4.5.1.1 (Louvre C1, CG 20539 and Manchester 3306) and 5.3.2.
reign,\textsuperscript{16} after which most texts refer to Egyptian-Asiatics working and residing in Egypt. This indicates that the second half of Dynasty 12 witnessed: (a) a noticeable increase of Asiatics in Egypt; (b) a development from state-instigated inscriptions to those naming the responsible official; (c) an increase in the interest and perhaps responsibility of non-royals over foreigners; and (d) a rise in the number of Egyptian-Levantine relations. The last notation is supported by inscriptions recording the ‘opening’ of the land of the ṣpnm,\textsuperscript{17} bringing products from foreign lands,\textsuperscript{18} as well as names and titles concerned with Byblos, its goddess and its commodities.\textsuperscript{19} Unlike their rulers, the Egyptians evidently held a certain respect towards Levantines: they recorded their ancestry; depicted them as equal household and family members; and honoured their contributions. They did not represent them negatively, but instead portrayed them as a part of Egyptian society.

\section*{7.2.6 Category 6: Non-Royal Cemeteries and Tombs of Officials}

References in non-royal tombs and cemeteries mainly occur in elite contexts (Table 33). They consist of depictions of Levantine commodities, lands, and individuals. Representations of Levantine goods include ceramics, a Levantine-influenced handled vessel, cedar, and possibly carob. They date from the reigns of Amenemhat I to Senwosret III. Levantine toponyms are portrayed as sources of these commodities as well as peoples.\textsuperscript{20}

Individuals from the Levant are represented to be of two origins: those from across the borders of Egypt and those living in Egypt.\textsuperscript{21} Representations depend on the responsibilities of the tomb owner and the extent to which he fulfilled these duties. For instance, the overseers of the Oryx-nome and its army depict activities concerning the nome’s mercenaries.\textsuperscript{22} So, Asiatics are represented as warriors, possibly allies, in the tombs of Khnumhotep I and Amenemhat.\textsuperscript{23} Scenes of foreigners also display correct details of their equipment, denoting a certain care in representing MBA culture. None of the examined attestations present a hostile treatment towards Asiatics in Egypt, indicating that the elite were not obliged to represent foreigners with the same royal ideological principles displayed in Categories 1-3. However, the negative portrayal of Levantines in the biography of Khnumhotep III is affected by these

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} See Chapter 4.5.1.1 (Manchester 3306).
\item \textsuperscript{17} See Chapter 5.3.1.
\item \textsuperscript{18} See Chapter 5.3.1.
\item \textsuperscript{19} See Chapter 4.5.1.1.
\item \textsuperscript{20} For more on the toponyms, see Chapter 7.3.2 and Table 36.
\item \textsuperscript{21} See Chapter 7.4.2.
\item \textsuperscript{22} See Chapter 4.4.1.
\item \textsuperscript{23} See Chapter 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2.
\end{itemize}
principles. This may be explained by the fact that the described events occur beyond the borders of Egypt and concern state-controlled expeditions.

Individuals of mixed Egyptian-ancestry are illustrated from the early Twelfth Dynasty, their background artistically represented as a combination of elements relating to Egyptian and Asiatic portrayals. Examples include the ‘fair-skinned men’ of Beni Hassan and the women of Wekhhotep’s tomb at Meir (C1). They are also textually distinguished by the use of the term ‘Am. The mixture of Egyptian and Levantine elements is also found in the Thirteenth Dynasty, when attestations newly occur in the Delta region and Upper Egypt. Hybridised representations are affiliated with individuals of higher rank and items reflecting greater power (e.g. a life-size statue and a sphinx). Such developments denote an increase in the number, geographical spread, and rank of Asiatic individuals across Egypt.

### 7.2.7 Category 7: Literary pieces

Literary pieces mentioning Asiatics are clustered in the reign of Senwosret I (Table 34). The Prophecies of Noferty is the most hostile, describing the ‘Am.w and St.tyw as strong and fearsome enemies destabilising the Delta. This theme is similarly explored in the Admonitions of Ipuwer. On a lesser scale, the Instructions of Amenemhat I mention the animalistic traits of Asiatics and their inferior subordinate status. The Tale of Sinuhe alternatively offers variant representations of Asiatics as friendly foreigners helping and assisting Egyptians abroad, or as enemies threatening Egypt’s security. Sinuhe’s different portrayals are more a reflection of the literary role played by foreigners in the development of his character, and should not be solely construed as a commentary on the treatment of Asiatics in Egyptian society. Nonetheless, they do impart some knowledge in foreign lands, customs and peoples. The tale, as well as the other literary pieces, contains underlying threads of ideology affecting the overall characterisation of foreigners. This is enhanced by *topos* elements supporting and glorifying the king as protector of his people.

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24 See Chapter 4.3.1.2.  
25 See Chapter 7.4.2.  
26 See Chapter 4.4.1.2-3.  
27 See Chapter 4.4.4.3.  
28 See Chapter 4.2.2.3, 4.2.4.1, 4.3.3 and 4.5.4.  
29 See Chapter 4.2.2.3 and 4.5.1.2.  
30 See Chapter 4.6.5.  
31 See Chapter 4.6.4.  
32 See Chapter 4.6.2.  
33 See Chapter 4.6.9.
CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT

7.3 TEXTUAL REPRESENTATIONS

7.3.1 Terms Relating to Levantine Ancestry and Ethnicity

Collected textual representations comprise nine terms linked to Levantine ancestry and ethnicity. Comments on the nature and development of each are presented below. For information regarding the sources, their respective sites and chapter references, refer to Table 35.

$\text{\textcopyright} \text{im}(w) / \text{\textcopyright} \text{im}(w)t$

The term is the most frequently attested and the only one to be represented from the early Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period. Early Twelfth Dynasty sources mostly represent $\text{\textcopyright} \text{im}(w) / \text{\textcopyright} \text{im}(w)t$ as an ethnic signifier for individuals within the Levant or directly from the Levant. It is also used as a negative connotation portraying strong enemies of the state that are terrorised by the king, as in the Inscription of Tod or the Prophecies of Noferty.\(^{34}\) The term is further utilised to describe a group of mercenaries allied with the king in the Hatnub graffiti.\(^{35}\)

Sources from the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty include $\text{\textcopyright} \text{im}(w) / \text{\textcopyright} \text{im}(w)t$ as an ethnic marker for individuals within Egypt who are newly migrated or of mixed Egyptian-Levantine heritage. The first secure identification for this use is from the reign of Senwosret III. This period also witnessed the last recorded instance of the term’s use in a specific militaristic expedition (Khusobek’s stela),\(^{36}\) and its appearance in the ritualistic Execration Texts.\(^{37}\)

Individuals represented as $\text{\textcopyright} \text{im}(w) / \text{\textcopyright} \text{im}(w)t$ became increasingly attested in the late Twelfth and the Thirteenth Dynasties. Their specific area of origin is rarely specified and appears to be affiliated to many regions within the Levant. The term is typically complemented by an individual’s name and title, and is also attested as a personal name.\(^{38}\)

$\text{Fnh}.w$

The group is only represented once in the Tale of Sinuhe, where its ruler is summoned to appear before the pharaoh.\(^{39}\) Peaceful relations between Egypt and the $\text{Fnh}.w$ are implied, although the utilisation of ideological principles refers to the $\text{Fnh}.w$ ruler as a subordinate of the Egyptian king.

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\(^{34}\) See, respectively, Chapter 4.5.11.1 and 4.6.5.
\(^{35}\) See Chapter 4.4.3.
\(^{36}\) Manchester 3306. See Chapter 4.5.1.1.
\(^{37}\) See Chapter 4.3.8 and 4.6.1.
\(^{38}\) See Chapter 7.3.3 and Table 37.
\(^{39}\) See Chapter 4.6.9.
Chapter 7: Representing Asiatics and the Levant

Twntyw
Attestations are mainly dated between the reigns of Amenemhat I and III. All portrayals negatively represent the group: Amenemhat I's official must destroy \( ssh \) its fortresses; Senwosret I kills \( dn \) its people; and the group is struck with dread \( hwi \) and trampled \( titi, ptpt \) by an official of Senwosret III (Inscription Nr 47), as well as the king himself in el-Lahun's Hymn to Senwosret III.\(^{40}\) The bellicose attestations can all be assigned to royal, royally-instigated and royally-controlled offices, proposing that the group only had dealings with the Egyptian state across the borders of Egypt.

Pdtwy / Pd.tyw
The \( Pd.tyw/Pd.tyw \) are represented in three Middle Kingdom sources: (1) the Tale of Sinuhe, where they are attacked by Senwosret I and placed in the Delta; (2) the Hymn to Senwosret III, where they flee from the king's slaughter; and (3) the Admonitions of Ipuwer, where they must be driven away from the Delta.\(^{41}\) The topos representations note that the \( Pd.tyw/Pd.tyw \) had entered the Delta during the Twelfth Dynasty.

Mnt.tyw / Mntw
Representations are derived from Twelfth Dynasty sources. The earliest is from the reign of Amenemhat I noting the destruction \( ssh \) of their fortresses.\(^{42}\) Other references date to the second half of Dynasty 12 and associate the \( Mnt.tyw/Mntw \) with the land of \( St.t \). They are mentioned in the biography of Khnumhotep III, who must trample \( ptpt \) the group, Khusobek's stela where the king intends to overthrow \( sxr.t \) them, and in the Execration Texts.\(^{43}\) The group is seemingly involved in militaristic skirmishes with the Egyptians, and so may be identified as a warrior class in the northeast.

Nmi.w-Sa
The group is only attested in the Tale of Sinuhe.\(^{44}\) As the story records, Senwosret I and the Walls-of-the-Ruler were 'made' to crush \( ptpt \) them.

H3.w-nb.w
The \( H3.w-nb.w \) occur in one inscription from Wadi el-Hudi,\(^{45}\) in which Senwosret I apparently encloses \( 'rf \) or surrounds the group.\(^{46}\)

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\(^{40}\) See, respectively, Chapters 4.5.1.1, 5.3.2, 5.3.1 and 4.3.5.2.
\(^{41}\) See, respectively, Chapter 4.6.9, 4.3.5.2 and 4.6.4.
\(^{42}\) See Chapter 4.5.11.
\(^{43}\) See, respectively, Chapter 4.3.1.2, 4.5.1.1, 4.3.8 and 4.6.1.
\(^{44}\) See Chapter 4.6.9.
\(^{45}\) See Chapter 5.3.2.
The term is attested in the early Twelfth Dynasty. Two stelae at Abydos (Louvre C1 and CG 20539) portray the group as one that is destroyed (ssh) and pacified (sgrH).\textsuperscript{47}

\textit{St.tyw}

\textit{St.tyw} is the second most frequently attested term but is only found in Middle Kingdom texts. Early representations provide various treatments of the \textit{St.tyw}. They fell \textit{(hr)} due to Amenemhat I’s actions in Khnumhotep I’s biography,\textsuperscript{48} but it is unclear whether they were the enemy or ally of the king. They appear as both friend and foe in the Tale of Sinuhe,\textsuperscript{49} assisting Sinuhe at the border of Egypt and receiving rewards from Senwosret I. Senwosret I and his Walls-of-the-Ruler also repel \textit{(hsf)} them from Egypt while the \textit{hk3.w h3s.wt} opposed their movements. Sinuhe’s varying treatment may be explained by the characterisation of the \textit{St.tyw} as a means to support the character’s progression, as well as the ideological influences when referring to the reigning king.

The remaining representations are bellicose in nature: the vizier Montuhotep is provided with an epithet to pacify \textit{(shtp)} them; they are forced to do the ‘dog-walk’ in the Instructions of Amenemhat I; the Mit Rahina text mentions an expedition to destroy \textit{(hb3)} their fortresses; they pervade Egypt in the Prophecies of Noferty and know the state of the land in the Admonitions of Ipuwer; Senwosret III restrains them; and Amenemhat III smites them \textit{(skr)} on a pectoral from Princess Mereret’s tomb.\textsuperscript{50}

Their exact origin, however, is not specified. They are commonly represented near the borders of Egypt and as traders across the Walls-of-the-Ruler. Their knowledge of Egyptian affairs is significant, as is their predominantly negative portrayals following the reign of Amenemhat II. More of their relations with Egypt may be revealed from the use of the toponym, \textit{St.t}, which likely refers to the land which they inhabited. This toponym, as well as several others, is examined in the following section.

\textsuperscript{46} For more on the \textit{Hr.yw-8} see Favard-Meeks, SAK 16 (1989), 39-63.
\textsuperscript{47} See Chapter 4.5.1.1.
\textsuperscript{48} See Chapter 4.4.2.1.
\textsuperscript{49} See Chapter 4.6.9.
\textsuperscript{50} See, respectively, Chapter 4.5.1.1 (CG 20539), 4.6.2, 4.3.7, 4.6.5, 4.6.4, 4.3.5.2 (UC 321157) and 4.3.1.3.
7.3.2 Toponyms

Excluding those listed in the Execration texts, 20 Levantine toponyms may be assigned to the Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period (Table 36). They can be divided into toponyms of the Eastern Desert, the Southern Levant, the Northern Levant, and those of unidentifiable location.

Eastern Desert

Four toponyms may be securely located in the Eastern Desert. Three of these are preserved in the Tale of Sinuhe as areas through which the character traversed after crossing the Egyptian border.\(^{51}\) They include *Pttn*, *NgAw* and *Kmwr*. The fourth toponym, *Ht.yw-Mfk.t* or ‘Turquoise Terraces’, is recorded in the Mit Rahina text as well as four inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadim.\(^{52}\) Natural and mineral resources from the Sinai as well as Western Asia were retrieved by an expedition to the site. The toponym’s connection with Hathor is also inferred by the Serabit el-Khadim texts, where a temple to the goddess remains.

Southern Levant

None of the toponyms can be definitively identified with Southern Levantine cities, yet circumstantial evidence related to three toponyms may signal their location in this region. Based on the order of dispatched and returned expeditions in the Mit Rahina inscription, the two fortresses of *IAsy* and *IwA(i)* may arguably be situated between *Ht.yw-Mfk.t* and *Hnty-S*, or the Sinai and the Northern Levant.\(^{53}\) The two toponyms are militarily targeted by Amenemhat II’s soldiers, who return from the expedition with over 1,500 Asiatics, offering one means of Levantine migration into Egypt. Another bellicose expedition is represented in Khusobek’s stela where Senwosret III and his army were sent to the region of *Skmm* which has been connected to the Southern Levantine Shechem.\(^{54}\)

If these toponyms’ location in the Southern Levant is correct, then relations with the region would to be twofold: it is a target of military skirmishes; and it is a source of Levantine migrants. However, as the evidence is circumstantial, relations between the Southern Levant and Egypt cannot be conclusively interpreted from the toponyms.

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51 See Chapter 4.6.9.
52 See, respectively, Chapters 4.3.7 and 5.2.4.1 (Inscription Nrs 93-94, 97-98).
53 See Chapter 4.3.7.
54 Manchester 3306. See Chapter 4.5.1.1.
Northern Levant

Northern Levantine toponyms comprise the greatest number of attestations which, unlike those of the Eastern Desert and the Southern Levant, can be securely dated from the early Twelfth to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. They are mostly depicted in peaceful and diplomatic relations, and as areas of significant commercial interest. The earliest are dated to Senwosret I’s reign and occur in the Tale of Sinuhe.\(^\text{55}\) They include the lands of (1) \(Tb\),\(^\text{56}\) bestowed to Sinuhe as a fruitful flat land frequented by Egyptians travelling to and from the Egyptian Residence; (2) \(Hnty-kšw\), whose ruler is sent on a diplomatic expedition to the Residence, his subordination to the pharaoh being expressively noted; (3) \(Kdm(I)\)\(^\text{57}\) which housed Sinuhe for one and a half years; and (4) \(Kbny\) (Byblos) which was Sinuhe’s intended destination.

Amenemhat II’s Mit Rahina daybook lists an expedition, possibly seaborne, to \(Hnty-š\).\(^\text{58}\) A small number of Asiatics returned with the expedition, offering another method of Levantine migration. Numerous natural and manufactured commodities were retrieved, the greatest in weight being cedar wood. The timber is again represented as a traded Levantine resource in the inscription of Khnumhotep II mentioning \(Ngḏw\), as well as the inscription of Khnumhotep III.\(^\text{59}\) Assigned to Senwosret III’s reign, the latter biography records three Northern Levantine toponyms: \(Twšt/Wšt\) (Ullaza), \(Rmn\) (Lebanon?) and \(Kbny\).Khnumhotep III’s expedition docked first at the latter site, negotiated with its ruler, and then journeyed to \(Twšt/Wšt\).

References dated to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty support Egypt’s continued commercial and political relations with the Northern Levant. Cedar wood of \(Hnty-š\) is recorded in Sobekhotep IV’s reign, a hall-keeper of goods from \(Kbny\) is attested during the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, and a block from the Byblite Temple of Obelisks refers to Noferhotep I alongside \(Kbny\)’s count.\(^\text{60}\) Despite such diplomatic relations, the toponyms \(Tb\), \(Twšt\) and \(Kbny\) are among the Execration Texts,\(^\text{61}\) highlighting the importance of securing productive and continuous relations from rebellious action. This significance is further emphasised by the Admonitions of Ipuwer that note the lack of journeys to Byblos as a sign of the reigning chaos.\(^\text{62}\)

\(^{55}\) See Chapter 4.6.9.

\(^{56}\) For the toponym’s identification as one in the Northern Levant see Mourad, \(GM 238\) (2013), 78-81.

\(^{57}\) For the toponym’s identification as one in the Northern Levant see Mourad, \(GM 238\) (2013), 72-77.

\(^{58}\) See Chapter 4.3.7.

\(^{59}\) See, respectively, Chapter 4.4.1.3 and 4.3.1.2.

\(^{60}\) See, respectively, Chapters 4.5.6, 4.5.1.1 (EA 428), 6.3.3.1, 4.3.8 and 4.6.1.

\(^{61}\) See Chapter 4.6.4.
Northern Levantine toponyms additionally shed light on cross-cultural influences. Within Egypt, several individuals of seemingly Egyptian origin and Egyptian-Asiatic descent are given the name Nh.t-Kbn from at least Amenemhat III’s reign. Literally translated as the ‘lady of Byblos’, the name emphasises knowledge of and reverence to the Levantine deity within Egypt. This is further supported by the mention of Hathor as ‘lady of Kbn’ in el-Lahun papyrus UC 32196. In the Levant, the toponyms are used in locally-produced texts. A MBIIB scarab from Sidon records the ‘lord of Tiy’ and an MBA obelisk, scimitar and several stelae from Byblos utilise Kpny to refer to the site and its rulers.

The toponymic evidence indicates that Egypt shared close relations of commercial, cultural and religious nature with the Northern Levant. Relations were predominantly peaceful, lasting from the early Twelfth Dynasty to at least the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. Rulers, officials, and individuals all evidently had knowledge of Northern Levantine toponyms, denoting the influences of such relations across geographical borders and social hierarchies.

Unidentifiable location

Five toponyms cannot be securely attributed to a particular region: (1) ḫsmti, which designates the place of origin of a group of ḫm.w in Serabit el-Khadim; (2) Ḡw, from which the procession of Asiatics in the tomb of Khnumhotep II evidently came; (3) ṕmtyw, from which a delegation visited Amenemhat II bearing a gift of lead; (4) ṕnw, with attestations dating from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Dynasties; and (5) ṣt.t, which occurs in Twelfth Dynasty texts.

As with the ṕnw, ṣt.t is mainly portrayed in bellicose situations, although a few references are of less belligerent nature. The people of ṣt.t are to have their throats cut in an at Wadi el-Hudi, the land is destroyed in the Tod inscription, its fortresses targeted in Amenemhat II’s daybooks, and obstructed in Khnumhotep III’s epithet. The ṕnw/Mnt.tw are also related to the toponym. Products were also possibly imported from ṣt.t, as evident in texts at Nag’ el-Medamud and Serabit el-Khadim.

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63 See Chapter 4.5.5.1 (Inscription A), 4.5.1.1 (CG 20086, CG 20224 and CG 20678) and 4.6.7.
64 See Chapter 4.3.5.2.
65 See, respectively, Chapter 6.3.7.6 and 6.3.3.
66 See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
67 See Chapter 4.3.7.
68 See, respectively, Chapter 5.3.2 (Inscription Nr 143), 4.5.11.1, 4.3.7 and 4.3.1.2.
69 See Chapter 7.3.1.
70 See, respectively, Chapter 4.5.7 and 5.2.4.1 (Inscription Nr 411).
\textit{Rtnw}, on the other hand, is attested in only one bellicose portrayal. It has been situated by scholars in the Southern Levant and/or the Northern Levant, with one associating it with the Litani River.\textsuperscript{72} The collected evidence implies a Northern Levantine location. Firstly, its earliest attestation for the examined period is in the Tale of Sinuhe featuring the ruler of Upper \textit{Rtnw}.\textsuperscript{73} This character appears to have some control over the region of \textit{Kdm(i)} and \textit{T3} which are to be located in the Northern Levant. Therefore, a connection between Upper \textit{Rtnw} and the Northern Levant could be extrapolated. Secondly, and if its reconstruction is correct, Khnumhotep III’s expedition to Ullaza and Byblos is noted as one to \textit{Rtnw} for the bringing of cedar.\textsuperscript{74} Thirdly, glyphs on a scarab ring from an early Thirteenth Dynasty tomb at Tell el-Dab’a can be interpreted to read $\textit{hk3} \; n(y) \; \textit{Rtnw}$.\textsuperscript{75} As the tomb features Northern Levantine goods and elements, the scarab may have belonged to a Northern Levantine individual and so the $\textit{hk3} \; n(y) \; \textit{Rtnw}$ could be from the Northern Levant. However, \textit{Rtnw}'s only bellicose portrayal in Khusobek’s stela suggests that it was near \textit{Skmm}.\textsuperscript{76} If \textit{Skmm} is to be identified with Shechem (see above), then \textit{Rtnw} would have also encompassed the northern region of the Southern Levant. Therefore, the attestations warn against forming any definitive conclusions regarding \textit{Rtnw}'s identified location.

Nonetheless, the significance of \textit{Rtnw} should not be underestimated. Its aristocracy had close diplomatic ties with Amenemhat III, travelling with Egyptian expeditions to Serabit el-Khadim for a period of at least 20 years.\textsuperscript{77} Political relations between Tell el-Dab’a and \textit{Rtnw} are further insinuated by a seal impression from an early Fifteenth Dynasty administrative complex at Tell el-Dab’a,\textsuperscript{78} which clearly reads $\textit{hk3} \; n(y) \; \textit{Rtnw}$. As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, this title is also attributed to late Hyksos king Apophis. Thus, it is evident that the Hyksos were linked to \textit{Rtnw} and possibly even originated from this region. \textit{Rtnw}'s ruling elite shared diplomatic relations with Egypt from the very early Twelfth Dynasty, their attestations first placing them in the Levant, then in Egyptian expeditions to Serabit el-Khadim, and finally as rulers in the Delta region.


\textsuperscript{73} See Chapter 4.6.9.

\textsuperscript{74} See Chapter 4.3.12.

\textsuperscript{75} See Chapter 4.2.2.3.

\textsuperscript{76} Manchester 3306. See Chapter 4.5.1.1.

\textsuperscript{77} See Chapter 5.2.4.1.

\textsuperscript{78} See Chapter 4.2.2.5.
CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING ASIATS AND THE LEVANT

7.3.3 Personal Names

Section 2 featured around 208 names belonging to individuals of Asiatic descent (Table 37), bar those of Levantine rulers in the Exeoration Texts. A non-Egyptian origin is identified for a minimum of 68 names. Common elements are: ‘pr with the name of a Levantine deity such as Baal or Reshef; ‘mw which is orthographically different from the Egyptian ‘wm; ib, symbolised as a calf in the hieroglyphic script; and skr, possibly from the Semitic stem skr ‘reward, favour’.79 The ethnic marker ‘sm is also attested as a personal name: it is found in ‘sm, ‘swm, ‘st, P3-‘sm, Imnty-‘st, and possibly S3.t-‘sm. If the term is derived from the Egyptian,80 the name may have been attributed to the individual by an Egyptian.

Around 68% of the names are of Egyptian origin, a third of which are coupled with those of non-Egyptian derivation. These secondary Egyptian names were likely bestowed to Asiatics upon their migration into Egypt or their employment by Egyptian households. Individuals with only Egyptian names are most likely descendants of such Asiatics residing in Egypt. They had adopted names associated with local deities, the reigning pharaoh, and/or their employer(s). Egyptian gods featured in the Asiatics’ names are Ptah, Ra, Maat, Mut (which could also be identified as a Levantine deity), Khnum, Hathor and Sobek. Names including the elements Imeny and Senwosret may also refer to the nomens of kings Amenemhat and Senwosret. Such elements signify the Asiatics’ assumption of Egyptian customs, language and religion.

7.3.4 Titles of officials

A clear indicator of Levantines’ acceptance in Egyptian society is their variety of titles. The evidence points to Asiatics in state administrative positions such as those of the vizierate and treasury, palatial complexes, temple precincts, military and security offices, local governments, specialised crafts, labour work, and household ranks. Added to these are titles referring to rulers of Levantine lands. The following sections provide an overview of the titles, with further information on their attestations, dates, and respective chapters organised in Table 38.

79 Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 227-228; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 79; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 95-96, Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 149.
80 See Chapter 3.2.
State administrative positions

Titles relating to positions of the state administration comprise those of the vizierate, the treasury and the Residence. Only one uncertain title may be assigned to the vizierate: it is attested in the Middle Kingdom el-Lahun papyrus UC 32143E and refers to the [...tp] ḫt.t ‘[...]member] of the vizierate’.81

Five titles belong to positions within the treasury: three date to the Twelfth Dynasty; and two are of the Thirteenth Dynasty. The Dynasty 12 titles are from the tomb of Khnumhotep II, where one ‘fair-skinned man’ is listed as im.y-r3 ḫtm.t ‘overseer of the treasury’ and another is an im.y-r3 ḫtm.tyw ‘overseer of sealers’.82 Inscriptions 58, 108 and 109 at Serabit el-Khadim additionally record a im.y-r3 ḫṃw.ty wr n.y pr ḫdq ‘chief chamberlain of the treasury’.83 Thirteenth Dynasty titles occur in the Delta region. They include the idn.w n.y im.y-r3 ḫtm.t ‘deputy of the overseer of the treasury’ from a scarab at Tell el-Dab’a and the ḫtm.ty bi.ty ‘sealer of the king of Lower Egypt’ from a door fragment at Tell el-Habwa.84

The title idn.w n.y im.y-r3 pr.w wr ‘deputy of the chief steward’ may also be included in this division. It occurs in three inscriptions of Amenemhat III’s reign at Serabit el-Khadim.85

Palatial complexes

Four titles are associated with these offices. The earliest is from the reign of Amenemhat III when an Asiatic im.y-r3 ḫḥ.wt nb.wt n.y nsw.t ‘overseer of all property of the king’ is recorded at Serabit el-Khadim.86 During the Thirteenth Dynasty, the titles ir.y-ṣ.t ḡ ‘hall-keeper of the palace’ and smsw ḡy.t ‘elder of the portal’ are bestowed to individuals of Asiatic descent.

Temple precincts

Titles connected to temple precincts are assigned between the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat IV. All relate to positions in the Memphite Region, and include ir.y-ṣ.t n.y ḫw.t-ntr ‘door-keeper of a temple’, mtv n.y s3 ‘controller of a phyle’, ḡb ‘dancer’, ḫtm.ty ntr ‘God’s sealer’ and ṣmśw ‘singer’. One Asiatic attained the title of high priest of Memphis, sḥb ḡr.y-ḥb.t ḡr.y-tp ḫm-ntr sš ‘senior chief lector-priest, god’s servant, scribe’,87 stressing the Levantines’ ability to reach prominent Egyptian religious positions.

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81 See Chapter 4.3.5.2.
82 See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
83 See Chapter 5.2.4.1.
84 See, respectively, 4.2.2.4 and 4.2.4.1.
85 See Chapter 5.2.4.1.
86 See Chapter 5.2.4.1.
87 Inscription Nr 123. See Chapter 5.2.4.1.
Military and security offices

Asiatics predominantly carry military and security titles during the Thirteenth Dynasty. The title *im.y-h₃ s₃.w pr.w* ‘police official’ is bestowed to an Asiatic in Papyrus Brooklyn 18/1 and at Gebel Tjauti. In Aswan, a Thirteenth Dynasty inscription may include the *nḥ.w n;y niw.t* ‘citizen, officer of the city regiment’. A further title refers to the *im.y-r₃ mš₃* ‘overseer of the army/expedition’, indicating that Asiatics were able to hold positions of significant military power. Interestingly, all offices occur at Upper Egyptian sites.

Local government

Offices are represented by three titles of the Twelfth Dynasty and three of later date. The tomb of Wekhhotep (B4) at Meir captions an individual of possible Asiatic descent with *ir.y ḫ₃.t n;y ihw* ‘hall-keeper of the cattle-pen’. A ‘fair-skinned man’ in the tomb of Khnumhotep II is also identified by a caption reading *wḥm.w* ‘herald’. Another title is that of the *im.y-r₃ ṣn².w* ‘overseer of a storehouse’ from a stela at Abydos.

In the Thirteenth Dynasty, an Asiatic was bestowed with the position of *ḥ₃.ty⁻² smr wṣ ty* ‘count, sole companion’ at Tell el-Habwa. This presents one of the highest ranks in the Middle Kingdom local administration. Evidently, Asiatics were well-received in the Egyptian state. The data indicates that they even continued to be employed in the local governments of the Seventeenth Dynasty, as indicated by the title *im.y-r₃ šḥ.ty* ‘overseer of fieldworkers’ belonging to an individual of Asiatic origin.

One other title may be assigned to the local government. It is inscribed on a statue-base of uncertain date from el-Lisht and is of the *im.y-r₃ ḫḥ.w* ‘overseer of cattle’.

Specialised crafts

A connection between Asiatic individuals and crafts is inferred in the use of the title *im.y-r₃ ḫm.wt* ‘overseer of craftsmen’ in an Abydos stela. Asiatics were further involved in two main specialised crafts during Dynasty 13: metalwork (*im.y-r₃ ḫm.tw* ‘overseer of coppersmiths’) and textile fabrication (*šḥ.ty ḫḥ.tw/sšr* ‘weaver of ḫḥ.tw/sšr-cloth’ and *ḏḥ*...
CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT

₃tyw/sšr ‘warper (?) of ₃tyw/sšr-cloth’). Another title associated with textiles comes from Aswan and may be read as ir.y sšr ‘keeper of linen’. ⁹⁷

Labour work
Although not distinctly identified in academia as professions assigned by administrative institutions, four terms are found to be associated with physical labour: (1) ınti ir.n.r.w ‘stone-hauler’ of Amenemhat III’s reign; (2) ḫsb ‘workman’ of the Middle Kingdom; and Thirteenth Dynasty (3) ṣn‘labourer’ and (4) ıt kıt ‘labourer (female)’.

Household ranks
Titles also reflect the roles and responsibilities of household members and workers. Those which are household administrative titles include: im.y-r3 ḫnw.ty ‘chamberlain’, which occurs in Senwosret II’s reign; im.y-ḫt ‘attendant’, which is attested in Dynasty 13 inscriptions; ir.y-¢.t ‘hall-keeper’, which occurs from Senwosret III’s reign to Dynasty 13; ḥr.y-pr.w ‘major-domo’, which is noted in two texts each respectively dated to Amenemhat III and Dynasty 13; and wdp.w ‘butler’, a position held by several Asians from the reign of Senwosret III to Dynasty 13.

Other positions within the household are dated from Senwosret III’s reign to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, and record the ‘frt ‘brewer’, psy ‘cook’, nb.t pr.w ‘lady of the house’ (equivalent to ‘main wife’), sf.ty ‘butcher’ and śdī ‘tutor’.

Rulers of Levantine lands
Hieroglyphic titles of rulers of Levantine lands are found in texts of the early Twelfth to the Fifteenth Dynasties. Those of the Twelfth Dynasty predominantly occur as titles in elite and royal Egyptian texts, whereas those of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasty mostly comprise titles from elite and royal items produced in Egypt and the Levant.

The earliest references to these rulers are in the Tale of Sinuhe.⁹⁸ The text mentions the ḥk3 n.y Rtmw ḥr.t ‘ruler of Upper Rtmw’, a toponym that is associated in the tale with other areas in the Northern Levant.⁹⁹ Sinuhe joins this ruler and others in the region, termed as ḥk3.w ḥ3s.wt ‘rulers of foreign lands’, in a conglomeration opposed to the movements of the St.tyw. The Tale of Sinuhe shows that the ḥk3 n.y Rtmw ḥr.t, who possibly ruled over Northern Levantine land, was among the ḥk3.w ḥ3s.wt.

⁹⁷ Inscription A. See Chapter 4.5.2.
⁹⁸ See Chapter 4.6.9.
⁹⁹ See Chapter 7.3.2 and Table 36.
CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT

The next attestation is found in the Mit Rahina text, in which the children of the $hk^3.w\ n.y\ St.t$ ‘rulers of $St.t$’ diplomatically visit Amenemhat II’s court.\(^{100}\) A delegation naming a $hk^3\ h^3s.t$ ‘ruler of the foreign land’ is recorded during Senwosret II’s reign in Khnumhotep II’s tomb, offering the first and last recorded use of this title in Dynasty 12.\(^{101}\) The ruler heads a procession of $sm.w$ from $\dot{S}w$ yet he is not identified as a $hk^3\ n.y\ \dot{S}w$ ‘ruler of $\dot{S}w$’. The formula, $hk^3\ n.y\ GN$,\(^{102}\) was indeed used in other texts of the Middle Kingdom, such as the Mit Rahina text ($hk^3\ n.w\ St.t$), the biography of Khnumhotep III ($hk^3\ n.y\ Kpny$), inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadim ($hk^3\ n.y\ Rt\w$), and the Execration Texts.\(^{103}\) The specific use of $hk^3\ h^3s.t$ hints that this title expressed different and possibly more senior duties.

Between the late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasties, rulers of Levantine lands began to employ Egyptian titles. The Byblites referred to themselves as $h^3.ty-w\ n.y\ Kpny$ ‘count of $Kpny$’ or simply as $h^3.ty-w$ ‘count’.\(^{104}\) The titles continued in use until the MBIIB-C period, when the further titles of $ir.y-p^s.t$ ‘nobleman’ and $hk^3\ h\k^3.w$ ‘ruler of rulers’ occur. As discussed in Chapter 6.3.3.3, the use of Egyptian titles in Byblos is most likely explained by the close relations between Egypt and Byblos and the many Egyptian influences on the Northern Levantine site. The titles were possibly direct translations of local ranks. This same reasoning may also be applied to the MBIIB Sidonian scarab with $nb\ Ty$ ‘ruler of $Ty$’.\(^{105}\)

Remains at Byblos contain one further title: $hk^3\ h^3s.wt$ ‘ruler of foreign lands’. The title is written on a $h^3s.$-vase from Royal Tomb VII which is cautiously dated to the MBIIB-C period corresponding to the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties.\(^{106}\) It represents the only example for the title’s use on a vessel from the examined period. The remaining attestations belong to sealings of Hyksos kings at Tell el-Dab’a, Tell el-Yahudiyyeh, Edfu and Gezer.

In regards to the $hk^3\ h^3s.wt$ and its related titles, the examined evidence indicates: (a) the existence of political affiliations between the $hk^3\ n.y\ Rt\w\ h.r.t$ and the $hk^3.w\ h^3s.wt$, the former joining the latter with a common aim during the early Twelfth Dynasty; (b) the difference between the $hk^3\ n.y\ GN$ and the $hk^3\ h^3s.t$ possibly being one of rank; (c) the diplomatic relations of a $hk^3\ h^3s.t$ and a $hk^3\ n.y\ Rt\w\ h.r.t$ (as part of the $hk^3.w\ h^3s.wt$) with Egypt; (d) possible relations between a $hk^3\ h^3s.wt$ and the Egyptian-influenced Byblos

\(^{100}\) See Chapter 4.3.7.
\(^{101}\) See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
\(^{102}\) ‘Ruler of a Geographical Name’.
\(^{103}\) See, respectively, Chapters 4.3.7, 4.3.1.2, 5.2.4.1, 4.3.8, 4.6.1 and 6.3.2.
\(^{104}\) See Chapter 6.3.3.
\(^{105}\) See Chapter 6.3.7.6.
\(^{106}\) See Chapter 6.3.3.2.
during the MBIIB-C period; and (e) the title’s use by early Fifteenth Dynasty rulers. The title thereby appears to be affiliated with rulers of high rank acting as representatives of rulers of several allied lands, or peoples, in political and diplomatic roles.

Consequently, this affiliation sheds light on the reason for ḫkš ḥš3.wt’s adoption by the rulers of Dynasty 15. It is possible that the Hyksos favoured it as the most suitable expression of their commercial and mercantile initiatives, particularly with the establishment and stabilisation of Dynasty 15 as an independent hegemony. In fact, all provenanced attestations of the title from clear and contemporary contexts appear in administrative complexes within Egypt alongside other imported goods, and in elite dispositions in the Levant.107 Such an association between use and purpose is not marred by Ryholt’s observation that the last Fifteenth Dynasty rulers are not attested with the title.108 The different programmes of the later Hyksos could theoretically warrant other titulary representation.

107 See Table 38.
108 Note, however, Ryholt’s description of the title as a ‘petty’ one for Levantine chieftains. This is perhaps associated with the Hyksos rulers’ remembrance in later tradition rather than the title’s use during the period under examination. Ryholt, Political Situation, 123-125, 303-304.
7.4 ARTISTIC REPRESENTATIONS

7.4.1 Artistic Elements

Artistic representations of Asiatics can be found from the very beginning of Amenemhat I’s reign to the Thirteenth Dynasty. Table 39 presents a brief layout of pertinent representations utilising artistic elements typically associated with Asiatics, along with chapter and figure references. These elements include facial features, hairstyles, skin colour, clothing and jewellery, foreign equipment, and unique stances and/or activities.

Facial features
Men and women can be illustrated with large, hooked noses. The men are usually shown with a pointed beard which may either be short or long, extending from ear to ear. Eyes tend to be large and almond-shaped, and are attested as a greyish-or-greenish blue.

Hairstyles
Male hair strands could be thick and wiry, or groomed. The colour is predominantly black, although some men are shown with red hair. From the early Twelfth Dynasty until the reign of Amenemhat II, a popular hairstyle for men is the coiffed and voluminous design, reaching just above shoulder-length. A tuft at the front may also be styled. The hair at the back is voluminous, either shaved perpendicular to the neck or curved inwards at an angle. During Senwosret II’s reign, the mushroom-like coiffed hairstyle is recorded and continued in use at least until the Thirteenth Dynasty. A rarer Middle Kingdom male hairstyle is the longer, shoulder-length hair on a pectoral dating to Senwosret III’s reign.

Women are portrayed with two main hairstyles. The first is depicted as long, below shoulder-length, hair in Amenemhat I’s pyramid complex and the tomb of Khnumhotep II. The women in the latter also wear white (silver?) headbands. The second hairstyle is characterised by a bulb-like protrusion, akin to a bun. This protrusion can be held in place with headbands, fillets, or wedge-shaped objects. The design occurs from early Dynasty 12 to Dynasty 13. As with men’s hair, women are usually portrayed with black

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109 Do. Arnold’s contentions that “the hairstyle of the Beni Hasan Aamu is unmistakably different from the “mushroom type” of the pectoral (dating to Amenemhat III) and related attestations” are not entirely correct. The Beni Hassan scene in fact shows men with different styles of the mushroom-like hair design: 'Thššš's hair is curving in at the back; the ‘second-in-command’s hair is slightly longer; whereas the other men have their hair either cut perpendicular at the back or curved inwards. These variations most likely reflect artistic choice and not markers for different ethnic identities. Do. Arnold, in Second Intermediate Period, 195-196.

110 See Chapter 4.3.1.3.

111 See, respectively, Chapter 4.3.6.1 and 4.4.1.3.
CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT

hair, but traces of red have been found on the women of Wekhhotep’s tomb (C1) and the statuette at Beni Hassan.112

Skin colour
Where the colour is preserved, Asiatic men are painted with a yellow or a lighter yellow-brown skin colour.

Clothing and jewellery
Foreign dress for men includes multi-banded, multi-coloured or detailed kilts, often with fringing along the bottom. Those of higher status are depicted with long tight-fitting garments draped over one shoulder. They are also multi-coloured, detailed, and often with fringing along the hem. Jewellery could consist of necklaces, either long or short, with pendants, banded wristlets, detailed anklets, and possible toggle-pins. Some men of Khnumhotep II’s procession are illustrated wearing black strapped sandals and one sports an object hanging at the tip of the beard.113

Women are also shown with non-Egyptian long garments. The dresses are either sleeved or draped over one shoulder, and are often detailed with red, blue and white designs. Some wear boot-like shoes, which appear to be painted yellow or red.

Foreign equipment
Weapons are the most frequently attested goods carried by Levantines. The tomb of Khnumhotep I records Asiatics with bows, throw-sticks, a dagger, a fenestrated eye axe and a possible scimitar.114 During Senwosret I’s reign, similar weapons are depicted along with spears. The following pharaoh’s rule features a development in the type of Asiatic axe, with the depiction of the duckbill form and the newly attested composite bows.

Weapon-like objects and staffs are carried by individuals of high status, signifying their function as status markers. Well-attested is a staff with a slight curve at one end. First illustrated in Khnumhotep II’s tomb,115 the staff continues to be associated with elite Asiatics during Amenemhat III’s reign and probably the Thirteenth Dynasty. It is similarly

112 See, respectively, Chapter 4.4.4.3 and 4.4.1.4.
113 See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
114 See Chapter 4.4.1.1.
115 See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT

depicted on a dagger’s donkey-ride at Byblos.\textsuperscript{116} Another marker of status is an axe. It is represented between the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III.

Asiatics are shown bringing other foreign goods. Those in Khnumhotep II’s tomb lead animals (donkeys, a Nubian ibex and a gazelle) and carry such objects as a musical instrument, possible water-skins and two unidentifiable items.\textsuperscript{117} Handled vessels are represented in the tomb of Wekhhotep (C1) as well as Inscription Nr 112 at Serabit el-Khadim.\textsuperscript{118}

\textit{Unique stances and/or activities}

While Asiatics are shown in numerous instances partaking in typical Egyptian activities,\textsuperscript{119} some illustrations represent them in uncommon stances. Between the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret, two women are depicted with an infant wrapped at the back. As mentioned in Chapter 4.3.6.1, this position is rarely utilised for Egyptians before the New Kingdom but several examples attribute it to foreigners. Other Twelfth Dynasty illustrations have Asiatic men shown as warriors freely carrying their weapons in battle scenes and processions. However, some depictions picture them as bound or subjugated prisoners in determinatives for Levantine peoples, a procession of captives, and smiting scenes. Despite the association of Asiatic men with war and the warrior class, the procession in Khnumhotep II’s tomb and the inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadim uniquely portray elite and armed Asiatics in non-bellicose situations, either presented before a nobleman of the Oryx-nome or as expedition members.\textsuperscript{120}

Thirteenth Dynasty to Second Intermediate Period attestations are few in number. Tell el-Dab’a’s cylinder seal is the first portrayal to associate a smiting figure with Levantine elements possibly related to the Baal myth.\textsuperscript{121} While this presents a Levantine-influenced figure in a cosmic context, the ivory sphinx from Abydos depicts a human-headed sphinx with mixed Egyptian-Asiatic elements holding a non-Asiatic figure between its paws.\textsuperscript{122} Apparently, representations were continually developing to adapt to the changing status and position of individuals of Asiatic descent.

\textsuperscript{116} See Chapter 6.3.3.2 and Figure 6.20.
\textsuperscript{117} See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
\textsuperscript{118} See, respectively, Chapters 4.4.4.3 and 5.2.4.1.
\textsuperscript{119} See Chapter 4.5.1.1 and Table 14 for the depictions of Asiatics in the Abydos stelae.
\textsuperscript{120} See Chapters 4.4.1.3 and 5.2.4.1.
\textsuperscript{121} See Chapter 4.2.2.3.
\textsuperscript{122} See Chapter 4.5.1.2.
7.4.2 Artistic Differentiation of Asiatics and Mixed Egyptian-Asiatics

Asiatics were portrayed in two key ways: (1) as individuals from the Levant; and (2) as individuals of mixed Egyptian-Asiatic heritage. The thesis has argued that artists first attempted to distinguish the two groups at Beni Hassan. The depictions of individuals of mixed ancestry first occur in Amenemhat I’s tomb during Senwosret I’s reign, when the artist(s) were probably faced with the dilemma of distinguishing Asiatic warriors from Asiatics residing in the region.\textsuperscript{123} Neither of the two were correlated with ethnonyms such as ‘\textit{\textit{3m}}. Therefore, the apparent artistic solution was to portray Asiatics living in Egypt with Egyptian dress, hairstyles, and facial features, but a lighter, yellow, skin colour.

This artistic innovation of the ‘fair-skinned men’ continued to be utilised in Senwosret II’s reign in Khnumhotep II’s tomb.\textsuperscript{124} The warriors were no longer portrayed but a procession of Asiatics referred to individuals from a foreign land both textually and artistically. The ‘fair-skinned men’ were supplied with Egyptian names, titles, dress, hairstyles and facial features. A small red outline of a larger hooked nose on one of the men can be identified, indicating a possible artist’s error in utilising the features of the procession’s Asiatics with those living in Egypt. Perhaps, the inclusion of such features would have made the latter appear too foreign and so a more subtle but distinct lighter skin colour was favoured.

Another artistic dilemma was possibly met by the artists of Wekhhotep’s tomb (C1) during Senwosret III’s reign.\textsuperscript{125} Women of likely mixed Egyptian-Asiatic ancestry were to be depicted as offering bearers. As women in Egyptian art typically have a light yellow skin colour, the favoured solution of the Beni Hassan artists would not have sufficed. As such, other features, namely the women’s hairstyles and goods, were amended to express the mixed identity.

Evidence dating from Amenemhat III to the Thirteenth Dynasty indicates that a more standardised method of depicting foreigners arose. Individuals from the Levant were still shown with foreign features but those of mixed ancestry were mostly textually identified with the term ‘\textit{\textit{3m}}, particularly in funerary stelae. A few cases still employed hybridised Egyptian-Asiatic elements, but all date to Dynasty 13. They include graffiti possibly drawn by Asiatics themselves and representations associated with the elite. As argued in Chapter 4.7, the evident use of mixed Egyptian-Asiatic features in art may correspond to a growing Asiatic community’s influences on the elite as well as a certain ‘freedom of expressing’ the Asiatic ethnicity.

\begin{enumerate}
\item See Chapter 4.4.1.2.
\item See Chapter 4.4.1.3.
\item See Chapter 4.4.4.3.
\end{enumerate}
CHAPTER 7: REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT

7.5 CONCLUSIONS

The overview of textual and artistic representations relating to Asiatics has revealed significant developments in the Egyptians’ treatment of foreigners from the early Middle Kingdom to the early Fifteenth Dynasty. The Asiatic population was represented as individuals of Asiatic descent and individuals from the Levant. Asiatics from abroad were portrayed in both bellicose and peaceful representations. Royal ideological principles at first dominated the foreigners’ portrayals in the examined Categories 1-3 while those in Categories 5-7 bear traces of these ideological influences. The cosmic and royal subjugation of the other gradually diminished in representations until Dynasty 13, when no attestations are found to negatively portray Asiatics.

Levantines are shown to enter Egypt by land and sea as war captives, travellers on and from diplomatic expeditions (particularly the elite), and allied warriors. The Northern Levant also appears to be most frequently referenced. Within Egypt, Asiatics intermingled with the local population, adopting Egyptian names, titles, dress and religious customs. They were treated as effective and significant members of the Egyptian community and were employed in a range of state, palatial, religious, and local government positions. From the mid-Twelfth to the Thirteenth Dynasties, they held high ranks in the capital’s vizierate, treasury, military and temple precincts. One also became a nobleman in the Delta. Their growing number and power at first saw Egyptian artists experimenting with ways to portray them in artistic and textual sources. Then, between the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III, the term ‘Im became favoured. The use of this term was not a derogative delineator but simply a marker of their ethnicity. During Dynasty 13, hybridised elements bearing Asiatic features were mostly associated with elite Asiatics or items displaying royal or religious significance. This ‘freedom to express’ Asiatic customs thus became more prominent, signifying the growing power and influences of the Asiatic elite and the Levantine community on the Egyptians. It also signifies that their ethnic identity had become more prominent, perhaps in response to shifting socio-political situations.\footnote{See Chapter 3.2 and 3.4 for this observed feature in the expression of ethnicity.}

Interestingly, few representations specifically date to Dynasties 14-15. In consideration of the available evidence, there are several attestations that are generally classified to be of Second Intermediate Period date, at least some of which could have been created during the Hyksos period. Furthermore, several contextual categories have not been found in the
archaeological record and were possibly not even produced during the Hyksos period. These include Categories 1-3 and 7 relating to portrayals in royally-instigated Pharaonic inscriptions, funerary complexes, temple and religious texts, and literary pieces. Many of these items are also preserved on papyri which, considering the wet environment of the Delta, may not have been favourable for preservation. The categories of evidence are, however, supplanted by the archaeological evidence which notes elite trade, elite Levantine burials, and temples with Levantine features.

Therefore, results emphasise the growing Egyptian acceptance of Levantines who gradually rose in power and political authority, especially in the Delta. This rise influenced the ideology of the distant and dangerous other as indicated by the late Twelfth Dynasty’s employment of less bellicose illustrations. The Egyptian view of the ethnic other was evidently not a stagnant and racially motivated concept, but a flexible one swayed by changing socio-political circumstances.127 The Asiatic community was acknowledged by Egyptian royalty, the Egyptian elite and the general Egyptian community as a flourishing and noteworthy component of Egyptian society and politics. This Egyptian acceptance consequently led to Levantine influences on Egyptian life and, eventually, Egyptian politics. As such, it was not only the number and power of Asiaties in Egypt that may have supported the Fifteenth Dynasty takeover. The Egyptians’ acceptance of Asiaties could have also been an essential ingredient in the Hyksos rulers’ final claim to sovereignty.

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127 As also observed in Saretta, *Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites.*
8.1 INTRODUCTION

This thesis set out to explore how Egyptian-Levantine connections during the Middle Kingdom and the early Second Intermediate Period influenced and affected the rise of Dynasty 15. Three main aims were presented: (1) investigate how the Hyksos were able to form an independent state by assessing Egyptian-Levantine relations; (2) explore the origins of the Fifteenth Dynasty; and (3) reanalyse Egyptian-Levantine relations, particularly the status and role of Levantines and their representation.\(^2\)

The first section navigated scholarly opinion on the origins and accession of the Hyksos, perusing Egyptian and modern understandings of the concept of ethnicity and the Levantine other. The second section analysed the evidence holistically, tracing: Asiatics across four major regions in Egypt (Chapter 4); intercultural contact in the periphery Eastern Desert (Chapter 5); and contact with the Egyptian culture in the Southern and Northern Levant (Chapter 6). Findings on the nature and development of Egyptian-Levantine relations, or Aim 3, were provided in each chapter’s conclusions, noting major shifts and occurrences concerned with the origins and rise of the Hyksos (Aims 1 and 2). Aim 3 was further addressed in the third section’s Chapter 7, which offered observations on representations of Asiatics and the Levant, and the changing Egyptian view of the Levantine other.

This chapter provides the thesis’s overall findings in direct reference to Aims 1 and 2. It includes a reappraisal of the rise of the Hyksos, as well as comments on ethnic markers delineating the dynasty’s origins. This is followed by final remarks on the limitations encountered in this research as well as possible areas for further study.

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1. As translated in Waddell, Manetho, 78-79.
2. See Chapter 1.3.
8.2 Origins and Rise of the Hyksos

8.2.1 Rise of the Fifteenth Dynasty

A main objective of this thesis was to investigate how the Hyksos were able to establish their Fifteenth Dynasty. Three models were identified in the literature: (1) invasion; (2) gradual infiltration and peaceful takeover; and (3) gradual infiltration and violent takeover.3

Chapter 4 concluded that there is little concrete, contextual and contemporary evidence for the invasion model. There is no sudden or radical change in the material culture of the eastern Delta or the Memphite capital. The development in ceramic typology as well as scarab and seal use reflect the outcome of socio-political developments including growing regionalisation, as well as continuous and consistent cultural interactions, specifically in Tell el-Dab’a where hybridised and creole qualities emerge. The establishment of settlements in the eastern Delta were explained as new initiatives of an emerging dynasty solidifying its control, whereas the expansion of Tell el-Dab’a was clarified as an indication of the site’s prosperity and appeal for individuals from across the borders and across Egypt. Further, there is no evidence for an Egyptian antagonism against a foreign Levantine force that dates specifically to the early Fifteenth Dynasty, and neither is there support for a Levantine antagonism against the Egyptian culture.4

The evidence instead favours a gradual infiltration. The Twelfth Dynasty was secured following the help of Levantine warriors, which created a hub of intercultural contact in Middle Egypt that later led to diplomatic relations between the Egyptian and Levantine elite. Trade mainly flowed with the Northern Levant, where the site of Byblos evinces the most evidence for Egyptian influence.5 Relations intensified during the second half of Dynasty 12 from which comes the last recorded military skirmishes and the last bellicose representations of Asiatics6. The data emphasises the increasing number of Asiatics and acculturated Egyptian-Asiatics from a range of professions across Egypt. It additionally highlights the development of diplomatic contact with rulers of the Levant, which became frequently represented as a source for commodities and trade. The Levantine elite were even involved in an expeditionary venture with the Egyptians in the Eastern Desert that

3 See Chapters 1.3 and 2.2.
4 See Chapter 7, especially 7.5.
5 See Chapter 6.3.3 and 6.4.1.
6 See Chapters 4.7.2 and 6.4.2.
spanned over 20 years. The demand for and persistence of such relations possibly resulted in Tell el-Dab’a’s rising importance as a commercial hub, its elite gradually acquiring power and wealth while its material culture showed greatest affinities with Northern Levantine elements. These affinities correspond with the evidence from the Levant, particularly sites along trade routes, with Byblos again displaying the greatest Egyptian influences.

The Thirteenth Dynasty is marked by further shifts. Two main events, both during the first half of the dynasty, suggest the Memphite rulers’ loss of control over the Delta’s elite. The second event resulted in major developments at Tell el-Dab’a that signal a demonstrable freedom of expressing ethnicity and status, which may be associated with an emerging dynasty’s legitimisation of power and independence. Again, this elite class betrayed mostly Northern Levantine cultural elements. The acculturated and newly migrated Asiatics also display a freedom of expressing ethnic identity, and appear in various roles and administrative positions pointing to their continued presence across Egypt. Apparently, the developments in the north did not affect commercial relations with the Levant, as trade with the Northern Levant continued while links with the Southern Levant formed. Direct contact with Egypt can possibly be identified at Northern Levantine sites while the elite of Levantine coastal cities controlled maritime commerce with Egypt.

The growing wealth and independence of the elite at Tell el-Dab’a eventuated into an independent Fifteenth Dynasty represented by Tell el-Dab’a’s established stability. This stability likely appealed to immigrants searching for security and vocational opportunities from the Levant as well as Egypt. The population increased, its settlement expanded, and new local industries and places of worship were set up, all expressing cultural elements of diverse Egyptian, Southern and Northern Levantine origin. Initiatives were likely officiated to manage local and regional trade, assuring the dynasty’s ‘port power’, commercial links, prosperity and independence. Such initiatives probably encountered some conflict, but the rise of the dynasty was, overall, peaceful. Finds from administrative complexes at Tell el-Dab’a and Edfu attest to Hyksos trade with Memphis/Fayum, the Egyptian Oases, Nubia, Mesopotamia, Cyprus and the Levant. Sporadic finds across Egypt and the Eastern Desert also support the spread of Levantine(-influenced) goods, although their numbers are more

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7 See Chapter 5.2.4 and 5.4.1.
8 See Chapter 4.2.2 and 4.7.2.
9 See Chapter 6.4.2.
10 See Chapter 4.2.2.10 and 4.7.3.
11 See Chapter 6.4.3.
12 See Chapter 4.2.2.10 and 4.7.4.
13 See Chapter 4.2.2.10, 4.5.4 and 4.7.4.
CHAPTER 8: RULERS OF FOREIGN LANDS

indicative of trade with Dynasty 15 rather than political dominance.\textsuperscript{14} Southern and
Northern Levantine sites similarly had access to Egyptian products but at a reduced scale,\textsuperscript{15}
perhaps relating to Dynasty 15’s independence, its consequent limited access to high-
quality Egyptian exports, and/or its initiatives to secure internal stability and sovereignty.

8.2.2 Ethnicity and Ethnic Markers

One of the objectives of this thesis was to explore the origins of the Fifteenth Dynasty.
Utilising a minimalist approach to ethnicity,\textsuperscript{16} evidence that could possibly delineate ethnic
identity were gathered and examined along with observations on which were markers of
trade or cultural influence, and which justifiably expressed the presence of Asiatics and/or
the Hyksos. In reference to the Hyksos and their people, the following ethnic markers are
represented by the evidence:

A common name

Two terms are connected to the Hyksos: the ethnonym ιγι and the title ḫk3 ḫl3s.wt.\textsuperscript{17} This
thesis ascertained that the ethnonym was in use throughout the examined period. It
initially represented Asiatics from beyond the borders of Egypt and, from the second half of
the Twelfth Dynasty, identified those of Levantine ancestry. Either newly migrated or of
mixed Egyptian-Levantine heritage, they originated from various regions in the Levant.
Evidently, and as previous scholars have argued, ιγι was employed to refer to the
Levantine ethnicity of the Fifteenth Dynasty’s rulers and people.\textsuperscript{18} Based on the ethnonym
alone, the Hyksos and their people could accordingly be from a range of Levantine regions
and/or Egyptian-Levantines.

One of the unique features of Dynasty 15 is its rulers’ use of the title ḫk3 ḫl3s.wt. This thesis
observed that the title was apparently connected to high ranking rulers acting as
representatives of allied peoples for political and diplomatic pursuits.\textsuperscript{19} As seen in Chapter 4,
the Hyksos were particularly interested in opening new avenues of trade, securing strategic
posts in the eastern Delta that could give access to land-based and sea-based trade routes.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{14} See Chapters 4.7.4 and 5.4.2.
\textsuperscript{15} See Chapter 6.4.4.
\textsuperscript{16} See Chapter 3.2.
\textsuperscript{17} See Chapter 7.3.1 and 7.3.4.
\textsuperscript{18} See Chapter 2.2 for a discussion of previous scholarly opinion.
\textsuperscript{19} See Chapter 7.3.4.
\textsuperscript{20} See Chapter 4.7.4.
The title’s association with diplomacy could advantageously demonstrate the duties of the Hyksos as the leading representatives of a wide integrated trading network.

*Common cultural elements*

Chapter 4 argued that the early Fifteenth Dynasty’s general populace at Tell el-Dab’a were of mixed origins. They expressed Egyptian, Southern Levantine and Northern Levantine cultural elements, eventually forming architectural, funerary and ceramic features that combined the Levantine with the Egyptian (hybrid qualities) and created new and distinctive components (creole qualities). The unique cultural interaction at Tell el-Dab’a from the late Twelfth to the Fifteenth Dynasties indicates that any attempt to pinpoint one ethnic origin for Dynasty 15’s general populace would be ineffective as its cultural elements are of numerous derivation, largely influenced and inspired by the immediate eastern Deltaic and Egyptian environment. Levantines across Egypt, and from the very beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, experienced all three processes of cultural interaction described in Chapter 3.5. They were hybridised in textual and artistic representations, acculturated in the adoption of Egyptian elements, and perhaps creolised due to their reciprocal socio-political and cultural interactions in the lead-up to Hyksos rule.

The evidence for the early Fifteenth Dynasty elite of Tell el-Dab’a and thus the Hyksos expresses more affinities to Northern Levantine customs. The elite employed Northern Levantine architectural and funerary symbols of power, as well as cultic and religious customs, maintaining continued commercial links with the Northern Levant. The creole and hybrid character of their populace influenced their own employment of Egyptian traditions in funerary, administrative, occupational and cultic contexts. The Northern Levantine rulers similarly utilised Egyptian expressions of authority, with Sidon and Byblos presenting the only cases for the Levantine use of the Egyptian script. The two sites and others in their region, such as Tell el-Burak and Tell el-Fad’ous, also offer further elements of significance that are shared with Tell el-Dab’a’s elite: the creation of hybrid artistic and ceramic forms; the appropriation of Egyptian titulary that best reflects an official’s duty; and the utilisation of the epithet ‘beloved of Seth’, which may denote a shared reverence to the deity and/or his Levantine equivalent. These, combined with the other observed links in the material culture with the Northern Levant from the Middle Kingdom through to the Fifteenth

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21 See Chapter 4.2.2 and 4.7.
22 See Chapter 6.3.3, 6.3.7.6 and 6.4.
23 See Chapters 4.2.2.10, 6.3.2-6.3.3, 6.3.5, 6.3.7 and 7.4.2. For the epithet, see Chapters 4.2.8, 6.3.3.3 and 6.3.7.6.
Dynasty, suggest that the early Fifteenth Dynasty elite of Tell el-Dab’a had close political and commercial ties with Northern Levantine rulers. Whether or not this is associated with an ethnic group from the Northern Levant remains inconclusive. Nevertheless, this thesis demonstrated that previous scholarly argument for a sole Southern Levantine ethnicity for the Hyksos and their people cannot be supported by the evidence.24

A link with a Levantine land

The thesis noted that the land with the most possible connections with the Hyksos is RTnw.25 From the second half of Dynasty 12, the toponym was utilised in texts noting close diplomatic ties between its rulers, the Egyptian elite and Tell el-Dab’a. Such ties evidently led to at least one RTnw royal frequenting Egypt for over 20 years.26 In view of the supported gradual infiltration of the Hyksos, perhaps these RTnw elite resided in Tell el-Dab’a from Dynasty 12, maintaining relations with its officials until early Dynasty 15. Theoretically, it is therefore feasible to deduce that the early Hyksos, as the later Apophis, were of elite ancestry from RTnw, a toponym that was here cautiously linked with the Northern Levant and the northern region of the Southern Levant.

The three markers of a common name, common cultural elements, and a link with a Levantine land all infer the same observations regarding Dynasty 15’s origins: the Hyksos elite had close relations with the Northern Levant, possibly stemming from the area; and the general population were of more varied Northern Levantine, Southern Levantine and Egyptian ancestry.

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24 For the scholars’ arguments, see Chapter 2.2.
25 See Chapter 7.3.2 and Table 36.
26 See Chapter 5.2.4 and 5.4.1.
8.3 **A Final Glance**

8.3.1 **An Overview of the Research**

This thesis has argued that the rise of the Hyksos was due to a gradual infiltration of Northern and Southern Levantines across the Middle Kingdom and the early Second Intermediate Period. The Levantines entered Egypt as captives, warriors, expedition members and individuals searching for vocational, diplomatic and commercial opportunities. Escalating trade with the Levant for prized and prestigious commodities developed a lucrative and strategically positioned hub of cultural activity at Tell el-Dab’a, the officials of which became more powerful and affluent as significant ties with the Northern Levant were maintained. Following internal conflict in the Delta, perhaps related to this increasing power and/or other political shifts in Dynasty 13, this Northern-Levantine-influenced elite gradually began to secede from Thirteenth Dynasty rule, first securing the site’s internal security and affluence, and then assuring regional stability and control, with initiatives focussed on securing provisions and maintaining commerce. On the whole, the examined evidence suggests that the Hyksos dynasty was a result of the Egyptian rulers’ own persistent relations with the Levant from the very beginning of Dynasty 12 to the Second Intermediate Period.

8.3.2 **Research Limitations and Prospective Areas of Research**

Three research limitations were encountered: (1) the lack of complete and recent publications of excavations; (2) the lack of recent archaeological research in the Delta, southern Israel, and significant areas of modern Lebanon; and (3) the ambiguities in the chronology of individual sites, regions and periods. Further archaeological research would add to this thesis’s findings, especially in illuminating the vague Fourteenth Dynasty and its relations to the Hyksos. While necessary for the scope of this thesis, the selection of contextual and provenanced evidence could be enhanced by an examination of other unprovenanced or non-contemporaneous material, such as scarabs or late Fifteenth Dynasty texts. An analysis of Hyksos policies and alliances during the second half of Dynasty 15, and the supposed expulsion of the Hyksos could also provide insight into the origins of the dynasty and its links to Levantine targets of Seventeenth to early Eighteenth Dynasty incursions. Another area of prospective research is the role of Nubia and its relations with Dynasty 15, and whether the rare Middle Kingdom ascription of the title ḫḥs nḥḥs ḫḥs wt to its rulers agrees with observations for Levantine ‘rulers of foreign lands’.
8.3.3 A new light on Manetho

Overall, the observations and findings of this thesis show the usefulness of a holistic approach to the archaeological, textual and artistic evidence. The methods proved to be well-suited in determining Egyptian-Levantine relations and their influence and effect on the rise of the Fifteenth Dynasty, offering significant insight into Hyksos origins, Levantine presence in Egypt and the status and role of foreigners from the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period. Results on the Egyptian artistic and textual portrayal of the foreign additionally supported that Egyptian views on ethnicity were not stagnant but flexible. Tracing these views and their variant topos and mimetic portrayals revealed that they can shed much light on shifting socio-political dynamics.

This thesis’s conclusions also denote that, when read anew, sources such as Manetho’s history can be interpreted from a different perspective. Therefore, ‘from the regions of the east’, an elite group of Northern Levantines entered Tell el-Dab’a and Egypt as allies and diplomats, forming vocational and commercial opportunities with the Egyptians. After some internal socio-political conflicts, the elite ‘seized’ independence from their city, Tell el-Dab’a. They assumed the title $hk\forall\ h\text{i}s.wt$, and established and secured their Fifteenth Dynasty by developing its commercial ties while promoting a hub of cross-cultural contact. ‘Without striking a blow’, these Hyksos rose to power, creating a unique dynasty that later beleaguered the Egyptians and continued to fascinate ancient and modern historians alike.
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434


APPENDIX A: AMBIGUOUS DATA FROM THE LEVANT

A.1 ‘Ajjul, Tell el- (See Chapter 6.2.1)

The incomplete and unclear publications of finds excavated at Tell el-‘Ajjul have led to a range of proposed dates for the site’s stratigraphy (Table 24). Petrie originally proposed that Stratum I and Palace V are correlated with the Eighteenth Dynasty, Stratum II, Palace III and Palace IV are to the Fifteenth Dynasty, and Stratum III and Palace II are to the Twelfth Dynasty.¹ Albright’s re-analysis ascribes Palace I and Stratum III to the MBIIIC, and Strata II-I to the LBI period.² Another proposition assigns Palace I and Stratum III to the MBIIIB (the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Dynasties), Palace II and Stratum II to the MBIIIB and MBIIIC period (the Fifteenth Dynasty) and Palace III and Stratum I to the LBA (Eighteenth Dynasty).³ The imprecise nature of the published material cannot allow for an exact dating of the deposition of all finds per stratum. The issue is further discombobulated with the lack of secure and datable find-spots for the recovered Egyptian(-influenced) items. In consequence, the material has been subjected to different interpretations regarding the site’s relations with Egypt and, more specifically, the Hyksos. The following are some finds from Strata III and II that have been utilised by scholars as evidence for Hyksos relations with Tell el-‘Ajjul.

Statuettes

Three Egyptian statuettes were retrieved. The first and second statuettes are both uninscribed fragments.⁴ One is noted to be from Building EW, its level uncertain,⁵ while the context of the second is unknown.⁶ The third statuette was recorded among the contents of Burial 21 in a grain pit of the Lower City’s House AN.⁷ The block statuette is carved in a common Middle Kingdom style dating after the mid-Twelfth Dynasty with head, hands and feet protruding from a tight-fitting cloak enclosing the seated body.⁸ An inscription at the front of the statue has been transcribed as i̅m-h(y) [h]r Pth-

¹ Petrie, Gaza 1-4.
² Albright, AJSL 55/4 (1938), 337-359; Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 205-206.
³ Sparks, Stone Vessels in the Levant, 147; Tufnell, Scarabs, 7-23.
⁴ Petrie, Gaza 3, 8, pls 16 [49], 17; vol. 4, 12, pl. 40 [107].
⁵ Petrie, Gaza 4, 12, pl. 40 [107].
⁶ Petrie, Gaza 3, 8, pls 16 [49], 17.
⁷ Petrie, Gaza 1, 5, 8, pls 21 [99], 22; Weinstein, BASOR 213 (1974), 54-55.
APPENDIX A

*Skrt* ḫnt.yw-k3 ‘the honoured before Pht-Sokar, the overseer of a phyle,’

Kenthewka’. The Lower City is correlated with Stratum III which, following Petrie, is of the Twelfth Dynasty. Tufnell, however, dates the stratum to the MBIIB period (between the late Thirteenth and early Fifteenth Dynasty) whereas Albright suggests an MBIIB-C or MBIIC date (late Fifteenth Dynasty). Whether Tell el-‘Ajul was visited by Khentewka or the latter’s statuette was acquired from an Egyptian context and secondarily deposited at Tell el-‘Ajul cannot be ascertained. While questions regarding its stratum’s date restrict its use as evidence for Egyptian-Levantine relations, the statue’s significance is reflected by its funerary context. Interred in an apparent Levantine burial, it represents the locals’ knowledge and appreciation of Egyptian culture.

**Vessels**

Tell el-‘Ajul produced 290 MBA and LBA stone vessels, the largest number recorded at any Southern Levantine site, with around 80% originating in Egypt. The vessels ascribe to a variety of forms including plates, carinated bowls, zoomorphic bowls, drop-shaped alabastra, conical alabastra, dipper juglets, small piriform jars, pilgrim flasks, footed jars and cylindrical juglets.

Stratum III produced at least 36 calcite-alabaster vessels, over 70% of which were uncovered in tombs. Small serpentine and haematite piriform jars were also found in both settlement and funerary contexts, providing rare instances of Egyptian cosmetic vessels in the Levant.

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9 Ward, *Index*, 43 [328].
10 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 273 [12-13]. As the statuette’s hieroglyphs are unclear in the publication’s photograph, the transcription here follows Ward’s proposition that the second last bird is the ḫw-falcon rather than the ḫry-w-falcon, translating the text as *im.y-r3 s3 hnt.yw-k3*. In this case, both the title and name can be found in other Middle Kingdom examples. The text has otherwise been read as *im.y-r3 s3 hnt.y H.yw-k3* ‘the overseer of the phyle at the fore, Horuka’, the title and name both unattested. See Ward, *Index*, 43 [328].
11 Petrie, *Gaza* 1, 3.
13 Albright, *AJSL* 55/4 (1938), 342, 348-351.
14 The majority of vessels are made of imported Egyptian calcite-alabaster. Other materials include basalt, limestone or marble, serpentine and gypsum-alabaster. Sparks, *Stone Vessels in the Levant*, 206, fig. 70.
16 Petrie, *Gaza* 1, pls 24 [2], 25 [9, 11-12, 14, 25, 27, 38-39, 66]; vol. 3, pl. 26 [21-22]; vol. 4, pls 22 [242-244], 23-24, 38 [5, 22, 29, 35, 46], 39 [53, 58, 60-61, 66]; Petrie, *City of Shepherd Kings*, pls 19 [1], 4-5, 24-25, 30, 32, 34, 38], 20 [43]; Sparks, *Stone Vessels in the Levant*, 287 [89-91], 289 [125], 290 [133], 293 [169-174], 296 [211], 299 [243-247], 300 [264-266], 301 [273, 276-278], 302 [281, 288], 303 [296], 312 [393, 401-402], 314 [417-419], 315 [431-433], 329 [606], 337 [720].
17 Sparks, *Stone Vessels in the Levant*, 207.
Other rare Egyptian imports are a fish-shaped jar from a pit pre-dating Stratum II\(^8\) and a fragmentary handle formed as an Egyptian figure and a cobra (Area E, Level 760).\(^9\) Kopetzky additionally identifies Marl zir rims in Wall MT and Room OH, although these have been attributed to early Eighteenth Dynasty forms.\(^20\)

Around 40 calcite-alabaster vessels were unearthed in Stratum II contexts, 38% of which were found in tombs.\(^21\) A rare serpentine bowl with duck-and-cobra-shaped handles was also discovered (Area H, Level 771).\(^22\) A few vessels are of shapes belonging to the New Kingdom, indicating that some Stratum II contexts continued into the LBI period.

**Scarabs and seal impressions**

Tell el-‘Ajjul yielded the largest corpus of scarabs and seal impressions from the Southern Levant. Due to the sheer number, their complete analysis is beyond this study.\(^23\) Thus only some comments are hereto offered.

Royal-name seals and impressions referring to rulers of the Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasties occur in the settlement and its tombs. Although many are of uncertain contexts,\(^24\) some have been assigned to the settlement’s stratigraphic levels (Table 24). Stratum III yielded scarabs of Noferhotep I,\(^25\) a Sehotepibra,\(^26\) Sheshi,\(^27\) \(\text{\textit{mw}}\)\(^28\) and Sekhaenra.\(^29\) Stratum II

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\(^8\) Petrie, _City of Shepherd Kings_, pl. 20 [43]; Sparks, _Stone Vessels in the Levant_, 207, 329 [606].

\(^9\) Petrie, _Gaza_ 4, pl. 23; Sparks, _Stone Vessels in the Levant_, 207, 337 [720].

\(^20\) Kopetzky, in _Bronze Age in the Lebanon_, 226.

\(^21\) The number includes a calcite-alabaster vessel uncovered in Tomb 1416 of the Courtyard Cemetery corresponding to Stratum II. The tomb is assigned to Tufnell’s Group 6 which is given a MBIC or LBI date. Petrie, _Gaza_ 1, pl. 25 [2, 8, 16-17, 24, 36-37]; vol. 2, pls 22 [7, 22, 26-28], 23 [32, 45]; vol. 4, pls 11 [108], 22 [246-247], 28 [28, 31], 38 [1, 7, 14, 18, 37], 39 [51, 55, 59, 72], 41 [122]; Petrie, _City of Shepherd Kings_, pl. 19 [3, 7, 12, 17, 21, 26]; Sparks, _Stone Vessels in the Levant_, 281 [19], 282 [29], 283 [40], 287 [93-95], 289-290 [126-127], 293-294 [175-177], 296 [203, 212-213], 297 [214-215], 299 [249], 301 [272], 302 [289], 303 [290, 298], 304 [305], 308 [352], 309 [358, 369], 312 [394], 314 [420], 317-318 [467-468, 482], 319 [487-488], 321 [521], 323 [537-540], 332 [657-658], 336 [710].

\(^22\) Sparks, _Stone Vessels in the Levant_, 207, 283 [40]; Petrie, _Gaza_ 4, pl. 22 [247].

\(^23\) For more on the site’s scarabs and seal impressions, see O. Keel, _Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel_, OBO 10 (Freiburg, 1995), 106-525; Tufnell, _Scarabs_, 92-106; Richards, _Anra Scarabs_, 130-131; D. Ben-Tor, _Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections_, passim.

\(^24\) These include scarabs bearing the names of Senwosret I and II, Amenemhat III, Noferhotep I, Sheshi, Sekhaenra, \(\text{\textit{mw}}\), Aahotepra, Apophis and a cylinder seal of Amenemhat III. Petrie, _Gaza_ 1, pl. 14 [123, 143-145, 148]; vol. 2, pls 7 [77], 8 [123, 145], vol. 3 [37]; vol. 4, pls 5 [3, 17, 61], 7 [231, 268], 9 [352], 11 [465]; Mackay and Murray, _Gaza_ 5, pl. 9 [1]; Petrie, _City of Shepherd Kings_, pl. 9 [1-9].

\(^25\) Petrie, _Gaza_ 3, pl. 3 [16].

\(^26\) Petrie, _Gaza_ 4, pl. 5 [124].

\(^27\) Petrie, _Gaza_ 3, pl. 3 [9]; vol. 4, pls 8-9 [274].

\(^28\) Petrie, _Gaza_ 1, pl. 14 [144]; vol. 3 [106]; vol. 4, pl. 5 [26].

\(^29\) Petrie, _Gaza_ 2, pl. 3 [92].
produced a scarab of Sheshi\textsuperscript{30} and Apophis\textsuperscript{31} as well as a bead with the name of Amenemhat III from grain pit AT.\textsuperscript{32}

Private-name scarabs are additionally attested, yet the majority are from unrecorded contexts.\textsuperscript{33} One scarab is listed for Room DN, Stratum III, and is inscribed with \textsuperscript{34} Mery-Ptah-Bastet'.\textsuperscript{35} Three scarabs are from Stratum II: the first is from an unclear context and reads \textsuperscript{37} Nehsy,\textsuperscript{36} justified;\textsuperscript{38} and Room AC comprised the third with \textsuperscript{39} Senbi'.\textsuperscript{40} As the rooms' functions remain unknown, the scarabs' use cannot be determined. But, based on the titles associated with the treasury on the scarabs of Rooms AN and AC, a relation to imported commodities is conceivable.

The vast number of scarabs at Tell el-‘Ajjul has led to the supposition that the site was under the control of Dynasty 15.\textsuperscript{41} However, reliance on the scarabs alone does not allow for such an interpretation. Second Intermediate Period royal-and private-name scarabs surface in Stratum III with late Fifteenth Dynasty royal-name scarabs arising in Stratum II.

While it’s tempting to date the strata based on the scarabs, the site’s problematic chronology as well as the methods and publication of its early excavations restrict any

\textsuperscript{30} Petrie, Gaza 4, pl. 7 [215].
\textsuperscript{31} Petrie, Gaza 1, pl. 13 [2, 44].
\textsuperscript{32} Petrie, Gaza 1, pl. 13 [43].
\textsuperscript{33} See Petrie, Gaza 3, pl. 3 [16, 33]; vol. 4, 4, pls 5 [1, 12], 9 [310]; Mackay and Murray, Gaza 5, 7, pl. 9 [2]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 67 [811], 73-74 [915a], 75 [932], 83 [1064], 102 [1309], 127-128 [1665], pls 8 [7], 11 [10], 12 [23], 26 [12], 292 [23], 42b [6]; Ben-Tor, BASOR 294 (1994), 12-13.
\textsuperscript{34} Ward, Index, 67 [558].
\textsuperscript{35} Petrie, Gaza 1, 7, pl. 13 [67]. The name is unattested in Ranke, Personennamen. Its translation follows Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 52 [614], pl. 20 [39].
\textsuperscript{36} The name is unattested in Ranke, Personennamen. Petrie, Gaza 1, 7, pl. 13 [45]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 29 [306], pl. 27 [25].
\textsuperscript{37} Ward, Index, 159 [1371].
\textsuperscript{38} Ranke, Personennamen 1, 209 [4].
\textsuperscript{39} Petrie, Gaza 1, 7, pl. 13 [26]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 66 [799], pl. 11 [15].
\textsuperscript{40} Ward, Index, 171 [1476].
\textsuperscript{41} Ranke, Personennamen 1, 313 [23]; Petrie, Gaza 1, 7, pl. 13 [23]; Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 120 [1554], pl. 22 [8].
\textsuperscript{42} Kempinski, IEJ 24/3-4 (1997), 328; Weinstein, BASOR 241 (1981), 8.
correlation between the scarab evidence and the development of relations with Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period.

Comments

While Albright’s dating implies minimal contact during the period of the Hyksos’s rise to power, others who have assigned Strata III to II have contested significant contacts with the Hyksos. If their chronology is accepted, the rise of the Hyksos would coincide with Stratum III comprising Khentiwka’s statuette, at least 36 calcite-alabaster vessels and numerous scarabs, all evidence of significant and most likely direct contact with an Egyptian(-influenced) culture. This contact would then intensively continue throughout the Fifteenth Dynasty, reflecting close ties between the Hyksos and Tell el-‘Ajjul, ties which, as the above evidence shows, are seemingly related more with trade than political or cultural control. But, following Albright’s dating (Table 24), the material from Stratum III and II would reflect heightened contacts from the second half of the Fifteenth Dynasty, after the Hyksos had already established their reign. Nevertheless, the varying chronological propositions agree on one point: Tell el-‘Ajjul had some relations with the Fifteenth Dynasty. But, to connect the questionable evidence with a political hegemony extending from the Delta to Tell el-‘Ajjul is problematic. Renewed excavations by Fischer and Sadeq at the site have, thus far, not recovered conclusive evidence for close political alliances with the early Hyksos rulers. Thus, until such evidence is found, it is best to approach the data from Tell el-‘Ajjul with caution.

43 See, for instance, Oren, in Hyksos, 253-255.

44 D. Ben-Tor additionally emphasises that “the archaeological evidence at Tell el-‘Ajjul... reflect a typical, albeit affluent Canaanite town that differs considerably from the typical eastern Delta cultural sphere reflected in the material culture found in this region... It can therefore be concluded that the “Kingdom of Avaris”... did not extend into southern Palestine”. D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections, 193. A connection by trade rather than political hegemony is also suggested by Holladay, in Hyksos, 204-208; Richards, Anra Scarab, 161; Ben-Tor, in Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC, 39.
A.2 Gezer / Jazari, Tell (see Chapter 6.2.4)

Three Egyptian statuettes utilised as evidence for Egyptian-Levantine contact during the MBIIB-C period were uncovered at Gezer. These are:

- A kneeling figure for ‘the butler of the chamber, Heqaib’ from an ash-pit on the western side of the tell, which was assigned to Macalister’s ‘First Semitic Period’ corresponding to the EBA and the first half of the MBA.\(^{45}\) No other material from the find-spot has been published and so the date of its context cannot be verified;

- A fragment of a shabti apparently for the ‘citizen, Deduamun’ from the Central Valley, for which no photograph exists but its inscription was dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty.\(^{46}\) Macalister writes that the piece was found in “fifth stratum debris” or the ‘Third Semitic Period’ (Iron Age I-II);\(^{47}\)

- The base of a statuette incised with the name of Princess Sobeknofru, either Senwosret I’s or Amenemhat III’s daughter.\(^{48}\) The text offers a terminus post quem of Dynasty 12, but the context suggests a later date of deposition. The statuette was found in Locus 5062.1 of Field VI, Area NE5, as one of several stones used for the west face of LBII Wall 5061, its associated pottery being of the MBII to LBII period.\(^{49}\) Excavators have preliminarily classified the locus to Stratum 6 of Field VI, or the LBII-B period.\(^{50}\)

The uncertain contexts and secondary use of the statuettes denote that none of the three artefacts can be listed as definite imports of the Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasties. While some have remarked that there are no reasons why the statuettes cannot be used as evidence for Middle Kingdom contacts,\(^{51}\) the ambiguities regarding the statues’ deposition and date are significant rationales against forming any conclusive remarks regarding Middle Kingdom contacts at Gezer. It is only possible to note that the statuettes are of Twelfth to, perhaps, Thirteenth Dynasty origin and, possibly between the MBA and LBII periods, reached Gezer.

\(^{45}\) Macalister, *Gezer* 2, 311-312, fig. 450.
\(^{46}\) Macalister, *Gezer* 2, 312-313.
\(^{50}\) Weinstein, *BASOR* 213 (1974), 51.
A.3 **MEGIDDO / MUTASALLIM, TELL EL- (SEE CHAPTER 6.2.7)**

Four fragments of Twelfth Dynasty statuettes were found in secondary contexts. One was uninscribed and among rubble supporting the pavement outside LBA Temple 2048, and three were incorporated within Temple 2048’s platform wall. Of the latter, two were uninscribed busts while the third preserved the lower half of a seated figure with a hieroglyphic inscription naming a ‘great overlord of the [Hare nome]’, Djehutyhotep, son of Kay and S[...]. The official’s name, titles, and lineage all equate with those of Djehutyhotep, ‘treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt’, whose tomb is located at Deir el-Bersha. Dating to the reign of Senwosret III, some have identified Djehutyhotep as a resident of Megiddo, leading to the notion that the site was under Egyptian control during the Twelfth Dynasty. A caption in Djehutyhotep’s tomb supposedly reading RTnw provided further advocacy for this theory. However, as the toponym’s presence has been refuted in this work, no other direct evidence exists to support the possibility of Djehutyhotep’s presence at Megiddo. Further, the statuette is from a context assigned to Stratum VII or the LBA, and so it remains uncertain when and how the object reached the site. As such, none of the statuettes from Megiddo can be used as concrete evidence for relations with Egypt during the Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasties.

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52 Loud, *Megiddo* 2, pl. 267 [6]; J. A. Wilson, ‘The Egyptian Middle Kingdom at Megiddo’, *AJSL* 58/3 (1941), 226.
53 Loud notes that the temple’s foundations are no earlier than Stratum VIII (LBA). Loud, *Megiddo* 2, pls 265-266; Wilson, *AJSL* 58/3 (1941), 226.
54 Loud, *Megiddo* 2, pl. 266 [2-3].
55 Loud, *Megiddo* 2, pl. 265; Wilson, *AJSL* 58/3 (1941), 227, pls 1-3.
56 Newberry, *El-Bersheh* 1, 6-7, pl. 16. See Chapter 4.4.2.1.
58 See Chapter 4.4.2.1.
59 Loud, *Megiddo* 2, pl. 265; Wilson, *AJSL* 58/3 (1941), 226.
A.4 NAMI, TELL

A settlement at Tell Nami on the southern Carmel coast, revealed four main areas, D, D1, G and O, dating to the MBIIA, LBIIIB and, possibly, the LBIIIA period.\textsuperscript{60} MBIIA remains were primarily found in Area D featuring several buildings, storerooms and an open courtyard.\textsuperscript{61} A large room in one of the storerooms was sealed by a layer of charcoal, ash and burnt mudbrick, suggesting that the final MBIIA phase was marked by its destruction and the collapse of its roof by fire.\textsuperscript{62} The room was then later robbed in the LBA.\textsuperscript{63} The room’s floor revealed such items as a bronze statue fragment, a spearhead and a loom weight with a scarab seal impression.\textsuperscript{64} The latter’s context beneath Locus 420 (remains of a robbed stone surface), renders its date of deposition to be uncertain.\textsuperscript{65} It could belong to the last phase of MBIIA occupation or the following LBA layer when the floor was robbed.\textsuperscript{66} Despite this ambiguity, the loom weight has been used as evidence for MBIIA contact with Egypt.\textsuperscript{67}

The correlation is based on the weight’s seal impression displaying two red crowns atop a \textit{nbw} sign flanked by two ‘\textit{nh}’ symbols.\textsuperscript{68} Parallels for the design are found at the late Twelfth to mid-late Thirteenth Dynasty Egyptian sites of Kahun and Uronarti.\textsuperscript{69} They also occur at late MBIIA(?) to MBIIIB Megiddo and MBIIIB Jericho and Gibeon.\textsuperscript{70} Marcus and Artzy write that “Given the absence of MBIIIB occupation at Tel Nami, our weight may only be attributed to either the LBIIA or LBIIIB.”\textsuperscript{71} Nevertheless, they conclude that the object indicates “contact

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{61} Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 41/1 (1991), 196.
\textsuperscript{62} E. S. Marcus and M. Artzy, ‘A Loom Weight from Tel Nami with a Scarab Seal Impression’, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 136.
\textsuperscript{63} Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 41/1 (1991), 196-197; Cohen, \textit{Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections}, 89.
\textsuperscript{64} Marcus and Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 136.
\textsuperscript{65} Marcus and Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 136.
\textsuperscript{66} Marcus and Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 136.
\textsuperscript{67} Marcus and Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 149; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 118.
\textsuperscript{68} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 383. Marcus and Artzy note that a “scroll element connects the plumes of the two red crowns”. They describe this element as an anomaly, perhaps an artisan’s personal addition or the mark of a non-Egyptian workshop. An examination of the published images of the seal proposes that the ‘element’ could more likely be a thicker deposit of clay along the outer curve of each plume, thereby creating what appears to be plumes connected by an unidentified element. Marcus and Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 138, 141-142; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 18-19.
\textsuperscript{69} Marcus and Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 139, 142-143; Petrie, \textit{Lahun} 2, pl. 64 [300]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 19, pl. 8 [41-50].
\textsuperscript{70} Marcus and Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 139-143; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 80, 130, n. 401.
\textsuperscript{71} Marcus and Artzy, \textit{IEJ} 45/2 (1995), 144.
\end{footnotesize}
with, and/or orientation towards, Egyptian culture during the Middle Bronze IIA Age". Indeed, the seal’s impression on a Levantine object reflects a non-Egyptian custom, denoting contact between Egyptian and Levantine practices. But, the weight’s uncertain context and the seal design’s use during the late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasties restricts any further comments regarding chronological or cultural relations between Egypt and Tell Nami. So, the current evidence does not conclusively specify Egyptian-Levantine contacts at Tell Nami during the MBIIA.

72 Marcus and Artzy, IEJ 45/2 (1995), 149.
74 As also surmised in Cohen, Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections, 89.
A.5 **HIZZIN, TELL**

Tell Hizzin lies southwest of Baalbek in the Beqaa valley of modern Lebanon. Excavations uncovered a settlement and cemetery intermittently used between the EBIV/MBI and Roman periods. The investigation and its finds were never published, yet the discovery of two Egyptian statuary fragments led to the site’s mention in studies regarding Egyptian hegemony over the Levant. Genz and Sader have recently published their preliminary results on the Tell Hizzin material, shedding light on these contested fragments as well as other MBA evidence.

The Egyptian evidence reportedly comprises two statue fragments as well as a “nfr” scarab bearing a late Middle Kingdom to Fifteenth Dynasty design. One of the fragments is the base of a statue with the legs of a standing figure. An inscription in front of the feet offers the nomen and prenomen of Sobekhotep IV, indicating that the statue represented this Thirteenth Dynasty king. Unfortunately, it is without context. The other fragment is most likely the back of a statue preserving an offering formula as well as the name of a count $Hp[...]$ who has been identified as early Twelfth Dynasty $[Dj^2=1-]hpi ‘Djefaihapi’$, count of

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80 Genz and Sader, *BAAL* 12 (2008), fig. 5; Chehab, in *Role of the Phoenicians*, pl. 6 [a].  
81 Chehab, in *Role of the Phoenicians*, pl. 6 [a]; Montet, *Kêmi* 13 (1954), 76; Genz and Sader, *BAAL* 12 (2008), 184, fig. 5.  
82 The statue was brought to Chehab by an antiquities dealer who informed him that it came from Tell Hizzin. Genz and Sader, *BAAL* 12 (2008), 184.
Asyut. The fragment was collected from a level deep beneath a conflagration layer of a room filled with pithoi. The latter ceramics are unfortunately missing and so a precise date for this layer cannot be determined. Hence, neither of the two Egyptian fragments can be assigned to a MBA context. So, until further excavations at the tell occur, the extent of relations between Egypt and Tell Hizzin remains unknown.

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83 Genz and Sader, BAAL 12 (2008), 185, fig. 7; Chehab, in Role of the Phoenicians, pl. 3 [c]; Ahrens, in Intercultural Contacts, 300, n. 40.
84 Genz and Sader, BAAL 12 (2008), 185; Chehab, in Atti del 1 Congresso Internazionale, 167.
85 Genz and Sader, BAAL 12 (2008), 185, 187.
A.6 Ugarit / Shamra, Ras

The coastal site of Ugarit is located in modern Syria. The MBA is marked by large multiple graves in its first phase and an urban settlement in its second and third phases.\(^{86}\) Certain monuments of the latter phases, or Level II, have been recently assigned to the MBIC or LBI period, including the Temples of Dagan and Baal, as well as the ‘North Palace’.\(^ {87}\) This refinement in the dating of Level II structures warns that other contexts may similarly be attributed to the end of the MBA or beginning of the LBA. Several Egyptian items from Level II have been utilised as evidence for relations between Ugarit and the Middle Kingdom; however the objects were either mostly retrieved from late MBA contexts or display late MBA, particularly MBIC, forms. This late date along with contextual ambiguities indicates that the material cannot be definitively utilised to show relations between the Levant and Middle Kingdom to early Second Intermediate Period Egypt, and, as such, it has not been included in the main body of the thesis.

Several pieces of Middle Kingdom statues and sphinxes were retrieved from Ugarit. One of these is the lower half of a seated statue, its base inscribed with the text: 

\[ \text{nsw.t n.t h.t=}=f \ Hnm.t-nfr-hd' \ nh.ti 'the king’s daughter of his body, Khnumetnoferhedj, may she live.’ }^{88} \]

The princess’s name occurs as both a name and title during the Middle Kingdom.\(^ {89}\)

Several propositions for her identity have been offered, including: the daughter of Amenemhat II and wife of Senwosret II; her sister Itaweret; or Senwosret III’s wife.\(^ {90}\) So, the portrayed individual is most likely a Twelfth Dynasty princess. Her statue was retrieved from


\(^ {87}\) M. Yon, The Royal City of Ugarit on the Tell of Ras Shamra (Winona Lake, 1998), 16.

\(^ {88}\) Schaeffer, Syria 13 (1932), 20, pl. 14 [1]; Schaeffer, Ugaritica 4, 212, fig. 19; L. Nigro, ‘Towards a Unified Chronology of Syria and Palestine. The Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age’, in P. Matthiae et al. (eds), From Relative Chronology to Absolute Chronology: the Second Millennium B.C. in Syria-Palestine (Rome, 2007), 370, fig. 2.


locus CH, near the Temple of Dagan, at the base of Level II. Its position led Ward to infer that the context is contemporary with the Twelfth Dynasty, contrary to Helck’s assumption that the statue was deposited during the Hyksos period. The context’s dating is further confused by Schaeffer’s suggestion that the statue was deliberately mutilated during a hostile event. As this event is associated with the end of the MBA or the beginning of the LBA, the statue could have been imported at any time between the MBIIA and the LBI.

Another statuette is the lower half of a triad of an official and two female family members. The official is represented as the inscription ‘the overseer of the pyramid-town, vizier, Senwosretankh’. The statuette’s artistic and textual features point to a late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty date. It was found in the vicinity of Khnumetnoferhedj’s statue. Lack of further details on its context restricts the statuette’s use as a marker for Egyptian-Ugaritic relations.

Fragments of Amenemhat III’s sphinx(es), numbering either one or two in the literature, were also collected with other statue pieces at the entrance of the Temple of Baal (locus AM). Like Khnumetnoferhedj’s statue, the fragmentary state of the sphinxes has led Schaeffer to remark that they were intentionally damaged, creating some uncertainty regarding their date of deposition. Additionally, the temple was in use from at least the MBIIA-LBI period until the late LBA. Hence, the context cannot validate the sphinxes’ arrival at Ugarit during Amenemhat III’s reign or the MBA.

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91 Schaeffer, Syria 13 (1932), 20; Schaeffer, Syria 16 (1935), pl. 36; Ward, UF 11 (1979), 801-802.
92 Ward, UF 11 (1979), 802.
95 Schaeffer, Cuneiform Texts, 13; Yon, City of Ugarit, 18.
97 Ward, Index, 31 [225].
98 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 279 [4].
100 Schaeffer, Syria 15 (1934), 113-114.
102 Schaeffer, Cuneiform Texts, 13; Yon, City of Ugarit, 16-18.
104 A cylinder seal naming Amenemhat III was purchased and apparently noted to come from Ugarit. No other contextual data can confirm its provenance. Giveon, in Ugarit in Retrospect, 57.
Little can be determined from the reported scarabs.\textsuperscript{105} Some were evidently found in tombs, others in a votive sanctuary, and a number from unknown contexts. Those from tombs that could be dated to the late MBA, namely Tombs 54, 56 and 57, each have one scarab illustrated, although Tomb 57 contained one other unpublished scarab.\textsuperscript{106} The illustrated scarabs display designs of either Levantine or Egyptian origin, such as reclining lions\textsuperscript{107} or a Horus falcon with the $\Gamma$ sign.\textsuperscript{108} Tombs assigned to Level II comprised of scarabs of uncertain origin bearing, for instance, the "$\textit{mr}$" formula,\textsuperscript{109} a standing figure with a falcon’s head,\textsuperscript{110} and concentric circles.\textsuperscript{111} Schaeffer additionally mentions an amethyst scarab, possibly of Egyptian origin, but does not provide a drawing or details of its context.\textsuperscript{112} So, the insufficient publication of Ugarit’s scarab repertoire does not allow for comments on which were imported and which were local. Yet, the inhabitants of Ugarit had evidently adapted the use of scarabs with Egyptian-influenced designs for funerary purposes during the late MBA.

These scarabs provide evidence for contact between Egypt and Ugarit at the end of the MBA, most possibly the late MBIIB or MBIIC period. Because the majority of these small items are from tombs, the Egyptian(-influenced) products were apparently of funerary significance. While most statuettes were retrieved from or adjacent to the acropolis’s temples, their precise contexts and dates of deposition are unclear. Therefore, the extent of MBA relations between Ugarit and Egypt cannot be clarified with the available evidence. It is clear that Egyptian items and artistic influences had reached the coastal city by the end of the MBA, possibly as a product of trade, but no data can specifically point to Egyptian diplomatic or political relations with the coastal city.

\textsuperscript{105} Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 13 (1932), pl. 11 [2]; Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 14 (1933), 114; Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 15 (1934), 113-114; Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 16 (1935), 153; Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 19 (1938), fig. 14; Schaeffer, \textit{Cuneiform Texts}, pl. 5; Schaeffer, \textit{Ugaritica} 1, figs 59, 113; Schaeffer, \textit{Ugaritica} 2, fig. 21, pls 12, 16. For a brief summary, see Richards, \textit{Anra Scarab}, 124-125; Teissier, \textit{Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Seals of the MBA}, 1, n. 2.

\textsuperscript{106} Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 19 (1938), 220, 241, 246, fig. 14.

\textsuperscript{107} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 9E. Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 19 (1938), fig. 14 [9569]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 177.

\textsuperscript{108} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3A4. Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 19 (1938), fig. 14 [9871]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 160-161.

\textsuperscript{109} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 3C. Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 13 (1932), pl. 11 [2]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 165-166.

\textsuperscript{110} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 10A2. Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 13 (1932), pl. 11 [2]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 178-180.

\textsuperscript{111} D. Ben-Tor’s Design Class 4. Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 13 (1932), pl. 11 [2]; D. Ben-Tor, \textit{Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections}, 168-169.

\textsuperscript{112} Schaeffer, \textit{Syria} 14 (1933), 114.
RISE OF THE HYKSOS

EGYPT AND THE LEVANT FROM THE
MIDDLE KINGDOM TO THE EARLY SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

VOLUME II

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CONTENTS

VOLUME I

DEDICATION i
DECLARATION iii
ABSTRACT v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vii
CONTENTS ix
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xv
LIST OF TRANSLATIONS, TABLES AND MAPS xvii
LIST OF FIGURES ix

SECTION 1 STUDYING THE HYKSOS 1

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 3
  1.1 Introduction 3
  1.2 Research Problems 3
  1.3 Research Goals 5
  1.4 Research Methodology 6
  1.5 Research Parameters 7
    1.5.1 Geographical scope and terminology 7
    1.5.2 Chronological scope and terminology 8
    1.5.3 Evidential scope 9
    1.5.4 Other limitations 10
  1.6 Research Outline 10

CHAPTER 2 PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP 11
  2.1 Introduction 11
  2.2 The Origins and Rise of the Hyksos 11
  2.3 Chronological Considerations 17

CHAPTER 3 ETHNICITY AND ITS REPRESENTATION 21
  3.1 Introduction 21
  3.2 Defining Ethnicity 21
  3.3 Ancient Egyptians on Ethnicity 23
  3.4 Ethnicity in Archaeology 25
  3.5 When Ethnic Groups Interact: Theories of Cultural Mixing 28
## Section 2  Evidence for Contact

### Chapter 4  Tracing Asiatics in Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4.1 Introduction</th>
<th>33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2 Delta Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1 Basta, Tell (Bubastis)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2 Dab’a, Tell el- (Avaris)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.1 Area R/I (’Ezbet Rushdi)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.2 Area R/III</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.3 Area F/I</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.4 Area A/II</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.5 Area F/II</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.6 Area A/IV</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.7 Area A/V</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.8 Scientific analysis of characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.9 Anthropological analysis of skeletal remains</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.2.10 Significance of Tell el-Dab’a</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.3 Farasha, Tell (Tell el-Maghud)</strong></td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.4 Habwa I, Tell el- (Tjaru)</strong></td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.1 Area B, Level 5b</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.2 Areas A and B, Level 5a</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.3 Area B, Level 4c</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.4 Area B, Level 4b</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.4.5 Other</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.5 Inshas</strong></td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.6 Khata’na, el-</strong></td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.7 Maskhuta, Tell el- (Tjeku)</strong></td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.1 Phases 1 and 2</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.2 Phase 3</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.3 Phase 4</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.4 Phase 5</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.5 Phase 6</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.6 Characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.7.7 Other</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.8 Muqdam, Tell el- (Leontopolis)</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.9 Retaba, Tell el-</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.10 Sahaba, Tell el-</strong></td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.2.11 Yahudiyyah, Tell el-</strong></td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.11.1 The ‘Hyksos’ camp</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.11.2 Burial customs</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.11.3 Other</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>4.3 Memphite Region</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1 Dahshur</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.1 Mid-Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat II</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.2 Mid-Late Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Senwosret III</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.3 Late Twelfth Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1.4 Thirteenth Dynasty</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2 Harageh, el-</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3 Hawara</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4 Kom Rabi’a</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.5 Lahun, el-
   4.3.5.1 The settlement 113
   4.3.5.2 The papyri 116
4.3.6 Lisht, el-
   4.3.6.1 Early Twelfth Dynasty 120
   4.3.6.2 Late Twelfth to Fifteenth Dynasty 123
   4.3.6.3 Characteristic non-Egyptian ceramics 125
   4.3.6.4 Other 128
4.3.7 Mit Rahina 130
4.3.8 Saqqara 133
4.4 Middle Egypt 135
   4.4.1 Beni Hassan 135
      4.4.1.1 Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), reign of Amenemhat I 137
      4.4.1.2 Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), reign of Senwosret I 139
      4.4.1.3 Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), reign of Senwosret II 141
      4.4.1.4 Other 153
   4.4.2 Bersha, Deir el-
      4.4.2.1 Tomb of Djehutyhotep, reign of Senwosret III 157
      4.4.2.2 Organic products 158
   4.4.3 Hatnub 158
4.4.4 Meir 160
   4.4.4.1 Tomb of Wekhhotep (B2), reign of Senwosret I 160
   4.4.4.2 Tomb of Wekhhotep (B4), reign of Amenemhat II 160
   4.4.4.3 Tomb of Wekhhotep (C1), reign of Senwosret III 162
4.4.5 Rifeh, Deir 164
4.5 Upper Egypt 167
   4.5.1 Abydos 167
      4.5.1.1 The stelae 168
      4.5.1.2 Other 172
   4.5.2 Aswan 176
   4.5.3 Dra’ Abu el-Naga’ 177
   4.5.4 Edfu, Tell 179
      4.5.4.1 Stela 180
      4.5.4.2 Administrative complex 180
      4.5.4.3 Other 183
   4.5.5 Hol, Wadi el-
      4.5.5.1 Egyptian texts 185
      4.5.5.2 Proto-Alphabetic texts 186
   4.5.6 Karnak 187
   4.5.7 Medamud, Nag’ el-
   4.5.8 Mostagedda 189
4.5.9 Rizeiqat, el-
   4.5.10 Tjauti, Gebel 193
   4.5.11 Tod 195
      4.5.11.1 Inscription of Senwosret I (?) 195
      4.5.11.2 The Tod Treasure 197
4.6 Unprovenanced Artefacts 201
   4.6.1 Berlin Execration Bowls 201
   4.6.2 Instructions of Amenemhat I 203
   4.6.3 Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 204
4.6.4 Papyrus Leiden I.344 (Admonitions of Ipuwer) 206
4.6.5 Prophecies of Noferty 209
4.6.6 Stela Louvre C 21 210
4.6.7 Stela Moscow I.1.a.5349 (4161) 211
4.6.8 Stela Musée Joseph Déchelette, Roanne Nr 163 212
4.6.9 Tale of Sinuhe 213

4.7 Conclusions 221
4.7.1 The First Half of the Twelfth Dynasty – Amenemhat I to III 221
4.7.2 The Second Half of the Twelfth Dynasty 224
4.7.3 The Thirteenth Dynasty 227
4.7.4 The First Half of the Fifteenth Dynasty 231

CHAPTER 5 BETWEEN EGYPT AND THE LEVANT: THE EASTERN DESERT 235
5.1 Introduction 235
5.2 Mount Sinai and the Red Sea Coast 236
5.2.1 Ayn Sukhna 236
5.2.2 Gawasis, Wadi / Mersa (Saww) 237
5.2.3 Maghara, Wadi 240
5.2.4 Serabit el-Khadim 242
  5.2.4.1 Egyptian texts 242
  5.2.4.2 Proto-Alphabetic texts 247
  5.2.4.3 Other 251
5.2.5 Zeit, Gebel el- 252
5.3 Southeastern Desert 254
5.3.1 Hammamat, Wadi el- 254
5.3.2 Hudi, Wadi el- 256
5.4 Conclusions 258
  5.4.1 The Twelfth to the Early Thirteenth Dynasty 258
  5.4.2 The Thirteenth Dynasty to the Second Intermediate Period 259

CHAPTER 6 CONTACT WITH THE EGYPTIAN IN THE LEVANT 261
6.1 Introduction 261
6.2 The Southern Levant: Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Territories 264
  6.2.1 ‘Ajjul, Tell el-
    6.2.1.1 Vessels 265
    6.2.1.2 Scarabs and seal impressions 265
  6.2.2 Ashkelon 266
    6.2.2.1 Phase 14 – Mid-MBIIA Period 267
    6.2.2.2 Transitional Phase 13 to 12 – Late MBIIA to MBIIB-B Period 268
    6.2.2.3 Phase 11 – MBIIB Period 268
  6.2.3 Beth Shean / Hosn, Tell el-
    6.2.3.1 Stratum R-5 – MBIIB Period 271
    6.2.3.2 Stratum R-4 – Late MBIIB Period 272
  6.2.4 Gezer / Jazari, Tell 274
    6.2.4.1 ‘Alabaster’ and faience vessels 274
    6.2.4.2 Scarabs 275
6.2.5 Ifshar, Tell /Hefer 277
   6.2.5.1 Phase A 277
   6.2.5.2 Phase B 278
   6.2.5.3 Phase C 279
6.2.6 Jericho / Sultan, Tell el-
   6.2.6.1 Late MBIIA or MBIIA-B Period 280
       (Kenyon’s Group I; University of Rome’s Phase IVa)
   6.2.6.2 MBIIB Period 281
       (Kenyon’s Groups II-III; University of Rome’s Phase IV)
6.2.7 Megiddo / Mutasallim, Tell el-
   6.2.7.1 Stone vessels 285
   6.2.7.2 Scarabs and seal impressions 286
6.2.8 Nagila, Tell 288
6.3 The Northern Levant: Lebanon and West Syria 289
   6.3.1 ‘Arqa, Tell 289
   6.3.2 Burak, Tell el- 290
   6.3.3 Byblos / Jbeil 293
       6.3.3.1 The cultic buildings 294
       6.3.3.2 The royal tombs 296
       6.3.3.3 Other 301
   6.3.4 Ebla / Mardikh, Tell 305
       6.3.4.1 Mardikh IIIA2 – Late MBIIA Period 305
       6.3.4.2 Mardikh IIIB – MBIIA-B to MBIIC Period 306
6.3.5 Fad’ous, Tell / Kfarabida 310
6.3.6 Sakka, Tell 312
6.3.7 Sidon 313
   6.3.7.1 Level 1 – MBIIA Period 314
   6.3.7.2 Level 2 – MBIIA Period 315
   6.3.7.3 Level 3 – MBIIA Period 315
   6.3.7.4 Level 4 – MBIIA-B Period 316
   6.3.7.5 Level 5 – Early-mid MBIIB Period 317
   6.3.7.6 Level 6 – MBIIB Period 318
6.4 Conclusions 321
   6.4.1 The MBIIA Period and the Early to Mid-Twelfth Dynasty 321
   6.4.2 The MBIIA Period and the Mid-Twelfth to Early Thirteenth Dynasty 322
   6.4.3 The Late MBIIA to Early MBIIB Period and the Thirteenth Dynasty 322
   6.4.4 The MBIIB to MBIIB-C Period and the First Half of the Fifteenth Dynasty 325

SECTION 3 OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS 329

CHAPTER 7 REPRESENTING ASIATICS AND THE LEVANT 331

7.1 Introduction 331

7.2 Context and Genre: Interpreting the Evidence ‘Between the Lines’ 332
   7.2.1 Category 1: Inscriptions and Texts from Royal and Administrative Complexes 332
   7.2.2 Category 2: Royal Funerary Complexes 333
   7.2.3 Category 3: Temple and Religious Texts 333
   7.2.4 Category 4: Non-Royal Settlements and Occupation Levels 334
   7.2.5 Category 5: Non-Royal Inscriptions and Graffiti 334
LIST OF TRANSLATIONS, TABLES AND MAPS

List of Translations

1. Inscription of the Tomb of Khnumhotep III. 5
2. El-Lahun Papyri. 9
3. Mit Rahina Daybook. 16
4. Brussel Figurines. 21
5. Abydos Stelae and a Shrine. 27
6. Aswan Graffiti. 38
7. Berlin Execration Bowls. 40
8. Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446. 45
10. Prophecies of Noferty. 55
12. Tale of Sinuhe. 58
13. Egyptian Texts at Serabit el-Khadim. 66

List of Tables

1. Rulers of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties. 77
2. Terminology of the divisions in Levantine chronology. 78
3. Chronological correlations between Egypt, Tell el-Dab’a and the Levant. 78
4. Number of samples analysed from Petrographic Groups A-K of imported vessels from Tell el-Dab’a according to the site’s stratigraphy. 79
5. Summary of pertinent architectural elements identified at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 80
6. Summary of pertinent funerary elements identified at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 82
7. Summary of pertinent cultic elements identified at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 85
8. Summary of pertinent administrative elements identified at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 87
9. Summary of pertinent elements identified at settlements at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy. 89
10. Kom Rabi’a, the Middle Kingdom levels, their features and associated Levantine pottery. 93
11. Summary of petrographic groups identified in an analysis of imported vessels from Kom Rabi’a. 93
12. Summary of el-Lahun papyri representing Asiatics, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references. 94
13. Battle scenes at Beni Hassan: similarities and differences. 99
14. Abydos stelae representing Asiatics and Levantine toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references. 100
15. Egyptian sites examined in Chapter 4. 108
16. Egyptian sites examined in Chapter 4.1-4.5 with a summary of pertinent evidence for Egyptian-Levantine relations. 109
17. Selected literary texts and unprovenanced artefacts in Chapter 4.6. 118
18. Egyptian texts at Serabit el-Khadim featuring Asiatics and Levantine toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references. 119
19. Egyptian texts at Wadi Hammamat featuring Asiatics, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references. 123
### List of Translations, Tables and Maps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Egyptian texts at Wadi el-Hudi featuring Asiatics and Asiatic toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Selected sites in the Eastern Desert examined in Chapter 5 with evidence for direct contact between the Egyptian and Levantine cultures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Some Levantine sites not discussed in the text bearing scarabs, seal impressions and cylinder seals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mediterranean and Near Eastern sites not discussed in the text bearing Egyptian-style statuary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Proposed chronologies for Tell el-‘Ajjul strata I-III.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Selected Levantine sites examined in Chapter 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Selected Levantine sites with Egyptian (influenced) items from MBA contexts examined in Chapter 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Chronological correlations between selected Levantine sites, Egypt and Tell el-Dab’a, based on Egyptian material in the Levant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 2: Royal funerary complexes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 3: Temples and religious texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 4: Non-royal settlements and occupation levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 5: Non-royal inscriptions and graffiti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 7: Literary pieces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Terms relating to Levantine ancestry and ethnicity recorded in studied texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Levantine toponyms recorded in studied texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Named individuals of Levantine ancestry recorded in studied texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Egyptian titles of Levantine individuals recorded in studied texts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Selected artistic portrayals of Levantine individuals with a summary of observed foreign features and unique stances.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### List of Maps

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Geographical scope: Egypt, the Eastern Desert and the Levant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sites examined in Egypt (Chapter 4.1-4.5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Geographical designates of Groups A-K from Cohen-Weinberger and Goren’s petrographic analysis of Tell el-Dab’a’s imported ceramics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Geographical designates of Groups 1-4 from Owby’s petrographic analysis of Kom Rabi’a’s imported ceramics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during the first half of Dynasty 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during the second half of Dynasty 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during the first half of Dynasty 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sites examined in the Eastern Desert (Chapter 5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sites in the Eastern Desert with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 12 to early Dynasty 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sites in the Eastern Desert with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 13 to the Second Intermediate Period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sites examined in the Levant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIA Period and the early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIA Period and the mid-Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the late MBIIA to early MBIIIB Period and the Thirteenth Dynasty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIIB to MBIIIB-C Period and the early Fifteenth Dynasty.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

4.1 Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware, Tell Basta.
4.2 Map of Tell el-Dab'a as revealed by geographical surveying.
4.3 Stratigraphy of Tell el-Dab'a.
4.4 Near Eastern types of houses. Area F/I, stratum d/2, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.5 Tomb F/I-o/19-Nr 8. Area F/I, stratum d/2, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.6 Egyptian style compound with associated tombs. Area F/I, stratum d/1, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.7 Haematite cylinder seal picturing a striding figure. Area F/I, stratum d/1, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.8 Grave goods of Tomb F/I, m/18-Nr 3. Area F/I, stratum d/1, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.9 Statue of a dignitary. Area F/I, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.10 Tomb F/I-i/22-Nr 43. Area F/I, stratum b/3, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.12 Plan of Area A/II, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.15 Seal impression with title hkk n(y) Rtmw. Area F/I, stratum d, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.16 Seal 9373. Area F/I, stratum c/2, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.17 Cuneiform inscription. Area F/I, stratum c/2, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.18 Plan of Area A/IV, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.19 Seal 8314. Area A/IV, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.20 Seal 7669. Area A/IV, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.21 Plan of Area A/IV-p/19, stratum E/1, Tell el-Dab'a.
4.22 Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware, Tell Farasha.
4.23 Plan of Tell el-Habwa I.
4.24 Plan of Area B, Tell el-Habwa I. Second Intermediate Period levels are in green.
4.25 Location of tombs within settlement, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.26 Lintel inscription of "pr-B't[r]. Area B, level 5b, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.27 Seated limestone statue. Level 5a, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.28 Selected ceramics, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.29 Selected ceramics, Tell el-Habwa I.
4.30 Vaulted mudbrick tomb, Inhas.
4.31 Excavated items, el-Khat'a'na.
4.32 Location and plan of Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.33 Plan of Phase 1, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.34 Plan of Phase 2, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.35 Plan of Phase 3, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.36 Burial items from R1.1138. Phase 4, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.37 Plan of Phase 5, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.38 Burial items from R2.2054. Phase 5, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.39 Burial items from R8.8060. Phase 5, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.41 Selected ceramic items, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.42 Platter bowls, thin-walled and thick-walled carined bowls, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.43 Burial L2.2040, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.44 Selected scarabs, Tell el-Maskhuta.
4.45 Selected scarabs, Tell el-Retaba.
4.46 Plan of tombs, Tell el-Retaba.
4.47 Plan of tombs, Tell el-Retaba.
4.48 Selected ceramic items, Tell el-Sahaba.
4.49 Plan of Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.50 Plan of the so-called 'Hyksos camp', Tell el-Yahudiyyah
4.51 Items from Grave 2, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.52 Items from Grave 3, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.53 Items from Grave 407, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.54 Items from Grave 4, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.55 Items from Grave 19, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.56 Items from Grave 16, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.57 Items from Grave 20, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.58 Items from Grave 37, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.59 Items from Grave 5, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.60 Items from Grave 1, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.61 Items from Grave 6, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.62 Items from Grave 43, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.63 Selected scarabs, Tell el-Yahudiyyah.
4.64 A. Scarabs bearing royal names;
4.65 B. Scarabs bearing MBA-A / late Middle Kingdom features;
4.66 C. Scarabs bearing MBA-C features.
4.67 Fragment uncovered at the Pyramid of Amenemhat II, Dahshur. Allen’s reconstruction of Niche 1, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.68 Allen’s reconstruction of Niche 2, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
LIST OF FIGURES

4.67 Allen’s reconstruction of Niche 3, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.68 Allen’s reconstruction of Niche 4, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.69 Allen’s reconstruction of the north side of the obelisk, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.70 Allen’s reconstruction of the east side of the obelisk, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.71 Allen’s reconstruction of the south side of the obelisk, Tomb of Khnumhotep III, Dahshur.
4.72 Marl C jar with hieratic text labeling wine from abroad, Burial of Sitweret, Tomb of Horkherti, Dahshur.
4.73 Pectorals, Tomb of Mereret, Dahshur.
4.74 Wooden statuette, Tomb of Nubhetetpi-Khered, Dahshur.
4.75 Graffiti, north wall, Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
4.76 Graffiti, north doorframe of serdab, Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
4.77 Graffiti, east wall, Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
4.78 Graffiti, south wall, Pyramid of Senwosret III, Dahshur.
4.79 Tell el-Yahudiyah ware, el-Harageh.
4.80 Dipper juglet, el-Harageh.
4.81 Fragment, Tomb of Imenysenebnebwy, Hawara.
4.82 Synchronisation of stratigraphies of Tell el-Dab’a and Kom Rabi’a.
4.83 Plan of el-Lahun.
4.84 Selected ceramics, el-Lahun.
4.85 Copper torque, el-Lahun.
4.86 Inscriptions on heddle-jack, el-Lahun.
4.87 Fragment MMA 13.235.1, Mortuary Temple of Amenemhat I, el-Lisht.
4.88 Wall scene fragments with Syro-Palestinian store-jars, el-Lisht.
4.89 Seshat recording a possible smiting scene, Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I, el-Lisht.
4.90 Fragment MMA 09.180.54 and 09.180.50, altar court, Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I, el-Lisht.
4.92 Execration figurines MMA 33.1.66-147, el-Lisht.
4.93 Statuette MMA 22.1.1625a, el-Lisht.
4.94 Plan of settlement, el-Lisht.
4.95 Selected ceramics, el-Lisht.
4.96 The so-called dolphin jar, Tomb 879, el-Lisht.
4.97 Inscribed block, Mit Rahina.
4.98 Inscribed block, Mit Rahina.
4.99 Execration figurines, Saqqara.
4.100 Siege scene, east wall, Tomb of Baqet III (Nr 15), Beni Hassan.
4.101 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Baqet III (Nr 15), Beni Hassan.
4.102 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Baqet III (Nr 15), Beni Hassan.
4.103 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Baqet III (Nr 15), Beni Hassan.
4.104 Siege scene, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.105 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.106 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.107 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.108 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.109 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.110 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khety (Nr 17), Beni Hassan.
4.111 East wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.112 East wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.113 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.114 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.115 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.116 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.117 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep I (Nr 14), Beni Hassan.
4.118 Siege scene, east wall, Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), Beni Hassan.
4.119 Foreign mercenaries, east wall, Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), Beni Hassan.
4.120 Hunting scene, north wall, Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), Beni Hassan.
4.121 Pottery-making scene, east wall, Tomb of Amenemhat (Nr 2), Beni Hassan.
4.122 North wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.123 North wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.124 Procession of foreigners, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.125 Papyrus roll of Noferhotep, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.126 Temple, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.127 Detail of the ‘gazelle tamer’, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.128 Detail of foreigners, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
4.129 Detail of the musician, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LIST OF FIGURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.130 Detail, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.131 ‘Fair-skinned man’, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.132 ‘Fair-skinned men’, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.133 ‘Fair-skinned man’, north wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.134 ‘Fair-skinned man’, west wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.135 Pottery-making scene, west wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.136 An offering of a fruit, south wall, Tomb of Khnumhotep II (Nr 3), Beni Hassan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.138 West wall, Tomb of Djehutyhotep, Deir el-Bersha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.139 Detail of bottom register, west wall, Tomb of Djehutyhotep, Deir el-Bersha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.140 East wall, Tomb of Wekhhotep (B2), Meir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.141 North wall, west end, Tomb of Wekhhotep (B4), Meir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.142 North wall, east end, Tomb of Wekhhotep (B4), Meir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.143 North wall, Tomb of Wekhhotep (C1), Meir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.144 Detail of north wall, Tomb of Wekhhotep (C1), Meir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.145 Detail of east wall, Tomb of Wekhhotep (C1), Meir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.146 Detail of south wall, Tomb of Wekhhotep (C1), Meir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.147 Selected ceramics, Deir Rifeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.148 Button-shaped seal amulet (UC 51354) with pseudo-hieroglyphs, Deir Rifeh.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.149 Stela Louvre C1, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.150 Stela CG 20539, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.151 Stela Rio de Janeiro 627 (2419), Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.152 Stela Manchester 3306, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.153 Stela CG 20231, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.154 Stela E.207.1900 Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.155 Stela CG 20125, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.156 Genealogy mentioning Asiatics as described in Stela CG 20421, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.157 Stela AS 169, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.158 Stela AS 99, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.159 Shrine AS 186, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.160 Stela Liverpool E.30, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.161 Stela AS 204, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.162 Stela AS 143, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.163 Stela AS 160, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.164 Stela CG 20281, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.165 Stela EA 428, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.166 Stela Marseille 227, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.167 Stela CG 20028, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.168 Stela CG 20062, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.169 Genealogy mentioning Asiatics as described in Stela CG 20158, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.170 Stela CG 20164, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.171 Stela CG 20392, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.172 Stela CG 20520, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.173 Stela CG 20549, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.174 Stela CG 20550, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.175 Stela CG 20571, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.176 Genealogy mentioning Asiatics as described in Stela CG 20650, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.178 Rio de Janeiro 680 (Nr 21), Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.179 Anchor axe-head, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.180 Selected ceramics, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.181 Ivory sphinx (British Museum Nr 54678), Shaft Tomb 477, Abydos.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.182 Inscription A, Aswan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.183 Inscription B, Aswan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.184 Plan of Tell Edfu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.185 Stela Warsaw 141.266, Tell Edfu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.186 Plan of the southern and northern columned halls of the administrative complex with noted significant concentrations of sealings, Tell Edfu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.187 South profile of the southern columned hall with detail of matrix and stratigraphy, Tell Edfu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.188 Profile of southwest corner of northern columned hall with detail of matrix and stratigraphy, Tell Edfu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.189 Selected ceramics, Tell Edfu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.190 Map showing Wadi el-Hol and Gebel Tjauti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.191 Inscription A, Wadi el-Hol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.192 Inscription B, Wadi el-Hol.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.195 Selected Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware, Karnak.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.196 Broken slab with inscription of Senwasret III, Temple of Montu, Nag' el-Medamud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.197 Fragments with bound captives, Temple of Montu, Nag' el-Medamud.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.198 Tell el-Yahudiyyah juglet from Tomb 3146, Mostagedda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.199 Selected scarabs, Mostagedda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.200 Silver torques, Mostagedda.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.201 Stela Berlin 22.708, el-Rizaiqat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.202 Stela Bremen 4558, el-Rizaiqat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.203 Inscription 14, Gebel Tjauti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.204 Inscription 15, Gebel Tjauti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.205 Inscription 16, Gebel Tjauti.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.206 Plan showing position of the treasure, Tod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.207 Chests and some items of the treasure, Tod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.208 Stela Moscow I.1.a.5349 (4161).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.209 Stela Musée Joseph Déchelette, Roanne Nr 163.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 5

5.1  Site plan, Wadi/Mersa Gawasis.
5.2  Excavation units on the western terrace, Wadi Gawasis.
5.3  Inscription Nr 24-24a, Wadi Maghara.
5.4  Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 348, Wadi Maghara.
5.5  Inscription Nr 81, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.6  North face, Inscription Nr 85, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.7  West face, Inscription Nr 87, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.8  South face, Inscription Nr 92, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.9  Inscription Nr 93, Serabit el-Khadim.
    a. South face  b. North face  c. West face  d. East face
5.10  Detail, west face, Inscription Nr 103, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.11  Inscription Nr 54, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.12  Inscription Nr 108, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.13  Inscription Nr 109, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.14  Inscription Nr 97, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.15  Inscription Nr 94, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.16  Inscription Nr 96, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.17  Inscription Nr 110, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.18  Inscription Nr 95, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.19  Inscription Nr 98, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.20  Inscription Nr 112, Serabit el-Khadim.
    a. West face  b. South face
5.21  Detail, south edge, Inscription Nr 114, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.22  Southeast face, Inscription Nr 405, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.23  Inscription Nr 402, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.24  West face, Inscription Nr 115, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.25  Inscription Nr 414, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.26  North face, Inscription Nr 120, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.27  Inscription Nr 121, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.28  West face, Inscription Nr 136, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.29  Inscription Nr 163, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.30  East face, Inscription Nr 411, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.31  Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 345, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.32  Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 346, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.33  Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 347, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.34  Proto-Alphabetic inscription Nr 347a, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.35  Proto-Alphabetic inscriptions Nr 351, Serabit el-Khadim.
5.36  Inscription Nr 47, Wadi Hammamat.
5.37  Inscription Nr 43, Wadi Hammamat.
5.38  Inscription Nr 17, Wadi Hammamat.
5.39  Inscription Nr 23-24, Wadi Hammamat.
5.40  Inscription WH143, Wadi el-Hudi.
5.41  Inscription WH17, Wadi el-Hudi.

Chapter 6

6.1  Selected scarabs, Tell el-‘Ajul.
6.2  City gates and moat, Ashkelon.
6.3  Selected ceramics, Ashkelon.
6.4  Selected scarabs, Beth Shean.
6.5  Selected stone vessels, Beth Shean.
6.6  Finds from Burial 38201, Beth Shean.
6.7  Selected Tell el-Yahudiyah ware, Beth Shean.
6.8  Selected stone vessels, Gezer.
6.9  Selected scarabs, Gezer.
6.10  Selected ceramics, Tell Ifshar.
6.11  Selected scarabs, Jericho.
6.12  Selected stone vessels, Jericho.
6.13  Selected stone vessels, Megiddo.
6.14  Selected scarabs, Megiddo.
6.15  Scarab and vessels, Tell Nagila.
6.16  Selected ceramics, Tell ‘Arqa.
6.17  Layout of complex, Tell el-Burak.
6.18  Wall paintings, Tell el-Burak.
6.19  Inscribed obelisk, Temple of Obelisks, Byblos.
6.20  Dagger and sheath, Temple of Obelisks, Byblos.
6.21  The Montet Jar and selected items found within, Syrian Temple, Byblos.
6.22  Funerary goods, Royal Tomb I, Byblos.
6.23  Cylindrical jar, Royal Tomb I, Byblos.
6.24  Funerary goods, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.25  Pectoral, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.26  Pendant, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.27  Scimitar sword, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.28  Cylindrical jar, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.29  Chest, Royal Tomb II, Byblos.
6.30  Hieroglyphic text, faience vase, Royal Tomb VII, Byblos.
6.31  Selected inscribed funerary goods, Royal Tomb IX, Byblos.
6.32  Stela inscription, Byblos.
6.33  Selected scarabs, Byblos.
6.34  Vessels, Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, Ebla.
6.35  Selected scarabs and seals, Ebla.
6.36  Ceremonial mace, Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, Ebla.
6.37  Ivory plaques, Northern Palace, Ebla.
6.38  Tell Fad‘ous’s hemispherical cup and Tell el-Dab’a’s cup seriation.
6.39  Scarab, Tell Fad‘ous.
6.40  Selected ceramics, Tell Fad‘ous.
6.41  Wall paintings, Tell Sakka.
6.42  Selected scarabs, Sidon.
6.43  Cylinder seal, Sidon.
6.44  Selected ceramics, Sidon.
6.45  Selected stone vessels, Sidon.
The section presents the transcription, transliteration and translation of lengthy excerpts from hieroglyphic and hieratic texts examined in Volume I: Section 2, Chapters 4-6. As with the shorter texts provided within the chapters, only pertinent material has been selected for translation. References for the names and titles of individuals of Levantine origin are included.

Each translation is assigned a number along with entries referring to its provenance (Prov.), date (Chron.) and linked chapter (Chapter). Any figures or tables relating to the texts that are presented in Volume II are also mentioned in the entries Figure(s) and Table(s).

Transliterations and translations are all by the author, unless otherwise specified. References from which hieroglyphic transcriptions were retrieved can be found under Ref(s). The entry also includes any further works relied upon in the process of translating these works.

The following notations have been utilised for all the translations in this section as well as in the thesis:

/// lacuna of damaged hieroglyphs

[...] lacuna of damaged text in transliteration and translation

[ ] suggested reconstruction of lacuna

( ) addition to or clarification of orthography and grammar

● Egyptian scribe’s punctuation marks (verse points)
1 INSCRIPTION OF THE TOMB OF KHNUMHOTEP III

Prov. Dahshur


Chron. Mid-12th Dynasty – Reign of Senwosret III

Chapter 4.3.1.2

Figures 4.65-71

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>SECTION</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4.65   | 1R      | ir.y-pʃ.t h₃.ty⁻⁵ h₅mt.ty bt.ty smr w₇.ty n(y) mr.wt im.y-r³ pr.w wr Ḥmn-h₃pt(w) pr isEqual k m rwt mh.t ḍḥ₈ isEqual k ṭmi isEqual s wr is
|        |         | Nobleman, count, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, (worthy) of love, chief steward, Khnumhotep. May you come out of the northern gate and stand in it as a great ancient one. |
| 4.66   | 2H      | h₃pt-di-[nsw.t Pth pr.t-hrw t h₅nk.t k₃(w) ṭḥ₈(w) n k₃ n(y) ir.y-pʃ.t h₃.ty⁻⁵ h₅mt.ty bt.ty smr] w₇.ty mh⁻ib nsw.t m dr St.t m pipt Mнт.(y)w im.y-r³ pr.w wr Ḥmn-h₃pt(w) nb ṭmiḥ
|        |         | An offering which the [king] gives and [Ptah: a funerary offering of bread, beer, oxen and birds for the k₃ of the nobleman, count, seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt], sole [companion], confidant of the king in obstructing St.t and trampling the Mнт.(y)w, chief steward, Khnumhotep, possessor of reverence. |
| 4.65   | 1C1-2   | dd in im.y-r³ m₇$p n(y) skd.w |
|        |         | Speaking by the overseer of the expedition of sailors: |
| 4.65   | 1C2-3   | ph [pw iri(y) r ṭmnw r ini.t] ṭ$s n(y) dmi [n(y) W₃tt] |
|        |         | [What was done was to] reach [Ṭmnw to bring] ṭ$s-wood of the harbour [of W₃tt] |
| 4.65   | 1C4-5   | ...
|        |         | ...
|        |         | [Mнт.(y)w] |
|        |         | ...
|        |         | [Mнт.(y)w] |
| 4.65   | 1D1-2   | ḍḥ₃.t pw [ir ...] |
|        |         | [What was done] was to descend... |

2 Transliteration and translation are reliant on Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 32-37.
### Translation 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Line Number</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4.65 | 1D2-3 | [ts] s[m³ n(y) Kbny pr.t pw [ir...]

[the landing place] of Kbn[y], [what was done] was to ascend... |
| 4.66 | 1D4-2A2 | [pw] ʃ[t] n.im.y-r m² skd.w | r pr.w h³ n(y) Kbny M[k]i

What the overseer of the expedition of sailors did [was to (enter) the house of the ruler] of Kbn[y], M[k]i |
| 4.66 | 2A2-3 | dd.in=f n=f ptr st (im l) w=k r amr n(y) W[t]i

Then he said to him: 'What is it, are you towards the harbour of W[t]i?' |
| 4.66 | 2A4-B4 | [dd.n n=f im.y-r m² n(y) skd.w] ʃ[t] gr.t [ntr ʃ'ʃ] nsw.t-bi.ty S-hp-ib-R³ w m²-hrw idb.wy btk n=f hšš[t ṣ nb.t rdi.n] Mki [n(y) Kbny] mni=n r Kbn[y]

[The overseer of the expedition of sailors said to him]: Now, after the [Great God], King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sehotepibra (Senwosret III), the justified, took possession of the two river banks, [every] foreign land worked for him and M[k]i [of Kbn[y]] had let us moor at Kbn[y] |
| 4.66 | 2B4 | sdm.n=f dd.w Mn.t(y)w

for he had heard that which the Mn.t(y)w had said³ |
| 4.66 | 2P8-10 | d[...] m W[t]i rdi.in [h³ kši [pf n(y) Kbny M[k]i ...] m²=tšim 100 rdl(w) n=sn⁴

[...] from W[t]i. Then [that] ruler [of Kbn[y], M[k]i ...] gave/let... with 100 m²šim Asiatics, they having been given to them |
| 4.66 | 2C1-D3 | m hdi r W[t]i m w².t m] n² dp.wt n.t Km.t(y)w im dd.w n h³ n(y) W[t]i[f] m wp.wt [n Kbn[y] r ṣ[d m=k h³ b.n h³=k=s] M[k]i m tʃ] dp.t n(y) Km.t(y)w r

to travel north to W[t]i [in one of] the ships of the Egyptian-speakers⁵ there, who speak to the ruler of W[t]i with a message [from Kbn[y] to] say: 'Behold, [her] (i.e. Kbn[y]'s) ruler M[k]i has sent word via the ship of the Egyptian-speakers to

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³ Or, as Allen translates it: *sdm n=j dd.w Mn.t(y)w* 'for those things that the Asiatic Bedouin said had been heard'. Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 34, n. 10.

⁴ Or rdi.n=sn 'they had given/let'.

⁵ See Allen for this translation. Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 34-35.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4.66 | 2D4-5  | [...] t=k nb.t rdi... n mservation of Hbly w... 
|       |         | [...] all/every [...] give [...] children of Hbly... |
| 4.67 | 3A1-4  | ...n Witi [... i] rlt=k nb.t m tm=r di iwi.t n(y) n(y) dp.wt r dni[r] n(y) Kbny irr=k [...]
|       |         | ...to Witi [...] all you can do to not let those ships return to the harbour of Kbny. You do... |
| 4.67 | 3A5-B5 | ...pw ir [Rm]n gm.n=s sn hk3 pf n(y) Kbny hn" cmr 100 tf m Witi iiri.n=s sn sh n" h1 hn" hkk3 pf n(y) Witi
|       |         | ... was done to [Rm]n, they had found the son of that ruler of Kbny with those 100 cmr Asiatics at Witi, and they had made a plan to fight with that ruler of Witi |
| 4.67 | 3P1-4  | [...] sn ...w... w=sn [...] hkk3 pf n(y) Kbny [...] iiri.in=f md3.t hr [...] 
|       |         | [...] they/them/their [...] their two arms [...] that ruler of Kbny [...] then he made a letter about [...] |
| 4.67 | 3P6-10 | ... hr=k pw nfr mrr.w [... m...] f[mi md.t] md3.t tn [...] n wdd-nsyw.t dd n hkk3 [...] mplaints to kb mrr.w [...] dp.wt [...] hbsy=f sh pn n(y)... irr=k... t... n... i... t...]
|       |         | ... that beautiful face of yours which [...] loves [...] according to the speech of this letter [...] the decree of the king spoken to the ruler [...] the speech of this letter which was despatched to you concerning the palace [...] the ships [...] his two arms cover that plan of [your] doing [...] |
| 4.67 | 3C1-D2 | [hk3 pf n(y) Witi] n hm=fr d'd in k3=k nfr ntr nb ti, wy mrr.w [nfr w hss], w Spd.w nb h's.wt Hw.t-Hr nb.t Kbny s'f [m] hm n(y) stp-s t[...]
|       |         | [that ruler of Witi to his majesty saying]: Your k3, the good god, lord of the two lands, whom the gods love and whom Sopdu, Lord of the foreign lands, and Hathor, lady of Kbny, bless, it will recognise in the majesty of the palace [...] there [...] |

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6 Following Allen’s suggestion of a Middle Egyptian orthography representing the Semitic name ḥbry or ḥbly, the toponym could have survived in such modern locations as Ḥabīl Habeel or Ḥbāleen, both in the district of modern Jbail. See E. Wardini, A Dictionary of Lebanese Place-Names (Mount Lebanon and North Lebanon) (Beirut, 2008), 199, 215.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Column</th>
<th>Translation 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>3D2-4</td>
<td>[...] r Rmn [... W]it hn[...] im r dt t hn(w) wih hr tî cîm wnn hr pgz</td>
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<td>[...] to Rmn [... W]it with [...] there to cross the brook/canal and set down upon the land of the cîm and be on the entrance/mouth/battlefield^7</td>
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<tr>
<td>4.69</td>
<td>ON4-5</td>
<td>... spr [n] n(y) dp [w]t [r] hnw m î[...] ḫdw ìm=sn r Kbny ...</td>
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<td>Arrival of those ships [to] the palace with [...] travelling north in them to Kbny...</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| 4.70 | ONS-5  | ... sw n kmî n=f Tm [... nsw t-bi ty ḅ r smî t lwc[...] n=f [...h...]
| 4.71 | ONS-71 | ū w=sn[...] ū wîc=f m wgg.t n=f mi msh pf s[...] n 3d îb cî[...f ...n d ...]s
|       |        | [... ] hr.t m ẖîf=f k hpr[...] pw hwy=f mn[...] sn sh=f mr[... wî... î...].
|       |        | ... him, Atum has not created for himself [...] King of Upper and Lower Egypt who has appeared to unite and to inherit [...] to him [...] their arm [...] his two arms from that which is woeful, like that crocodile [...] of the aggressive, great [...] the sky in your grasp, become [...] he smites [...] them, seizing the underlings [...] |

^7 The latter translation is preferred by Allen. Allen, BASOR 352 (2008), 36.
## EL-LAHUN PAPYRI

*Prov.* el-Lahun  
*Ref.* See Table 12  
*Chron.* Mid-12\textsuperscript{th} Dynasty – early Second Intermediate Period  
*Chapter* 4.3.5.2  
*Table* Table 12

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAPYRUS(^8)</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>P Berlin 10050</td>
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<td>(im.y-rn=f n(y) s3.wt (\text{wn.wt hw.t-ntr n.t n.it m}” h” m 3bd \ldots)</td>
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<td>(jry” n(y) hw.t-ntr” S-n-wsr.t</td>
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<td>sf.ty” S-n-mr</td>
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<td>List of phyles of the priesthood of this temple who are in attendance in the month...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Door-keeper of a temple, (S-n-mr) Senwosret</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Butcher, (S-n-mr) Meri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32157</td>
<td>SIII - A III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2 (\text{ind-hr=k H”-k3.w-R”w Hr.w=n ntr hpr.w mk t3 swsh t3.s.w=f}</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>(d3ir [h3.s.wt] m wrr.t=f ink=f t3.wy m r”c.w)” wy=f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>(h3.s.t [\ldots] h3.s.wt m rmm.wy=f r.m sm3 Pd.t(y)w nn sq.t ht sti s”sr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>(n [it]” rwd hwi.n nrw=f Twn.t(y)w m t3=sn sm3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>(\ldots=f pd.t 9 rdi.n s”f=f mw.t h3.s.w m Pd.t(yw) \ldots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>(\ldots ns n(y)” h”m=f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>(rth St.t ts.w=f sbb3 St.tuw...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>([iyi]” n=f ptpt.n=f h3.s.t h3.s.wt hwi.n=f Twn.t(y)w hmw s”n\ldots</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^8\) The papyrus numbering system follows references listed in Table 12.  
\(^10\) Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 279 [1].  
\(^11\) Ward, *Index*, 149 [1286].  
\(^12\) Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 159 [22].
Hail to you Khakaura (Senwosret III), our Horus, divine of forms, protector of the land, extender of its boundaries who defeats the foreign lands with his crown, uniter of the two lands with the actions of his hands [... the foreign lands with his two arms, who slaughters the Pd.t(y)w without a blow of a thing (weapon), who shoots an arrow without drawing the string, he whose dread has struck the Twn.t(y)w in their land, he whose [... slaughters the 9 bows, he whose terror/massacre causes the death of thousands of Pd.t(y)w ... the tongue of His Majesty is the restraint of St.t and it is his utterances which cause the St.ty.w to flee... He has [come], having trampled the foreign/mountainous land and the foreign/mountainous lands, having struck the Twn.t(y)w who are ignorant of fear ...

---

| P Berlin 10033 | A III Year 15 | 3 smsw [...]/m S-n-wsr.t |
| P Berlin 10066 | A III Year 18 | 3 ini.n smw.m S-n-wsr.t-snb |
| P Berlin 10021 | A III Year 18 | 1 ini.int...35m Tr3 1 m wn.t ry ty Htp[r...]
| P Berlin 10047 | A III (middle of reign) | 4 Sty-n=f s3 S3-Bist.t |
| P Berlin 10081C | A III Year 27 | 8 dm, the singer, Initef’s son Senwosret of Shm-S-n-wsr.t m3^-hrw and [3m Shedty] |

---

12 Hail to you Khakaura (Senwosret III), our Horus, divine of forms, protector of the land, extender of its boundaries who defeats the foreign lands with his crown, uniter of the two lands with the actions of his hands [... the foreign lands with his two arms, who slaughters the Pd.t(y)w without a blow of a thing (weapon), who shoots an arrow without drawing the string, he whose dread has struck the Twn.t(y)w in their land, he whose [... slaughters the 9 bows, he whose terror/massacre causes the death of thousands of Pd.t(y)w ...

13 Ward, Index, 175 [1517].
14 Ward’s ‘musician’. Ward, Index, 175 [1514].
15 Not attested in Ranke, Personennamen.
16 Not attested in Ranke, Personennamen.
17 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 281 [19].
18 A similar name, In=f is attested. Ranke, Personennamen 1, 10 [36].
19 A similar name, St.t is attested. Ranke, Personennamen 1, 331 [33].
20 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 322 [20].
### Translation 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 32191</th>
<th>A III Year 35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hbw...</strong></td>
<td><strong>s3 tp...</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\epsilon \text{im} \ H^r[-\text{...}]-R^c.w \text{ [...]} \ pw...$</td>
<td>$\text{Sn}b \text{ [...]}-\text{sn}b \text{ [...}T\text{...]}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{Snt}[.t\text{...}]-\text{hpr-sn}b \text{ [...}\text{shtp...}}$</td>
<td><strong>hbw...</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>s3 [...]</strong></td>
<td><strong>$\epsilon \text{im} \ [...\text{]} \ hpr-hr-shb \text{ [...i]m-hb}_{\text{...}}$</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tmn \ [...\text{]} \ hnt \ [...\text{]} \ Tiy \ [...\text{]}</strong></td>
<td><strong>Dancers...</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First watch:

$\epsilon \text{im} \ Kha[-\text{...}]ra \text{ [...]} \ \text{nickname \ [...]} \ pw...$

Seneb [...seneb [...] \ nickname [...ai]...  
Menet[...t...]kheperseneb [...] \ nickname [...sehetep...]

Dancers...

[Second] watch...

$\epsilon \text{im} \ [...\text{]} \ Kheperherseneb \text{ [...]} \ \text{nickname \ [...]} \ m-kha[...]$

Amen[...khenet[...] \ nickname \ [...]] \ lay [...]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 32168</th>
<th>A III Year 45</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>V5</strong></td>
<td><strong>R1.x+4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R3.x+2</strong></td>
<td><strong>V5</strong> ... <strong>snhy mny.w ith.w inr.w...</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R1.x+4</strong> $\epsilon \text{im} \ Yiy[...]$</td>
<td><strong>R3.x+2</strong> $\epsilon \text{im} \ Sw[r^c...]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V5</strong> ... Register of enlisted workers: stone- haulers...</td>
<td><strong>R1.x+4</strong> $\epsilon \text{im} \ Yiy[...]$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>R3.x+2</strong> $\epsilon \text{im} \ Sw[ra...]$</td>
<td><strong>UC 32269 (R)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 32196</th>
<th>AIV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>bik n(y) pr.\ w d.t \ Hr-wr-R^c.w \ dd n T^c.t-ib \ ^{\text{sn}b(,w)} \ wfd<a href=",w">^{\text{w}}</a> \ ^{\text{sn}b(,w)} \ ^{25}m \ \text{hs}\ t \ n.t \ Hw.t-hr[nb].t \ Kpny niw.t \ mi \ mrr \ bik im...</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 The servant of the estate, Horwerra speaks to Tjatib, may he live, prosper and be healthy, 26 in the favour of Hathor, [lady] of Kpny, the city, as the servant there wishes...

---

21 Translation as suggested in Collier and Quirke, *Accounts*, 92-93.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Page No.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P Berlin 10010</td>
<td>(A III?)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Brought by the scribe of the ‘im.w, Senet, son of Senwosretseņeb 23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| UC 32058 | (AIV?) | 2 | Deed of conveyance made by w^b-priest in charge of a phyle of Sopdu, lord of the East, Wah ...
| | | | ... It is she who may give to any one she wishes of her children whom she bears/bore for me. I give her the four ‘im.w 11 given to me by my brother, the trustworthy sealer of the director of works, Ankhren... |
| UC 32295 | (?) | 2+x | ‘im.t […]
| | | | ‘im Imn […]
| | | | ‘im […]
| | | | ‘im Imen […] |
| P Berlin 10244 a, c, d, e | (?) | 9 | ‘im […]
| | | | ‘im Imn […]
| UC 32151B | (?) | 24 | […] overseer of the expedition of ‘im 24 […]
| UC 32167 | (?) | 29 | […] |

22 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 296 [21].
23 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 279 [6].
24 Ward, Index, 29 [206].
9 swnt hr⁻⁴ n(y) im.y-r³ htm.t ṣps.t s³ ṣṣy-snb wfr.t mh.tt...
10 ṣm[t] hi₂.t = f Km.tn = i
7 km.n = ṣṣy 2 ibd 3
10 [...]m [...]bnwy

Translation 2

4 Transfer deed of the assistant to the treasurer Shepset’s son Ihiseneb of the northern administrative division...
7 ṣm[t] Akhiatet²⁵ Kemet³⁴
8 Kemeni²⁷ Sopduemmeri²⁸
9 ṣṣy²⁹ 2 years and 3 months
10 [...]am [...]bnwy

P Berlin 10106
- [...] ṣm ṣ-n-wsr.t [...] 
- [...] ṣm Senwosret [...] 

P Berlin 10391 a-e
- [...] ṣm 
- [...] ṣm 

UC 32124
- ṣm.n bik im ṣswḥt n sw P3⁻⁵śm

The servant there found that P3⁻⁵śm had drunk it

UC 32201
- [...]
- [...]
- [...]
- [...]

6 iw rdi.n = i n = f ḥsh 3
7 ṣm.y-rn = f iry
10 ṣm n(y) hw.t ṭkr

6 I have allocated for him 3 workmen
7 List of them:...
10 ṣm of the administrative district, ṭkr³⁰

UC 32098D
- [...] n3 n(y) ṣm.wt rdi n ḥš.ty⁻⁵ m snn...
- [...]those ṣm.wt given to the count in a document...

UC 32286
- [...] ṣm (? ) hw.t ṭn [...] 
- [...] ṣm of the administrative district, ṭn [...] 

²⁵ Not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. Possibly not of Egyptian origin. See Ranke, Personennamen 1, 71 [2].
²⁶ Ranke, Personennamen 1, 345 [24].
²⁷ Ranke, Personennamen 1, 345 [10].
²⁸ Ranke, Personennamen 1, 306 [19].
²⁹ Not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. Possibly not of Egyptian origin.
³⁰ Translated as ‘foundation’ in Collier and Quirke, Letters, 105. It could also be the workman’s name. Ranke, Personennamen 1, 47 [16].
| UC 32130 | - | ![Image](image1) |
| UC 32276 | - | ![Image](image2) |
| UC 32101 | H (large fragment) | - | ![Image](image3) |

**Translation 2**

31 Following Collier and Quirke who interpret the sparrow as a sign indicating minority in age. It could otherwise point to minority in rank. Collier and Quirke, *Accounts*, 51.

32 For a similar name, see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 94 [25].
UC 32127 -

x+2

x+3

x+4

x+4

x+3

x+4

x+2

Išeri, brought for controller of a phyle. [M...]

x+2

Nehyeni33 for controller of a phyle, [M...]

x+3

Išeri, brought for controller of a phyle, [M...]

x+4

[gaw (?), for sim [...]

UC 32143B -

x+17

x+17

x+17

x+17

1 statue for sim[? [...]

UC 32143E -

[...tp] t3.t sim sn.t s3 hpr-R.c.w [...]

[... vizier staff? sim Senet’s son Khakheperra35 [...]

UC 32147G -

sim.t 12 (?)

sim.t 12 (?)

33 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 207 [19].
34 Not attested in Ranke, Personennamen.
35 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 264 [17].
3  MIT RAHINA DAYBOOK

Prov. Mit Rahina


Chron. Mid-12th Dynasty – Reign of Amenemhat II

Chapter 4.3.7

Figures 4.97-98

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTION</th>
<th>COLS</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Despatching armies | M7-8 | M7...
|  |  | M8...
|  |  | M8...
|  |  | M8...
|  |  | M8...
|  |  | M8...
|  |  | M8...
|  |  | M8...
| Offering of cultic objects | M9-10 | M9...
|  |  | M9...
|  |  | M9...
|  |  | M9...
|  |  | M9...
|  |  | M9...
|


Of St.t copper, 1 ds-vessel. For Montu of Tod: Of St.t copper, 1 ds-vessel;
M10 [...] statue of female?) presented to her house/temple which is in Sh.t-Hm³.t.t. The making (with) wood of a statue of the overseer of field-workers, Imeny [...] here it is in Dfb-Imn-m-h³.t.

Visit(?) and goods from K3š and of Wb³.t-Sp.t

Of St.t copper, 1 ds-vessel; M10 [...] of female?) present to her house/temple which is in X.t-mA.t.
The making (with) wood of a statue of the overseer of field-workers, Imeny [...], here it is in +fA-Imn-m-HA.t. Visit and goods from KAS and of Wb³.t-\%p.t M11-12

They had brought with them: 23752 dbn of incense; 24 dbn of h³.m-w-stands(?); 125/32 h³.k.t and a remainder of carnelian; 13/4 dbn and a remainder of electrum; 120 dbn of malachite; 117/8 h³.k.t of yellow (Nubian) ochre; 2¼ h³.k.t of ššš-plant; 3/8 h³.k.t of ššš-plant; 4 bows; 20 arrows; M12 [...] 1 block of undecorated costly stone; 280 sacks of ššš-plant; 5 sacks of nbs-plant. Of wood: 7 headrests; 15 mšš-wooden rods. 3 bulls, 14 short-horned cattle, 164 wigs, 1 giraffe, 11 tails, 1 (log?) of ebony.

Visit and goods from St.t Asians M12-13

The coming with bowed-head of the children of the rulers of St.t. They brought: 220 dbn of silver; M13 [...] small cattle made as short-horned cattle] 5[6]; 1002 cim; 6 dbn of lead; 55 dbn of white lead.

Return of army from Turquoise Terraces M13-14

Arrival of the army which was despatched to the turquoise terraces. They had brought: 1413/32 h³.k.t and a remainder of turquoise; 8700 dbn of rotting (petrified?) wood; 5570 dbn of kis-

\[\text{Translation 3}\]

---

38 14\textsuperscript{19/32} in Obsomer, Sésostris Ier, 598.
39 \textsuperscript{9/16} by Obsomer and 10\textsuperscript{13/16} by Wasthuber. Obsomer, Sésostris Ier, 598; Wasthuber, Die Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und der Levante, 76.
40 41 by Marcus and Obsomer. Marcus, A&L 17 (2007), 139; Obsomer, Sésostris Ier, 598.
| Return of | mineral; 6 ḫ嗣.t of SKI-dšt; |
|———|———|
| goods from | M14 | [...]-km m 26⅓₁/₁₀ ḫ嗣.t of natron; 8 stars of the lake (starfish?); 33 sacks of ss.f.wt; 9¾ dbn of silver; 10 bulls; 8 young ibexes; 1 cheetah hide. |
| Tmpšw | M15 |
| Visit and | The coming with bowed-head of the peaceful ones/offering bearers of Tmpšw. They have brought with them: 238¼ dbn of lead. |
| army from | M16-18 |
| Twś(i) and | M16 | [...] Iw(i).t m wdb-tp htp.yw° n.w Tmpšw in(i).n=sn m-c=sn dh.ty dbn 238¼ |
| Tbsy | M15 |
| M17 | [...] | 330 m₈₉ u i₂5 2 mšd 4₅⁴ m₈²bₙ 36 dr.t n.t iws.w 3 dh₉₉₉ t 61₄₄ hmtl sw; dbn 646 hmtl m₈ dbn 125 hsmn nstiw 30 nstit 26 hmtl hr ḫt sk 1 nbw dbn 3 l;₅ [x]₃₄ n [tp] msdr 38 ḫt hr ḫd 3r.y)₈ t dn.t 8 |
| M18 | [...] | dbn 58 hswd ḫn ¼ w₁₆ dbn 1734 bwb s₃.t 4 ḫt hnw n(y) ḫm 54 ḫn.t₈ t hmtl m₈ ddbd.t 36 ḫt ḫw n(y) ḫm 54 ḫn.t₈ t hmtl m₈ ddbd.t 8 ḫt ḫw dbn 375 |
| M16 | [...] | the coming of the army with the overseer) of soldiers which were sent to hack up Twś(i) and to hack up Tbsy. Number of captives brought from these 2 foreign lands: 1554 ḫm. Of bronze and wood: 10 axes; 33 sickles; 12 daggers; 4¾ saws; 79 daggers; 1 chisel; 4 shoulder-blades/razors; |
| M17 | [...] | 330 m₈₉ k u i₂5 5 2 mšd 4₅⁴ m₈²bₙ 36 dr.t n.t iws.w 3 dh₉₉₉ t 61₄₄ hmtl sw; dbn 646 hmtl m₈ dbn 125 hsmn nstiw 30 nstit 26 hmtl hr ḫt sk 1 nbw dbn 3 l;₅ [x]₃₄ n [tp] msdr 38 ḫt hr ḫd 3r.y)₈ t dn.t 8 |
| M18 | [...] | dbn 58 hswd ḫn ¼ w₁₆ dbn 1734 bwb s₃.t 4 ḫt hnw n(y) ḫm 54 ḫn.t₈ t hmtl m₈ ddbd.t 36 ḫt ḫw n(y) ḫm 54 ḫn.t₈ t hmtl m₈ ddbd.t 8 ḫt ḫw dbn 375 |

---

42 3 in Obosmer, Sesostris ler, 599.
43 25 in Obosmer, Sesostris ler, 599.
44 60 by Obosmer and Altenmüller and Moussa. Obosmer, Sesostris ler, 599; Altenmüller and Moussa, SAK 18 (1991), 15.
45 iḥḥs in Obosmer, Sesostris ler, 599.
46 Many have translated dh₉₉₉ t as a six-spoked wheel. Another suggestion is that it is a bridle-bit. For more see A. Ilin-Tomich, ‘Two Notes on Middle Kingdom Annals’, Lingua Aegyptia 18 (2010), 126-127.
The coming of the army which was sent to Ḥnty-š in 2 ships, they having brought: 1676½ dbn of silver; 4882 dbn of bronze; 15961 dbn of copper; 1410 dbn of white lead; 13 blocks of precious white stone (marble?); 16588 dbn of emery; 39556 dbn of polishing sand; 1 block of dolerite from under the lake; 6 blocks of grinding stone; 5 blocks of hard dolerite; 4 blocks of precious white and black stone. Of gold and silver: 1 5/8 sm-seal; 2 boxes; quartz [...] 66 5/8 ḥkš.t and a remainder of oil; x+176 ḥbn.t-jars; 271 sacks of ti-šps; [...] 5 ḥnw-vessels of [...] 72 ḥnw-vessels of incense; 8 7/16 ḥkš.t of ẖm.t fruit; 55% ḥkš.t of ẖš.w fruit; 4 ḥkš.t of kšw-fruit; ¼ herb for the remedy of fighting (for wounds?); [...] 2 hsmn hr nbw hr ṵbw Ṿnh 2 hsmn hr nbw ḥr ṵbw ṵšgs 16 ḥsmn ḥr ṵbw ṵšgw 21 ṵšb.t ḥšr 4 52 bhšw ḥšr 197 ššft.t ḥšr [...] § 231

47 10 in H. Goedicke, 'Egyptian Military Actions in “Asia” in the Middle Kingdom', RdE 42 (1991), 90.
48 13 in Obsomer, Sesostris Ier, 599.
50 7 in Obsomer, Sesostris Ier, 600.
51 54% in Obsomer, Sesostris Ier, 600.
52 3 in Obsomer, Sesostris Ier, 600.
### Distribution of goods and rewards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Translation 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M21-23, 25-26</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Translation 3" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**M21**

Dues given to

M22 [...]

Dues of RTnw: [...]

M23 [...]

Dues of #nty-S: 73 (logs?) of $s$-wood. Royal offerings in the palace of T3-$s$ of the southern lake of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkara(Senwosret I).

M24 [...]

Dues of Hnty-$s$: 73 (logs?) of $s$-wood. Royal offerings in the palace of T3-$s$ of the southern lake of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkara(Senwosret I).

M25 [...]

Dues of Hnty-$s$: 73 (logs?) of $s$-wood. Royal offerings in the palace of T3-$s$ of the southern lake of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkara(Senwosret I).

M26 [...]

Dues of Hnty-$s$: 73 (logs?) of $s$-wood. Royal offerings in the palace of T3-$s$ of the southern lake of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkara(Senwosret I).

---


Ward, *Index*, 134 [1150].
### 4 BRUSSEL FIGURINES

**Prov.** Saqqara  
**Ref.** Posener, *Princes et Pays*, 64-96, pl. 1a.  
**Chron.** Late 12th Dynasty  
**Chapter** 4.3.8  
**Figure** 4.99

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| E1     | ![Image]  
$hk3 n(y) H\text{3}im I-tim\text{3}i\text{b}i$  
Ruler of $H\text{3}im$.
| E2     | ![Image]  
$hk3 n(y) Isk\text{i} Mwri$  
Ruler of $Isk\text{i}$.  
| E3     | ![Image]  
$hk3 n(y) Ts\text{inw} Nkmwp\text{i}'i$  
Ruler of $Ts\text{inw}$.  
| E4     | ![Image]  
$hk3 n(y) H\text{3}mw Ym-Hddw/Ym-5\text{m-p}1-Hddw$  
Ruler of $H\text{3}mw$.  
| E5     | ![Image]  
$hk3 n(y) Mkwt-\text{ry} Ibi\text{f}i$  
Ruler of $Mkwt-\text{ry}$.  
| E6     | ![Image]  
$hk3 n(y) Skmimi Tbs-Hddw$  
Ruler of $Skmimi$.  
| E7     | ![Image]  
$hk3 n(y) K\text{n}i T\text{-Tp-Hddw}$  
Ruler of $K\text{n}i$.  

---

56 Perhaps linked to Sinai Inscription 110 and its $H\text{3}mi$. Gardiner and Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* 1, pl. 36 [110]. See Chapter 5.2.4.1.

57 Postulated to be Ashkelon. For a similar toponym, $Isk\text{i}n\text{w}$, in e23-25 and f11 of the Berlin Bowls Exeaction Texts, see Chapter 4.6.1, Translation 7.

58 For a similar toponym, $Ts\text{inw}$, in e13-15 and f14 of the Berlin Bowls Exeaction Texts, see Chapter 4.6.1, Translation 7.

59 Postulated to be Migdol. Helck, *Die Beziehungen*, 52.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E8</th>
<th>![Image]</th>
<th>$hk3\ n(y)\ Pli\ hwm\ *prw-\nw$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $Pli\ hwm,\ *prw-\nw$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E9</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ T-pkwm\ Ynky\w$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $T-pkwm,\ Ynky\w$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E10</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ Six\ \t\tilimw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $Six,\ \t\tilimw$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E11</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ T-kspi\ Yp\wnw$</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $T-kspi,\ Yp\wnw$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E12</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ Isi-pi\ *prw-isi-pi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $Isi-pi,\ *prw-isi-pi$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E13</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ M\sii\ Yrw\w$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $M\sii,\ Yrw\w$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E14</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ T\hbw\ Ykm\tm-\nw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $T\hbw,\ Ykm\tm-\nw$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E15</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ Hdwii\ Gi\ti$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $Hdwii,\ Gi\ti$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E16</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ [...\si\ Tb\w-Hdd\i$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $[...]si,\ Tb\w-Hdd\i$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E17</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ T\pwm\ [H]\wim[y..]ib\wm$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $T\pwm\ [H]\wim[y..]ib\wm$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E18</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ *\ynw\ K\sii\ibi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $*\ynw,\ K\sii\ibi$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E19</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ D\i\m\ Yn\rm-Hddw$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $D\i\m,\ Yn\rm-Hddw$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E20</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>$hk3\ n(y)\ Bk\t\m\ Sm\i-Hr$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruler of $Bk\t\m,\ Sm\i-Hr$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

62 Postulated to be Achshaph. For a similar toponym, $Y-isipi$, in e31 and f21 of the Berlin Bowls Execration Texts, see Chapter 4.6.1, Translation 7. Posener, *Princes et Pays*, 70; A. Ben-Tor, in *Essays on Ancient Israel*, 75-76.
63 Postulated to be Misch’al. Helck, *Die Beziehungen*, 53.
64 Postulated to be Hazor. Posener, *Princes et Pays*, 73; A. Ben-Tor, in *Essays on Ancient Israel*, 74-75.
65 Postulated to be the Bqa valley. Ahiutuv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 65.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E21</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) Ṭiy ṣw3-Hddi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of Ṭiy, ṣw3-Hddi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E22</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) [Ṣ]mr[y] ṣm-wt(y)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of [Ṣ]mr[y], ṣm-wt(y)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E23</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) Mrdhky rs.t(y) Y[k]y[w]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of the southern Mrdhky, Y[k]y[w]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E24</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) Mrdhky mh.t(y) [R][tnn]i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of the northern Mrdhky, [R][tnn]i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E25</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) ṣ¯[i]tm Y[...i]w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of ṣ¯[i]tm, Y[...i]w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E26</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) ṭhwmt Kiwwr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of ṭhwmt, Kiwwr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E27</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) Bwδmnw Ymwrw</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of Bwδmnw, Ymwrw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E28</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) [... ṭ]p-r-Rny</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of [... ṭ]p-r-Rny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E29</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) Miši [Sk]l</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of Miši, [Sk]l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E30</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) [Ṣ][y]nw ḫprw-[...mt]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of [Ṣ][y]nw, ḫprw-[...mt]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E31</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) Rwb[y] ḫprw-[...]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of Rwb[y], ḫprw-[...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E32</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) ḫny ḫprw-[...]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of ḫny, ḫprw-[...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E33</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) ḫ-pwm rs.t(y) [... ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of the southern ḫ-pwm [... ]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E34</th>
<th>ḫk3 n(y) ḫ-pwm mh.t(y) ḫhwkt3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ruler of the northern ḫ-pwm ḫhwkt3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

66 Postulated to be Sinuhe’s T33. Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 65; Gubel and Loffet, *AHL* 34-35 (2011/2012), 81, 86.
E35

hk3 n(y) Dwšw[y \[-H(r)w
Ruler of Dwšw\[

E36

hk3 n(y) Yr\(\)nki \[\[-Ir
Ruler of Yrnki,\[

E37

hk3 n(y) Mkiy Šm[š...]
Ruler of Mkiy, Šm[š...]

E38

hk3 n(y) \[\[-]ynw Irrti
Ruler of \[\[-]ynw, Irrti

E39

hk3 n(y) Khrmw rs.(y) H[m\[y
Ruler of the southern Khrmw, H[m\[

E40

hk3 n(y) Khrmw mh.(y) Yr\(\)rni
Ruler of the northern Khrmw, Yr\(\)rni

E41

hk3 n(y) \[T\]w[\{\j\]w[d]nw \[m-w-T\]wbw
Ruler of \[T\]w[\{\j\]w[d]nw, \[m-w-T\]wbw

E42

hk3 n(y) \[f\]t(...)[\[m-w[...]
Ruler of \[f\]t(...)[, \[m-w[...

E43

hk3 n(y) Yb\(\)y Šmśw-Ipirim
Ruler of Yb\(\)y, Šmśw-Ipirim

E44

hk3 n(y) Ry[t]i \[p\]f(...]
Ruler of Ry[t]i,\[

E45

hk3 n(y) šwš3mm \[...
Ruler of šwš3mm,\[

E46

hk3 n(y) \[\[-]y \[\[-]-Hddw
Ruler of \[\[-]y, \[\[-]-Hddw

E47

hk3 n(y) Tbwšlm \[...
Ruler of Tbwšlm, \[...]

---

67 Postulated to be Tyre. Posener, Princes et Pays, 82; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 56..  
68 For a similar toponym, Y-\(\)nk, in e1-3 of the Berlin Bowls Exe... see Chapter 4.6.1, Translation 7.  
70 Postulated to be Ri-du or Lu-te of the Ebla tablets. Gee, JARCE 41 (2004), 30.  
71 Although phonetically problematic, the name has been postulated to be Jerusalem. For the same toponym in e27-28 and f48 of the Berlin Bowls Exe... see Chapter 4.6.1, Translation 7. Posener, Princes et Pays, 86; A. Ben-Tor, in Essays on Ancient Israel, 68-70.
| E48 | ![Hieroglyphs](image1.png) | Ruler of Isnwns, Th’irsir |
| E49 | ![Hieroglyphs](image2.png) | Ruler of eky, Tš⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻mv |
| E50 | ![Hieroglyphs](image3.png) | The great one/elder of the tribes of Kwšw, [...jy |
| E51 | ![Hieroglyphs](image4.png) | The great one/elder of the tribes of Kwšw, [...jy |
| E52 | ![Hieroglyphs](image5.png) | Ruler of Upper Swtw, Smwibw |
| E53 | ![Hieroglyphs](image6.png) | Ruler of Lower Swtw, Yk[...jw |
| E54 | ![Hieroglyphs](image7.png) | Ruler of Čǔkm, “mv-Hš[...] |
| E55 | ![Hieroglyphs](image8.png) | Ruler of Smwºnw, Tbwrmni |
| E56 | ![Hieroglyphs](image9.png) | Ruler of Kškšm, Tbw[...]i |
| E57 | ![Hieroglyphs](image10.png) | Ruler of [S]sww, Ykmt⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻mv |
| E58 | ![Hieroglyphs](image11.png) | Ruler of Čǐy, Ypǐšw |
| E59 | ![Hieroglyphs](image12.png) | Ruler of Ćwšy, Hwšyňib[...] |
| E60 | ![Hieroglyphs](image13.png) | Ruler of Bvt-Smšw, Y[...jpišw |
| E61 | ![Hieroglyphs](image14.png) | Tribes of Čkti |

---

72 Postulated to be Acco. Posener, Princes et Pays, 87. Perhaps it is also connected to modern Kfar-‘aqqa in North Lebanon. Wardini, Lebanese Place-Names, 254.

73 For the same toponym in e4-6 of the Berlin Bowls Exeversion Texts, see Chapter 4.6.1, Translation 7.

74 For the same toponym in e22 and f12 of the Berlin Bowls Exeversion Texts, see Chapter 4.6.1, Translation 7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E62</th>
<th>wr.w/smsw.w n.w Mkiy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great ones/elders of Mkiy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E63</td>
<td>wh.ywt n.(w)t Kbny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribes of Kbny</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E64</td>
<td>hk3.w nb.w n.w Y’nki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All rulers of Y’nki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E65</td>
<td>skr.yw nb.w n.t(y)w hnw=sn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All smitters who are with them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>5mw nb.w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All 5mw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>n.w Tw3ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Tw3ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>n.w 3m(w)t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of 3m(w)t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4</td>
<td>n.w škhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of škhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F5</td>
<td>n.w Dmītīw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Dmītīw</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F6</td>
<td>n.w Hṣswm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Hṣswm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7</td>
<td>Mntw m St.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mntw of St.t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

75 Identified as Byblos. Posener, *Princes et Pays*, 94.
76 The term possibly refers to non-Egyptian soldiers who have not been captured. Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 141, n. 628.
77 For the same toponym in f16 of the Berlin Execration Texts, see Chapter 4.6.1, Translation 7. See also R. Dussaud, ‘Nouveaux renseignements sur la Palestine et la Syrie vers 2000 avant notre ère’, *Syria* 8/3 (1927), 227-229.
5 ABYDOS STELAE AND A SHRINE

Prov. Abydos
Ref. See Table 14
Chron. 12th Dynasty to Second Intermediate Period
Chapter 4.5.1.1
Table Table 14
Figures 4.149-178

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STELA</th>
<th>FIG.</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Louvre C1</td>
<td>4.149</td>
<td>Al</td>
<td>Year 2478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4...ssH.n(=i) Iwn.tyw MnTw.tyw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5Hr.yw-s6 shn.(=i) hpr.wt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ht3:w=16 mi wns.wy m7 d prn.(=i) h3:n(=i) h3mr.wt=sn nn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>snw im3m wd.n MnTw nh.t m shr n [ ... ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4...I destroyed the Twn.tyw, MnTw.tyw and 5Hr.yw-s6; I demolished the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fortresses, I creeping up 4 like two jackals (?) at the 7 edge of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cultivation; I came and went through their 8 streets, there being no equal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>therein, 9 as Montu had commanded the victory by the plan of [... ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| CG 20539 | 4.150 | SI     | 10...dd(.w) swr=f m HIs.tyw sghb(.w) n=f Hr.yw-s6 shpt(.w)                 |
|          |      |        | 11St.(t)yw hr iri.wt=sn...                                                 |
|          |      |        | 10... the one who puts his oppression/terror upon the foreigners; the one   |
|          |      |        | who pacifies the Hr.yw-s6 for him; the one who pacifies the 11St.(t)yw for |
|          |      |        | their actions...                                                            |

| CG 20296 | -     | SIII   | 1...sfy 3m iri.n Hip.t sn= Sbk-nh.t sn= f ym-v r5 sn(.w) 12 Sbk-nh.t       |


---


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419; Nr 1]</th>
<th>4.151</th>
<th>SIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>55-57 [XV]</strong></td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>58 [II]</strong></td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>55-57 [XV]</strong></td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>58 [II]</strong></td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TRANSLATION 5**

1. The brewer, born to Hotepet; his brother Sobeknakht; his brother, overseer of a storehouse; the hall-keeper, Ameny, born to cmj

### Notes

- 80 Ward, *Index*, 73 [595].
- 81 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 304 [15].
- 82 Ward, *Index*, 49 [381].
- 83 Ward, *Index*, 57 [452].
- 84 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 31 [13].
- 85 Perhaps the name is of foreign origin.
- 86 Rio 227 is cited as the only reference for this name in Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 350 [22].
- The reading could also be m3 ‘throw-stick’ or, as Goedicke suggests, sm ‘support’. H. Goedicke, ‘Khu-u-Sobek’s Fight in “Asia”’, *A&L* 7 (1998), 36.
- 88 See *Wb* 2, 170 [6].
His Majesty’s proceeding in travelling northwards to overthrow the Mntw of St.t, his Majesty’s arrival at the district of Skmm,\(^\text{92}\) its name; \(^\text{c.1}\) his Majesty’s making a good start in proceeding to the Residence,\(^\text{93}\) may it live, be prosperous and healthy. Then Skmm fell with the miserable Rtnw,\(^\text{94}\) \(^\text{c.1}\) acting as the army’s rearguard. Then the soldiers of the army engaged to fight with the Şm.w.

\(^\text{c.4}\) Then I hit the Şm and I caused that his weapons be taken by two soldiers of the army, without desisting from fighting, my face was courageous\(^\text{95}\) and I did not turn my back on the Şm.

As Senwosret lives (for me), \(^\text{c.5}\) I have spoken in truth. Then he gave to me a staff of electrum for my hand, a sheath with a dagger worked with electrum and a handle [...].

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>A III</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CG 20231</td>
<td>4.153</td>
<td>H 5</td>
<td>wdp.w Şm Ḥntl-wr</td>
<td>The butler,(^\text{96}) Şm Khentywer(^\text{97})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.207.1900</td>
<td>4.154</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Şm wdp.w Rn=f-snb</td>
<td>Şm Nb-swmm.w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Şm, the butler, Renefseneb;(^\text{98}) Şm Nebsumenu(^\text{99})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20140</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Şmi S-n-wsr.t iri n Tbnr</td>
<td>Şmi (?)(^\text{100}) Senwosret,(^\text{101}) born to Tbnr(^\text{102})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

91 Garstang and Sethe end the term with two quail chicks (G43), however the reading is uncertain. Garstang, *El-Arâbah*, pl. S; Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 83 [15]; Baines, in *Form und Mass*, 52 [rr].

92 Postulated to be the city of Shechem, although the determinative as well as the preceding word point to a regional designate. For a similar toponym, see E6 of the Saqqara Execration Texts (Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4). Goedicke, *A&L* 7 (1998), 34-35; Abituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 173-174; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 76; Thompson, *Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*, 132; Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 134; Ahlström, *History of Ancient Palestine*, 166; Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections*, 46-47, n. 59.

93 For Mntw’s identification as the Residence, see Baines, in *Form und Mass*, 51 [dd]. A different interpretation recognises Mntw as the capital of Skmm, with the ensuing śnh(.w) (w)dḥ(.w) s(nb.w) formula referring back to the majesty. However, in such a case the formula would typically follow hnw=f rather than than Mntw. The term Mntw is also used twice in other sections of the stela to refer to Egyptian men of the Mntw, thereby most likely pointing to the Egyptian Residence rather than that of Skmm. Goedicke, *A&L* 7 (1998), 35; R. Gundlach, *Die Zwangsumsiedlung auswärtiger Bevölkerung als Mittel ägyptische Politik bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (Stuttgart, 1994), 172.


95 For this expression, see Baines, in *Form und Mass*, 51 [II].


97 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 272 [5].

98 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 223 [17].

99 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 186 [8].

100 The title and term are not attested in Ward but see Ward, *Index*, 174 [1508].

101 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 279 [1].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG 20125</th>
<th>4.155</th>
<th>12th Dyn. (?)</th>
<th>h.1</th>
<th>(\text{im}^{3}\text{h Shtp-ib-R}^{3}\text{.w m}^{3}\text{t}-\text{hrw})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>h.2</td>
<td>(\text{hm} \text{.t} \text{=} \text{f} \text{m}^{3}\text{m} \text{t}^{3}\text{.(t)} \text{-} \text{hrw})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.1</td>
<td>The revered Sehotepibra, justified;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.2</td>
<td>his wife, (\text{m}^{3}\text{m}, \text{justified})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| CG 20421 | 4.156 | 12th Dyn. (?) | 4 | \(\text{Sn} \text{b} \text{.(y)} \text{=} \text{fy} \text{ msi n} \text{ } \text{t} \text{.m} \text{t} \text{. Si-Mntw} \text{ }^{3} \text{ msi n} \text{ } \text{[...]} \text{ti-n(} \text{y)} \text{-} \text{[k} \text{i.w]} \text{=} \text{sn}\) |
| 5 | \(\text{em} \text{t} \text{m} \text{si n} \text{ Hpyw} \text{ } \text{nh} \text{.w} \text{ }^{7} \text{ msi n} \text{ } \text{t} \text{.Sn} \text{b-r} \text{.3w} \text{ msi n} \text{ } \text{m} \text{t} \text{.t}\) |
| 6 | \(\text{tc} \text{.Sn} \text{b} \text{.msi n} \text{ } \text{m} \text{t} \text{.t} \text{.nh.(} \text{w}} \text{.d} \text{.t}\) |
| 7 | Senebytyf,\(^{103}\) born to \(\text{m} \text{t}\); Samontu,\(^{104}\) born to [...].tiny[kau]sen; |
| 8 | \(\text{em} \text{t}, \text{born to} \text{Hepyu}^{105}\); Anku,\(^{106}\) born to \(\text{m} \text{t}\); |
| 9 | Senebraw,\(^{107}\) born to \(\text{m} \text{t}\); |
| 10 | Iuseneb,\(^{108}\) born to \(\text{m} \text{t}\); may he/they live eternally. |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ÄS 169</th>
<th>4.157</th>
<th>12th Dyn. (?)</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>(\text{hm} \text{.t} \text{=} \text{f} \text{Sn} \text{.t} \text{.Shk} \text{.iri.t } \text{.n} \text{ }^{125} \text{m} \text{t})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>His wife Senet-Sobek,(^{109}) born to (10^{3} \text{m} \text{t})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>E.60.1926</th>
<th>-</th>
<th>Late 12th Dyn.</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>(\text{Kms} \text{.iri n} \text{Kdmnt})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kemes,(^{110}) born to Kdmnt(^{111})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ÄS 99</th>
<th>4.158</th>
<th>Late 12th - 13th Dyn.</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>(\text{s} \text{.t} \text{=} \text{s} \text{.m} \text{t} \text{.Dd.t})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Her daughter, (\text{m} \text{t} \text{Djedjet}^{112})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ÄS 186 (shrine)</th>
<th>4.159</th>
<th>Late 12th - 13th Dyn.</th>
<th>85a</th>
<th>(\text{em} \text{t} \text{Wp-wi} \text{.wt-htp} \text{.m}^{3}\text{.(t)} \text{-} \text{hrw} \text{ }\text{N(y)} \text{-} \text{Hr.w} \text{.nfw})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85b</td>
<td>(\text{em} \text{t} \text{.t} \text{[S]})</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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102 Most possibly of Semitic origin. Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 127-128.
103 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 314 [23].
104 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 282 [7].
105 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 238 [8].
106 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 68 [6].
107 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 313 [13].
108 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 15 [22].
109 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 297 [2].
110 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 345 [16].
111 Most possibly of Semitic origin. Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 166-167.
112 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 59 [4]; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 77.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liverpool E.30</th>
<th>4.160</th>
<th>Khen-djer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>

The brewer, ***'m lr[s?]i***; ***'m Sobekiry***; ***'m Senebimenynebitef***; ***'m Sobekiry***.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ÄS 204</th>
<th>4.161</th>
<th>13th Dyn. (So. IV ?)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 sn=f <em><strong>'m m3^-hr.w</strong></em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 His brother <em><strong>'m, justified</strong></em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ÄS 143</th>
<th>4.162</th>
<th>13th Dyn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27 <em><strong>'m.t Wr-nb</strong></em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28 <em><strong>'m.t Sbk-nh.t</strong></em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27 <em><strong>'m.t Werneb;</strong></em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28 <em><strong>'m.t Sobeknekhet</strong></em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ÄS 160</th>
<th>4.163</th>
<th>13th Dyn.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2a</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>7</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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113 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 77 [27].
114 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 99 [826].
116 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 324 [20].
117 The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*, but the second element is Egyptian. See Hein and Satzinger, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches* 2, 115.
118 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 303 [22].
119 A similar name, *Snb-Imn.y* is attested. Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 312 [19].
An offering which the king gives and Osiris, lord of Busiris, the great god, lord of the city Abydos: may he give an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef, fowl, (ointment) alabasters and clothes which are for the \( k^3 \) of the hall-keeper and butler Wermerutef\(^{120} \), born to \( 3a \) Imnty-\( 3m.t \) and born to Nysu,\(^{121} \) may he live again, beloved of Anubis.

An offering which the king gives and Geb and Hapy, may he/she be prosperous and splendid; which are for the \( k^3 \) of the hall-keeper of the palace,\(^{122} \) Imyramesa\(^{123} \), born to \( 3b \) Imnty-\( 3m.t \), may she live again, and an offering which the king gives and Hapy, may he/she be prosperous and splendid.

An offering which the king gives and Hapy, may he/she be one...

\(^{120} \) The name is rare, but is clearly derived from the Egyptian.

\(^{121} \) Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 173 [12].

\(^{122} \) Ward, \textit{Index}, 57 [459].

\(^{123} \) The name is not attested in Ranke, \textit{Personennamen}, but derives from the Egyptian.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4.164 | 13th Dyn. | \[\begin{align*}
&\text{His sister, } 3m.t \text{ Maat} \\
&\text{Hall-keeper of (goods from)} \text{ Kpny}, \text{ Sobekhab} \\
\end{align*}\] |
| 4.165 | Mid-13th Dyn. | 0086 |
| 4.166 | 13th Dyn. | 0086 |
| 4.167 | - | 0086 |

---

6 An offering which the king gives and Osiris, for the \(3m.t\), born to I-it; may he give/be given an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef and fowl.

7 An offering which the king gives and Osiris, for the \(3m.t\) of Nysu, born to Keki; may he give/be given an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef and fowl.

8 SAHEPI, born to REN[NE]BJ; NENDJIREKHTUEF, born to \(3m.t\);

9 NETHEDJET; born to \(3m.t\);

10 AMENEMHAT; born to NETHEDJET;

11 BENERET; born to NETHEDJET;

12 IMYRAMESHA, born to NETHEDJET;

13 \(3m.t\), born to NETHEDJET;

14 WERMERUTEF, born to NETHEDJET;

15 IMYRAMESHA, born to NETHEDJET;

16 IMYRAMESHA, born to \(3m.t\).

---

124 A similar name, \(\text{Y\dot{u}it}\) is attested. Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 11 [11].

125 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 349 [1].

126 A similar name, \(N-\text{r}h.\text{tw}=f\) is attested. Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 168 [19].

127 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 181 [7].

128 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 28 [8].

129 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 97 [17].


131 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 189 [17].

132 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 315 [18].

133 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 313 [15].

134 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 214 [14].

135 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 81 [9].

136 Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 292 [24].
Translation 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG 20062</th>
<th>4.168</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$^a$s.t=$^a$m.t iri.t n Mrr.t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$^b$m.t, born to Henut; $^b$his daughter $^c$m.t, born to Mereret</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG 20103</th>
<th>-</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$^d$m=f Pth-wn=f (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$^d$His $^e$m, Ptahwenef (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG 20114</th>
<th>-</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$^f$Gbw hm.t=f Ss.t-ly(i,t)-hb iri n Pr.ty-h-ityti s Hy iri n $^g$m.t K3-sn.w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$^g$Her son, Gebu; his wife, Sesetiyitheb, born to Perty-ityti, son of Senehy, born to $^h$m.t Qasenu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CG 20119</th>
<th>-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$^i$m.t Nfr-lw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$^i$m.t Noferiu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<th>CG 20158</th>
<th>4.169</th>
<th>-</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$^j$m.t Tyi-m-htp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>$^j$m.t Syiemhotep</td>
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<tr>
<th>CG 20161</th>
<th>-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$^k$bd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>$^k$bd</td>
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<th>CG 20164</th>
<th>4.170</th>
<th>-</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$^l$m.t Pth-f.t fi(i,t) df3.w n nb=s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$^l$m.t Ptahaat, the one who carries provisions for her lord</td>
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<th>CG 20224</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>im(h,k,w) ss Snb.t(y)=f(y) iri n Nb.t-Kbn m35.(t)-hrw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The revered, the scribe, Senebtyfy, born to Nebet-Kbn, justified</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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137 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 139 [3]. Schneider reads the name as Tph-wn=f. Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 37.

138 As the two halves of the name are on separate lines, they could be two separate individuals. Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 37.

139 The sequence could also be translated as iri.n Pr.ty-ityti s=s Nhy ‘born to Perty-ityti; her son Nehy’. Nehy would then have two mothers (Perty-ityti and $^a$m.t Qasenu), though the addition of the feminine .t in $^a$m may be a scribal error. The name Nhy could be rendered as $^a$Si-Nhy or $^a$Nh Hy, which is favoured here. Alternatively, the addition of a suffix-pronoun may refer to a different individual, Ityi (see above, n. 138). Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 37.

140 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 332 [17].

141 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 194 [7].

142 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 9 [2].

143 The name is of Northwest Semitic origin. Ranke, Personennamen 1, 60 [9]; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 139-140.

144 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 138 [18].

145 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 189 [17].
<table>
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<tr>
<th>CG 20227</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k $^3m.t$ It</td>
<td>$^3m.t$ Nfr-iw</td>
<td>$^3m.t$ It</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k $^3m.t$ It</td>
<td>$^3m.t$ Noferiu;</td>
<td>$^3m.t$ It</td>
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<th>-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e.1 $^3m=f$ Snbi</td>
<td>e.1 His $^3m$ Senbi</td>
<td></td>
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<th>CG 20441</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.2 $^3m.t=f$ Khšty s.t.$=f$ Bb=$i$</td>
<td>a.2 His wife, Khšty,$^{147}$ her daughter, Bebi$^{148}$</td>
<td></td>
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<th>CG 20520</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i.1 It n.(y) hrd $^3m$ m$i^3$-hrw</td>
<td>i.1 The father of the child,$^{149}$ $^3m$, justified</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<th>CG 20549</th>
<th>4.173</th>
<th>-</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b $^3m.t$ Wdh-$k^3$</td>
<td>e.2 $^3m.t$ $N.t$-hd</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.3 $^3m.t$ Hip.wy</td>
<td>e.4 $^3m.t$ Hri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.5 $^3m.t$ $Rn=s$-snb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b $^3m.t$ (of?) Wahka,$^{150}$</td>
<td>e.2 $^3m.t$ Nethedj,$^{151}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.3 $^3m.t$ Hotepwy,$^{152}$</td>
<td>e.4 $^3m.t$ Hori,$^{153}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.5 $^3m.t$ Renesseneb$^{154}$</td>
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</tbody>
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146 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 49 [5].
147 Most possibly of Akkadian or Amorite origin. Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 344 [12]; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 2, 168.
148 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 95 [16].
149 It-$n$-hrd could also be the name of the individual. While the placement of $^3m$ after this rare name is uncommon, it is not unattested (see CG 20571 for an example).
150 $^3m.t$ could either be a name or part of the nomens regens of a direct genitive in "$^3m.t$ of Wahka", as Wahka is also the name of the stela’s dedicator. Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 73 [23].
151 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 181 [7].
152 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 260 [10].
153 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 251 [8].
154 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 224 [1].
CG 20550 4.174 -

\[ a \]
\[ c.4 \]
\[ a \]
\[ c.4 \] Am.t Sobekhotep\[155\]
\[ c.4 \] Am.t Sobekaa\[156\]

CG 20571 4.175 -

\[ c.1 \]
\[ wdp.w Hp.w \]
\[ c.1 \] The butler, Hepu\[157\] Am.t

CG 20650 4.176 -

\[ b.1 \]
\[ b.2 \] Hepu-Di-nsw.t Wsir nb 3bdw\[b.2\]
\[ b.3 \] Di=f pr.t-r-hrw(t) n t\[b.3\]
\[ b.4 \] m Ḥnk.t
\[ b.5 \] k3.w ṭḍ.p.w n k3 n(y) im.y-r\[b.5\] mjr\[b.6\]
\[ b.6 \] Ḥšši iri n [B]3jkt
\[ b.7 \] nb.t pr(w) ḳmrt iri.t n [Tit...]
\[ b.8 \] ḳm-nj+t jy iri n ḳm.t nb.t im3ḥ
\[ b.9 \] nb.t pr(w) [B3jkt] iri.t n ḳm.t nb.t im3ḥ

\[ b.1 \] An offering which the king gives and Osiris, lord of Abydos: may he give invocation offerings with bread and beer, beef and fowl to the king of the overseer of the expedition\[158\]
\[ b.4 \] Nehai\[159\], born to [B]akjet;\[160\]
\[ b.5 \] Lady of the house, ḳm.t, born to [Tit...];
\[ b.6 \] Seward,\[161\] I-y,\[162\] born to ḳm.t, possessor of veneration;
\[ b.7 \] Lady of the house, [Baket], born to ḳm.t, possessor of veneration;
\[ b.8 \] Lady of the house, [...]t-puptah, born to [Baket];
\[ b.9 \] Lady of the house, Senebef, born to I-tetu, possessor of veneration;

CG 20678 - -

\[ 4 \]
\[ 5 \]
\[ 4 \] Im.y-r ṭmr n(y) ḫnw.t ḫmbr.w msi n nb.t pr(w) Nb.t-Kpny
\[ 5 \] mjr.t-hrw nb.t im3ḥ

\[ 4 \] The overseer of the canal of Denderah, Imbu, born to the lady of the house, Nebet-Kpny, justified, possessor of veneration

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155 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 305 [6].
156 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 303 [24].
157 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 238 [14].
158 Ward, Index, 29 [205].
159 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 207 [3].
160 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 92 [5].
161 Ward, Index, 21 [32].
162 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 7 [17].
| CG 20753 | - | - | 4 sn=f cik m3'-hrw |
| Pennsylvania Museum 69-29-56 | 4.177 | - | šmsw cm m3'-hrw |
| Rio de Janeiro 680 [Nr 21] | 4.178 | - | 20 im.y-r3 hm.wt cpr 21 iri n I1-bi m3.t-hrw |

**Notes:**

163 The name is most possibly of Semitic origin. Another brother is listed with a non-Egyptian name, šmbrdwr, of unknown origin. Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 59 [6]; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 2, 138, 143.

164 Ward, *Index*, 175 [1517].

165 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 38 [282].


ASWAN GRAFFITI

Prov. Aswan

Ref. Morgan et al., Catalogue, 38 [166], 48 [7].

Chron. 12th-13th Dynasty

Chapter 4.5.2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NR</th>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>4.182</td>
<td>13th Dyn.</td>
<td>![Translation Image]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 An offering which the king gives and Satet, Khnum and Anukis: may they give an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef and fowl for the keeper of [linen?],

169 Letters ascribed by author.

170 Title as translated in Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 24; Ward, Index, 66 [544].

171 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 303 [27].

172 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 49 [17].

173 Ward, Index, 57 [458].

174 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 186 [8].
8 born to I-ti, justified;  
His father, the honoured one (?), Renefankhnehken, justified,  
9 born to Keku, justified;  
His mother, lady of the house, I-ty, justified, born to ḫm.t,  
justified;  
10 Mother of ḫm.t, born to Pmt[...], justified;  
His sister, Keku, justified, born to I-ti, justified;  
11 His brother, chamberlain of the kitchen, Imeny, justified, born  
to [...]puenperhedj[...], justified ...  

B  4.183  12th - 13th Dyn.  

\[\text{Glyphs} \]

\[\tilde{\text{ḥm.t }} \text{IsmAA} \tilde{\text{ḥm.t }} \text{IsmAA}\]

---

175 The title may also be written as \[\text{ḥm.t} \] which may have been misread when transcribed by de  
Morgan et al. as \[\text{ḥm.t} \]. Ward, Index, 74 [604]; Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 24.  
176 Ward, Index, 31 [13].  
177 Not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. Perhaps the name is derived from a Semitic word such  
as \text{benet} ‘daughter’ or \text{banah} ‘to build’.  
178 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 349 [8].  
179 The name is not attested in Ranke, Personennamen and could be derived from the Semitic.  
Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 24.
## 7 Berlin Exutomationc Bowls

**Prov.** Unknown

**Ref.** Sethe, Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, 45-59, pls 15-21.

**Chron.** Mid-late 12th Dynasty

**Chapter** 4.6.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e1</td>
<td>Hn. Y-ianq n(y) škn Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Y-ianq, škm, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e2</td>
<td>Hn. Y-ianq Tš-y-im'-m w Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Y-ianq, Tš-y-im'-m, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e3</td>
<td>Hn. Y-ianq kšm Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Y-ianq, kšm, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e4</td>
<td>Hn. Štw Tš-y-im'-m Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Štw, Tš-y-im'-m, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e5</td>
<td>Hn. Štw Kšš Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Štw, Kšš, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e6</td>
<td>Hn. Štw Tšš Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Štw, Tšš, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e7</td>
<td>Hn. Y-imwŠr Kšš Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Y-imwŠr, Kšš, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e8</td>
<td>Hn. Kšš Št/y-š m Tšš Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Kšš, Tšš, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e9</td>
<td>Hn. Kšš Hšš Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Kšš, Hšš, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e10</td>
<td>Hn. Kšš Št/y-š m Št/y-š m n.t(y)w m=f Ruler of Kšš, Št/y-š m, and all acquaintances who are with him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

180 The different spellings of toponyms among the various vessels are not included here but may be found in Sethe's publication.

181 For a similar toponym, Ynki, in E36 of the Saqqara Exercation Texts, see Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4.

182 For the same toponym in E52-3 of the Saqqara Exercation Texts, see Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4.
Translation 7

e11  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Tibhw, } \text{prw-hk, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e12  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Tibhw, } \text{im'nmw, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e13  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Tsinw, Y-ikwDdA's son } \text{amw-ti and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e14  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Tsinw, } \text{wdwsmw, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e15  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Tsinw, M3mt, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e16  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Inhi, [M3]km(?), and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e17  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Inhi, Km3m, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e18  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Inhi, 3khm, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e19  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{Inhi, Y-ipnw, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e20  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{3kh, Y-ik3dmw, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e21  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{3kh, Sm3wirl[m], and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

e22  
\( \text{Ruler of } \text{3ktm, Twmghti, and all acquaintances who are with him}\)  

\[\text{[Ruler of } \text{Isk3nw, ...}, \text{and all acquaintances who are with him]}\]

\(183\) For the same toponym in E54 of the Saqqara Execration Texts, see Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4.  
\(184\) Postulated to be Ashkelon. For a similar toponym, IsqAi, in E2 of the Saqqara Execration Texts, see Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4.
Ruler of \( M(w)ti\), \( M\text{nt}\), and all acquaintances who are with him

Ruler of \( Y-ik\text{m}\text{w} \), and all acquaintances who are with him

Ruler of \( Y-ik\text{m}\text{w} \), and all acquaintances who are with him

Ruler of \( Y-ik\text{m}\text{w} \), and all acquaintances who are with him

Ruler of \( Y-ik\text{m}\text{w} \), and all acquaintances who are with him

Ruler of \( Y-ik\text{m}\text{w} \), and all acquaintances who are with him

All rulers of \( Y-isip\), and all acquaintances who are with them

All rulers of \( Y-isip\), and all acquaintances who are with them

All rulers of \( Y-isip\), and all acquaintances who are with them

All rulers of \( Y-isip\), and all acquaintances who are with them

Postulated to be Jerusalem. For the same toponym in E45 of the Saqqara Exorcism Texts, see Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4. A. Ben-Tor, in Essays on Ancient Israel, 68-70.

Postulated to be Achshaph. For a similar toponym, \( Tsi-pi \), in E12 of the Saqqara Exorcism Texts, see Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4. A. Ben-Tor, in Essays on Ancient Israel, 75-76.

Identified as Byblos. Sethe, Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, 55-56.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>f9</th>
<th>n.w Y-Ism(w)t</th>
<th>Of Y-Ism(w)t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f10</td>
<td>n.w Inki3</td>
<td>Of Inki3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f11</td>
<td>n.w 3khi</td>
<td>Of 3khi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f12</td>
<td>n.w 5ktm</td>
<td>Of 5ktm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f13</td>
<td>n.w Y-Ism(w)t</td>
<td>Of Y-Ism(w)t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f14</td>
<td>n.w Tsinw</td>
<td>Of Tsinw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f15</td>
<td>n.w Isk3nw</td>
<td>Of Isk3nw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f16</td>
<td>n.w Dmti3w</td>
<td>Of Dmti3w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f17</td>
<td>n.w M(w)t33</td>
<td>Of M(w)t33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f18</td>
<td>n.w 3w3mm</td>
<td>Of 3w3mm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f19</td>
<td>n.w 5hm(w)t</td>
<td>Of 5hm(w)t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f20</td>
<td>n.w Tshnw</td>
<td>Of Tshnw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f21</td>
<td>n.w Y-isi3pi</td>
<td>Of Y-isi3pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g1</td>
<td>nht.w=sn</td>
<td>Their strong men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g2</td>
<td>wt n.w nmt.F=sn</td>
<td>Their quick men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**

For the same toponym in F5 of the Saqqara Exeaction Texts, see Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4. See also Dussaud, *Syria* 8/3 (1927), 227-229.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>g3</th>
<th>Their allies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sm$^3$.w=sn</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>g4</th>
<th>Their assemblies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dmd.yw=sn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>g5</th>
<th>Mntw m St.t</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mntw in St.t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446

**Prov.** Unknown


**Chron.** Mid-13th Dynasty – Reign of Sobekhotep III

**Chapter** 4.6.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LINE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>hm-nsw.t Rn=s-snb(.w) s3 ȝnh.w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s servant, Renessenebu’s son</td>
<td>He is called Hedjeri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>hm.t T-y s3.t S1-t-gmi.u(=i)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Servant Iy’s daughter Satgemini</td>
<td>It is her name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>s3.t=s Rn-snb(.w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her daughter Renesenebu</td>
<td>It is her name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>hm-nsw.t Tw=s-n=i s3 ȝṣ3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King’s servant Iuseni’s son Asha</td>
<td>It is his name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>T-y s3 Tbw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iy’s son Ibu</td>
<td>It is his name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ẖm Sub-rs-snb(.w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖm Senebessenebu</td>
<td>It is his name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>ẖm Tḥ.ḥwy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẖm.ḥ Tḥwy</td>
<td>She is called Kaipunef</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>s3=s Nfsw s3 Rs-snb(.w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Her son, Nefu’s son, Resenebu</td>
<td>He is called Renenef</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

189 The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian. Ward, *Index*, 94 [787].

190 Schneider proposes a Semitic origin for the name, although it is attested in the Egyptian. Schneider, UF 19 (1987), 257-258; Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 225 [18].

191 The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian. For similar names, see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 339 [9-13].

192 The transcription of the first sign is questioned by Hayes. The translation as ẖṣ for ‘warper’ is also reached cautiously. The occupation appears to be associated with the manufacture or preparation of cloth. See Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn*, 105-106.

193 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 226 [25].

194 Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 223 [16].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Translation Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Translation Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Translation Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Translation Image" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Translation Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Translation Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Translation Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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197 Ward, *Index*, 73 [595].


199 Ward, *Index*, 156 [1343].


201 The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.


203 The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.


205 See Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 279 [1], 312 [15].

Postulated to be from the Semitic stems ‘aḥāṭu ‘sister’ and probably mil(katu) ‘queen’. Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 228-229; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 79; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 96; Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 149; Schneider, UF 19 (1987), 264.

The name is not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.

Postulated to be from the Semitic Dōdī-hu’at(u) ‘my beloved is he’. Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 229; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 79; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 9; Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 1496.

Ranke, Personennamen 1, 68 [10].

Ward, Index, 116 [977].

Postulated to be from the Semitic stem ʾšpr ‘to be fair/beautiful’. Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 229; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 79; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 96; Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 149.

See Ranke, Personennamen 1, 243 [29], 312 [15].

See Ranke, Personennamen 1, 159 [2].

Postulated to be from the Semitic stem ʾśr ‘blessed/be prosperous’. Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 229-231; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 79; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 97.

The name is not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.

Ranke, Personennamen 1, 314 [25].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Šm.t Šn[...] (\text{dd.t n=s Nb-m-mr-kis}) Weaver of (\text{h.t.tyw-cloth})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Šm.t Šmštsw (\text{dd.t n=s Snb-hnw.t[...]}) Weaver of (\text{h.t.tyw} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Šm Tšštsw (\text{dd.w n=f Imn[.tyw]}) Tutor (\text{Iasbtw} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Hm.t Wwi sA.t Ir.t (\text{rn=s pw} ) It is her name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Šm t D[iiti]tw (\text{dd.t n=s Mn-hs[.wt]}) She is called Menhes[ut] (\text{I-tni} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>sA.t=s (\text{Dmwtw...} ) She is called Senebhe[nutes] (\text{I-tni} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Šm t D[iiti]tw (\text{dd.t n=s Mn-hs[.wt]}) She is called Menhes[ut] (\text{I-tni} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Šm t I-mi (\text{dd.t n=s Snb-h[nw.t=s]}) He is called Hederu (\text{I-tni} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Šm.t Šmštsw (\text{dd.t n=s Nb-m-mr-kis}) Weaver of (\text{h.t.tyw-cloth})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Šm t D[iiti]tw (\text{dd.t n=s Nb-m-mr-kis}) Weaver of (\text{h.t.tyw-cloth})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

218 The name is not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.  
219 Postulated to be a ephoric name consisting of the Levantine deity Šamaš. Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 231; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 80; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 97; Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 150.  
220 Postulated to be from the Semitic stem `šb 'herbage'. Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 97; Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 231; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 80; Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 150.  
221 Ward, Index, 178 [1537].  
222 See n. 209 above.  
223 The name is not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.  
224 See Ranke, Personennamen 1, 401 [12-13].  
225 Postulated to be from the Semitic, although derivation is uncertain. See Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 231; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 80; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 97.  
226 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 68 [6].  
227 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 261 [22].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35.1</td>
<td>(3m.t \ B^2 \text{twy})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>(3m.t \ B^2 \text{twy})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>(s.t= s \text{ Snb.t(y)sy})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.2</td>
<td>(s.t= s \text{ Snb.t(y)sy})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>(\text{aqbi} \text{ Rs-snb-wAH DA Htwyw})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>(\text{aqbi} \text{ Rs-snb-wAH DA Htwyw})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>([\text{hm.t}] \text{ S}-\text{ib} sA.t \text{ Rs-snb(w)} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>([\text{hm.t}] \text{ S}-\text{ib} sA.t \text{ Rs-snb(w)} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>(s.t= s \text{ Hnw.t=i-pw})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>(s.t= s \text{ Hnw.t=i-pw})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>([\text{hm.nw}].t= i-pw s.t \text{ Sn-nw.t})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>([\text{hm.nw}].t= i-pw s.t \text{ Sn-nw.t})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>([\text{hnk}] \text{ hj-t})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>([\text{hnk}] \text{ hj-t})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>([\text{hesut}] \text{ hj})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>([\text{hesut}] \text{ hj})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>([\text{y}'] s.t \text{ Htp})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>([\text{y}'] s.t \text{ Htp})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>([\text{hm-nsw.t}...])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.2</td>
<td>([\text{hm-nsw.t}...])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>([\text{hm-nsw.t}...])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.2</td>
<td>([\text{hm-nsw.t}...])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.1</td>
<td>([\text{hm-nsw.t}...])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.2</td>
<td>([\text{hm-nsw.t}...])</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{228}\) Postulated to be a theophoric name with a reference to the Levantine deity Baal. Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 231; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 80; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 97; Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 150; Schneider, UF 19 (1987), 271.

\(^{229}\) The name is not attested in Ranke, Personenamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.

\(^{230}\) Ward, Index, 185 [1597].

\(^{231}\) Postulated to be from the Semitic stem ‘qb ‘to watch, protect’. Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 231; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 80; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 97; Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 150.

\(^{232}\) The name is not attested in Ranke, Personenamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian. For a similar name, see Ranke, Personenamen 1, 226 [25].
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47-50</td>
<td>Am.t [...w] [Dd.t n=s Nfr.t (d3) ssr] Am.t [...w] [Dd.t n=s Nfr.t-t.m.t [...] She is called Noferet(^{233}) Warper(?) of ssr-cloth. Servant Henutipul['s daughter ...sen] She is called Noferettenet[...].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49-52</td>
<td>s(\bar{\iota})=s (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-53</td>
<td>h(m-nsw.t) Rs-nb.(w) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-54</td>
<td>(sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52-55</td>
<td>(sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54-57</td>
<td>(sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-59</td>
<td>(sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...] (sA=t-s) (Rn=f) pw (d3) (d3) w n=f [...]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^{233}\) Ranke, Personennamen 1, 201 [10].
\(^{234}\) See Ranke, Personennamen 1, 81 [8].
\(^{235}\) Ranke, Personennamen 1, 44 [13].
\(^{236}\) See Table 37 for other attestations of the name.

Hayes's ‘magazine employee’. Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 108.
Servant Iyi
She is called Bebi's daughter Iyi
Weaver

She is called Senebh[enut]es Weaver of h.t tyw-cloth

Her son Ibi[...m]
He is called Senebnebef Labourer

He is his name Warper(?) of h.t tyw-cloth

It is his name Warper(?) of srs-cloth

It is his name Major-domo

She is called Petimenti Labourer

The name is not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.

Ranke, Personennamen 1, 216 [16].

Postulated to be from the Semitic Hayabilu or Ayya'abi-‘ilu ‘where is my father, God?’
Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 225-227; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 80; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 94-95; Posener, Syria 34/1 (1957), 150.

The name is not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian.

Ranke, Personennamen 1, 313 [11].

See n. 204 above.

Ranke, Personennamen 1, 191 [16].

Postulated to be from the Semitic, although derivation is uncertain. See Albright, JAOS 74/4 (1954), 232; Helck, Die Beziehungen, 80; Hayes, Papyrus Brooklyn, 98; Schneider, UF 19 (1987), 277-279.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td><code>hm.t Hip.t</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>rn= s pw</code>&lt;br&gt;Servant Hetepet</td>
<td>It is her name  &quot;Warper(? of šsr-cloth&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td><code>s= t nh.w</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>rn= f pw</code>&lt;br&gt;Her son Ankh</td>
<td>It is his name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td><code>[hm-nsw.t Rs-snb(.w)]</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>[dd.w n=j Bw-rh]</code>&lt;br&gt;[Servant Ressenebu]</td>
<td>[He is called Burekh] [Cultivator]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td><code>...hnw=t=i-pw</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>...henutipu</code></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td><code>ṭm.t Hiywr[...]</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>ṭm.t Hiywr[...]</code></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td><code>hm-nsw.t Rw-htp</code>&lt;br&gt;King’s servant Ruhotep</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td><code>hm.t Twy s.t Mr[...]</code>&lt;br&gt;Servant Iwi’s daughter Mer[...]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td><code>...ib</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>...ib</code></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td><code>...nfw-m-*n.tyw</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>...nfwemantyw</code></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td><code>*[ṭ]m.t kbtw</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>*[ṭ]m.t kbtw²³²</code></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td><code>*[ṭ]n't[r]ti</code>&lt;br&gt;<code>*[ṭ]n't[r]ti</code></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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246 The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*. However, it is clearly derived from the Egyptian. See Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 137 [18].

247 See n. 231 above.
9  **PAPYRUS LEIDEN I.344 (ADMONITIONS OF IPUWER)**

Prov.  Unknown


Chron.  Middle Kingdom

Chapter  4.6.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LINE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1.4  | [T]dhw.t hr.t ikm.w...  
The Delta dwellers are with shields... |
| 1.9  | h[s...tyw] hpr(w) m rmT(t) m s.t nb...  
The foreigners have become as people in every place... |
| 3.1-2| [iw-m].s dSr.t xt tA spA.wt xb...PD.tyw rw.ty iyi.ty n Km.t iw-ms spr.tw [...] |
|      | [...] nn ms wn rmT(t) m s.t nb... |
| 3.6-7|  n ms [h]di.tw 3.6 [Kp]ny min ptr iri.ti=n r 3.6 n s'f.h.w=n krs.tw [w'b.w...m] ini.w=sn s'dhw.tw 3.8 wr.w m sft ir.y r mn m Kf[3],tyw n iyi.n=sn... |
|      | 3.6 [Kp]ny today. What shall we do for s'f-wood for our mummies, the products with which the w'b-priests are buried and the oil with which the great ones are embalmed? From as far as Kf[3],tyw, they do not come... |
| 4.8  |  h3s.tyw [hmw m] k3.wt T(dh)w...  
... The foreigners are skilful in the crafts of the Delta marshes... |

---

248  Transliterations and translations are reliant on Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 140-149.

249  Or Rmnn Kf[3].tyw n iyi.n=sn ‘Rmnn and Kf[3].tyw, they do not come’. Enmarch notes that the toponym Rmnn or Rmnn is not securely attested before Thutmosis III; however it does occur in the biography of Khnumhotep III. See Chapter 4.3.1.2, Translation 1, Figure 4.67; L. Morenz, ‘Die bisher ältesten ägyptischen Belege für den Libanon: Ein Beitrag zum geographischen Wissen der Ägypter im frühen 2. Jh. V. Chr‘., *OLP* 31 (2000-05), 31; J. F. Quack, ‘kftbw and i3šy’, *A&L* 6 (1996), 81; Enmarch, *World Upturned*, 89.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14.10-15.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 14.10 ... sp ḫ3k [w... ... [...] m-ḵ3b] 250 14.11 ir.y mi St.tyw [...n.ty...n=f] iw=tw ḫr shr.w ir.y krs=sn n= 14.12 sn nn gmi.ntw n.ty r ḫw ḫr mkt st ḫt [...]m.w 251 ḫ3 si nb ḫr sn=t=f mk=š 14.13 ḫw=f in Nhš.yw kɔ iri=n mkt=n s=fš ḫ[t...] r ḫsf Pd.tyw in iw=s m Tmḥ.yw 14.14 kɔ iri=n Ṽsn.w Mḏ.3.yw ndm.w ḫn t mi-m ir=f si nb hr sm=t sn=f ḏm.3.w 15.1 is=n n=n hpr.w m Pd.tyw w3.w r ḫ3 l ḫpr.t n=f im=t r ḫ St.tyw ş̱m.w n[y] ti t 15.2 ḫe t h³ss tyw nb hr t sn=d w=f ...  
| 14.10 ... time [of plunder... in the midst] 14.11 like the St.tyw [... of him]. One is in the situation thereof, they making an end for 14.12 themselves, the one who will stand up for their protection not being found [...]m.w. Every man fights for his sister and protects 14.13 himself. Is it the Nhš.yw? Then let us make our protection, multiplying fighters to drive away the Pd.tyw. Are they the Tmḥ.yw? 14.14 Then let us turn back, as the Mḏ.3.yw are well with Egypt. Yet, what is this, every man killing his brother, the troops 15.1 whom we marshal for ourselves changed into Pd.tyw and falling into plundering? What he has brought about through it is to let the St.tyw know the state of the land. 15.2 But, now all foreigners are under fear of him/it... 252 |

250 Translated by Quirke as pḥr iry mi... ‘its circuit like...’. Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 149.
251 Perhaps "im.w or, as suggested by Quirke, ḏm.w. Quirke, *Egyptian Literature*, 149; Enmarch, *World Upturned*, 203-204.
252 Redford translates the expression as: ‘which indeed formerly all foreigners showed respect for’. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 67.
10 PROPHETIES OF NOFERTY

Prov. Unknown
Chron. Early 12th Dynasty
Chapter 4.6.5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LINE</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 17-19 | 17... [iw]=f 16 mHi=f hr hpr.ty(=sn) m t\(\) 19
      |   iw=f sh=f kni n(y) n Tibt.t hpi 13m.w m hpš.t=sn 19 sh=sn ib.w [...] n.tyw hr šmw nḥm=sn htr.w hr skf ... |
| 17... He (Noferty) 18 ponders on what will happen in the land. He remembers the condition of the east, when the ḫm.w travelled in their strength 19 terrorising the hearts [...] of those who are upon the harvest, carrying off those yoked upon the plough ... |
| 29-30 | 29... \(iw\) 3pd.w ḫdry.(w)\(t\) [...] r mski.t m ḫ.t n.t Ti-mhw iri.n=f 3sw hr-gw.wy 30 rmt(t) stkn sw rmt(t) n g\(w\) |
| 29... strange bird(s) will be born in the marshes of the Delta, having made a nest beside the 30 people, while the people cause it to approach because of lack. |
| 30-36 | 30 hdI (n)hm(u) (n)f3 n(y) ḫw-nfr ns3 n(y) ḫ.w k\(f\)h.w wn. 31 yw hr wgs.w wbn.w hr rmt.w 3pd.w ḫw-nfr nb rwi.w pth 32 m t\(n\) ksn.t m-c nḥ3 n(y) df3.w St.tyw ḫt.yw-t\(t\) iw hr.w 33 hpr(w) hr Tibt.t iw 3m.w hlt(w) r Km.t g\(w\) tw hnr.t ky r gs nn sḏm m 5w=\(f\) |
| 34 tw r isk mšk.t m ḡr tw r ḫ hmr.wt tw r snb kdd m ir.ty=t 35 sḏr.kw hr iw=1 rš.kw 5w.t ḫš.t r swr hr ltrw 36 n.w Km.t |

253 Hieroglyphic transcription follows Papyrus Hermitage 1116B.
Those good things are utterly perished; those lakes and fish-ponds where the gutting of fish (took place?) overflow with fish and birds; all good is gone; the land is cast to pain through the sustenance of the Sltyw who pervade the land.

Enemies have arisen in the east, the 3m.w have descended to Egypt.

The enclosure will be deprived, the other at the side without hearing from its plunderer; one will hinder the latter at night; one will banish the sleep from my two eyes, spending the night while being vigilant.

The small cattle of the foreign land will drink at the river of Egypt, they cooling off at its riverbanks because of the lack that which drives them back.

Those who fall into evil and those who plan rebellions: they have cast down their voices before his fear.

The 3m.w will fall to his sword; the Tm64.h.w will fall to his flame; the rebels before his wrath; the disaffected persons before his awe; the uraeus which is in the Residence making content the disaffected persons for him.

One will build the Walls-of-the-Ruler, may he live, be prosperous and healthy, not allowing the 3m.w to descend to Egypt.

They will beg for water according to the manner of beseeching to allow that their small cattle drink.

It is order that will return to its place, [chaos] being driven out. He who will see and in the following of the king will rejoice...

254 Quirke translates it as nn sdmn n=f ‘(he) who will not be heard’. Parkinson prefers ‘without the guards hearing’. Quirke, Egyptian Literature, 137; R. B. Parkinson, The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems 1940-1640 B.C. (Oxford, 1997), 136.
### 11 STELA MOSCOW I.1.A.5349 (4161)

**Prov.** Unknown

**Ref.** Hodjash and Berlev, *Reliefs and Stelae*, 77-79 [34].

**Chron.** Late 12th – early 13th Dynasty

**Chapter** 4.6.7

**Figure** 4.209

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTRY</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>ⲫ smb [S-n]-wsr.t  ⲫ Senwosret&lt;sup&gt;255&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>ⲫ smb lw-nfr  ⲫ Iunefer&lt;sup&gt;256&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>ⲫ smb Nfr-mn.t  ⲫ Nofermenit&lt;sup&gt;257&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>ⲡ sn=f Immw  His brother, Imemu&lt;sup&gt;258&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5</td>
<td>ⲡ sn=f nh.w  His brother, Ankhu&lt;sup&gt;259&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F1</td>
<td>ⲡ smb Mw.t  ⲡ smb Mut&lt;sup&gt;260&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2</td>
<td>ⲡ smb Mw.t  ⲡ smb Mut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENTRY</th>
<th>TRANSLATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F3</td>
<td>ⲡ smb Psʾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4</td>
<td>ⲡ smb Ini  ⲡ smb Iyinofer&lt;sup&gt;261&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F5</td>
<td>ⲡ smb Nbr-Kbn  ⲡ smb Nebet-Kbn&lt;sup&gt;264&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F6</td>
<td>ⲡ smb Nfr-mw.t=f  ⲡ smb Nofermutef&lt;sup&gt;265&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F7</td>
<td>ⲡ smb Bnn  ⲡ smb Benen&lt;sup&gt;266&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F8</td>
<td>ⲡ smb Bnn  ⲡ smb Benen&lt;sup&gt;266&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>255</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 279 [1].

<sup>256</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 15 [21].

<sup>257</sup> The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen* but see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 196 [21-22].

<sup>258</sup> The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen* but see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 26 [14-17].

<sup>259</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 68 [6].

<sup>260</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 147 [3].

<sup>261</sup> The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*. Possibly of Semitic origin. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten* 2, 147.

<sup>262</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 36 [13].

<sup>263</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 10 [5].

<sup>264</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 189 [17].

<sup>265</sup> The name is not attested in Ranke, *Personennamen*, but see Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 196 [20].

<sup>266</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* 1, 97 [15].
12 TALE OF SINUHE

Prov. Unknown

Ref. Koch, Sinuhe.

Chron. 12th Dynasty – Reign of Senwosret I

Chapter 4.6.9

R1-R2

R1: ir.y-p.t Ha.ty-a sAb aD-mr DAt.t ity m tA.w %t.tyw
R2: rh nsw.t mS mr.y=f Sm[t w SIn]h.t dd=f ...

Nobleman, count, dignitary, administrator of the estates of the sovereign of the lands of the St.tyw,268 R2 true acquaintance of the king, his beloved, the retainer, Sinuhe. He says...

R43

When the B11 time of the evening meal had come, I had reached the quay of B17 N[Greg]yw. I ferried in a barge without its rudder by means of the westerly wind and I crossed upon the east of the stone-quarry above the Mistress-of-the-Red-Mountain. Giving way for my two feet travelling north, I reached the Walls-of-the-Ruler which had been made to repel the St.tyw and crush the Nmi.w-s&t. B15 I took on a crouching position in a thicket from fear of being seen by the watchers atop the enclosure269 who were on its duty.

267 The ‘R’ and ‘B’ texts relate to the two principal manuscripts Ramesside Papyrus Berlin 10499 (Twelfth Dynasty) and Papyrus Berlin 3022 (Middle Kingdom), respectively.

268 Parkinson translates the titles as ‘Governor of the Sovereign’s Domains in the Syrian lands’ while Quirke prefers ‘governor and canal-cutter, sovereign in the lands of the Syrians’. Parkinson, Tale of Sinuhe, 27; Quirke, Egyptian Literature, 58.

269 R45 contains the term \( \text{inb} \) ‘wall’. Koch, Sinuhe, 18.
I walked on at night time. At dawn I had reached Ptn and halted at the island of Kmwr. Thirst struck, it overtook me, I was parched, and my throat was dry. I said: 'This is the taste of death'.

I lifted lifting my heart and gathered my body when I heard the sound of cattle’s lowing and I caught sight of St.tw, the leader there who had been in Egypt recognised me. Then he gave me water and boiled milk for me. I went with him to his people. That which they did was good.

Foreign land gave me to foreign land. I set out for Kp(n) I turned back to Kdm. I spent one and a half years there until mwššnšš fetched me. He was the ruler of Upper (R)nw.

He said to me: 'You are well with me (because) you will hear the speech of Egypt'. He said this as he had known my character and he had heard of my wisdom. the Egyptians who were there with him having testified concerning me. Then he said to me: 'Why and how have you reached this (place)? Has something transpired in the Residence?'...
... As for me, I said to him, answering him: 'Surely his son has entered the palace, he having taken the inheritance of his father...

... He was the suppressor of foreign lands when his father was within his palace, reporting to him that whatever he ordered him came to pass...

... None resemble him when he is seen charging against the Pd.twy and approaching the melee. His charging down against the Pd.twy is his joy...

... The Pd.twy flee before him as before the power of the Great Goddess... He is one who extends the borders. He will take the southern lands without considering the northern lands. He was made to smite the St.twy and crush the Nmi.w-S. Go down to him and let him know your name. Do not think of falling away from his majesty. He will not fail to do good for the foreign land which is loyal to him.

Then he said before me: Indeed, beautiful is Egypt because it knows that he flourishes. Behold, you are here and you will be with me. Good is what I will do for you’. He placed me at the head of his children and attached me to his eldest daughter. He let me choose for myself from his foreign land, from the choicest of what was for him on his border with another foreign land.
It was a good land, \(T33\) was its name. Figs were in it as well as grapes. It had more wine than water. Its honey was plentiful and its moringa oil abundant. All dkr-fruits were upon its trees. Barley was there as well as wheat, without a limit of any kind of cattle.

Indeed, great was that which accrued to me because of the love for me. He placed me as ruler of his people with the choice of his foreign land. Loaves and wine were made for me daily, cooked meat, roasted fowl as well as cattle of the foreign land. One hunted for me and laid before me, besides the catch of my dogs. Many things were made for me and milk with everything cooked.

I spent many years, my children becoming as strong men, each man controlling his people. The messenger who (always) travels northwards and southwards to the Residence, he stayed with me. I caused all people to tarry. I gave water to the thirsty, I placed the lost (back) upon the road and I rescued he who had been robbed. The St.tyw that had fallen to hostility to create opposition against the rulers of the foreign lands, I opposed their actions.
This ruler of (R)Tnw made me spend many years as a commander in his army. Every foreign land which I advanced against, I achieved my prevailing over it, destroying (its) pastures and its wells. I captured its cattle and I carried off its inhabitants, taking away their food. I killed its people with my strong arm, my bow, my movements and my excellent plans. I was efficient in his heart. He loved me because he knew I was valiant. He placed me at the head of his children as he had seen the strength of my arms.

A strong man of (R)Tnw, who challenged me in my tent, came. He was a champion without equal who had subdued it in its entirety. He said he would fight with me, he intended to strike me and planned to capture my cattle under the council of his people.
case that B116 'I have opened his gate and overstepped his walls? It is resentment
B117 upon seeing me do his commissions. B116 It is who is like a bull of cattle
B119 another herd. The bull of the small cattle attacks him and B120 the long-
horned bull assails him. Is there a lowly man B121 who is loved for ordering as a
master? No Pd.tv B122 associates with a man of the Delta marshes...

B129–131

B129...

B139–146

B139...

B140...

B141...

B142...

B143...

B144...

B145...

B146...

B139... sbb.w=f hr.n=f hr fnd=f sh B140 n.f=f i n sw (m) minb=f 272 wdl.n=i šsm=f
B141 hr 3.w=f 'cm mb hr nmi rdt.n=i hkn.w 273 n Mnt.w mr.w=f 273 hbt.w n=f htk
pt 273 n=s f wp r hpt=f 'h'n n mnt=f (i)h 274 n=f htk.n=i mmn.pt=f
kl 273 n=f ir 275 n st r=f i r n=i st r=f 275 n n=t m imf.w=f 276 htk.f n=f 275 y=f...

B139... He cried out and fell upon his nose. B140 I threw down with his axe
and I uttered my war-cry B141 on his back, every 'lm shouting. I gave praise
B142 to Montu while his subjects mourned for him. This ruler B143 mws'nnši, he
gave me an embrace. Then, I carried off B144 his possessions and I captured his
cattle. B145 That which he planned to do to me, I did to him. I took what was in
his tent and B146 stripped his encampment...

B174–176

B174...

B175...

B176...

B174... wn.in hmr=f h3b=f 275 n=f 3w.t=f n.t hr nswn.t sšw=f lb n(m) bšk im ml
B176 hšk n(γ) hšt nb.t...

B174... Then his majesty sent B175 me gifts of the king and satisfied the heart of
this servant like any ruler of a foreign land...

B197–198

B197...

B198...

B197... nn wn m(w)=k hr hš 275 ts nns tw 'šm.w nn 278 dt.w=f k m min n(γ) sr
iri.tw dš=k...

B197... You will not die upon a foreign land. The 'šm.w will not bury you; B198 You
will not be placed in sheep’s skin when your enclosure is made...

271 R142 has a second person pronoun, reading as ‘your commissions’ and referring to the ruler,
rather than B117’s ‘his commissions’ for the ‘strong man’.
272 Corrected to x 272 minb=f ‘his axe’.
273 Corrected to x 273 mr.w=f ‘his subjects’.
Now, may your majesty decree to have brought to him Mki from Qdmi, Hnty-w-S from within KSw and Mnws from the two flat lands of the Fnh.w. They are rulers, renown of names, who have come into your affection, without mentioning (R)tnw, it is yours like your dogs.

... I was allowed to spend a day in IAA transferring my possessions to my children, my eldest son in charge of my family. My family and all my things were with him: my serfs, all my cattle, my dkr.w-fruits and all my fruit trees. Then this servant returned south. I halted at the Ways-of-Horus. The commander there who was in charge of the frontier patrol sent a message to the Residence letting it be known. Then his majesty let the excellent overseer of the palace’s fieldworkers come, followed by ships laden with the gifts of the king for the St.tyw that had come with me, leading me to the Ways-of-Horus.

---

274 The clause may also be translated as ‘May your majesty command’, with wd being a subjunctive verb.

275 The expression may also be translated as ‘Hnty.w-š from within KSw’. Note the lack of a determinative of the seated male figure (A1) for Hnty.w-š. Perhaps the term signifies a group of people from Hnty-š rather than one person. Quirke, for instance, translates it as “mountain-men leading Kesh”. Quirke, Egyptian Literature, 66.
... Then his majesty said to the king’s wife: ‘Here is Sinuhe, come as a child, a product of the St.tyw’. She uttered a great cry and the king’s children shrieked as one...
**13 EGYPTIAN TEXTS AT SERABIT EL-KHADIM**

*Prov.* Serabit el-Khadim

*Ref.* See Table 18

*Chron.* Middle Kingdom

*Chapter* 5.2.4.1

*Figures* 5.5-5.30

*Table* Table 18

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Nr</th>
<th>Figure</th>
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<tr>
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<td>5.5</td>
<td>S III</td>
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<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>Year 4 (?)</td>
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<td>5.7</td>
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<td>Year 13</td>
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276 Transcriptions follow the line drawings in the figures or as presented in Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai 1*.

277 Schneider postulates a possible Semitic origin for the name, linking it with *Yrwy* of the Saqqara Exsecrations Texts (E13; Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4). Ranke lists a couple of attestations in New Kingdom texts. Ranke, *Personennamen 1*, 220 [14]; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten 2*, 150.

278 Ward, *Index*, 57 [452].

279 The name is most likely of non-Egyptian origin. Various interpretations have been suggested, including an Amorite personal name, Ḫabî-Haddu(m), or Ḫabî-Šadu(m) ‘sheltering is the uncle’. A Hurrian-Egyptian origin has also been proposed, rendering it as Ḫebat-tāta ‘(Hurrian goddess) Hebat has given’. For more, see Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten 2*, 156-157.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>93</th>
<th>5.9</th>
<th>A III Year 15</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>³htp di nsw.t n [k3] htm.ty nfr idn.w ²im.y-r3 pr.w wr T[mn.y-sšn]=n ³iri n It-nfr.w ³im.(i) ⁴sn=f Mḥy sn=f ⁵nk ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>rḥ nsw.t m³r=Ššw [...] šd.t(y) [...] m [...] It-nfr.w pr.w wr rḥ nsw.t m³r=Ššw m[f iwl.w n=f sr.w m k [...]w hr.y-tp [...] Mḥ.t nb [...] idn.w im.y-r³ pw] wr T[mn.y-sšn]=n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>³htp di nsw.t Hw.t-Hr.w nb.t Mḥk3.t n k3 n(,y) htm.ty bī.ty smr [w³ty ... r ... l ... htp] di nsw.t n k3 [... n ... nw ...]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

West ³"An offering which the king gives for the [k3] of god’s sealer,²⁸⁰ deputy ³² of the chief steward,²⁸¹ Amenyseshenen,²⁸² born to It-noferu,²⁸³ a ³³im.(i); ⁴his brother, Mehy,²⁸⁴ his brother, Anek²⁸⁵ ... |

North True acquaintance of the king, his beloved, gladdening [...] of the chief steward,²⁸⁶ true acquaintance of the king, his beloved, to whom the officials come [bowing], chief of [...] and Lower Egypt, lord of [...] deputy of the] chief, [Amenyseshenen. |

South An offering which the king gives and Hathor, lady of ]Mḥk3.t, for the k3 of the sealer of Lower Egypt, [sole] companion [...] an offering] which the king gives for the k3 [of...].

| 54 | 5.11 | A III Year 45 |

280 Ward, Index, 171 [1479].
281 Ward, Index, 70 [575].
282 The name is not attested in Ranke, Personennamen. However it is clearly derived from the Egyptian. For similar names, see Ranke, Personennamen 1, 31 [13], 297 [29].
283 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 49 [9].
284 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 163 [25-26].
285 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 69 [7].
286 Černy translates the sequence as ‘... his beloved, foster-child of the king of Upper Egypt, ward of [the king of Lower Egypt], pupil of Horus, lord [of the palace]...’. Černy, Inscriptions of Sinai 2, 101 [93].
1 Year 45 under the majesty of the god, lord of the two lands, ḫNamaatra, may he be given life eternally. Beloved of Hathor, acquaintance of the king, of his affection, controller of the multitudes in the land of ḫKyme the (foreign) others, effective when he reports to his lord, [...] St.t for he who is in the palace, reaching the boundaries of the foreign lands with his two feet, traversing the mysterious valleys, reaching the total end of the unknown, chief chamberlain of the treasury, Ptahwer, born to It.

287 Following Černy who corrects  to  ini Mnty to  ini dr.w. Ranke, Personennamen 1, 80 [54].
288 Or, as Černy translates it “reaching the limits”. Ranke, Personennamen 1, 80 [54].
289 Ward, Index, 16 [80].
290 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 139 [6].
291 Schneider suggests that the name may have been mistaken for or for It. Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 72.
### Translation 13

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Line Numbers</th>
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<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>5.18</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

> [...] n trav N(y)-Mθ=t-R θ‘ w di.w 3 nh d.t [iri.n=f st?] m mn.w=f n Hw.t-Hr.w nb=f mr mθ‘ idn.w n(y) im.y-r‘ pr.w wr Imny iri n θmt. 

> [...] the good god, Nimaatra, may he be given life eternally He made it? as his monument for Hathor. Truly beloved of his lord, deputy of the chief steward, Ameny, born to a θmt.

| 96   | 5.16         | A III  | 2 

> 3 rh nsw.t mθ‘ mr=f il[nw n.y im.y-r‘ pr.w wr] Imny iri n It-nfr.w 

2 True acquaintance of the king, his beloved [deputy of the chief steward], Ameny, born to It-noferu

| 98   | 5.19         | A III  | 3 

> idn.w n(y) im.y-r‘ pr.w wr Imny iri n It-nfr.w 

> rh nsw.t mθ‘ mr=f im.y-r‘ ilh.wt nb.wt n(y) nsw.t htm.ty ntr idn.w im.y-r‘ pr.w wr Imny sθm=n n iri n It-nfr.w θmt. nb.t imάθ‘ htp di nsw.(t) Hw.t-Hr.w nb.t Mfk3.t n htm.ty ntr idn.w im.y-r‘ pr.w wr Imny rθn=f nfr sθm=n mθ‘-hrw iri n It-nfr.w θmt[.t] mθ‘(t)-hrw iri n It-nfr.w θmt. t-θ‘. 

> [htp di nsw.(t)] Hw.t-Hr.w nb.t Mfk3.t n htm.ty ntr sdt.y nsw.(t) [...][n(y) Hr.w nb Sθh idn.w [im.y-r‘ pr.w wr] Imny iri n It-nfr.w θmt. t-θ‘. 

Deputy of the chief steward, Ameny, born to It-noferu.

True acquaintance of the king, his beloved, overseer of all property of the king, god’s sealer, deputy of the chief steward, Amenyseshenen, born to It-noferu, a θmt, lady of reverence.

An offering which the king gives and Hathor, lady of Mfk3.t, for the god’s sealer, deputy of the chief steward, Ameny, his beautiful name is Seshenen, justified, born to It-noferu, a θmt, justified, born to Satweret.292

[An offering which the king gives and] Hathor, lady of Mfk3.t, for the god’s sealer, the foster-child of the King of Lower Egypt [...], pupil of Horus, lord of the palace, deputy [of the chief steward Ameny], born to It-noferu, a θmt, justified.

---

292 Ranke, Personennamen 1, 287 [28].
110 5.17 A III

\[3m n H\text{mi} 20\]

\[3m \text{from } H\text{mi}^{293} 20\]

112 5.20 A III

West ...

South 2

West ...

South 2 sn n(y) hkb n(y) Rtnw Hbdmm st=f Kkb

South 2 sn n(y) hkb n(y) Rtnw Hbdmm ...

14 hr.y-pr(w) \[3m S\text{i-nfr} [...\]

West ...

Brother of the ruler of Rtnw, Hbdmm; his son, Kkb\(^{294}\)

South 2 Brother of the ruler of Rtnw, Hbdmm ...

14 Major-domo, \[3m S\text{anofer}^{295}\]

114 5.21 A III

\[24 n Rtnw h\text{is.ty} 10\]

\[24 \text{From } Rtnw: 10 \text{ foreigners}\]

405 5.22 A III

Bottom right \\
Bottom left \\
Bottom right \[3m \text{ipim}\] \\
Bottom left \[3m \text{ipim}^{297}\]

402 5.23 A III (?) Year 15

\[... \text{ldn.w } (im.y-r3) \text{ pr.w } \text{wr } \text{Imn.y} ...\]

\[... \text{deputy of the chief steward, Amen}\[\ldots]\]

115 5.24 A III (?) Year 18

Bottom centre \\
Bottom left \\
Bottom centre \(R\)itn 6 \\
Bottom left \[Ipnwirw\]

414 5.25 A III (?) Year 6

\[\text{im}: h(y) P\text{th-Skr } n k3 n(y) htm.ty \text{nfr } \text{im.y-r3} [... n(y) pr-hd} \]

\[\text{3m } \text{rn}=f \text{nfr } \text{P\text{th-wr} [...}\]

Honoured before Pth-Sokar, for the k3 of the god’s sealer, [... chamberlain of the treasury,\(^{299}\) \[3m, his beautiful name, Pthower^{300}\] [...]

120 5.26 A IV Year 6

\[... \text{Rtnw } 20 ...\]

\[... \text{(Men from) Rtnw: } 20 ...\]

---

\(^{293}\) Perhaps linked to \(HI\text{im}\) of the Saqqara Execution Texts (E1). Posener, \textit{Princes et Pays}, 64 [E1]. See Chapter 4.3.8, Translation 4.

\(^{294}\) Postulated to derive from the Semitic language, either the Amorite kbkb or Akkadian kakkabu, both translated to ‘star’. Saretta, \textit{Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites}, 189-190, n. 540.

\(^{295}\) Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 282 [22].

\(^{296}\) Postulated to derive from the Semitic \(\text{saglum} ‘\text{gift}’\) or to have some relation with the city of Shechem in the Southern Levant. Saretta, \textit{Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites}, 188-189; Schneider, \textit{Ausländer in Ägypten} 2, 162.

\(^{297}\) Postulated to derive from the Semitic or Amorite \(rapi ‘\text{um} ‘\text{He is a healer}’\) or to be related with Apum, a city in the Northern Levant. Schneider, \textit{Ausländer in Ägypten} 2, 123; Saretta, \textit{Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites}, 189-190.

\(^{298}\) Although the name is fragmentary, perhaps the first half, \(Ipnw\), is derived from such Semitic roots as ‘\text{ab} ‘\text{father}’ or ‘\text{ibn} ‘\text{son}’ while the second, \(irw\), refers to the Canaanite deity El.

\(^{299}\) Ward, \textit{Index}, 16 [84].

\(^{300}\) Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} 1, 139 [6].
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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| 121  | 5.27    | **A IV**  
|      | Year 8  | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
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|      | ![Image](image)  
| 123  | -       | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
| 136  | 5.28    | **Middle**  
|      | Kingdom,  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
| 163  | 5.29    | **Middle**  
|      | Kingdom  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
| 411  | 5.30    | **Middle**  
|      | Kingdom  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  
|      | ![Image](image)  

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301 Ward, Index, 148 [1270].
302 Ward, Index, 108 [897].
303 Ward, Index, 156 [1346].
304 The apparent title of the high-priest of Memphis. Ranke, Personennamen 1, 81 [18]; Černy, Inscriptions of Sinai 2, 128 [123].
305 Postulated to derive from a Semitic language. For a range of possibilities from Akkadian, Hebraic and Arabic stems, see Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 124.
306 The name can also be read as Kin. For the latter’s derivation from a Semitic language, see Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 163.
307 Postulated to derive from a Semitic language. For a range of possibilities see Schneider, Ausländer in Ägypten 2, 132.
308 Wb 5, 300.
309 Wb 2, 79.
310 Wb 1, 116.
Tables
TABLES

The section is to be used in conjunction with Volume I. It includes tables of results from past scholarly studies, further clarification on examined evidence, as well as summarised outlines of findings from each site and/or region.

Tables are numbered consecutively. Associated Translations, Maps and Figures in Volume II are cross-referenced where applicable.

The following abbreviations have been utilised:

- **Ref(s)** Bibliographical references
- **Lat.Lon.** Latitude and Longitude
- **SIP** Second Intermediate Period

Names of Egyptian pharaohs have also been abbreviated in lengthy tables as:

- **A** Amenemhat
- **S** Senwosret
- **No.** Noferhotep
- **So.** Sobekhotep
- **Khen.** Khendjer
- **Sobek.** Sobekemsaf

Further abbreviations for bibliographical references have been used in some tables, and may be found under each respective table heading.
**Table 1.**  *Rulers of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties.*

The Twelfth Dynasty sequence follows Shaw, *Ancient Egypt*, 483. The rest follow Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*.

* As there are numerous kings belonging to Dynasties 13-14, the table only selects the names of those that occur in the thesis. The sequence of kings is also not fixed.

<table>
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<th>PRENOMEN</th>
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<td>Amenemhat I</td>
<td>Sihotepibra</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senwosret I</td>
<td>Kheperkara</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Amenemhat II</td>
<td>Nebkaura</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Senwosret II</td>
<td>Khakheperra</td>
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<td>Senwosret III</td>
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<td>Nimaatra</td>
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<td>Amenemhat V</td>
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### Table 2. Terminology of the divisions in Levantine chronology.

After Burke, *MBA Fortification Strategies*, 19, table 1.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Thesis</th>
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<th>Northern Levant</th>
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<td>Intermediate BA or MBI</td>
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<td>MBIIB</td>
<td>MBI</td>
<td>MBlb</td>
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<tr>
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<td>MBIIC</td>
<td>MBIII</td>
<td>MBlb</td>
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### Table 3. Chronological correlations between Egypt, Tell el-Dab’a and the Levant.

After Figure 4.3 (Bietak, in *Cities and Urbanism*, fig. 7).

* Following Bietak’s low chronology.

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>B.C.*</th>
<th>Tell el-Dab’a</th>
<th>Levant*</th>
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<td>1980</td>
<td>N/2-3</td>
<td>EBIV/MBI</td>
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<td>1950</td>
<td>N/1</td>
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<td>HIATUS</td>
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<td>1890</td>
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<td>1800</td>
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<td>14 (?)</td>
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Table 4. Number of samples analysed from Petrographic Groups A-K of imported vessels from Tell el-Dab’a according to the site’s stratigraphy (see Map 3). After Cohen-Weinberger and Goren, A&L 14 (2004), tables 1-2.

* Samples belonging to two or more petrographic groups are not included in this table. Vessels of undetermined stratigraphy are also not included.

** A: Northern Syrian coast  
B: Lebanese or northernmost Israeli coast  
C: Area of Byblos, Lebanon  
D: East of coast between Beirut and Byblos, Lebanon  
E: Akkar plain, Lebanon  
F: Carmel region, Israel  
G: Central coast between Ashdod and Carmel, Israel  
H: Mediterranean mountainous region, Levant  
I: Judea or Samaria  
J: Shephelah region, Israel  
K: Negev coastal plain, southern Shephelah  
?

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### Table 5: Summary of pertinent architectural elements identified at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy.

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<th>AREA</th>
<th>PHASE</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
<th>DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE</th>
<th>ADMINISTRATIVE ARCHITECTURE</th>
<th>CULTIC ARCHITECTURE</th>
<th>FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| R/I  | e-d   | - Settlement  
|      |       | - Administrative  
|      |       | - Cultic (?)         | - Egyptian-style             | - Egyptian-style    | -                     | -     |
|      | c-a   | - Cultic                      | -                          | -                            | - Egyptian-style   | -                     | -     |
| R/III| E/2   | - Settlement  
|      |       | - Administrative (?)    | - Dense Egyptian-style settlement | - Possible (large two-story complexes) | - | - Complexes: courtyards; silos; ovens |
| F/I  | e/1-3 | - Settlement  
|      |       | - Planned Egyptian-style settlement | -                          | -                            | -                     | -     |
|      | d/2   | - Settlement; Administrative (?) | - Egyptian- and Levantine-style settlement | - Possible (large two-story complexes) | - Egyptian-style | - Breitraumhaus and Mittelsaalhaus architecture |
|      | d/1   | - Settlement  
|      |       | - Administrative        | - Egyptian-style settlement  | - Egyptian-style complex | - Egyptian-style | Large complex atop Mittelsaalhaus |
|      | c     | - Settlement  
|      |       | - Egyptian-style egalitarian settlement | -                          | -                            | - Egyptian-style | Houses: perimeter walls |
|      | b/3-2 | - Settlement  
|      |       | - Egyptian-style settlement | -                          | -                            | - Egyptian-style | - |
|      | b/1-a/2| - Settlement  
|      |       | - Cultic                | - Egyptian-style settlement | -                          | - Egyptian-style | - |
| A/II | H     | - Settlement  
|      |       | - Egyptian-style settlement | -                          | -                            | -                     | - Houses: perimeter walls |
|      | G     | - Settlement  
<p>|      |       | - Egyptian-style settlement | -                          | -                            | - Egyptian-style | Houses: perimeter walls; silos |</p>
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<th>PHASE</th>
<th>FUNCTION</th>
<th>DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE</th>
<th>ADMINISTRATIVE ARCHITECTURE</th>
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<td>F</td>
<td>Settlement - Cultic</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Egyptian- and Levantine-style</td>
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<td>E/3</td>
<td>Settlement - Cultic</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
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<td>- Egyptian- and Levantine-style</td>
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<td>- Egyptian- and Levantine-style</td>
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<td>E/1</td>
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<td>- Egyptian- and Levantine-style</td>
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<td>Settlement - Administrative</td>
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<td>- Orientation same as later ‘palaces’ F and G</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>Settlement - Administrative</td>
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<td>- Egyptian-style</td>
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<td>- Complexes: courtyards; ovens</td>
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<td>- Egyptian-style</td>
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**Summary of pertinent funerary elements identified at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy.**

Scarab types in this table follow Mlinar, in *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC*, 107-140.

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<td>Mostly Egyptian - 20% imported MBIIA forms</td>
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<td>Egyptian - 40% Imported and local MBIIA/B forms</td>
<td>Weapons; toggle-pins</td>
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<td>Egyptian - Imported and local MBIIA-B forms - Toggle-pins</td>
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<td>G</td>
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<td>Extended and contracted bodies</td>
<td>Egyptian - 56% imported and local MBIIA and B forms - Weapons - Toggle-pins</td>
<td>Sheep; goats - Scarabs: Types I-III; local and imported</td>
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<td>Egyptian-style</td>
<td>Extended and contracted bodies (increase)</td>
<td>Egyptian - 53% imported and mostly local MBIIA and MBIIB forms - Weapons; toggle-pins; symbolic scimitar</td>
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<td>Semi- contracted or contracted bodies</td>
<td>Egyptian - 80% imported and mostly local MBIIA and MBIIB forms - Weapons - Toggle-pins - Single-edged knives</td>
<td>Sheep, goats - Scarabs: Types II-III; first occurrence of Hathor feature</td>
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**Table 6**
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<td>Egyptian-style (?)</td>
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<td>Single-edged knives - Toggle-pins</td>
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### Table 7: Summary of pertinent cultic elements identified at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy.

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<td>e-d</td>
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<tr>
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<td>c-a</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style</td>
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- **CERAMICS**: Imported Levantine Painted Ware; Syro-Palestinian store-jars
- **ANIMAL OFFERINGS**: Stela: Hw.t-Imn-m-Hr.t-m.t*-n.t-i'-w.t.ty
- **OTHER**: Ceramics: parallels from Northern Levant

| R/III | E/2 | - | - | - | - | - |
| F/I   | e-1-3 | - | - | - | - | - |
|       | d/2 | - | Pits before tombs | Funerary offerings | - | Donkeys, sheep, lamb | - |
|       | d/1 | - | Pits before tombs | Funerary offerings | - | Donkeys, sheep, lamb | - |
|       | c   | - | - | - | - | - |
|       | b/3-2 | - | - | - | - | - |
|       | b/1-a/2 | - Egyptian-style tri-partite sanctuary | Pits before temple filled with vessels and animal remains | Cultic meals before temple | - Egyptian Imported and local MBIIB forms including cooking pots and dipper juglets | Equids, pig | - |

- **CERAMICS**: Signs of intentional burning
- **ANIMAL OFFERINGS**: Ritual with parallel from Northern Levant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>PHASE</th>
<th>CULTIC ARCHITECTURE</th>
<th>ELEMENTS (BENCHES ETC)</th>
<th>CULTIC RITUAL</th>
<th>CULTIC KIT</th>
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<td>G</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>- Funerary offerings</td>
<td>- Sheep</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style chapels - Levantine broad-room Temple III</td>
<td>- Pits before tombs</td>
<td>- Temple II: niche; procellas; blue-painted exterior; altar in forecourt; pits before temple - Pits before tombs</td>
<td>- Cultic offerings possibly for Levantine deity - Funerary offerings</td>
<td>- Egyptian - Imported and mostly local MBIIA and MBIIB forms</td>
<td>- Donkeys, sheep, goats, cattle and humans</td>
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<td></td>
<td>E/3</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style chapels and Temple V - Levantine Temples III and II</td>
<td>- Temple II with bent axis - Temple V with altar in forecourt</td>
<td>- Cultic offerings</td>
<td>- Egyptian - Imported and mostly local MBIIA and MBIIB forms</td>
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<td>E/2</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style chapels, Temples V and I - Levantine Temples III and II</td>
<td>- Temple I: tri-partite procella; benches; libation channels</td>
<td>- Cultic offerings - Possible ancestor worship - Funerary offerings</td>
<td>- Egyptian - Imported and mostly local MBIIB forms</td>
<td>- Donkeys, sheep, goats, horse</td>
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<tr>
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<td>E/1</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style chapels, Temples V and I - Levantine Temples III and II</td>
<td>- Temple III with pits around altar</td>
<td>- Cultic offering - Cultic meals</td>
<td>- Egyptian; imported and mostly local MBIIB forms</td>
<td>- Donkeys, sheep, goats</td>
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- Temple III architecture: parallels from Northern Levant
- Funerary offerings with parallels from Northern Levant
- Temple I architecture: parallels from Southern Levant
- Temple I libation channels: parallels from Northern Levant
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<td>c/3</td>
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<td>Pit in administrative complex</td>
<td>Cultic offering (?)</td>
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<td>Horse</td>
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<td>Pit in/administrative complex</td>
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<td>-Cartyard of administrative complex</td>
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<td>c/1</td>
<td>Courtyard of administrative complex B</td>
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<td>Imported and local MBA forms</td>
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<td>-Pit: beads, flints; scarabs; toggle-pins</td>
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<td>-Royal-name seal impressions: Sobekhotep III and IV; Noferhotep I; Khayan</td>
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<td>-Design seal impression: Levantine-style animals</td>
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<td>A/IV</td>
<td>I-H</td>
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<td>-Funerary offerings</td>
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<td>-Donkeys; sheep (?)</td>
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Table 8. Summary of pertinent administrative elements identified at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy.

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<th>STRUCTURAL FEATURES</th>
<th>FINDS IN ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS</th>
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<td>SCARABS AND SEALS</td>
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<tr>
<td>R/1</td>
<td>e-d</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style</td>
<td>- Complex: magazines attached to temple (?)</td>
<td>- Holemouth cooking pots</td>
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<td></td>
<td>c-a</td>
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<tr>
<td>R/III</td>
<td>F/I</td>
<td>E/2 - Possible (large two-story complexes)</td>
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<td>- Kerma Ware</td>
<td>- Seal impressions: Khayan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F/I</td>
<td>e/1-3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d/2</td>
<td>- Possible (large two-story complexes)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>d/1</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style</td>
<td>- Large pillared courtyard Reception room</td>
<td>- Classic Kamares Ware in courtyard</td>
<td>- Cylinder seal: Baal and seafaring</td>
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<tr>
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<td>c</td>
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<tr>
<td>F/II</td>
<td>e</td>
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<tr>
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<td>d</td>
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<td>c/3</td>
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<td>Egyptian-style</td>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>Local Cypriote Ware</td>
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<td>Magazines</td>
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<td>Complex: two pillared halls (one with platform and one with L-shaped annex); courtyard with benches and sand-brick installation</td>
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<td>Seal impressions: Sobekhotep III and IV, Noferhotep I, Khayan</td>
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<td>Pits: severed hands</td>
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<td>E/1-D/2</td>
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Table 9. Summary of pertinent elements identified at settlements at Tell el-Dab’a according to each area and its stratigraphy.

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<td>Egyptian and Levantine-style</td>
<td>Mittelsaalhaus and Breitraumhaus features</td>
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<td>20% MBA forms including Syro-Palestinian store-jars; carinated bowls; Tell el-Yahudiya ware</td>
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<td>40% imported and local MBA forms</td>
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<td>’Villa’-type house</td>
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<td>10% imported MBA forms</td>
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<td>SCARABS AND SEALS</td>
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<td>A/II</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
<td>- Huts: sand-brick enclosure walls</td>
<td>- Egyptian - Local holemouth and flat-bottomed cooking pots - Imported Syro-Palestinian store-jars</td>
<td>- Conflagration layer between H and G/4</td>
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<td>G</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
<td>- Complexes: courtyards; silos; perimeter walls</td>
<td>- Egyptian - 40% imported and local MBIIA and MBIIB forms</td>
<td>- Ceramics: parallels from Northern Levant</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
<td>- Complexes: courtyards; silos; perimeter walls</td>
<td>- Egyptian - 40% imported and mostly local MBIIA and MBIIB forms</td>
<td>- Redistribution of plots</td>
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<td>E/3</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
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<td>- Egyptian - 40% imported and mostly local MBIIA and MBIIB forms</td>
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<td>E/2</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Egyptian - Imported (mostly Syro-Palestinian store-jars) and local MBIIB forms</td>
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<tr>
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<td>E/1</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
<td>- Cemetery structures: round huts or silos</td>
<td>- Egyptian - 40% imported and mostly local MBIIB forms</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>- Large domestic structures</td>
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<td>F/II</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>- Complexes: courtyards; ovens</td>
<td>- Egyptian - Imported MBIIA forms including Syro-Palestinian store-jars - Seal impressions: ‘ruler of Rtnw’</td>
<td>- L1421: ivory inlays, obsidian and other materials</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CERAMICS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F/II</td>
<td>c/3</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement (?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c/2</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement (?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c/1</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement (?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A/IV</td>
<td>I-H</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
<td>- Rectangular structures with courtyards and ovens</td>
<td>- Egyptian</td>
<td>- Ceramics: close parallels from Northern Levant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>F-E/1</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement</td>
<td>- Rectangular structures with courtyards and ovens</td>
<td>- Egyptian - Local and imported MBIIA and MBIIA-B forms including wheel-made cooking pot</td>
<td>- Seal impressions 8314: row of men - Seal impression 7669: row of men, smiting figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A/V</td>
<td>E1/ D/2</td>
<td>- Egyptian-style settlement (?)</td>
<td>- Structures: courtyards; ovens; silos</td>
<td>- Egyptian - Local and imported MBIIIB forms</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 10.** Kom Rabi’a, the Middle Kingdom levels, their features and associated Levantine pottery.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>DYNASTY</th>
<th>FEATURES</th>
<th>LEVANTINE POTTERY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Late 12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; to early 13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Limited material (high water table restricted excavations)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Early to mid-13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Large rooms for food preparation, storage and possible workshops</td>
<td>Syro-Palestinian store-jars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIE</td>
<td>Mid-13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Remains of a casemate wall boundary to the east</td>
<td>Tell el-Yahudiyyah sherds: non-local fabric</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VId</td>
<td>Late 13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; to early 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Large silo beyond casemate wall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIC</td>
<td>Mid-15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIb</td>
<td>Mid-late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIA</td>
<td>Late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Layer of silt deposits possibly associated with flooding - Collapsed mud-brick debris</td>
<td>Tell el-Yahudiyyah sherds: local fabric</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 11.** Summary of petrographic groups identified in an analysis of imported vessels from Kom Rabi’a (see Map 4).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>PLACE OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>LEVEL</th>
<th>DATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lebanese Akkar Plain and Tripoli region</td>
<td>Vic-b</td>
<td>Mid-late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Inland Lebanon, between Sidon and Tripoli</td>
<td>VII-VIc</td>
<td>Early 13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; to mid-15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lebanese coast, between Sidon and Tripoli</td>
<td>VII-VIa</td>
<td>Early 13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; to late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Northern Israeli coast, possibly around the Haifa Bay</td>
<td>VII-VIa</td>
<td>Early 13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; to late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>Inland Levant, including Ashkelon region</td>
<td>VII-VIa</td>
<td>Early 13&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; to late 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dynasty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 12.** Summary of el-Lahun papyri representing Asians, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references (see Translation 2).

*VT: Rubbish heap north of the Valley Temple
O: Settlement occupation levels
*Religious: Collier and Quirke, Religious, Literary.
*Accounts: Collier and Quirke, Accounts.
*Handschriften: Kaplony-Heckel, Handschriften 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAPYRUS</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CONTEXT*</th>
<th>ASIATIC(S)</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>Ref(s)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN</td>
<td>S III Year 6</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>tōm Senwosret</td>
<td>Door-keeper of a</td>
<td>- Recorded as attendees at work</td>
<td>Borchardt, ZÄS 37 (1899), 97-98;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10050</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>temple</td>
<td></td>
<td>Congresso, 296.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32157</td>
<td>S III to</td>
<td>O Lot 55.1</td>
<td>pdtuw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Hymns to Senwosret III</td>
<td>Religious, 16-19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A III</td>
<td></td>
<td>twntuw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St.tuw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN</td>
<td>A III Year 15</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>[tō]m Senwosret</td>
<td>Retainer (?)</td>
<td>- Involvement in recording temple</td>
<td>Luft, Archiv, P 10033.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10033</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>activities</td>
<td>- Possibly delivered letter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN</td>
<td>A III Year 18</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>tōm Senwosretsebeb</td>
<td>Singer</td>
<td>- Involvement in recording temple</td>
<td>Luft, Archiv, P 10066.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10066</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>activities</td>
<td>- Delivered letter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN</td>
<td>A III Year 18</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>tōm Fr3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Retrieved from wn.t-camp</td>
<td>Luft, Urkunden, 43-48.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10021</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tōm Fr3's son Hotepi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Possibly allocated to work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN</td>
<td>A III (middle</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>Sty-n=f</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Recorded as absent from work</td>
<td>Luft, Urkunden, 91-96.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10047</td>
<td>of reign)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sty-n=f's son Sa-Bastet</td>
<td>Singer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tōm.. Ini tep</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ini tep's son Senwosret</td>
<td>(Son of singer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tōm Shedty (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN</td>
<td>A III Year 21</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>‘troop leader’ of tōm.w</td>
<td>- Allocated to work</td>
<td>Congresso, 297.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10004</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Khaaye</td>
<td>Chantress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ibehy</td>
<td>Leader of the phyle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>S-n-3-h-r</td>
<td>(Son of wib-priest)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PAPYRUS</strong></td>
<td><strong>DATE</strong></td>
<td><strong>CONTEXT</strong>*</td>
<td><strong>ASIATIC(S)</strong></td>
<td><strong>OCCUPATION</strong></td>
<td><strong>OTHER</strong></td>
<td><strong>REF(S)</strong>*</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **P BERLIN 10081C** | A III Year 27 | VT | c3m Sty-r3 | Retainer | - Involvement in recording temple activities  
| **UC 32191** | A III Year 35 | O Lot 41.1 | c3m Kha-[...]-ra [...](nickname [...]-pw...) | Dancer | - Recorded as attendees at: local festival ('cloth of Khakheperra'); regional festival ('sailing of Hathor'); and national festival (festivals of Sokar and Nebkauhor)  
- List in accountancy table  
- Mdlly also recorded as dancers | Accounts, 92-95. |
| **P BERLIN 10002** | A III Year 36 | VT | c3m Senwosret’s son Khakheperraseneb (nickname Ityihor)  
Senet’s son Senwosret (nickname Heteptify)  
Khakheperra (nickname Bwi)  
Khakheperra’s son Senwosret (nickname B3fr)  
Senet (nickname Itni)  
c3m Iqeq’s son Khakheperrasawah (nickname Mki)  
Khakhereperraseneb (nickname Mki)  
Ibihaa’s son Khekheraseneb  
Senet’s daughter Senet (nickname Khayti) | Singer | - Singers for the Residence | Congresso, 292-295. |
<p>| <strong>P BERLIN 10071</strong> | A III Year 36 | VT | c3m Iwefni | Singer | - Singer sent to institution | Congresso, 296. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAPYRUS</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CONTEXT*</th>
<th>ASIATIC(S)</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>Ref(s)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10228E + 10323A + 10111AA</td>
<td>A III Year 37</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>ⲟm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Overseer of sealers requests the nomarch Senwosret’s son Khakheperreseneb not to send Asians for enlisted work</td>
<td>Congresso, 297.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32168 + UC 32269</td>
<td>A III Year 45</td>
<td>O Lot 6.21</td>
<td>ⲟm Yiy[...]</td>
<td>Stone-hauler</td>
<td>- Recorded on recto as attendees at work</td>
<td>Accounts, 56-59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10010</td>
<td>(A III?) Year 15</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Scribe of the ⲟm.w, Senet</td>
<td>- Occupation of individual otherwise of Egyptian ancestry</td>
<td>Kaplony-Heckel, Handschriften 1, 5 [8].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32058</td>
<td>(A IV?) Year 2</td>
<td>O Lot 1.1</td>
<td>ⲟm.w (x 4)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Bestowed to Wah’s wife in a deed of conveyance from Wah’s brother Ankhren - Possible connection to UC 32167 and U C32295</td>
<td>Religious, 104-105.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32295</td>
<td>(?) Year 2</td>
<td>O Lot 2.15</td>
<td>ⲟm.t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Fragmentary legal document - Possible connection to UC 32058 and UC 32167.</td>
<td>Religious, 122-123.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10244 A, C, D, E</td>
<td>Year 9</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>ⲟm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Fragmentary</td>
<td>Kaplony-Heckel, Handschriften 1, 133 [317].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32151B</td>
<td>(?) Year 24</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Overseer of the expedition of ⲟm.w</td>
<td>- Fragmentary - Mentions letter to the count</td>
<td>Accounts, 264-264.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAPYRUS</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>CONTEXT*</td>
<td>ASIATIC(S)</td>
<td>OCCUPATION</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>Ref(S)*</td>
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<tr>
<td>UC 32167</td>
<td>(?) Year 29</td>
<td>O Lot 1.2</td>
<td>f3m.t Akhiatf Kemetni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Transferred to the treasurer’s son</td>
<td>Religious, 118-119.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f3m.t Kemeni Sopduemer</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Possible connection to UC 32058 and UC 32295</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f3m.t M$\acute{s}$y</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Recorded as absent from work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>f3m.t [...]am [...]bnwy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Male attendants of temple of Anubis</td>
<td>Congresso, 296; AÄ 2, 28.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10034</td>
<td></td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>f3m Senwosret</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Recorded as absent from work</td>
<td>Congresso, 296.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10046</td>
<td></td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>f3m</td>
<td>Attendants</td>
<td>Male attendants of temple of Anubis</td>
<td>Congresso, 296.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10055</td>
<td></td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>f3m Senwosret</td>
<td>d3i-priest</td>
<td>Delivered in$&amp;$-taxes to temple of Anubis</td>
<td>Congresso, 296.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10066</td>
<td></td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>f3m Senwosretseneb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Delivered letter</td>
<td>Scharff, Briefe, 46; AÄ 2, 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10106</td>
<td></td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>f3m Senwosret [...]</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Fragmentary</td>
<td>Handschriften, 48 [88].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10391 A-E</td>
<td></td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>f3m.t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Fragmentary</td>
<td>Handschriften, 227 [576].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P BERLIN 10287</td>
<td></td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>f3m [...] x 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Recorded as attendees at work</td>
<td>AÄ 2, 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32124</td>
<td></td>
<td>O Lot 17.1</td>
<td>Pz-f3m</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Letter reporting that servant found foreigner had drunk honey</td>
<td>Letters, 58-59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32201</td>
<td></td>
<td>O Lot 6.4</td>
<td>f3m</td>
<td>Workman</td>
<td>Letter to overseer of the interior from Senbi</td>
<td>Letters, 104-105.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Senbi informed that overseer had sailed south with 3 workmen and f3m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32098D</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
<td>f3m.wt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Fragmentary letter possibly involving land rights or inheritance</td>
<td>Religious, 106-107.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32286</td>
<td></td>
<td>O Lot 2.6</td>
<td>f3m (?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Belonging to the administrative district f$n(?)$</td>
<td>Religious, 120-121.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Context*</td>
<td>Asiatic(s)</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Ref(s)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32130</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>O Lot 6.18</td>
<td>$\text{bcm}$ Senbubu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Fragmentary accounts document with name list</td>
<td>Accounts, 50-51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{bcm}$ (?) x 11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- 11 names following $\text{bcm}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32276</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>Sat-$\text{bcm}$ (?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Fragmentary accounts document with name list</td>
<td>Accounts, 132-133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32101H</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>$\text{bcm}$ Noferiu</td>
<td>Temple staff (?)</td>
<td>- Fragmentary accounts document, possibly of temple, with name list</td>
<td>Accounts, 200-201.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32127</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>$\text{bcm.t}$ Nehyeni</td>
<td>(For controller of phyle)</td>
<td>- Fragmentary accounts document with name list</td>
<td>Accounts, 224-225.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{bcm.t}$ Isheri</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$\text{bcm}$</td>
<td>(For whom a servant woman was brought)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32143B</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>$\text{bcm}$ (?)</td>
<td>Temple staff (?)</td>
<td>- Fragmentary accounts document with list of statues for temple staff</td>
<td>Accounts, 250-251.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32143E</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>$\text{bcm}$ Senet's son Khakheperra</td>
<td>Vizier staff (?)</td>
<td>- Fragmentary accounts document with name list</td>
<td>Accounts, 252-253.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UC 32147G</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>$\text{bcm.t}$ x 12 (?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Fragmentary accounts document with record of females (workers?)</td>
<td>Accounts, 258-259.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13. Battle scenes at Beni Hassan: similarities and differences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOMB</th>
<th>BAQET III</th>
<th>KHETY</th>
<th>KHNUMHOTEP I</th>
<th>AMENEMHAT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONTEXT</td>
<td>Reign</td>
<td>Late 11th Dynasty (?)</td>
<td>Amenemhat I</td>
<td>Senwosret I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11th Dynasty (?)</td>
<td>Overlord of the entire Oryx nome</td>
<td>Great overlord of the Oryx nome</td>
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<td>Title</td>
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<td>Great overlord of the Oryx nome</td>
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<td>Military title</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Overseer of the expedition</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Overseer of the great expedition</td>
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<td>Wall</td>
<td>East wall, north of entrance</td>
<td>East wall, north of entrance</td>
<td>East wall, north of entrance</td>
<td>East wall, north of entrance</td>
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<td>SETTLEMENT</td>
<td>Fortress in elevation</td>
<td>Fortress in elevation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Fortress in elevation</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nubian</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEFENDERS</td>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asiatic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nubian</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASIATICS</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>15 + x</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9 + x</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hair</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Short</td>
<td>Short; long; coiffed</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reddish-brown, black</td>
<td>Reddish-brown, black</td>
<td>Red, reddish-brown, black (?)</td>
<td>Reddish-brown</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No beards</td>
<td>No beards</td>
<td>Long, pointed beards</td>
<td>Short to long, pointed beards</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Skin</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
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<td>Eyes</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Black (?)</td>
<td>Greenish-grey</td>
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<td>Clothes</td>
<td>Short detailed kilts</td>
<td>Short detailed kilts</td>
<td>Short detailed kilts; detailed one-shoulder garment; Wristlets; anklets; necklace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weapons</td>
<td>Bows; axes; throw-sticks; shields; slings</td>
<td>Bows; axes; throw-sticks; shields; slings; spears</td>
<td>Bows; eye axe; throw-sticks; dagger; slings; sickle-sword (?)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>Warriors; Hand-to-hand combat with Nubian</td>
<td>Warriors</td>
<td>Warriors</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Table 14

**Abydos stelae representing Asiatics and Levantine toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references** (see Translation 5).

*Activities of Asiatics represented pictorially are written in brackets while titles are not.


*AÄ: Schneider, Ausländer im Ägypten* 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STELA</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>STELA FOR...</th>
<th>ASIATIC(S)</th>
<th>OCCUPATION*</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>REF(S)**</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOUVRE C1 (LOUVRE MUSEUM)</td>
<td>A I Year 24</td>
<td>‘Count’ and ‘overseer of the expedition’, Nesumontu</td>
<td>ǐwn.tw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Vertical text separated from main text - As targets destroyed by the stela’s owner, the fortresses of whom may have been attacked</td>
<td>Sethe, <em>Ägyptische Lesestücke</em>, 82 [12-15]; Simpson, <em>Terrace</em>, pl. 14 [6.2]; Obsomer, <em>RdE</em> 44 (1993), 103-140.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20296 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>S III</td>
<td>‘Overseer of tenant farmers’, Seneb (Iunofert’s father of Rio 627)</td>
<td>ỉm</td>
<td>Brewer</td>
<td>- Part of list of individuals (household members?) on bottom register - ỉ’s name possibly of Semitic origin</td>
<td><em>Grab und Denk</em>. 1, 309-310; <em>AÄ</em> 2, 40-41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIO DE JANEIRO 627 [2419; NR 1] (NATIONAL MUSEUM OF RIO DE JANEIRO)</td>
<td>S III</td>
<td>‘Overseer of a storehouse’, Senwosret-Iunofert</td>
<td>ỉm Gebgeb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Last figure on the left of the bottom register - Depiction: as kneeling Egyptian in a row of officials</td>
<td>Kitchen, <em>Catalogue</em> 1, 14-22; vol. 2, pls 1-2; <em>AÄ</em> 2, 68-69.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Herunofer ỉm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of a list of individuals - Son of stela’s owner and woman of Asiatic descent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stela</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Stela For...</td>
<td>Asiatic(s)</td>
<td>Occupation*</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Ref(s)**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manchester 3306</td>
<td>S III</td>
<td>'Great attendant of the city', Khusobek</td>
<td>Mntw of Stt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Horizontal text separated from main text (inscribed either first or last) - Royal military activity against Sknm and Rtnw recounting the stela owner’s personal success against a ḫm soldier as well as his rewards</td>
<td>Garstang, El-Ärâbah, 6, 32-34, pls 4-5; Peet, Stela of Sebek-Khu, 5, pls 1-2; Simpson, Terrace, pl. 31 [69.1]; Sethe, Ägyptische Lesestücke, 83 [8-15].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20231 (Cairo Museum)</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>'Scribe of the outer chamber', Senbi</td>
<td>ḫm Khentywer</td>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>Second figure from right of bottom register - Depiction: as seated Egyptian among officials</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 250-252; vol. 4, pl. 18; AÄ 2, 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.207. 1900 (Fitzwilliam Museum)</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>'Steward of divine offerings', Amenemhat, Nebwy</td>
<td>ḫm Rennefeneb</td>
<td>Butler; (Offering bearer)</td>
<td>First figure in the second sub-register before the offering table - Depiction: as an Egyptian offering an ox leg</td>
<td>Garstang, El-Ärâbah, 33-34, pl. 6; Bourriau, Pharoahs and Mortals, 50-51 [39].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20140 (Cairo Museum)</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>'Sealer of the King of Lower Egypt', lykhernofert</td>
<td>Senwosret born to ḫbr</td>
<td>ḫm</td>
<td>Third figure in top sub-register before standing official - Depiction: as an Egyptian carrying a bundle of lotus and baskets of fowl</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 165; vol. 4, pl. 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20125 (Cairo Museum)</td>
<td>12th Dyn. (?)</td>
<td>Senwosret</td>
<td>ḫm (female)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>First figure in bottom register - Depiction: as a kneeling Egyptian official</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 147-148; vol. 4, pl. 11; AÄ 2, 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20421 (Cairo Museum)</td>
<td>12th Dyn. (?)</td>
<td>Senwosret</td>
<td>Hepyu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Part of list of family relatives - ḫm is wife of Sehotepibra - Based on individuals’ names, the stela possibly dates to the 12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 2, 16-17; AÄ 2, 43-44.</td>
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</table>

**Note:** Table 14
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>STELA</strong></th>
<th><strong>DATE</strong></th>
<th><strong>STELA FOR...</strong></th>
<th><strong>ASIATIC(s)</strong></th>
<th><strong>OCCUPATION</strong>*</th>
<th><strong>OTHER</strong></th>
<th><strong>Ref(s)</strong>**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ÅS 169 (KUNST-HISTORISCHE MUSEUM, VIENNA)</td>
<td>12th Dyn. (?)</td>
<td>Kheperkara and Kuki</td>
<td>Senet-Sobek born to &quot;m.t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- First figure from the right of the top register after the offering formula - Depiction: as a seated Egyptian behind her husband, Weren-Hor, at an offering table</td>
<td>Hein and Satzinger, <em>Stelen des Mittleren Reiches</em> 2, 87-93; ÅA 2, 79-80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.60.1926 (FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM)</td>
<td>Late 12th Dyn.</td>
<td>‘Steward’, Sobekhotep Senebrau</td>
<td>Kemes born to Kdmnt</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Name now partly effaced - Part of list of individuals in painted hieratic, mostly of low status - Kdmnt’s name possibly of Semitic origin</td>
<td>Petrie, <em>Tombs of the Courtiers</em>, s. 11, pl. 29 [281]; Bourriau, <em>Pharaohs and Mortals</em>, 52-53 [41].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÅS 99 (KUNST-HISTORISCHE MUSEUM, VIENNA)</td>
<td>Late 12th - 13th Dyn.</td>
<td>‘Overseer of a law-court’, Khentykhet-hotep</td>
<td>&quot;m.t Djedjet</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of a list of individuals - Daughter of stela’s owner’s wife (Kui), paternal parentage not recorded - Seven siblings are listed but with no identifiable foreign ancestry</td>
<td>Hein and Satzinger, <em>Stelen des Mittleren Reiches</em> 2, 28-32; ÅA 2, 77.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ÅS 186 (KUNST-HISTORISCHE MUSEUM, VIENNA)</td>
<td>Late 12th - 13th Dyn.</td>
<td>(Shrine) of ‘overseer of a half-gang of stone-masons’, Hor</td>
<td>&quot;m.t Wepwawethotep[Sh]aa [Djeфа]seneb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Bottom register of shrine’s side - Ni-Hor’s title and name are written in the same designated rectangle as Wepwawethotep, perhaps signifying some relation</td>
<td>Hein and Satzinger, <em>Stelen des Mittleren Reiches</em> 2, 111-127; ÅA 2, 80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.30 (UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL)</td>
<td>Khen.</td>
<td>‘Regulator of a phyle’, Amenyseneb</td>
<td>&quot;m Ir[s?]i</td>
<td>Brewer</td>
<td>- First figure from the right of the third register - Depiction: as an Egyptian straining liquid into a jar</td>
<td>Kitchen, JEA 47 (1961), 10-18; Kitchen, JEA 48 (1962), 159-160; Bourriau, <em>Pharaohs and Mortals</em>, 60-63 [48]; ÅA 2, 52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;m Sobekiry</td>
<td>(Beer pouer)</td>
<td>- First figure in sub-register of the third register - Depiction: as an Egyptian pouring beer</td>
<td>Senebimenenyebit</td>
<td>(Grain grinder)</td>
<td>- First figure from the left of the third register - Depiction: as an Egyptian grinding grain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;m Sobekiry</td>
<td>(Seed sower)</td>
<td>- First figure from the left of the bottom register - Depiction: as an Egyptian carrying a bag of seeds in his left hand while sowing seed with his right</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>STELA</td>
<td>DATE</td>
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<td>OCCUPATION*</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
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<tr>
<td>ÄS 204</td>
<td>13th Dyn.</td>
<td>'great attendant of the city', Sarerut</td>
<td>e3m</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Part of list of individuals (household members)</td>
<td>Hein and Satzinger, Stelen des Mittleren Reiches 1, 162-167; AÄ 2, 77, 80-81.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(KUNST-</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Third figure from the left in the second register after the offering formula</td>
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<tr>
<td>HISTORISCHE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Depiction: as a seated Egyptian</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Described as a brother, but parentage is unclear</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIENNA)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Possibly connected to the individuals of Stela Turin 98 (1629) of So. IV’s reign</td>
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<tr>
<td>ÄS 143</td>
<td>13th Dyn.</td>
<td>'Chamberlain of the private apartments', Titi and others</td>
<td>e3m.t Werneb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Part of list of individuals (household members?)</td>
<td>Hein and Satzinger, Stelen des Mittleren Reiches 1, 68-74; AÄ 2, 78.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(KUNST-</td>
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<td>MUSEUM,</td>
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<tr>
<td>VIENNA)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ÄS 160</td>
<td>13th Dyn.</td>
<td>'Hall-keeper and butler Wermerutef and ‘hall-keeper of the palace’, Imyramesha</td>
<td>1-it</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Stela belongs to brothers of Asiatic descent (see Figure 4.163 for genealogy)</td>
<td>Hein and Satzinger, Stelen des Mittleren Reiches 2, 79-86; AÄ 2, 78-79.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(KUNST-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>e3m.t (I)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Family members are noted to be of Asiatic descent</td>
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<tr>
<td>HISTORISCHE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Depiction of all: as Egyptians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wermerutef (I)</td>
<td>Hall-keeper and butler</td>
<td>20 individuals not directly linked to the family are listed, including a scribe of a sanctuary, an attendant of a chamber, an overseer of a hall, butlers, and a w r-b-priest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIENNA)</td>
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<td>Imyramesha (I)</td>
<td>Hall-keeper of the palace</td>
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<td>Nendjyrektuf</td>
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<td>Nethedjet</td>
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<td>Amenemhat</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Beneret</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Imyramesha (II)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>e3m.t (II)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Wermerutef (II)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Imyramesha (III)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Imyramesha (IV)</td>
<td>-</td>
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**Table 14**
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<tr>
<th>STELA</th>
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<th>STELA FOR...</th>
<th>ASIATIC(s)</th>
<th>OCCUPATION*</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>REF(s)**</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CG 20281</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>Rekhtyhotep</td>
<td>♂m.t Maat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Second figure from left of sixth register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 295-297; vol. 4, pl. 20; AÄ 2, 40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CAIRO</td>
<td>Dyn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Depiction: as seated Egyptian</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Sister of Noferhotep</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>- Family possibly had Asiatic ancestry</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Probable connection to CG 20281</td>
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<tr>
<td>EA 428</td>
<td>Mid-13th</td>
<td>‘Treasurer’, Senbi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Hall-keeper of (goods from) Byblos (Kpny)</td>
<td>- Part of list of individuals</td>
<td>Peet, Abydos 2, 111, fig. 65, pl. 23 [3]; Grajetzki, Two Treasurers, 27-28 [1.4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(BRITISH</td>
<td>Dyn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Ancestry of title holder (Sobekhorherib) is not identified</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>CG 20086</td>
<td>Mid-13th</td>
<td>‘Deputy treasurer’ Ibiau</td>
<td>Nebet-K(b)ny (?))</td>
<td>Lady of the house</td>
<td>- Part of list of household members</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 101-103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CAIRO</td>
<td>Dyn.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARSEILLE</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>‘Major-domo of the great house’, Renseneb</td>
<td>♂m Senofaru</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of individuals (household members?)</td>
<td>Maspero, RT 13 (1890), 116-117 [27]; Satzinger and Stefanović, in From Illahun to Djeme, 241-245; AÄ 2, 58.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227 (MUSÉE</td>
<td>Dyn.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>d’ARCHÉO-</td>
<td>(?)</td>
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<tr>
<td>MÉDITERR-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ANÉENNE)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20028</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Keshu</td>
<td>♂m.t born to Henut</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Depiction of Mereret’s daughter: as an Egyptian</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 36-37; vol. 4, pl. 3; AÄ 2, 36.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CAIRO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Immediate family of the two possibly had Asiatic ancestry (see Figure 4.167 for genealogy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>CG 20062</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Panetyn</td>
<td>♂m born to Maat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- First figure in top register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 75-77; vol. 4, pl. 6; AÄ 2, 37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(CAIRO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Depiction: as a seated Egyptian in a row of relatives (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Probable connection to CG 20281</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>STELA</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>STELA FOR...</td>
<td>ASIATIC(s)</td>
<td>OCCUPATION*</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>REF(s)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>CG 20103 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bedjelynshemaankhu</td>
<td>ʿm Ptahwenef (?)</td>
<td>ʿm=f</td>
<td>- Third figure in second register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 125-127; AÄ 2, 37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20114 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Bedjetyenseneb</td>
<td>ʿm t Qasenu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of family relatives with convoluted relations</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 136-137; AÄ 2, 37.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CG 20119 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘Keeper of a property’, Nehnen</td>
<td>[ʿm t] Noferiu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Third figure from left of bottom register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 141-143; AÄ 2, 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20158 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘Steward’, Noferrudj</td>
<td>ʿm t Llyemhotep (Offering bearer)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Figure before stela owner in top register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 185-186; AÄ 2, 38.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CG 20161 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Unknown)</td>
<td>ʿbd</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of individuals</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 189-191.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CG 20224 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘Scribe of offerings’, Senebtyfy</td>
<td>Nebet- Kb (?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Mother of stela’s owner</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 244.</td>
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<tr>
<td>CG 20164 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Sobekhotep</td>
<td>ʿm t Ptahaat</td>
<td>Carrier of provisions for her lord (offering bearer)</td>
<td>- Second figure in the third register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 195-197; vol. 4, pl. 14; AÄ 2, 38-39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20227 (CAIRO MUSEUM)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>‘Overseer of fields’, Anythotep</td>
<td>ʿm t It</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of individuals (household members?) on bottom left of third register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 246-247; AÄ 2, 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STELA</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>STELA FOR...</td>
<td>ASIATIC(s)</td>
<td>OCCUPATION*</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>REF(s)**</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>CG 20392</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Steward of divine offerings', Sobekhotep</td>
<td>Senby</td>
<td>$^a$m=f</td>
<td>- Part of list of individuals (household members?) on bottom register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 1, 388-389; vol. 4, pl. 28; AÄ 2, 41-42.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20441</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>(Unknown)</td>
<td>Kbšty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of household members</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 2, 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20520</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Magnate of the southern tens', Nehy</td>
<td>$^a$m</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- First figure before Nehy seated at offering table (lowest register)</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 2, 116-122; vol. 4, pl. 36; AÄ 2, 44-45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 50549</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Steward', Wahka</td>
<td>$^a$m.t (of?) Wahka</td>
<td>(Offering bearer)</td>
<td>- Figure bringing offerings (?) to Wahka and his wife</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 2, 177-179; Simpson, Terrace, pl. 41 [32.1]; AÄ 2, 45.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$^a$m.t Nethedj</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Figures following Wahka’s wives (?) in bottom register</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$^a$m.t Hetepwy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Depiction: as naked girls with a shaved head, side-lock of youth, green collar and wristlets</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$^a$m.t Hori</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Depiction: as a standing Egyptian carrying a basket on her head, and a jug and lotus flower in her left hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$^a$m.t Renesseneb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Depiction: as a kneeling Egyptian carrying a basket on her head and fowl in her right hand</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20550</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Steward', Sobekaa</td>
<td>$^a$m.t Sobekhotep</td>
<td>(Offering bearer)</td>
<td>- Figure to the right of the top register</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 2, 179-181; vol. 4, pl. 43; AÄ 2, 45-46.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20550</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>$^a$m.t Sobekaa</td>
<td>(Offering bearer)</td>
<td>- Figure to the left of the bottom register</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STELA</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>STELA FOR...</td>
<td>ASIATIC(s)</td>
<td>OCCUPATION*</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>REF(S)**</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20571 (CAIRO</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Chamberlain of the bureau’s of the</td>
<td>ējm Hepu</td>
<td>Butler; (offering bearer)</td>
<td>- First figure in the bottom register before the offering table</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 2, 209-211; vol. 4, pl. 46; AÄ 2, 46.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
<td></td>
<td>overseer of the treasury’, Remnyankh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Depiction: as an Egyptian offering an ox leg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20650 (CAIRO</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Overseer of the expedition’, Nehai</td>
<td>Nehai</td>
<td>Overseer of the expedition</td>
<td>- Stela belongs to individual of Asiatic descent</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 2, 284-285; AÄ 2, 46.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(see Figure 4.176 for genealogy of family)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20678 (CAIRO</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Steward of a storehouse’, Senbi</td>
<td>Nebet- Kpny (?)</td>
<td>Lady of the house</td>
<td>- Most, if not all, of the list of individuals are noted to be of Asiatic descent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG 20753 (CAIRO</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Renefankh</td>
<td>ēšk</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of household members</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Name possibly of Semitic origin</td>
<td>Grab und Denk. 2, 387; vol. 4, pl. 58.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENNSYLVANIA</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Fragment of cenotaph stela</td>
<td>ēm</td>
<td>Retainer</td>
<td>- Part of list of individuals (household members?)</td>
<td>Simpson, Inscribed Material, 40-41, fig. 67, pl. 8 [d]; AÄ 2, 68.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM 69-29-56</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- First figure on the right of the bottom register</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIO DE JANEIRO 680</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'Member of the foremen’, Karu</td>
<td>ēpr born to ʔbi</td>
<td>Overseer of craftsmen</td>
<td>- Depiction: as an Egyptian</td>
<td>Kitchen, Catalogue 1, 64-67; vol. 2, pl. 45; AÄ 2, 69-70.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[NR 21] (NATIONAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Name appears in the bottom register</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUSEUM OF RIO DE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Name possibly of Semitic origin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JANEIRO)</td>
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<td></td>
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</table>

| CG 20571 (CAIRO       | -    | 'Chamberlain of the bureau’s of the   | ējm Hepu  | Butler; (offering bearer)                                                 | - First figure in the bottom register before the offering table                             | Grab und Denk. 2, 209-211; vol. 4, pl. 46; AÄ 2, 46.                                      |
| MUSEUM)               |      | overseer of the treasury’, Remnyankh   |            |                                                                            | - Depiction: as an Egyptian offering an ox leg                                             |                                                                                               |
| CG 20650 (CAIRO       | -    | 'Overseer of the expedition’, Nehai   | Nehai      | Overseer of the expedition                                               | - Stela belongs to individual of Asiatic descent                                           | Grab und Denk. 2, 284-285; AÄ 2, 46.                                                      |
| MUSEUM)               |      |                                        |            |                                                                            | (see Figure 4.176 for genealogy of family)                                                 |                                                                                               |
| CG 20678 (CAIRO       | -    | 'Steward of a storehouse’, Senbi      | Nebet- Kpny (?) | Lady of the house                                                      | - Most, if not all, of the list of individuals are noted to be of Asiatic descent         |                                                                                               |
| MUSEUM)               |      |                                        |            |                                                                            |                                                                                               |
| CG 20753 (CAIRO       | -    | Renefankh                              | ēšk        | -                                                                          | - Part of list of household members                                                        |                                                                                               |
| MUSEUM)               |      |                                        |            |                                                                            | - Name possibly of Semitic origin                                                           | Grab und Denk. 2, 387; vol. 4, pl. 58.                                                     |
| PENNSYLVANIA          | -    | Fragment of cenotaph stela            | ēm         | Retainer                                                                  | - Part of list of individuals (household members?)                                          | Simpson, Inscribed Material, 40-41, fig. 67, pl. 8 [d]; AÄ 2, 68.                         |
| MUSEUM 69-29-56       |      |                                        |            |                                                                            | - First figure on the right of the bottom register                                          |                                                                                               |
| RIO DE JANEIRO 680     | -    | 'Member of the foremen’, Karu          | ēpr born to ʔbi | Overseer of craftsmen                                                 | - Depiction: as an Egyptian                                                                | Kitchen, Catalogue 1, 64-67; vol. 2, pl. 45; AÄ 2, 69-70.                                |
| [NR 21] (NATIONAL     |      |                                        |            |                                                                            | - Name appears in the bottom register                                                       |                                                                                               |
| MUSEUM OF RIO DE      |      |                                        |            |                                                                            | - Name possibly of Semitic origin                                                           |                                                                                               |
| JANEIRO)              |      |                                        |            |                                                                            |                                                                                               |
TABLE 15.  

*Egyptian sites examined in Chapter 4 (see Map 2).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>LAT.LON.</th>
<th>EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DELTA</td>
<td>Basta, Tell</td>
<td>30°34'N, 30°31'E</td>
<td>12th to early 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dab’a, Tell</td>
<td>30°47'N, 31°50'E</td>
<td>12th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farasha</td>
<td>30°41'N, 31°43'E</td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Habwa I, Tell El-</td>
<td>30°54'N, 32°17'E</td>
<td>Late 13th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inshas</td>
<td>31°21'N, 31°27'E</td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Khata’na, el-</td>
<td>30°47'N, 31°49'E</td>
<td>Late 13th Dynasty to Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maskhuta, Tell el-</td>
<td>30°33'N, 32°06'E</td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muqdam, Tell el-</td>
<td>30°41'N, 31°21'E</td>
<td>14th Dynasty (Nehsy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retaba, Tell el-</td>
<td>30°33'N, 31°58'E</td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sahaba, Tell El-</td>
<td>30°32'N, 32°06'E</td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Yahudiyyah, Tell el-</td>
<td>30°17'N, 31°19'E</td>
<td>Late 13th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMPHIS</td>
<td>Dahshur</td>
<td>29°48'N, 31°14'E</td>
<td>Mid-12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
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<td>Harageh, el-</td>
<td>29°13'N, 31°02'E</td>
<td>12th to early 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Hawara</td>
<td>20°16'N, 30°54'E</td>
<td>Early 13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kom Rabi’a</td>
<td>29°50'N, 31°15'E</td>
<td>Late 12th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lahun, el-</td>
<td>29°13'N, 30°59'E</td>
<td>Mid-12th to early 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lisht, el-</td>
<td>24°34'N, 31°13'E</td>
<td>Early 12th to early 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mit Rahina</td>
<td>29°51'N, 31°15'E</td>
<td>12th Dynasty (Amenemhat II)</td>
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<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>29°52'N, 31°13'E</td>
<td>Late 12th Dynasty</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIDDLE</td>
<td>Beni Hassan</td>
<td>27°56'N, 30°53'E</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
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<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>Bersha, Deir el-</td>
<td>27°45'N, 30°54'E</td>
<td>Late 12th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hatnub</td>
<td>27°33'N, 31°00'E</td>
<td>Late 11th or early 12th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
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<td>Meir</td>
<td>27°27'N, 30°45'E</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Rifeh, Deir</td>
<td>27°06'N, 31°10'E</td>
<td>13th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPPER</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>26°11'N, 31°55'E</td>
<td>12th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EGYPT</td>
<td>Aswan</td>
<td>24°05'N, 32°54'E</td>
<td>12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dra’ Abu el-Naga’</td>
<td>25°44'N, 32°27'E</td>
<td>Mid-13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Edfu, Tell</td>
<td>24°57'N, 32°50'E</td>
<td>12th to 15th /17th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hol, Wadi el-</td>
<td>25°53'N, 32°28'E</td>
<td>Late 12th to early 13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Karnak</td>
<td>25°43'N, 32°40'E</td>
<td>13th to early 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Medamud, Nag’ el-</td>
<td>25°44'N, 32°42'E</td>
<td>12th Dynasty (Senwosret III)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Mostagedda</td>
<td>27°05'N, 31°23'E</td>
<td>15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rizeiqat, el-</td>
<td>25°36'N, 32°28'E</td>
<td>13th Dynasty to early Second</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tjauti, Gebel</td>
<td>26°11'N, 31°55'E</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tod</td>
<td>25°35'N, 32°32'E</td>
<td>Early 12th Dynasty</td>
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TABLE 16. *Egyptian sites examined in Chapter 4.1-4.5 with a summary of pertinent evidence for Egyptian-Levantine relations. Scarabs bearing Levantine designs are marked as ‘Levantine’ while those with Egyptian designs are termed ‘Egyptian’. Products of the ‘north’ refer to those of the northern dynasties or the Levant.*

* LPW: Levantine Painted Ware

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>STRATUM / PHASE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>FIND(S)</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>Basta, Tell</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early 13th</td>
<td>Mayor’s Residence: destruction and desertion</td>
<td>Political shifts in power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period</td>
<td></td>
<td>Scarab in burial: royal (Nehsy)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vessels in burial: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware</td>
<td>Access to products of the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dab’a, Tell el-</td>
<td>F/I e/1-3</td>
<td>Late 11th to early 12th</td>
<td>Local vessels: holemouth and flat-bottomed (?)</td>
<td>Trade with the Northern Levant, especially Byblos; Presence of Asiatics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>R/I e/1-4-d</td>
<td>Early 12th</td>
<td>- Imported vessels: LPW; store-jars</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>R/I c-a</td>
<td>12th (Senwosret III)</td>
<td>- Architecture: Breitraumhaus and Mittelsaalhaus</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>F/I d/2</td>
<td>Late 12th</td>
<td>- Imported vessels: 20% of total; variety of forms</td>
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<td>- Burial equipment: caprids; equids; silver jewellery; bronzes; weaponry; imported vessels</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A/II H; A/IV I-H</td>
<td>Late 12th to early 13th</td>
<td></td>
<td>Vessels: variety of forms (imported and local)</td>
<td>Presence of highly acculturated or highly Levantine-influenced elite individuals with contacts with the Northern Levant</td>
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<td></td>
<td>F/I d/1; A/II G/4-1</td>
<td>Early 13th</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Seal in administrative complex: Levantine (local)</td>
<td>Presence of middle-ranking individuals familiar with Egyptian and Levantine customs</td>
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<td>- Vessels: variety of forms (imported and local)</td>
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<td>- Burial equipment: caprids; equids; silver jewellery; bronzes; vessels; scarabs</td>
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<td>Scarabs in burials: private (local); Levantine</td>
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<td>Statue in burial: ‘hybrid’ artistic elements</td>
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</table>
| DELTA  | Dab’a, Tell el- | F/I c; A/II F | Mid-13<sup>th</sup> | - Architecture: temples  
- Temple offering pits: equids; vessels  
- Intramural burials  
- Vessels: variety of forms (imported and local)  
- Burial equipment: caprids; equids; imported vessels; attendants; bronzes; scarabs; one case of human remains in pit  
- Scarabs in burials: private (?m); Levantine | Continued trade with the Levant  
Increasing power of the Levantine elite with strong connections with the Northern Levant  
Increasing differentiation in social echelons, with the middle-low social class most likely being from many areas |
|        | (continued) | F/I b/3-2; A/IV F-E/1 | Mid-late 13<sup>th</sup> | - Intramural burials  
- Vessels: variety of forms (imported and local)  
- Burial equipment: equids; caprids; vessels; bronzes; scarabs and seal impressions; attendants  
- Cylinder seal impressions: Levantine | |
|        |      | A/II E/3 | Late 13<sup>th</sup> | - Architecture: Temple III renovated; Temples II and V with Levantine elements  
- Temple offering pits: animal offerings  
- Vessels: 40% of total (imported and local); 80% in burials (20% imported)  
- Intramural burials and burials in store-jars  
- Burial equipment: vessels; bronzes | Development of sacred precinct: temple and cults follow Northern Levantine and Egyptian customs |
|        |      | R/III; F/II d; A/II E/2 | Early 15<sup>th</sup> | - Architecture: Temple I with Levantine elements  
- Vessels: variety of forms (imported and local)  
- Burial equipment: caprids; equids; silver jewellery; bronzes; vessels; scarabs  
- Pit: vessels  
- Workshop: vessels; bronze fittings; seal  
- Seal impressions in occupation levels: royal (Khayan; unknown); Levantine | Administrative palatial complex: trade with Memphis, Upper Egypt, Cyprus, Nubia, the Levant and, possibly, Mesopotamia  
Possible evidence of conflict  
Increasing separation of Delta from rest of Egypt |
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</table>
| DELTA  | Dab’a, Tell el- | F/I b/1-a/2; F/II c; A/II E/I; A/V | Early to mid-15th | - Architecture: Temple III renovated  
- Temple offering pits: pigs; equids; vessels  
- Ritual (?) pits: vessels; scarabs; animal remains; human remains (severed right hands); small objects  
- Vessels: variety of forms (majority local)  
- Scarabs and seal impressions in pits: royal (Sobekhotep III and IV; Noferhotep I; Khayan); Levantine  
- Intramural burials and burials in store-jars  
- Burial equipment: caprids; equids; gold and silver jewellery; bronzes; vessels; scarabs  
- Cuneiform tablet in occupation level: Akkadian script | (Continued from above)  
Growing population: rise in intramural burials; use of necropolis areas for habitation; greater local ceramic production  
Growing prosperity: growing population; renovation of temple |
| Farasha, Tell | - | Second Intermediate Period | - Vessels: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware (uncertain origin) | Access to products of the north |
| Habwa I, Tell el- | 5b | 13th | - Jamb inscription: “pr-B3r” | Presence of elite Asiatic |
|      | 5a | 14th (Nehsy?) | - Inscriptions: royal (Nehsy); private (Setekhemwesekht) | Name possibly indicates rising influence of Seth |
|      | 4c-b | 15th | - Local vessels: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware  
- Imported vessel (?): Tell el-Yahudiyah ware; conical vessel | Access to products of the north and the Levant, especially the Southern Levant  
Possible function: food supply point |
|      | ? | Second Intermediate Period | - Local vessels: cups; plates  
- Imported vessels: jugs  
- Burials of equids | |
| Inshas | - | Second Intermediate Period (?) | - Burial equipment: equids; vessels; scarabs  
- Vessels: polished ware; Tell el-Yahudiyah ware (uncertain origin) | Presence of Asiatics  
Access to products of the north |
| Khata’na, el- | - | 15th | - Burial equipment: bronzes; vessels; scarabs  
- Vessels in burials: jugs; juglets; Tell el-Yahudiyah ware (uncertain origin)  
- Scarabs in burials: Levantine | Access to products of the north and the Levant, especially the Southern Levant |
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</table>
| Delta  | Maskhuta, Tell el- | 1-2 | 15th | - Pit: drinking vessels  
| | | | | - Burial equipment: caprids; equids; gold and silver  
| | | | | jewellery; bronzes; vessels; scarabs  
| | | | | - Local vessels: holemouth and flat-bottomed cooking pots  
| | | | | - Scarabs in burials: Levantine  
| | | 3 | | - Pits: drinking vessels  
| | | | | - Intramural burials and burials in store-jars  
| | | 4 | | - Pit: drinking vessels  
| | | | | - Small objects in occupation level: inlays of box  
| | | | | - Burial equipment: bronzes; vessels  
| | | | | - Vessels: Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware; cup (local)  
| | | 5 | | - Architecture: Northern Levantine elements  
| | | | | - Intramural burials and burials in store-jars  
| | | | | - Vessels in burial: holemouth cooking pot; bowl; jar (local)  
| | | | | - Scarabs in burial: royal (Maaibra); Egyptian and Levantine  
| | | 6 | | - Burial traits: Southern Levantine elements  
| | | | | - Burial equipment: vessels; silver jewellery; scarabs  
| | | | | - Vessels in burials: juglet; jar; cup; bowl (local)  
| | | | | - Scarabs in burials: Egyptian  
| Muqdam, Tell el- | - | 14th (Nehsy) | | - Statue: royal (Nehsy); usurped  
| Retaba, Tell el- | - | Second Intermediate Period (?) | | - Vessel: Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware (uncertain context)  
| | | | | - Scarabs: royal (a Sehotepibra); Egyptian and Levantine  
| Sahaba, Tell el- | - | Second Intermediate Period (?) | | - Burial equipment: bronzes; scarabs  
| | | | | - Vessels: bowls; jar; store-jars; Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware  

Other:
- Presence of acculturated Asiatics or Levantine-influenced Egyptians
- Population shifts: interims between Phases 2-3 and 4-5
- Possible Levantine feasting ritual
- MBIIA and MBIIA-B store-jar forms across all phases: reuse or decline in imports
- Influences from Northern and Southern Levantine traditions: no close correspondence to one Levantine region or site
- Elite control of trade
- Possible function: trade settlement
- First use of ‘beloved of Seth’
- Scanty remains of uncertain context
- Scanty unpublished remains indicating some access to products of the north
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<th>REGION</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DELTA</td>
<td>Yahudiyah, Tell el-</td>
<td>(Graves 2-3, 407)</td>
<td>Late 13th to early 15th</td>
<td>- Burial equipment: bronzes; vessels; scarabs - Vessels: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware; juglet; bowls - Scarabs: Levantine</td>
<td>Presence of Asiatics or Levantine-influenced Egyptians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Grave 4)</td>
<td>Early 15th</td>
<td>- Vessels: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware; bowls; cup - Scarab: Levantine</td>
<td>Access to products of the north and the Levant</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Graves 16, 19-20, 37)</td>
<td>Mid-15th</td>
<td>- Burial equipment: caprids; bronzes; vessels; scarabs - Vessels: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware; bowls; cups - Scarabs: Egyptian and Levantine</td>
<td>Trade contacts with the Southern Levant increase in the latter half of the Second Intermediate Period</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(Grave 5)</td>
<td>Mid- to late 15th</td>
<td>- Burial equipment: bronzes; scarabs - Scarabs: Egyptian and Levantine</td>
<td>Earthwork possibly for legitimising power of the elite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(Graves 1, 6, 43)</td>
<td>Late 15th</td>
<td>- Burial equipment: bronzes; vessels; scarabs - Vessels: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware (local) - Scarab: Egyptian or Levantine</td>
<td>Possible function: cultic and/or socio-political</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>Late 13th to 15th</td>
<td>- Earthwork: not primarily for defensive purposes - Burial of equid - Scarabs: royal (Sekhaenra, Sheshi, ʿAḥḫbr, Smkn; Khayan; Apophis); Egyptian and Levantine</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>MEMPHIS</td>
<td>Dahshur</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mid-12th (Amenemhat II)</td>
<td>- False door fragment: Asiatic individuals</td>
<td>Presence of Egyptian-Asiatics buried in the Egyptian manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Mid-12th (Senwosret III)</td>
<td>- Pyramid complex: Lebanese cedar for seafaring ships - Tomb of Khnumhotep III: biography</td>
<td>Trade with the Northern Levant</td>
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<td>Late 12th (Amenemhat III)</td>
<td>- Pyramid complex: store-jars - Tomb of Mereret (princess): pectorals - Tomb of Horkherti (elite): Lebanese cedar coffin; Asiatic toponym on Marl C jar (Kì)</td>
<td>Khnumhotep III’s maritime expedition: Ḯmny and Wkt/Wkt</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>13th</td>
<td>- Tomb of Nubhotepi-ʾEḥerān (princess) ʿAw3′w3 statuette</td>
<td>Trade with the Northern Levant</td>
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<td>(?)</td>
<td>- Pyramid of Senwosret III: graffiti</td>
<td>Pectorals: subjugating Asiatics</td>
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<td>Less bellicose representation</td>
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<td>Freedom to express Asiatic identity</td>
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<tr>
<td>MEMPHIS</td>
<td>Harageh, el-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12th to early 15th</td>
<td>- Vessels: Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware; dipper juglet</td>
<td>Access to imports by the elite</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Hawara</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mid-13th</td>
<td>- Tomb of Imerysenebnebwy: Asiatic individual</td>
<td>Asiatic household member(s)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Kom Rabi’a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Late 12th to 15th</td>
<td>- Egyptian vessels: imports from the Delta region</td>
<td>Access to products of the north and the Levant, especially the Northern Levant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lahun, el-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12th to 15th</td>
<td>- Vessels: LPW; dipper juglet; jug; store-jars; Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware</td>
<td>Low to middle class Asiatics employed in cultic and non-cultic duties (see Table 12)</td>
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<td>- Torque in occupation level</td>
<td>Trade with the Levant</td>
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<td>- Heddle-jack: Proto-Alphabetic text</td>
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<td>- Organic products: carob; juniper; safflower; hard wood</td>
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<td>- Papyri (Senwosret III to Amenemhat III): Asiatic individuals</td>
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<td>Lisht, el-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early 12th</td>
<td>- Pyramid complex (Amenemhat I): fragment portraying Asiatics</td>
<td>Bellicose portrayals of Asiatics in pyramid complexes</td>
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<td>- Tomb wall-scene fragment: store-jars portrayed</td>
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<td>- Pyramid complex of Senwosret I: fragments portraying smiting, subjugated and attacking Asiatics (siege scene?)</td>
<td>Access to products of the Levant</td>
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<td>Late 12th to 15th</td>
<td>- Execration texts</td>
<td>Ritualistic protection against Asiatics</td>
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<td>- Statue inscription: Asiatic individuals</td>
<td>Asiatics living, working and practicing their own religion</td>
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<td>- Statuette: Levantine elements</td>
<td>Access to products of the north and the Levant</td>
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<td>- Vessels: sherds; bowl; dipper juglet; store-jars; LPW; ‘dolphin’ jar; Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware (imported)</td>
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<td>- Scarabs in burials: Egyptian and Levantine</td>
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<td>Mit Rahina</td>
<td>Mid-12th</td>
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<td>- Inscription: daybook</td>
<td>Major expeditions to: ḫnty-š; Sinai; ḫwš(i) and ḫšy</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(Amenemhat II)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Delegations received from: [Kš]š, ḫwš-t-sp.t; St.t; Tmjšš</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>Late 12th</td>
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<td>- Execration texts</td>
<td>Ritualistic protection against Asiatics</td>
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</table>
| MIDDLE EGYPT | Beni Hassan (Tomb of Khnumhotep I) | Early 12th (Amenemhat I) | - Wall scenes: Asiatics in siege  
- Biography: Lebanese cedar ships; fallen St. tyw | Presence of Asiatic warriors (see Table 13)  
Trade with the Northern Levant | |
|              | (Tomb of Amenemhat)         | Early 12th (Senwosret I) | - Wall scenes: Asiatics in siege; Egyptian-Asiatics; vessel | Presence of Asiatic warriors (see Table 13) and Egyptian-Asiatics | |
|              | (Tomb of Khnumhotep II)     | Mid-12th (Senwosret II) | - Wall scenes: Asiatic procession; Egyptian-Asiatics; vessel (?) | Presence of Asiatic warriors (see Table 13) and Egyptian-Asiatics | |
|              |                             | Early to mid-12th   | - Shaft Tomb 181: statuette of Asiatic woman  
- Burial equipment: Lebanese cedar coffins | Presence of Asiatic worker  
Access to products of the Northern Levant | |
| Bersha, Deir el- | -                          | Late 12th          | - Burial equipment: Lebanese cedar coffins | Access to products of the Northern Levant | |
| Hatnub       |                             | Late 11th or early 12th | - Inscriptions: Asiatic warriors against Nehry | Presence of Asiatic warriors | |
| Meir         | (Tomb of Wekhhotep, B2)     | Early 12th (Senwosret I) | - Wall scene: Asiatic attendant (?) | Presence of Asiatic as household member (?) | |
|              | (Tomb of Wekhhotep, B4)     | Mid-12th (Amenemhat II) | - Wall scenes: Asiatic individuals; cattle belonging to Asiatics | Presence of Egyptian-Asiatic officials living and working in region | |
|              | (Tomb of Wekhhotep, C1)     | Mid-12th (Senwosret III) | - Wall scene: Egyptian-Asiatic female bearers from the Delta; Levantine vessels | Presence of Egyptian-Asiatics from Delta travelling across Egypt | |
| Rifeh, Deir  | -                          | Second Intermediate Period | - Vessels in burials: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware  
- Seal amulet: Proto-Alphabetic text | Access to products from the north: possibly direct contact | |

TABLE 16
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</table>
| UPPER EGYPT | Abydos          | -               | 12th to 15th    | - Stelae: Asiatic individuals; Asiatic toponyms (Kbn / Kpm(y), St.t; Skmm, Rtnw); conflict in the Levant  
- Burial equipment: anchor axehead (12th Dynasty);  
- torque (12th-13th Dynasty); vessels; scarabs; ivory sphinx (hybrid elements)  
- Vessels in burials: Tell el-Yahudiya ware  
- Scarabs in burials: royal (Sekhaenra, ṯmw, Sheshi) | Presence of Asians and Egyptian-Asiatics employed in a variety of positions and as part of the Egyptian household (see Table 14) Access to products of the north: possible prestige function |
|          | Aswan           | -               | 12th-13th       | - Graffiti: Asiatic individuals                                                                                                                                                                            | Presence of Egyptian-Asiatics                                                                                                                                                                           |
|          | Dra’ Abu el-Naga’ | -               | Mid-13th        | - Papyrus Boulaq 18: daybook mentioning Asiatic individuals                                                                                                                                              | Asiatic officials in Theban palatial residence; female Asiatics delivering products of the north                                                                                                                                               |
|          | Edfu, Tell       | -               | Late 12th to 15th /17th | - Stela: Asiatic individual  
- Vessels in occupation levels (administrative complex):  
  LPW; Tell el-Yahudiya ware; other (imported)  
- Scarabs and seal impressions in occupation levels (administrative complex): royal (Khayan); Levantine (local or imported) | Presence of Asiatic in Egyptian household  
Continuous trade with the north and the Levant, although on a reduced scale during Dynasty 15                                                                                                                                               |
|          | Hol, Wadi el-   | -               | Late 12th to early 13th | - Two texts: Asiatic individual and Asiatic toponym in name (Kpn)  
- Two Proto-Alphabetic texts: El mentioned                                                                                                                                  | Presence of Asiatic officials knowledgeable in Egyptian scripts, religion and traditions                                                                                                                                               |
|          | Karnak           | -               | Mid-13th to early 15th | - Stela (Sobekhotep IV): cedar for cultic architectural elements  
- Vessels in occupation levels: Tell el-Yahudiya ware                                                                                                                      | Trade with the Northern Levant  
Access to products of the north                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|          | Medamud, Nag’ el- | -               | Mid-12th (Senwosret III) | - Two fragmentary inscriptions: products of St.t; smiting scene                                                                                                                                          | Relations between Asiatics and administration  
Bellicose representation of Asiatics                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
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<tr>
<td>UPPER EGYPT</td>
<td>Mostagedda</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15\textsuperscript{th}</td>
<td>- Vessel in burials: Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware</td>
<td>Access to products of the north: funerary function (prestige?)</td>
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<td>- Scarabs in burials: Egyptian and Levantine</td>
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<td>- Jewellery in burials: silver torques</td>
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<td>Rizeiqat, el-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13\textsuperscript{th} to early Second Intermediate Period</td>
<td>- Two stelae: female Egyptian-Asiatics</td>
<td>Presence of Egyptian-Asiatics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tjauti, Gebel</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13\textsuperscript{th}</td>
<td>- Three texts: Asiatic individuals</td>
<td>Presence of Egyptian-Asiatics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tod</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Early 12\textsuperscript{th}</td>
<td>- Inscription: Asiatic labour/captives; bellicose activity against foreigners</td>
<td>Ideological and bellicose representation of Asiatcs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Four copper chests with imported items of gold, silver, copper, lapis lazuli and other minerals</td>
<td>Offering deposit with variety of imported products from the Northern Levant and the Eastern Mediterranean</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TABLE 17.** *Selected literary texts and unprovenanced artefacts examined in Chapter 4.6.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selection</th>
<th>Egyptian Chronology</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Berlin Execration Bowls</td>
<td>Mid to late 12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Ritualistic, Religious</td>
<td>Ideological subjugation of Asians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Presence of Egyptian records on geography and ruling elite of Levantine sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instructions of Amenemhat I</td>
<td>Early 12th Dynasty (Senwosret I)</td>
<td>Didactic, Royal / political</td>
<td>Ideological portrayal of Asians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446</td>
<td>Mid-13th Dynasty (Sobekhotep III)</td>
<td>Administrative</td>
<td>List of Asiatic household members (45 or more)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papyrus Leiden I.344 (Admonitions of Ipuwer)</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Literary, Lament</td>
<td>Asiatics as a spreading threat that must be controlled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Levant as a source for precious commodities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prophecies of Neferty</td>
<td>Early 12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Literary, Royal / political</td>
<td>Asiatics threatening the Delta are controlled by king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Walls-of-the-Ruler set up to control northern threat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stela Louvre C 21</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Funerary</td>
<td>Name of Egyptian (?) woman includes ḫīm.t appellative to describe her physical characteristics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stela Moscow I.1.a.5349 (4161)</td>
<td>Late 12th to early 13th Dynasty</td>
<td>Funerary</td>
<td>Between 11 and 13 Asiatics as household members depicted as Egyptians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stela Roanne Nr 163</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>Funerary</td>
<td>Asiatic woman depicted with Egyptian and Asiatic attributes as a respected household member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tale of Sinuhe</td>
<td>Early 12th Dynasty (Senwosret I)</td>
<td>Literary, Royal/political</td>
<td>St.tyw: near Egyptian border; exchange products; help Sinuhe; against rulers of Rtnw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫmnw: inhabitants of Upper Rtnw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pd.wt: against marsh-dwellers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Egyptians frequently travelling to Upper Rtnw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫmnw ḫmnšt knowledgeable in Egyptian politics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 18. *Egyptian texts at Serabit el-Khadim featuring Asiatics and Levantine toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references (see Translation 13).*

* Activities of Asiatics represented pictorially are written in brackets while titles are not.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSCRIPTION</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
<th>ASIATIC(S)</th>
<th>OCCUPATION*</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>Ref(s)**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>S III</td>
<td>Seated statue, Hathor Temple (lesser Hanafiyah)</td>
<td>⃰m Rua</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of individuals</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 22. Sinai 2, 90.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>A III Year 4 (?)</td>
<td>North face of stela, Hathor Temple</td>
<td>⃰m</td>
<td>Hall-keeper</td>
<td>- Part of list of expedition members</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 23. Sinai 2, 92-94.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hb(dd)</td>
<td>Brother of the ruler of Rtnw</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>⃰m […]: 10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>A III Year 5</td>
<td>West face of stela, Hathor Temple (old approach to cave)</td>
<td>Hb(dd)(m) (?)</td>
<td>Brother of the ruler of Rtnw</td>
<td>- Part of list of expedition members</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 24. Sinai 2, 95.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Standing figure: left of bottom register</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Depiction: knee-length kilt and coiffed hairstyle cut straight below the ear with a tuft at the front</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>A III Year 8</td>
<td>East face of stela, Hathor Temple (portico court)</td>
<td>St.t</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Toponym illegible in Gardiner and Peet; its occurrence is reliant on Černy’s translation of the text</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 33. Sinai 2, 99.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>A III Year 13</td>
<td>South face of stela, Hathor Temple (old approach)</td>
<td>Hb(dd)</td>
<td>Brother of the ruler of Rtnw</td>
<td>- Part of fragmentary list of expedition members</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 27. Sinai 2, 100.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>A III Year 15</td>
<td>Stela, Hathor Temple (Hanafiyah court)</td>
<td>Amenshesenen born to It-noferu a ⃰m(t)</td>
<td>God’s sealer, sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, deputy of the chief steward</td>
<td>- See Nrs 94-99 and 402</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 28. Sinai 2, 100-101.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSRIPTION</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>CONTEXT</td>
<td>ASIATIC(s)</td>
<td>OCCUPATION*</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>Ref(s)**</td>
</tr>
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<td>------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>A III Year 25</td>
<td>West face of stela, Hathor Temple (Hanafiyah court)</td>
<td>x 2</td>
<td>(Donkey-riding and driver)</td>
<td>- Fragmentary - Depiction: donkey-riding holding a staff (?)</td>
<td>Sinai 2, 107-108, ArOr 7, 386, fig. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>A III Year 45</td>
<td>Rock stela, Mine C</td>
<td>Ptahwer</td>
<td>Chief chamberlain of the treasury</td>
<td>- See Nrs 108-109 and 414 - Epithets: travelling to foreign lands</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 18. Sinai 2, 80.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>A III Year 45 (?)</td>
<td>Block, Hathor Temple (shrine of kings)</td>
<td>Ptahwer</td>
<td>Chief chamberlain of the treasury</td>
<td>- See Nrs 54, 109 and 414 - Standing figure - Depiction: knee-length kilt before offerings; no delineating facial features</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 33. Sinai 2, 112.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>A III Year 45 (?)</td>
<td>Fragment</td>
<td>Ptahwer</td>
<td>Chief chamberlain of the treasury</td>
<td>- See Nrs 54, 108 and 414 - Very fragmentary</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 33. Sinai 2, 112.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>A III, Year 10 + x</td>
<td>Stela</td>
<td>Ameny(...)</td>
<td>Deputy of the chief steward</td>
<td>- See Nrs 93-96, 98-99 and 402 - Fragmentary, possibly with list of members</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 26. Sinai 2, 104.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Wall inscription fragments c-d, Hathor Temple (cave)</td>
<td>Amenyseshenen</td>
<td>Deputy of the chief steward</td>
<td>- See 93, 95-99 and 402 - Seated figure before offering table - Depiction: no delineating facial features bar a pointed beard</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pls 29, 33. Sinai 2, 101-103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Front of altar, Hathor Temple (cave)</td>
<td>Ameny born to c'jm(t)</td>
<td>Deputy of the chief steward</td>
<td>- See Nrs 93-94, 96-99 and 402 - Standing opposed figures each offering a coned object to Horus and Hathor - Depiction: no delineating facial features bar a pointed beard</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 30. Sinai 2, 103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Stela, Hathor Temple (?)</td>
<td>Ameny born to It-noferu</td>
<td>[Deputy of the chief steward]</td>
<td>- See Nrs 93-95, 97-99 and 402 - Stela is seemingly dedicated by Egyptians</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 32. Sinai 2, 104.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Seated statuette</td>
<td>Amenyseshenen / Ameny born to It-noferu a c'jm(t)</td>
<td>Overseer of all property of the king, god’s sealer, deputy of the chief steward</td>
<td>- See Nrs 93-97, 99 and 402 - Statuette of princess perhaps dedicated by Ameny - Ameny described as foster-child of the king and pupil of Horus</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 33. Sinai 2, 104-105.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSCRIPTION</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>CONTEXT</td>
<td>ASIATIC(S)</td>
<td>OCCUPATION*</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>Ref(s)**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Door inscription (?), Hathor Temple</td>
<td>Ameny</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>See Nrs 93-98 and 402</td>
<td>No copy of the inscription exists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Stela, Hathor Temple (portico court)</td>
<td>⅊im from ḫmn: 20</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Part of list of expedition members</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 35A. Sinai 2, 112-113.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>West face of stela, Hathor Temple (porch)</td>
<td>ḫbd _dm</td>
<td>Brother of the ruler of ṭnw</td>
<td>Depiction: riding a donkey while carrying a staff with a hooked end; hair slightly voluminous at back</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 37. Sinai 2, 113-116.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫkb i</td>
<td>(Carrying offering?)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Depiction: leading a donkey; hair slightly voluminous at back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>South face of stela, Hathor Temple (porch)</td>
<td>ḫbd _dm</td>
<td>Brother of the ruler of ṭnw</td>
<td>Part of list of expedition members</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫmn Sanofer</td>
<td>Major-domo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of 209 expedition members</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pls 36, 38. Sinai 2, 116-118.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>South face of stela, Hathor Temple (sanctuary)</td>
<td>ḫ ss. ṭyw from ṭnw: 10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of list of 209 expedition members</td>
<td>Sinai 2, 205-206.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>405</td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Southeast face of stela, (portico to Sopdu approach)</td>
<td>x 1</td>
<td>(Donkey-rider)</td>
<td>- Depiction: yellow skin and black hair; wearing a red-banded knee-length kilt; carrying an axe in left hand and an unknown implement in the right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ḫ sm</td>
<td>(Leading donkey)</td>
<td>- Depiction: yellow skin and black hair; wearing a red-banded knee-length kilt; carrying a spear in left hand and leading the donkey by rope in the right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ṣ pm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Depiction: yellow skin and black hair; wearing a red-banded short kilt; carrying a spear in left hand and a throw-stick in the right</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSCRIPTION</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>CONTEXT</td>
<td>ASIATIC(S)</td>
<td>OCCUPATION*</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>Ref(s)**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A III (?)</td>
<td>Stela fragment, Hathor Temple (Sopdu hall)</td>
<td>Ameny [...]</td>
<td>Deputy of the chief steward</td>
<td>- Fragmentary inscription</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 83.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>402</td>
<td>Year 15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 2, 204.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>A III (?)</td>
<td>West face of stela, Hathor Temple (old approach)</td>
<td>x 1</td>
<td>(Donkey-rider)</td>
<td>- Depiction: carrying an axe or staff</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year 18</td>
<td></td>
<td>x 1</td>
<td>(Leading donkey)</td>
<td>- Depiction: leading a donkey by a rope in right hand</td>
<td>Sinai 2, 118-119.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lpnwirw</td>
<td>(Driving donkey)</td>
<td>- Depiction: carrying a staff in right hand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Men from)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Rtnw: 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>414</td>
<td>A III (?)</td>
<td>Stela, Hathor Temple (shrine of kings)</td>
<td>Csln Ptahwer</td>
<td>Chamberlain of the treasury</td>
<td>- Possibly the same Ptahwer in Nrs 108-109.</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 2, 210.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>A IV</td>
<td>North face of stela, Hathor Temple (portico court)</td>
<td>(Men from)</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Part of list of expedition members</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 43.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>A IV</td>
<td>Stela</td>
<td>St.t</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Fragmentary reference in sequence of epithets of the chief chamberlain of the treasury, Djef[...]</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 48.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Year 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 2, 124-125.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>A IV</td>
<td>Wall inscription, Hathor Temple</td>
<td>Csln Werkherep-hemut</td>
<td>Senior chief lector priest, god’s servant, scribe</td>
<td>- Part of fragmentary inscription with list of rations for the Temple of Hathor</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 46.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 2, 127-128.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom, (?) Year 11</td>
<td>West face of stela, Hathor Temple (shrine of kings)</td>
<td>Rtnw</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Part of fragmentary inscription</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 49.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 2, 135-137.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Obelisk</td>
<td>[...]j-3ši</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Names are each determined by a kneeling figure, two with a coiffed hairstyle and a long, thick beard; all carry a square-shaped shield in the right hand and a duck-bill (?) axe in the left</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 51.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 2, 147.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thnm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>411</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>East face of stela, Hathor Temple (portico court)</td>
<td>St.t</td>
<td></td>
<td>- Fragmentary inscription</td>
<td>Sinai 1, pl. 86.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Toponym seemingly encompasses a vast region from which products were brought</td>
<td>Sinai 2, 208.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 19. *Egyptian texts at Wadi Hammamat featuring Asiatics, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSCRIPTION</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
<th>ASIATIC(S)</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>REFERENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Senwosret III Year 14</td>
<td>Inscription of the steward of the storehouse of the controller of works, Khuy</td>
<td><em>Iwn.tyw</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of a sequence of epithets of the stela’s owner - Refers to the ‘foreign lands’ of the Asiatics</td>
<td>Couyat and Montet, <em>Ouâdi Hammâmât</em>, 49-51, pl. 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>Amenemhat III Year 2</td>
<td>Inscription of the overseer of the infantry and inspector of retainers, Amenemhat</td>
<td><em>Am.w</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of a sequence of epithets of the stela’s owner - Refers to a ‘flat land’ of the Asiatics</td>
<td>Couyat and Montet, <em>Ouâdi Hammâmât</em>, 48-49, pl. 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Amenemhat III Year 19</td>
<td>Inscription of the retainer of the ruler of the first battalion, Hetepi</td>
<td><em>Am(w)</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of a sequence of epithets of the stela’s owner</td>
<td>Couyat and Montet, <em>Ouâdi Hammâmât</em>, 40, pl. 5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23-24</td>
<td>Sobekemsa</td>
<td>Inscription of Sobekemsa’s expedition</td>
<td><em>Sm</em></td>
<td>Overseer of fieldworkers</td>
<td>- Part of list of expedition members</td>
<td>Gasse, BIFAO 87 (1987), pls 39-42.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 20. *Egyptian texts at Wadi el-Hudi featuring Asiatics and Asiatic toponyms, with notations on their date, context and bibliographical references.*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INSCRIPTION</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
<th>ASIATIC(S)</th>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>REFERENCES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>Senwosret I</td>
<td>Hill (Site 6); Stela of the sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, Hor</td>
<td><em>Iwn.tyw</em></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- Part of a sequence of epithets of the stela’s owner - Refers to the ‘foreign lands’ of the Asiatics</td>
<td>Rowe, ASAE 39 (1939), 187-191, pl. 25; Sadek, <em>Wadi el-Hudi</em> 1, 84-88; vol. 2, pl. 23.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Senwosret III Year 13</td>
<td>Stela of the trustworthy sealer, Senbebu</td>
<td><em>Sm</em> Senbebu</td>
<td>Butler</td>
<td>- Part of list of household members - Name is the same as employer</td>
<td>Fakhry, <em>Wadi el Hudi</em>, 35-38, fig. 29, pl. 14; Sadek, <em>Wadi el-Hudi</em> 1, 38-39; vol. 2, pl. 8.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 21. Selected sites in the Eastern Desert examined in Chapter 5 with evidence for direct contact between Egyptians and a Levantine culture. Products of the ‘north’ refer to those of the northern dynasties and/or the Levant (see Map 11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>LAT.LON.</th>
<th>EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY</th>
<th>FIND(S)</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mount Sinai and the Red Sea Coast</td>
<td>Ayn Sukhna</td>
<td>29°36'N 32°20'E</td>
<td>12th to the early Second Intermediate Period</td>
<td>- Lebanese cedar: 2 Egyptian ships</td>
<td>Imported timber for the construction of seafaring ships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gawasis, Wadi / Mersa</td>
<td>26°33'N 34°02'E</td>
<td>12th to the Second Intermediate Period</td>
<td>- Lebanese cedar, oak and pine: planks, strake, spoon, fragments and charcoal</td>
<td>Imported timber for the construction of seafaring ships and for secondary usages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maghara, Wadi</td>
<td>28°54'N 33°22'E</td>
<td>12th Dynasty (Amenemhat III)</td>
<td>- One text: Asiatic listed</td>
<td>Asiatic and interpreter in expeditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Proto-Alphabetic text: Baalat mentioned</td>
<td>Significance of Baalat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- One text: interpreter listed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serabit el-Khadim</td>
<td>29°02'N 33°28'E</td>
<td>12th to 15th (?) Dynasty</td>
<td>- 29 texts: Asiatics listed (Table 18) – individuals, groups and toponyms</td>
<td>Intercultural relations from at least Senwosret III’s reign</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Over 30 proto-alphabetic texts: association with Baalat and Hathor</td>
<td>Asiatics from mixed backgrounds; bi-lingual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Vessels in occupation levels: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware</td>
<td>Asiatics and interpreters present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Texts: interpreters listed</td>
<td>Significance of Hathor and Baalat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zeit, Gebel el-</td>
<td>27°57'N 33°28'E</td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period</td>
<td>- Occupation levels: Tell el-Yahudiyah ware and scarabs</td>
<td>Access to products of the north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-eastern Desert</td>
<td>Hammamat, Wadi el-</td>
<td>25°55'N 33°20'E</td>
<td>12th and 17th Dynasty</td>
<td>- Four texts: Asiatics listed (Table 19)</td>
<td>Bellicose treatment of Asiatics in epitheats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asiatic in expedition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hudi, Wadi el-</td>
<td>17°42'N 34°17'E</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>- Two texts: Asiatics listed (Table 20)</td>
<td>Bellicose treatment of Asiatics in eulogy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asiatic in expedition</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 22.

Some Levantine sites not discussed in the text bearing scarabs, seal impressions and cylinder seals. Those with Levantine designs are marked as ‘Levantine’ while those with Egyptian designs are termed ‘Egyptian’.

* SCI: D. Ben-Tor, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>REFERENCE(S)*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN LEVANT</td>
<td>Aphek, Tell</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIIA-B</td>
<td>Phase 4: occupation</td>
<td>Two Egyptian</td>
<td>Givone, Scarabs, 44-46; Weinstein, BASOR 288 (1992), 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aviv, Tell (Harbour)</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to early MBIIIB</td>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>Mostly Levantine</td>
<td>Tufnell, Scarab Seals, 54-55; Weinstein, BASOR 217 (1975), 5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beit Mirsim, Tell</td>
<td>MBIIB to MBIIC</td>
<td>Stratum E-D: occupation</td>
<td>Royal (Ykh); mostly Levantine; Egyptian</td>
<td>Albright, BASOR 47 (1932), 8-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beth Shemesh</td>
<td>Early MBIIB</td>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>Mostly Levantine</td>
<td>Grant, Beth Shemesh, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Far‘ah, el-(N), Tell</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIIA-B</td>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>Egyptian and Levantine</td>
<td>SCI,* 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Far‘ah, el-(S), Tell</td>
<td>MBIIB to MBIIC</td>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>Mostly Levantine</td>
<td>Tufnell, Scarab Seals, 86-92; SCI, 155-156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fassuta</td>
<td>MBIIBA-B</td>
<td>Tomb 1</td>
<td>Royal (Noferhotep I; heirloom?)</td>
<td>Gershuny and Aviam, ‘Atiqot 62 (2010), fig. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ginnosar</td>
<td>Early MBIIB</td>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>Mostly Levantine</td>
<td>SCI, 121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hazor</td>
<td>MBIIB</td>
<td>Stratum 3 and XVII: occupation and tomb</td>
<td>Mostly Levantine; few Egyptian heirlooms</td>
<td>Tufnell, Scarab Seals, 56-57, fig. 17; Goldwasser, in Hazor III-IV, 339-345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kabri, Tell</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIIB</td>
<td>Near and in burials</td>
<td>Royal (Ykhm; late MBIIB context); mostly Levantine</td>
<td>Mizrachy, in Tel Kabri, 319-339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lachish</td>
<td>Late MBIIB to LBA</td>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>Royal (‘inw and Šīl); mostly Levantine</td>
<td>Tufnell, Lachish 4, 92-123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nahariya</td>
<td>MBIIBA to LBIA</td>
<td>Phase A; temple area</td>
<td>Unpublished bar for a Levantine-design scarab</td>
<td>Dothan, IEJ 6 (1956), 20, pl. 3 [d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nami, Tell</td>
<td>MBA to LBA</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Artzy, IEJ 41/1 (1991), 195-197, fig. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pella</td>
<td>MBIIB to LBA</td>
<td>Tomb</td>
<td>Royal (Yšnmw, Yšnhbr; Apophis and Kamose); mostly Levantine</td>
<td>Richards, Scarab Seals; Bourke and Eriksson, in Timelines 2, 339-348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rishon Lezziyon</td>
<td>MBIIBA-B and MBIIB</td>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>Mostly Levantine</td>
<td>D. Ben-Tor, IEJ 47/3 (1997), 162-189</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Safed</td>
<td>MBIIBA-B</td>
<td>Tomb</td>
<td>Unpublished scarabs</td>
<td>Weinstein, BASOR 217 (1975), 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shechem</td>
<td>MBIIB to LBA</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Mostly Levantine</td>
<td>Horn, JNES 21 (1962), 1-14; Horn, JNES 25 (1966), 48-56; Horn, JNES 32 (1973), 281-289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGION</td>
<td>SITE</td>
<td>DATE &amp; CONTEXT</td>
<td>CONTEXT</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>REFERENCE(S)*</td>
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<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTHERN LEVANT</td>
<td>Alalakh</td>
<td>MBA to LBA</td>
<td>Level VII; Occupation</td>
<td>Egyptian-influenced seals</td>
<td>Collon, Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hizzin</td>
<td>MBA</td>
<td>Tomb</td>
<td>Egyptian-influenced scarab</td>
<td>Personal communication with H. Sader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kamid el-Loz</td>
<td>MBA to MBIC</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Egyptian-influenced seal</td>
<td>Heinz and Linke, in Materiality and Social Practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ruweise</td>
<td>Early MBA</td>
<td>Tombs</td>
<td>Egyptian</td>
<td>Guigues, BMB 2 (1938), 62-63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 23.** Mediterranean and Near Eastern sites not discussed in the text bearing Egyptian-style statuary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>DATE &amp; CONTEXT</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>REFERENCE(S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN LEVANT</td>
<td>'Ajul, Tell el-Stratum III'; unknown</td>
<td>Three statues</td>
<td>(See Appendix A.1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dan, Tell</td>
<td>Secondary (Iron Age); unknown</td>
<td>Two statues</td>
<td>Maeir, Jordan Valley during the MBA, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gezer</td>
<td>Secondary (LBA and Iron Age); unknown</td>
<td>Three statues</td>
<td>(See Appendix A.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hazor</td>
<td>Secondary (Iron Age); unknown</td>
<td>At least six statues</td>
<td>A. Ben-Tor, in Confronting the Past, 3-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jo’ara</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>One statue</td>
<td>Giveon, Impact of Egypt on Canaan, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Megiddo</td>
<td>Secondary (LBA)</td>
<td>Four fragments</td>
<td>(See Appendix A.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTHERN LEVANT</td>
<td>Adana</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>One statue</td>
<td>Ahrens, in Intercultural Contacts, 285-288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beirut</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>One sphinx</td>
<td>Dunand, Syria 9/4 (1928), 300-302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hizzin</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Two fragments</td>
<td>(See Appendix A.5)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Neirab</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>One sphinx</td>
<td>Scandone-Matthiae, RdE 40 (1989), 125-129</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qatna</td>
<td>MBA to LBA</td>
<td>Two fragmentary statues and sphinx</td>
<td>Du Mesnil du Buisson, Syria 9/1 (1928), 10-12, 17, pls 12, 14 [1]; Du Mesnil du Buisson, Qatna, 45, pl. 4</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ugarit</td>
<td>MBA to LBA</td>
<td>Three or four fragmentary statues and sphinxes</td>
<td>(See Appendix A.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MESOPOTAMIA</td>
<td>Baghdad</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>One sphinx</td>
<td>PM VII, 396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANATOLIA</td>
<td>Boğazköy</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Statuettes</td>
<td>Schaeffer, Stratigraphie comparée, 29, n. 3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yahşihan</td>
<td>Secondary (Late Antique)</td>
<td>One statue</td>
<td>Allen, AusI 43 (1927), 294-296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRETE</td>
<td>Knossos</td>
<td>Secondary (Late Minoan)</td>
<td>One statuette</td>
<td>Gill and Padgham, ABSA 100 (2005), 41-59</td>
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</table>
TABLE 24. *Proposed chronologies for Tell el-‘Ajjul’s strata I-III.*


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STRATUM</th>
<th>PETRIE</th>
<th>ALBRIGHT</th>
<th>TUFNELL</th>
<th>KEEL</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>12th Dynasty (Palace II)</td>
<td>MBIIC</td>
<td>MBIIB 12th to 15th Dynasty (Palace I)</td>
<td>MBIIB Mid-13th to 15th Dynasty (Palace I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>15th Dynasty (Palace III-IV)</td>
<td>LBI</td>
<td>MBIIB - MBIIC 15th Dynasty (Palace II)</td>
<td>MBIIB - MBIIC Mid to Late 15th Dynasty (Palace II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>18th Dynasty (Palace V)</td>
<td>LBI</td>
<td>LBI 18th Dynasty (Palace III)</td>
<td>LBI 18th Dynasty (Fortress III)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

TABLE 25. *Selected Levantine sites examined in Chapter 6 (see Map 12).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION</th>
<th>SITE</th>
<th>LAT.LON.</th>
<th>LEVANTINE CHRONOLOGY</th>
<th>EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN LEVANT</td>
<td>‘Ajjul, Tell el-</td>
<td>31°22’N 34°27’E</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIC</td>
<td>13th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ashkelon</td>
<td>31°40’N 34°33’E</td>
<td>MBIIA to MBIC</td>
<td>Late 12th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Beth Shean</td>
<td>32°29’N 35°32’E</td>
<td>MBII to MBIC</td>
<td>Late 13th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gezer</td>
<td>31°53’N 34°57’E</td>
<td>MBII to MBIC</td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ifshar, Tell</td>
<td>32°22’N 34°54’E</td>
<td>MBIIA</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>31°51’N 35°27’E</td>
<td>Late MBIIA / MBIIA-B to MBIC</td>
<td>13th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Megiddo</td>
<td>32°35’N 35°11’E</td>
<td>MBIIA to MBIC</td>
<td>12th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagila, Tell</td>
<td>31°30’N 34°45’E</td>
<td>MBII to MBIC</td>
<td>Second Intermediate Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTHERN LEVANT</td>
<td>‘Arqa, Tell</td>
<td>34°31’N 36°02’E</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIC</td>
<td>Mid-12th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burak, Tell el-</td>
<td>33°29’N 35°20’E</td>
<td>MBIIA</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Byblos</td>
<td>34°08’N 35°38’E</td>
<td>MBIIA to MBIC</td>
<td>12th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ebla</td>
<td>35°52’N 37°02’E</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIC</td>
<td>13th to 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fad’ous, Tell</td>
<td>34°13’N 35°39’E</td>
<td>Late MBIIA / MBIIA-B</td>
<td>Late 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sakka, Tell</td>
<td>33°26’N 36°27’E</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIB</td>
<td>13th to early 15th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sidon</td>
<td>33°32’N 35°22’E</td>
<td>MBIIA to MBIC</td>
<td>12th to early 15th Dynasty</td>
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</table>
Table 26. Selected Levantine sites with Egyptian(-influenced) items from MBA contexts examined in Chapter 6. Scarabs bearing Levantine designs are marked as 'Levantine' while those with Egyptian designs are termed 'Egyptian'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Stratum / Phase</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Find(s)</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| SOUTHERN LEVANT | ‘Ajjul, Tell el- | Below III       | MBIIA to MBIIB | 13th to 15th<br>- Stone vessel in burial (imported)  
- Scarabs in burials: mostly Levantine | Possibly minimal, indirect, trade relations                  |
|                 |            | New             | MBIIB to MBIIC | Late 13th to 15th<br>- Piriform jar in occupation level (imported)     | Few sherds for serving food indicating trade (?) relations |
| Ashkelon        | 14         | Mid-MBIIA       | Late 12th to early 13th | - Seal impressions: Egyptian and Levantine  
- Zir, store-jar and ring-stand sherds in occupation levels (imported) | Seal impressions at gate and vessels for storage and transport, indicating small-scale direct trade relations |
|                 | 13-12      | Late MBIIA to MBIIB-B | 13th        | - Zir and store-jar sherds in occupation levels (imported) | Vessels for storage, transport, food preparation and serving, indicating small-scale direct trade relations and possible Egyptian influence on daily life |
|                 | 11         | MBIIB           | 15th         | - Zir sherds and cooking pots in occupation levels (imported)  
- Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware in sanctuary and burials (imported) | Finds in both funerary and occupation contexts; connection of imported products with elite; trade relations likely |
| Beth Shean      | R-5 / XI   | MBIIB           | 15th         | - Stone vessels in burials (imported)  
- Stone vessels in occupation levels (local)  
- Scarabs in occupation levels: Egyptian and Levantine  
- Scarabs in burials: royal (local); mostly Levantine  
- Amethyst ring in burial (imported) | Only one juglet is an import, probably reaching the site through indirect trade relations |
|                 | R-4 / Xb   | Late MBIIB      | 15th         | - Scarabs in occupation level: royal (imported); Levantine  
- Tell el-Yahudiyyah ware (unclear context; imported) | Possibly minimal, indirect, trade relations                  |
| Gezer           | -          | MBIIA           | 12th (?)     | - Stone vessels in burials (uncertain origin) | Only one juglet is an import, probably reaching the site through indirect trade relations |
|                 | -          | MBIIB-C         | 13th to 18th | - Faience bottle in burials (uncertain origin)  
- Scarab in occupation level: royal (imported)  
- Scarabs in burials: mostly Levantine | Possibly minimal, indirect, trade relations                  |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Stratum / Phase</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Find(s)</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SOUTHERN LEVANT</td>
<td>Ifshar, Tell</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>MBIIA</td>
<td>Early to mid-12th         - Zir, jar and bottle sherd in occupation levels (imported)</td>
<td>Vessels for storage and transport, indicating trade relations with an increase in Phase B correlated with the building of a new administrative complex and Mediterranean trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>MBIIA</td>
<td>Early to mid-12th         - Zir and jar sherd in occupation levels (imported)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>C</td>
<td>MBIIA</td>
<td>3rd quarter of 12th       - Bag-shaped jar and bottle in occupation levels (imported)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jericho</td>
<td>IVa</td>
<td>MBIIB</td>
<td>(?)                      - Stone vessels in burials (uncertain origin and local)</td>
<td>Possibly minimal, indirect, trade relations</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: Egyptian and Levantine</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>IVb</td>
<td>MBIIB</td>
<td>(?)                      - Stone vessels in occupation levels (imported)</td>
<td>Locally made vessels and scarabs become more popular or accessible; imported items still available</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Stone vessels in burials (imported and local)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Faience vessels in burials (local)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: royal and private (imported); mostly Levantine</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Seal impressions in occupation levels: private (imported)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Megiddo</td>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>Early MBIIA</td>
<td>(?)                      - Scarab in burial: Egyptian (?)</td>
<td>Possibly minimal, indirect, trade relations; increase in Egyptian design scarabs and stone vessels between MBIIA and MBIIB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>MBIIA</td>
<td>(?)                      - Stone vessel sherd in burial (imported)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: Egyptian and/or Levantine</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XII</td>
<td>MBIIB</td>
<td>(?)                      - Stone vessels in burials (uncertain origin, imported and local)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: private; mostly Levantine</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>XI</td>
<td>MBIIB</td>
<td>(?)                      - Scarabs in burials: mostly Levantine</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nagila, Tell</td>
<td>VII-XI</td>
<td>MBIIB-C</td>
<td>(?)                      - Stone vessels in burial (uncertain origin)</td>
<td>Possibly minimal, indirect, trade relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Faience vessels (uncertain origin)</td>
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<td>- Scarabs in burial: mostly Levantine</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>REGION</td>
<td>SITE</td>
<td>STRATUM / PHASE</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>FIND(S)</td>
<td>OTHER</td>
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<tr>
<td>NORTHERN LEVANT</td>
<td>'Arqa, Tell 13</td>
<td>Late MBIIA</td>
<td>Mid-12th to 15th</td>
<td>- Zir and jar sherds in occupation levels (imported)</td>
<td>Vessels for storage and transport, indicating trade relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Burak, Tell el- (Temple)</td>
<td>Late MBIIA</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>- Scarab in occupation level: Egyptian</td>
<td>Trade relations and association of Egyptian art with a monumental complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Byblos (Temples) MBA</td>
<td>12th to (?)</td>
<td>- Obelisks: uninscribed; with hieroglyphs (local)</td>
<td>Association of Egyptian art and script with cultic building and cultic offerings; use of Egyptian titles and epithets; direct correlation with pharaoh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Royal Tombs I-II) MBIIA</td>
<td>12th to 13th (?)</td>
<td>- Stone vessels in burials: with hieroglyphs mentioning pharaoh (imported)</td>
<td>Egyptian and Egyptian-inspired items of personal adornment in elite funerary contexts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Royal Tomb III) Late MBIIA to MBIIB</td>
<td>13th (?)</td>
<td>- Stone vessel in burial (imported)</td>
<td>Locally inscribed hieroglyphic texts: knowledge in the script(s); worship of Egyptian deities; use of Egyptian titles, epithets, funerary formulae and dates by the elite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Royal Tombs IV, VI-IX) MBIIB to MBIIC</td>
<td>13th to 15th</td>
<td>- Stone vessels in burials (uncertain origin)</td>
<td>Access to imported goods indicating trade relations from the 12th to 15th Dynasties, likely of varying nature and extent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Private Tombs) MBIIB to MBIIC</td>
<td>13th to 15th</td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: private (imported); Egyptian and Levantine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Late MBIIA to MBIIB (?)</td>
<td>13th (?)</td>
<td>- Zir in burial (imported)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ebla IIA2 Late MBIIA</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>- Stone vessels in burial (uncertain origin)</td>
<td>Items of personal adornment in elite funerary context</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Necklace in burial (imported)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Stratum / Phase</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Find(s)</td>
<td>Other</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Levant</td>
<td>Ebla</td>
<td>IIIB MBIIA-B to MBIIC</td>
<td>13th to 15th (?)</td>
<td>- Stone vessels in burial (imported); - Silver vessel in burial: with glyph (local) - Mace in burial: with glyphs mentioning pharaoh (local) - Scarabs, seal and impressions in occupation levels (elite, cultic and other): Egyptian and Levantine - Ivory inlay in occupation levels (administrative): Egyptian-inspired (local)</td>
<td>Items of personal adornment in elite funerary context</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Egyptian artistic influences and imports, indicating small-scale trade relations and association of Egyptian art with elite complexes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fad'ous, Tell VI</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIIA-B</td>
<td>Late 12th to 13th</td>
<td>- Scarab in burial (uncertain origin) - Cup in burial (local) - Bowl, globular pot and zir sherds in pit (imported)</td>
<td>Vessels for storage, transport, cooking and serving, indicating small-scale trade relations and Egyptian influence on daily life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sakka, Tell 4</td>
<td>Late MBIIA to MBIIB</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>- Wall paintings: Egyptian-inspired artistic motifs</td>
<td>Association of Egyptian art with a monumental complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sidon</td>
<td>1 MBIIA</td>
<td>Early to mid-12th</td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: Egyptian - Globular jar in burial (imported)</td>
<td>Finds in funerary contexts and vessels for storage and transport in cultic contexts, indicating continued and increasing trade relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 MBIIA</td>
<td>Mid-late 12th</td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: Egyptian - Zir, zir sherds and jar in burials (imported)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>3 MBIIA</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>- Scarab in burial: Egyptian - Zir and jar sherds (imported; uncertain context)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 MBIIA-B</td>
<td>13th</td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: private (imported); Egyptian and Levantine - Zir and jar sherds in occupation levels (cultic; imported)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>5 Early to mid-MBIIB</td>
<td>Mid-13th</td>
<td>- Scarabs in burials: private (imported); mostly Levantine - Stone vessels in burials (uncertain origin) - Jar (imported) and cup (local) in burial</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>6 MBIIB</td>
<td>Mid-13th to 15th</td>
<td>- Stone vessels in burial: Egyptian and/or Levantine - Scarabs in burials and occupation levels (cultic): private (local); mostly Levantine - Seal in burial: Egyptian-inspired</td>
<td>Decrease in imported finds and rise in locally made, Egyptian-inspired, items in funerary and cultic contexts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Table 27.** Chronological correlations between selected Levantine sites, Egypt and Tell el-Dab’a, based on Egyptian material in the Levant. Cross-hatched rectangles represent phases either (a) not examined in the text, or (b) for which no Egyptian material exists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEVANT</th>
<th>EGYPT</th>
<th>EL-DAB’A, TELL</th>
<th>ASHKELON</th>
<th>IFSHAR, TELL</th>
<th>SIDON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MBIIC</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>D/2</td>
<td>D/3</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>D/3</td>
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<td>E/1</td>
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<td>E/2</td>
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<td>E/3</td>
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<td>MBIIB</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>H</td>
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<td>G/1-3</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>G/4</td>
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<td>N/2-3</td>
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<td>MBIIA-B</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>MBIIA</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBIV/MBI</td>
<td>11</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

132
### Table 28. Representing Asians and the Levant. Category 1: Inscriptions and texts from royal and administrative complexes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Feature(s)</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 12      | A II  | Mit Henna | - Military expeditions: St.t, $I$khv and $Iw$3  
- Trade expeditions to Sinai and $Hn.ty-$8  
- Reception of guests from St.t and $Tmp3w$ | 4.3.7 |
| 13      | (early) | Tell el-Dab’a F/I d/1 | - Cylinder seal depicting Baal | 4.2.2.3 |
|         | So. II or Ken. | Dra’ Abu el-Naga’ | - Papyrus Boulaq 18/1: $\Sigma m$ officials  
- Papyrus Boulaq 18/2: $\Sigma m.wt$ offering bearers from Delta | 4.5.3 |

### Table 29. Representing Asians and the Levant. Category 2: Royal funerary complexes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Feature(s)</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>A I</td>
<td>El-Lisht</td>
<td>- Mortuary temple: Fragment of Asiatic woman and child</td>
<td>4.3.6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S I</td>
<td>El-Lisht</td>
<td>- Mortuary temple: smiting scene; Asiatic ruler as enemy; Asiatic warrior; captives</td>
<td>4.3.6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S III</td>
<td>Dahshur</td>
<td>- Pectoral, tomb of Mereret: griffins seizing Asians</td>
<td>4.3.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Dahshur</td>
<td>- Pectoral, tomb of Mereret: smiting the $St.ty$w</td>
<td>4.3.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>Dahshur</td>
<td>- Tomb of Nubhotepti-khered: Asiatic statuette</td>
<td>4.3.1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 30. Representing Asians and the Levant. Category 3: Temples and religious texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Feature(s)</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>S I</td>
<td>Tod</td>
<td>- Inscription on temple wall: punishment of $Twn.ty$w(?), $\Sigma m.w$ and $St.t$</td>
<td>4.5.11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S III</td>
<td>El-Lahun</td>
<td>- Hymn to Senwosret III: slaughters and instils fear in $Pd.ty$w and $Twn.ty$w</td>
<td>4.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nag’ el-Medamud</td>
<td>- Temple slabs: products of $St.t$ presented to S III; trampling the $Twn.ty$w</td>
<td>4.5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serabit el-Khadim</td>
<td>- Inscription: $\Sigma m$ expedition member</td>
<td>5.2.4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S III - A III</td>
<td>El-Lahun</td>
<td>- El-Lahun Papyri: $\Sigma m.w$ individuals</td>
<td>4.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Serabit el-Khadim</td>
<td>- Inscriptions: $\Sigma m$ expedition members; a $\Sigma m$ chief lector priest; men from $Rtmw$</td>
<td>5.2.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A IV</td>
<td>Serabit el-Khadim</td>
<td>- Inscriptions: $\Sigma m$ expedition members; a $\Sigma m$ chief lector priest; men from $Rtmw$</td>
<td>5.2.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>El-Lisht</td>
<td>- Exeoration Texts</td>
<td>4.3.6.2</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>- Exeoration Texts</td>
<td>4.3.8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Exeoration Texts (Berlin)</td>
<td>4.6.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Serabit el-Khadim</td>
<td>- Inscriptions: Asiatic expedition members; products of $St.t$</td>
<td>5.2.4.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>So. IV</td>
<td>Karnak</td>
<td>- Temple stela: $\Sigma$-wood of $Hn.ty-$8 employed for cultic architectural elements</td>
<td>4.5.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 31. Representing Asians and the Levant. Category 4: Non-royal settlements and occupation levels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Feature(s)</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13 - SIP</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>El-Lahun</td>
<td>El-Lahun Papyri: $\sim$m.w individuals</td>
<td>4.3.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>El-Lisht</td>
<td>Settlement debris (?): statuette of cultic figure</td>
<td>4.3.6.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 32. Representing Asians and the Levant. Category 5: Non-royal inscriptions and graffiti.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty</th>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Feature(s)</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>A I (?)</td>
<td>Hatnub</td>
<td>Inscriptions: $\sim$m.w allies with king (?)</td>
<td>4.4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A I</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Stela Louvre C1: destroying the $\tilde{t}w$.tyw, Mnt.tyw and Hr.yw-š</td>
<td>4.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S I</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Stela CG 20539: pacifying and instilling fear in Hr.yw-š and St.tyw</td>
<td>4.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wadi el-Hudi</td>
<td>Stela: S I killing $\tilde{t}w$.tyw, St.tyw and rebels</td>
<td>5.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S III</td>
<td>Dahshur</td>
<td>Pyramid complex: graffiti of Asians</td>
<td>4.3.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Stela Manchester 3306: battle against Rtnw, Skmm and a $\sim$m</td>
<td>4.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Stelae: $\sim$m officials and household members</td>
<td>4.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wadi el-Hammamat</td>
<td>Inscriptions: trampling $\tilde{t}w$.tyw; opening the land of the $\sim$m; $\sim$m expedition member</td>
<td>5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A III</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Stelae: $\sim$m officials and household members</td>
<td>4.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wadi Maghara</td>
<td>Inscription: $\sim$m expedition member</td>
<td>5.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Serabit el-Khadim</td>
<td>Inscriptions: $\sim$m expedition members;</td>
<td>5.2.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Stelae: $\sim$m officials and household members</td>
<td>4.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12-13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Wadi el-Hol</td>
<td>Inscriptions: a $\sim$m individual; Egyptian (?) with name Nebet-Kpn</td>
<td>4.5.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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### TABLE 34. Representing Asiatics and the Levant. Category 7: Literary pieces.

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TABLE 35. Terms relating to Levantine ancestry and ethnicity recorded in studied texts.

* Uncertain reading.

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| Fnh.w | 12<sup>th</sup> (S I) | Tale of Sinuhe | - | 4.6.9 |

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| | 12<sup>th</sup> (S I) | Inscription Nr 143 | Wadi el-Hudi | 5.3.2 |
| | 12<sup>th</sup> (S III) | Inscription Nr 47 | Wadi el-Hammamat | 5.3.1 |
| | 12<sup>th</sup> (A III) | UC 32157 | El-Lahun | 4.3.5.2 |
| (?) | Block | Nag’ el-Medamud | 4.5.7 |

| Pd.tyw / Pđ.tyw | 12<sup>th</sup> (S I) | Tale of Sinuhe | - | 4.6.9 |
| | 12<sup>th</sup> (A III) | UC 32157 | El-Lahun | 4.3.5.2 |
| Middle Kingdom | P Leiden I.344 (Admonitions of Ipuwer) | - | 4.6.4 |

<p>| Mnt.tyw / Mntw | 12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; (A I) | Louvre C1 | Abydos | 4.5.1.1 |
| | 12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; (S III) | Tomb of Khnumhotep III | Dahshur | 4.3.1.2 |
| | | Manchester 3306 | Abydos | 4.5.1.1 |
| 12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; | Execration Texts | Saqqara | 4.3.8 |
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**TABLE 38.** Egyptian titles of Levantine individuals recorded in studied texts. Titles in the Execration Texts are not included, unless they are mentioned elsewhere.

* Uncertain reading.
** Translation of titles is based on Ward, *Index.*

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<td>[...member] of the vizierate</td>
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<td>UC 32143E</td>
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Table 39. *Selected artistic portrayals of Levantine individuals with a summary of observed foreign features and unique stances.*

* Unclear feature.

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<th>Skin</th>
<th>Clothes</th>
<th>Equipment</th>
<th>Stance and/or Activity</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Fig.</th>
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<td>Pyramid complex</td>
<td>El-Lisht</td>
<td>- Hooked nose</td>
<td>- Woman: long</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Infant wrapped at back</td>
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<td>4.87</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tomb of Khnumhotep I</td>
<td>Beni Hassan</td>
<td>- Pointed beards</td>
<td>- Greenish-grey eyes</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>- Kils and long one-shouldered garment</td>
<td>- Weapons: bows; throw-sticks; dagger; fenestrated eye-axe; scimitar*</td>
<td>- Warriors</td>
<td>4.4.1.1</td>
<td>4.111-117</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Shaft Tomb 181</td>
<td>Beni Hassan</td>
<td>- Thick eyebrows</td>
<td>- Curved nose</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>- Long-sleeved garment</td>
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<td>Infant wrapped at back</td>
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<td>Relation to smiting scene</td>
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<td>- Red - Tuft at front</td>
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<td>Tomb of Amenemhat (warriors)</td>
<td>Beni Hassan</td>
<td>- Pointed beards</td>
<td>- Black</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>- Kilts</td>
<td>- Weapons: throw-stick; spear; fenestrated eye-axe</td>
<td>- Warriors</td>
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<td>Tomb of Amenemhat (fair-skinned men)</td>
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<td>Tomb of Wekhhotep II (B4)</td>
<td>Meir</td>
<td>- Pointed beards</td>
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<td>Tomb of Khnumhotep II (procession)</td>
<td>Beni Hassan</td>
<td>- Hooked noses</td>
<td>- Black</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>- Men: kilts and long one-shouldered garment; sandals</td>
<td>- Weapons: composite bows; spears; duckbill axe</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>- Determinative of Mki: kneeling and bound</td>
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**Note:** The table above is based on the information provided in the text. The columns include Date*, Source, Site, Face, Hair, Skin, Clothes, Equipment, Stance and/or Activity, Chapter, and Fig. Each row represents a different artifact or figure with specific details about its appearance and context.
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<td>Inscription Nr 163</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>Status marker: curved staff*</td>
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<td>Abydos</td>
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MAPS
Map 1. Geographical scope: Egypt, the Eastern Desert and the Levant.
MAP 2. Sites examined in Egypt (Chapter 4.1-4.5).

Map 4. Geographical designates of Groups 1-4 from Ownby’s petrographic analysis of Kom Rab’a’s imported ceramics. After Ownby, Canaanite Jars from Memphis, fig. 5.9.
MAP 5. Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during the first half of Dynasty 12.

- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
Map 6. Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during the second half of Dynasty 12.

- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
MAP 7. Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 13.
- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
Map 8. Egyptian sites with evidence of contact with the Levantine during the first half of Dynasty 15.

- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
MAP 9. Sites examined in the Eastern Desert (Chapter 5).
Map 10. Sites in the Eastern Desert with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 12 to early Dynasty 13.

- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
MAP 11. Sites in the Eastern Desert with evidence of contact with the Levantine during Dynasty 13 to the Second Intermediate Period.

- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
MAP 12. Sites examined in the Levant.
Map 13. Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIA Period and the early to mid-Twelfth Dynasty:
- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine-influenced commodities

Map 14. Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIA Period and the mid-Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty:
- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine-influenced commodities
Map 15. Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the late MBIIA to early MBIIIB Period and the Thirteenth Dynasty.
- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
- Presence of scarabs and/or seals (see Table 22)

Map 16. Sites in the Levant with evidence of contact with the Egyptian during the MBIIIB to MBIIIB-C Period and the early Fifteenth Dynasty.
- Presence of Levantine individuals and commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
- Presence of scarabs and/or seals (see Table 22)
The following presents complementary and supplementary photographs, figures and maps from secondary sources that are referenced in Volume I. It is divided into three parts in keeping with Volume I: Section 2’s Chapters 4-6. Figures are numbered consecutively according to these chapters.

The collection is reliant on the published evidence. As such, some figures have no scales, while others are less sharp or remain in greyscale. This, unfortunately, reflects the state in which they are presented in their publications. All have been digitally cleaned for the purposes of this thesis, but no other elements have been manipulated.

It should be noted that some photographs taken at Beni Hassan, under the behest of Macquarie University’s Australian Centre for Egyptology, are particularly faded. This is largely due to the poor preservation of scenes as well as poor lighting in the tombs of Khety, Baqet, Khnumhotep I and Amenemhat. As the scenes and their details are largely unpublished, the photographs are provided to show some details as well as the colour differentiation between Nubians, Asiatics and Egyptians.

Sources for all figures are provided beneath their respective captions. They are in abbreviated form, with full references listed in Volume I: Bibliography.
Due to copyright restrictions, Volume II Chapters 4-6: Figures (pages 178-370) have been omitted from this thesis.