

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Redefining the Hyksos:  
Immigration and Identity Negotiation  
in the Second Intermediate Period

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Danielle Michael Candelora

2020

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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This project reconceptualizes how we conceive of Hyksos identity, primarily through the application of several recent theoretical approaches linked to identity negotiation in contexts of immigration and cultural contact. According to the rhetoric permeating the ancient Egyptian sources the ‘foreign’ Hyksos rule of the Second Intermediate Period was considered a stark deviation from the status quo, the shockwaves of which not only provided the impetus for the

New Kingdom Empire, but ensured the vilification of these foreigners well into the Ramesside and Ptolemaic Periods. Furthermore, most Hyksos scholarship is firmly entrenched in this same narrative, duplicating outdated ideas while neglecting both new research on the period and current theory. I redefine the Hyksos, including both the malleability of Hyksos identity as well as the extent and character of Hyksos-Egyptian interaction. In order to fully utilize the sparse evidence available from the Second Intermediate Period, I employ a multidisciplinary approach wherein I analyze several distinct datasets through theoretical frameworks appropriate to their unique characteristics, and compare the results to establish a more nuanced understanding of the Hyksos.

Theories of immigration and cultural interaction stress that both groups involved in contact zones will mutually influence one another, resulting in new or modified aspects of culture, both materially and mentally. Identity in these cases is characterized as flexible and context dependent, as well as socially constructed by oneself and others. This theoretical approach is especially poignant given the current political climate, which is inundated with xenophobia in the face of immigration and forced migration. This mass mobility has created innumerable instances of hybridity and identity negotiation and maintenance in mixed communities. It is possible to study similar cases in the past, such as the Hyksos period, to better understand how this blending occurs, especially in cases of political crisis, and the corresponding effects on both the individual actors involved, as well as their broader societies. It also allows us to study how rhetoric can signal belonging or not, as well as political and ethical vilification of immigrants.



The dissertation of Danielle Michael Candelora is approved.

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To my family.

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

In light of current geopolitics, recent media headlines have tracked globally increasing levels of xenophobia and a correspondingly negative reception of immigrants and refugees. This is an entangled cycle, in which influxes of immigrants are perceived of or cast as a threat to safety, well-being, livelihoods, and the economy, which then stokes xenophobic sentiment. Similar cases of immigration and othering in the ancient world can inform these modern issues by elucidating identity negotiation in mixed communities, including the blending of culturally-specific traditions and the resultant effects on individuals and wider immigrant groups. These acculturative processes can be studied in the ancient world through the material, artistic and textual records. Having spent my graduate career studying ancient immigration, it is striking how many parallels can be drawn between ancient immigrants and immigrant groups today, not only in the motivations behind their relocations and the varying reception of these individuals, but also their diverse effects on host communities. Indeed, the Southwest Asian immigrants of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period were allowed, even encouraged to enter Egypt to fill unpopular, laborious professions. Eventually, political decentralization and economic crisis provided these individuals with opportunities to increase or assume power, resulting in a backlash which included their vilification by their native Egyptian political rivals. In ancient studies, this topic is uncritically considered through the lens of the modern nation state with clear geopolitical and identity boundaries, and attention is centered on the ways in which immigrants acculturated. Instead, new theoretical approaches need to be applied to investigate

the strategies of identity negotiation employed by immigrants when adapting abroad, including the calculated maintenance of their identities of origin.

The particular instance of immigration that is the focus of this study is set in the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1725-1550 B.C.E.) of ancient Egypt, a period of political fragmentation also characterized by the influx of a large Southwest Asian population into the eastern Nile Delta. The Delta was eventually taken over by the Hyksos, a small group of immigrant dynasts who ruled for over a century before being expelled by a southern Egyptian king. Ongoing excavations at their capital city, Avaris (modern Tell el-Dab'a), have revealed a multi-ethnic settlement featuring hybridity in ceramics, architecture, and religious practices. However, later Egyptian sources paint an abysmal image of the Hyksos as the enemy of not only the state, but of cosmic order. Consequently, in Egyptology this foreign rule is traditionally considered a stark deviation from the status quo, the shockwaves of which not only provided the impetus for a later Egyptian Empire, but ensured the vilification of these foreigners for centuries. Certainly much of the political rhetoric of the Egyptian rulers who sought to expel the Hyksos from Egypt could be categorized as a movement to "Make Egypt Great Again." Furthermore, most of the scholarship on this subject is firmly entrenched in this same narrative, duplicating outdated ideas while neglecting both recent discoveries and current theoretical approaches. Also overlooked is the strong influence the Hyksos, and Southwest Asian immigrants in general, had on the traditions, religion, language, and iconography of Egyptian civilization. Therefore, I seek to redefine the Hyksos, including the nature of their rule, the negotiation of their identity as an extremely savvy political strategy, and their often unacknowledged effect on the overall culture of Egypt itself.

In the course of the following chapters, I argue that our current understanding of the Hyksos has been structured largely upon flawed, biased, or narrow interpretations of the



evidence. First, I break down these traditional understandings and present alternative explanations regarding the Hyksos chronology and political situation, the origins of the Hyksos, and the relevant Egyptian textual sources. These updated foundations then allow for new research questions and conclusions concerning the Hyksos. Consequently, I contend that the Hyksos were cosmopolitan, legitimate kings of Egypt with a relatively unremarkable style of rule (i.e. not demonstrably barbaric or oppressive) and voluntary Egyptian subjects, as well as strong diplomatic ties with both the rest of Egypt, the eastern Mediterranean, and the Near East. I argue that these rulers were actively and strategically manipulating multiple identities to advertise and promote their rule in the Delta borderland to Egyptians, immigrants, and neighboring powers alike. Furthermore, the integration of southwest Asian immigrants into Egyptian communities in this borderland region during the Hyksos period had a massive impact on Egypt, resulting in social, linguistic, technological, militaristic, and ideological changes which would become characteristic of New Kingdom Egyptian society and culture. The rule of the Hyksos was not the dark age it is often considered to be, but rather a vibrant period of innovation and cultural transformation in Egypt, the full extent of which would not have been possible without their reign and influence.

### Theory and Method

The overarching theoretical framework of the project relies on anthropological approaches to identity, especially those concerning the concept of identity negotiation in contexts of cultural contact. Collected theories of cultural contact stress that both groups involved in contact zones will mutually influence one another and this contact will result in new or modified

aspects of culture, both materially and mentally.<sup>1</sup> Identity Theory in general discusses identity as subjective, socially constructed, and a continual process of identification by oneself and others. Furthermore, identity groups are both heterogeneous and polythetic.<sup>2</sup> Despite the fact that the Hyksos Period and the Eastern Delta of Egypt are both prime examples of cultural interaction, few have approached this period and region using theoretical advances driven by postcolonial narratives.<sup>3</sup> Recently, specific scholars have begun to engage with the late Second Intermediate Period in this manner,<sup>4</sup> and some have even employed concepts like *creolization* and *mestizaje* to the interaction between the Egyptian and Levantine populations in the Eastern Delta.<sup>5</sup> The concept of hybridity, developed in postcolonial discourse to characterize the new, multi-cultural nature of identity in colonial contexts, has been applied to the Hyksos period specifically in relation to the mixed material culture.<sup>6</sup> These studies focus more on labeling the blending of culturally-specific artifacts and traditions, such as ceramics, burial practices, architecture, etc., rather than investigating the broader impacts of such identity negotiation. This type of work on cultural implications has only just been undertaken in relation to Egypto-Nubian interaction,

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<sup>1</sup> Dietler, “Colonial Encounters in Iberia and the Western Mediterranean: An Exploratory Framework”; Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*; Lyons and Papadopoulos, *The Archaeology of Colonialism*; White, *The Middle Ground*; Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*.

<sup>2</sup> Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, “Introduction”; Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*; Shennan, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*; Bentley, “Ethnicity and Practice.”

<sup>3</sup> Said, *Orientalism*; Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.

<sup>4</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten I*; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II*; Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt”; Bader, “Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine”; Bader, “Traces of Foreign Settlers”; Bader, “Migration in Archaeology”; Bader, “Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology.”

<sup>5</sup> Bader, “Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology.”

<sup>6</sup> Forstner-Müller, “Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab’a”; Bader, “Traces of Foreign Settlers”; de Vreeze, “‘A Strange Bird Will Breed in the Delta Marsh’”; Redmount, “Ethnicity, Pottery, and the Hyksos at Tell El-Maskhuta in the Egyptian Delta.”

specifically for Classic Kerma royal tombs,<sup>7</sup> and the supposed “Egyptianization” of Nubia during the New Kingdom empire.<sup>8</sup>

Mourad (2015) frames her study (see below) as an attempt to access ethnicity, an aspect of identity which is extremely problematic for archaeological investigations. Traditional definitions of ethnicity include a shared origin or common descent, indicative of a biological link among members of the ethnic group.<sup>9</sup> While Mourad is applying ethnicity to the Levantine and Egyptian population groups in the Eastern Delta, it is still inappropriate as it presupposes that each group is either biologically related or have homogenous origins. A more apt framework for engaging with Levantine- and/or Hyksos-Egyptian interaction is “cultural identity” or “communal identity”;<sup>10</sup> significantly, the latter only assumes a common community, and thus will be especially applicable to the hybrid Eastern Delta interaction zone.

Mourad recognizes the need for further work on the Hyksos specifically, including their “policies, alliances, . . . and supposed expulsion,” as well as the “unprovenanced and non-contemporaneous material.”<sup>11</sup> She also acknowledges what Egyptologists have long grappled with when studying the Intermediate Periods: the evidence is sparse and scattered. The lack of evidence overall, and its disparate nature, is a methodological problem that will be negotiated by examining the question from several facets in a holistic study. In order to fully utilize the sparse

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<sup>7</sup> Minor, “The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period.”

<sup>8</sup> Smith, “Revenge of the Kushites Assimilation and Resistance in Egypt’s New Kingdom Empire and Nubian Ascendancy over Egypt (in Empires and Complexity”); Van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia”; Smith, “Hekanefer and the Lower Nubian Princes: Entanglement, Double Identity or Topos and Mimesis?”

<sup>9</sup> Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*; Díaz-Andreu et al., *The Archaeology of Identity*; Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*.

<sup>10</sup> Lucy, “Ethnic and Cultural Identities,” 101.

<sup>11</sup> Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*, 217.

archaeological evidence available from the late Second Intermediate Period, I will address my main question using a theoretical and multidisciplinary approach wherein the archaeology is used to reevaluate outdated interpretations of textual source material. Thus, each chapter will investigate a different body of data utilizing a theoretical framework and method appropriate to that specific corpus of evidence. Each case study chapter will begin with an overview of that individualized approach.

### Project Outline

The general outline of this study devotes individual chapters to the analysis of the varied types of available evidence. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the thesis topic and gives a review of the scholarship on the Hyksos, focusing specifically on synthetic studies. Chapter 2 surveys the entangled chronological debate surrounding the Middle to Late Bronze Age transition in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Hyksos's role therein. This chapter concludes with a survey of several recent archaeological finds to redefine not only the extent and nature of Hyksos control, but also the political landscape of the late Second Intermediate Period as a whole. Chapter 3 expands the standard literature review to assess why the Hyksos were long assumed to be a race or people group, rather than a few individuals holding a specific title, and the impact of new scientific analyses such as ancient DNA on these questions of Hyksos origins. Chapter 4 begins the evidentiary analysis by re-reading the corpus of textual evidence, undermining the standard narrative and demonstrating that these texts can present a much more positive view of the Hyksos than previously assumed. In Chapter 5, I analyze several case studies through the lens of Middle Ground Theory to show that the Hyksos were savvy political strategists who exploited their hybrid identities to serve them in different contexts. I survey

extant data including the cultural style of monumental architecture at the Hyksos capital of Avaris, as well as both royal and administrative titulary, elucidating the Hyksos's calculated selection of elements which advertised their Southwest Asian or Egyptian identities, and often blended practices known to both communities. Chapter 6 presents an extended study of the usage of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title throughout Egyptian history, demonstrating that it was consciously adopted by the Hyksos, and analyzing that choice. In Chapter 7, I investigate the on-the-ground processes behind identity negotiation and cultural exchange. I use the framework of Communities of Practice to demonstrate that immigrants incorporated in Egyptian military communities were not only the source of technological and language transmission, but were the catalyst for social change within Egyptian society, forever altering Egyptian conceptions of the military and influencing the concept of kingship. Chapter 8 expands on the previous study, arguing that Near Eastern judicial traditions were transformed in Egypt into a military reward system via these hybrid military communities, representing a Middle Ground misunderstanding. Chapter 9 concludes the project by drawing on the previous analyses to reimagine the Hyksos as competent, cosmopolitan rulers who were considered perfectly legitimate by their Egyptian subjects and other leaders,<sup>12</sup> and whose reign had a significant and longstanding impact on Egyptian culture.

### History of Scholarship

The past two centuries of Hyksos scholarship can be subdivided into three major areas of study: (1) the texts and archaeological evidence, both in Egypt and the Levant; (2) the chronology of

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<sup>12</sup> For example Kerma, as well as the Theban rulers – see Chapter 4.

the Hyksos, the Second Intermediate Period, and the early New Kingdom; and (3) the origins of the Hyksos. Chapter 2 covers the chronology debate, while Chapter 3 reviews the debate on origins. Below I provide a brief review of the archaeological findings at Tell el-Dab'a, and particular evidence is examined in more depth in the course of chapter case studies.

I will begin with an overview of the major breakthroughs in Hyksos scholarship. As I will demonstrate more in Chapter 4, it is crucial to note that much of Hyksos scholarship has been colored by the textual sources, and primarily the aggressively negative description provided by Manetho. Early Hyksos studies regarded Manetho as an entirely objective source, and as the other non-contemporary Hyksos-related texts, such as *The Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre* and the Speos Artemidos Inscription, were discovered, they seemed to verify the view of the Hyksos as despotic, invading barbarians.<sup>13</sup> Manetho was also used to interpret archaeological sites and material culture, as seen for example in Petrie's identification of Tell el-Yahudiyeh as Avaris.<sup>14</sup> Starting in the 1930's, scholars became skeptical of the Manethonian narrative, and relied on the archaeological record and other textual sources to reconstruct the Hyksos period.<sup>15</sup> Engberg even highlighted the potential bias of the later Egyptian texts against the Hyksos, and recommended foregrounding the archaeological evidence, especially from the southern Levant. Arguably, this is the first work to begin dismantling the notion of the despotic foreign kings.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Tomkins, "Notes on the Hyksôs or Shepherd Kings of Egypt"; Maspero, *History of Egypt, Chaldea, Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria*; Sayce, "The Hyksos in Egypt."

<sup>14</sup> Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*.

<sup>15</sup> Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz.*; Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*.

<sup>16</sup> Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*.

Two landmark studies of the 1950s outright challenged Manetho, arguing against a ‘Hyksos invasion’ and instead for a gradual flow of Southwest Asian immigration into the eastern Delta (and a possible small coup).<sup>17</sup> In general, the majority of these studies touched on questions of Hyksos origins (see Chapter 2), the location of their capital, archaeological markers such as Yehudiya ware and fortifications, and the extent of their rule. Säve-Söderbergh’s important study<sup>18</sup> even advocated for the study of the Hyksos only through archaeological remains, as the texts were all biased; however, this was an untenable proposition at the time due to the lack of archaeological material. Von Beckerath’s 1964 study followed suit, supporting the immigration hypothesis and denying Manetho’s invasion, but continued to use Manetho as a source for chronology.<sup>19</sup> Alt not only proposed the immigration concept, but argued to disassociate the Hyksos from the ‘Hurrian invasion’ that was dominating Levantine Middle Bronze scholarship, instead identifying the Hyksos ‘population’ with the Amorites.<sup>20</sup> Helck soon countered Alt and Säve-Söderbergh, supporting the Manethonian invasion, arguing again that the Hyksos ‘population’ should be connected to the Hurrian movement, and linking their technological and military prowess to their Indo-Aryan origins.<sup>21</sup>

In 1966, Van Seters produced a monograph which directly addressed the Alt/Säve-Söderbergh vs. Helck debate. Astoundingly, this book is still the most recent single-authored monograph on the Hyksos. The first section deals with the archaeological evidence mostly from

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<sup>17</sup> Alt, *Die Herkunft der Hyksos in neuer Sicht*; Säve-Söderbergh, “The Hyksos Rule in Egypt.”

<sup>18</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, “The Hyksos Rule in Egypt.”

<sup>19</sup> von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*.

<sup>20</sup> Alt, *Die Herkunft der Hyksos in neuer Sicht*.

<sup>21</sup> Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*

the Levant, while the second half engages with the Egyptian material. Van Seters quite rightly points out that “the use of the term ‘Hyksos’ to designate a style or type has created great confusion in the study of the archaeology of the period,” suggesting that such usage implies a false “ethnic or cultural designation.”<sup>22</sup> In the first section, he investigates everything from fortifications, palaces, temples, burial customs, ceramics, metallurgy, and scarabs, concluding that the Hyksos should be associated with the Amorites (not the Hurrians) and Middle Bronze Age IIA and B material culture. He argues that they were overlords only in control of Lower and Middle Egypt (and possibly the southern Levant), though perhaps the Thebans were vassals at one point.<sup>23</sup> In the second section of the book, he examines the Egyptian epigraphic and literary material, including the (at that point) recently discovered Kamose Stele. His biggest contributions are to argue for Qantir as the most likely location for the Hyksos capital, and to suggest that the Asiastics in the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* reflect the reality of the immigration hypothesis.<sup>24</sup> However, 1966 was also the year in which the excavations of Tell el-Dab’a began, vastly increasing available evidence.

The specter of the “Hyksos invasion” continued to exert a hold on some scholarship, with Redford and Helck continuing to advocate for this interpretation.<sup>25</sup> Levantine archaeologists, primarily Dever, worked to establish synchronisms between the southern Levant and Tell el-Dab’a, while arguing that the widespread MBIIC destruction horizons at Levantine sites were the

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<sup>22</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Van Seters, 9–86.

<sup>24</sup> Van Seters, 132–51; 103–20. See also Van Seters, “A Date for the ‘Admonitions’ in the Second Intermediate Period.”

<sup>25</sup> Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition”; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*; Helck, “Das Hyksosproblem.”



result of Egypt's campaigns to expel the Hyksos.<sup>26</sup> Many scholars worked on the daunting corpus of administrative seals from the Second Intermediate Period/Middle Bronze Age, attempting to draw stylistic/typologically based chronological conclusions as well as political inferences from the scarabs.<sup>27</sup> This culminated in 1997 with Ryholt's sweeping study of the Second Intermediate Period. Through a re-examination of the Turin King List, as well as the corpus of seals, sealings, and epigraphic attestations of kings, high officials, royal family members, etc., Ryholt proposed altering the current understanding of the entire era. Alongside numerous chronological contributions, he also supported the invasion hypothesis,<sup>28</sup> proposed that the Hyksos, specifically Khyam and Apepi, conquered southern Egypt for a time (defeating the 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), and argued for the existence of an independent "Abydos Dynasty" which was also defeated by the Hyksos.<sup>29</sup> Schneider's two volume work made substantial strides in the etymology of Semitic names in this period, as well as chronological questions, political developments, and social questions about how these Southwest Asian immigrants were incorporated into Egyptian society.<sup>30</sup>

Another major contribution to Hyksos scholarship was published in 1997, a conference volume edited by E. Oren.<sup>31</sup> This collection includes papers covering topics as diverse as titles

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<sup>26</sup> Dever, "Relations between Syria-Palestine and Egypt in the 'Hyksos' Period"; Dever, "'Hyksos', Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age"; Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine."

<sup>27</sup> Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals, Vol. I, Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets*; Ward, "Royal Name Scarabs"; Tufnell, *Studies*.

<sup>28</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 302–3.

<sup>29</sup> Ryholt, 304.

<sup>30</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten I*; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II*.

<sup>31</sup> Oren, *The Hyksos*.

and linguistic etymology, archaeological work at sites in the southern Levant and Tell el-Dab'a, contemporary material from Nubia, North Syria, and the Transjordan, as well as chronology. Redford's contribution provides useful translations of relevant texts, a survey of Hyksos onomastics, and delineates their sphere of control from Hermopolis to the eastern Delta.<sup>32</sup> Bietak's paper is an overview of the excavation findings from Avaris,<sup>33</sup> while Neutron Activation Analysis of Canaanite store jars from Tell el-Dab'a demonstrates their Levantine origins.<sup>34</sup> Bourriau argues for a lack of Hyksos presence or control in the Memphis-Fayum region,<sup>35</sup> Oren proposes that the Hyksos controlled a kingdom in the southern Levant,<sup>36</sup> and Wapnish investigates the phenomenon of equid burials.<sup>37</sup>

The next major leap in Hyksos and Second Intermediate Period scholarship did not come until 2010, with the publication of M. Marée's edited volume.<sup>38</sup> Several chapters in this volume contribute significantly to our understanding of the Turin King List,<sup>39</sup> Second Intermediate Period administration,<sup>40</sup> and Delta identity.<sup>41</sup> Some papers focus on the Theban dynasties and

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<sup>32</sup> Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period."

<sup>33</sup> Bietak, "Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom."

<sup>34</sup> McGovern and Harbottle, "'Hyksos' Trade Connections Between Tell El-Dab'a (Avaris) and the Levant: A Neutron Activation Study of the Canaanite Jar."

<sup>35</sup> Bourriau, "Beyond Avaris: The Second Intermediate Period in Egypt Outside the Eastern Delta."

<sup>36</sup> Oren, "The 'Kingdom of Sharuhen' and the Hyksos Kingdom."

<sup>37</sup> Wapnish, "Middle Bronze Equid Burials at Tell Jemmeh and a Reexamination of a Purportedly 'Hyksos' Practice."

<sup>38</sup> Marée, *The Second Intermediate Period*.

<sup>39</sup> Allen, "The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List."

<sup>40</sup> Grajetzki, "Notes on Administration in the Second Intermediate Period." See also Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses."

<sup>41</sup> Arnold, "Image and Identity: Egypt's Eastern Neighbours." See also Schiestl, "The Statue of an Asiatic Man from Tell el Dab'a, Egypt."

newly discovered evidence,<sup>42</sup> while others work on chronological issues.<sup>43</sup> The (at the time) co-directors of the Tell el-Dab'a excavations each contribute a paper, with Forstner-Müller focusing on funerary practice<sup>44</sup> and Bietak providing important insights into the origins of the Hyksos and where they went after Ahmose's conquest.<sup>45</sup> This also predicated several important articles by Bader on the identity and practice of the individuals in Area A at Avaris.<sup>46</sup>

Mourad's 2015 publication of her doctoral dissertation, *The Rise of the Hyksos*, merits special attention. Her study investigates the origins of the Hyksos, and focuses specifically on the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period, ending with the Hyksos taking power in the Eastern Delta. Her research focuses mainly on tracing the presence of Asiatics in Egypt and identifying Egyptian contacts with the Levant. Mourad engages with the concepts of acculturation, hybridity, and creolization, but does so only briefly and again employs these terms as qualifications without exploring the broader implications for interaction and identity.<sup>47</sup> Also within the last five years more work has been done to explore the links between the Southern

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<sup>42</sup> Polz, "New Archaeological Data from Dra' Abu El-Naga and Their Historical Implications"; Van Siclen, "The Third Stele of Kamose"; Kubisch, "Biographies of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties"; Davies, "Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: The Genealogical Data"; Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: Biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie*.

<sup>43</sup> Ben-Tor, "Sequences and Chronology of Second Intermediate Period Royal-Name Scarabs, Based on Excavated Series from Egypt and the Levant"; Ryholt, "The Date of Kings Sheshi and Yaqubhar and the Rise of the Fourteenth Dynasty"; Davies, "Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: The Genealogical Data"; Bourriau, "The Relative Chronology of the Second Intermediate Period: Problems in Linking Regional Archaeological Sequences."

<sup>44</sup> Forstner-Müller, "Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a."

<sup>45</sup> Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?" Although it should be noted he really deals with the Southwest Asian immigrant population of the eastern Delta in general, rather than the Hyksos rulers themselves.

<sup>46</sup> Bader, "Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine"; Bader, "Traces of Foreign Settlers"; Bader, "Migration in Archaeology"; Bader, "Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology."

<sup>47</sup> Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*.

Levant and Egypt throughout the Middle Bronze Age, including broad connections and chronology,<sup>48</sup> Southwest Asians in Egypt,<sup>49</sup> as well as historical links to the Exodus narrative.<sup>50</sup> I have produced several articles, presented in various stages as the content chapters of this dissertation, on Hyksos administration,<sup>51</sup> titulary and identity,<sup>52</sup> the role of immigration in military and judicial exchange,<sup>53</sup> as well as a critical review of Hyksos historiography.<sup>54</sup>

Starting in 2016, Manfred Bietak began the ‘Enigma of the Hyksos’ ERC Advanced Grant with the Austrian Academy of Sciences and Bournemouth University. The project involves eight different research tracks investigating the Hyksos from the perspectives of material culture, bioarchaeological and faunal evidence, and new historiographic and theoretical approaches. The first edited volume of this initiative was published in late 2019, with contributions on religious practice and architecture,<sup>55</sup> the exchange of legal traditions,<sup>56</sup> equid burials,<sup>57</sup> and Amorite identity.<sup>58</sup> Three contributions also outline the bioarchaeological methodology these tracks will be using to study the Hyksos and possible migration from the

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<sup>48</sup> Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections*; Marcus, “Amenemhet II and the sea.”

<sup>49</sup> Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*; Burke, *Amorites and the Bronze Age Near East*.

<sup>50</sup> Bietak, “On the Historicity of the Exodus”; Hendel, “The Exodus as Cultural Memory: Egyptian Bondage and the Song of the Sea”; Wright, Elliott, and Flesher, “Israel in and out of Egypt.”

<sup>51</sup> Candelora, “The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground.”

<sup>52</sup> Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos.”

<sup>53</sup> Candelora, “Trophy or Punishment”; Candelora, “Hybrid Military Communities of Practice.”

<sup>54</sup> Candelora, “Entangled in Orientalism.”

<sup>55</sup> Bietak, “The Spiritual Roots of the Hyksos Elite.”

<sup>56</sup> Candelora, “Trophy or Punishment.”

<sup>57</sup> Prell, “A Ride to the Netherworld: Bronze Age Equid Burials in the Fertile Crescent.”

<sup>58</sup> Burke, “Amorites in the Eastern Delta.”

Levant, including collating metadata on isotopic results, nonmetric skeletal measurements, and dental morphology into databases for future comparison and study.<sup>59</sup> Several more volumes are expected, and the eventual synthesis of these various research tracks will significantly advance Hyksos scholarship. Furthermore, excavations at the site of Tell el-Dab'a are ongoing as permits allow, so new evidence will continue to be uncovered.

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<sup>59</sup> Stantis and Schutkowski, "Stable Isotope Analyses to Investigate Hyksos Identity and Origins"; Maaranen et al., "The Hyksos in Egypt: A Bioarchaeological Perspective"; Maaranen, Schutkowski, and Zakrzewski, "Hidden in Bones: Tracking the Hyksos Across the Levant."

## CHAPTER 2 – COMPLEX CHRONOLOGIES AND POLITICAL LANDSCAPES: THE SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

This chapter serves as the first in a series of critical examinations which reevaluate the foundations of our current understanding of the Hyksos. The chronological debate is ongoing, but it is crucial to both review and reassess it early in this study. Indeed, any changes to the chronological framework of the Hyksos period can significantly alter the conclusions (and research questions) which are even considered possible. For instance, the overlap of Hyksos rule with one versus three or more other polities in Egypt has substantial influence over our understanding of the political landscape, alliances, and diplomacy during the Second Intermediate Period, which subsequently affects interpretations of the textual sources. The traditional understanding is that the Hyksos and Theban polities controlled large territories with their border at Cusae (Figure 1)

The site of Tell el-Dab'a, with its corpus of imported Levantine and Cypriot ceramics, Thera pumice, and Aegean style frescoes alongside Egyptian ceramics and inscriptional evidence, is pivotal not only to the chronology of Egypt, but also the Middle Bronze-Late Bronze Age Levant, Cyprus, and Aegean. Crucially, our understanding of the chronology, if shifted by even a decade, can have significant implications for entangled social developments across the region.<sup>60</sup> This single Egyptian site provides points of synchronism with other sites across the Eastern Mediterranean in this important chronological period, characterized by cultural transitions in every region. Thus, the Hyksos historical narrative has become entangled with

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<sup>60</sup> Manning, "Events, Episodes and History: Chronology and the Resolution of Historical Process."

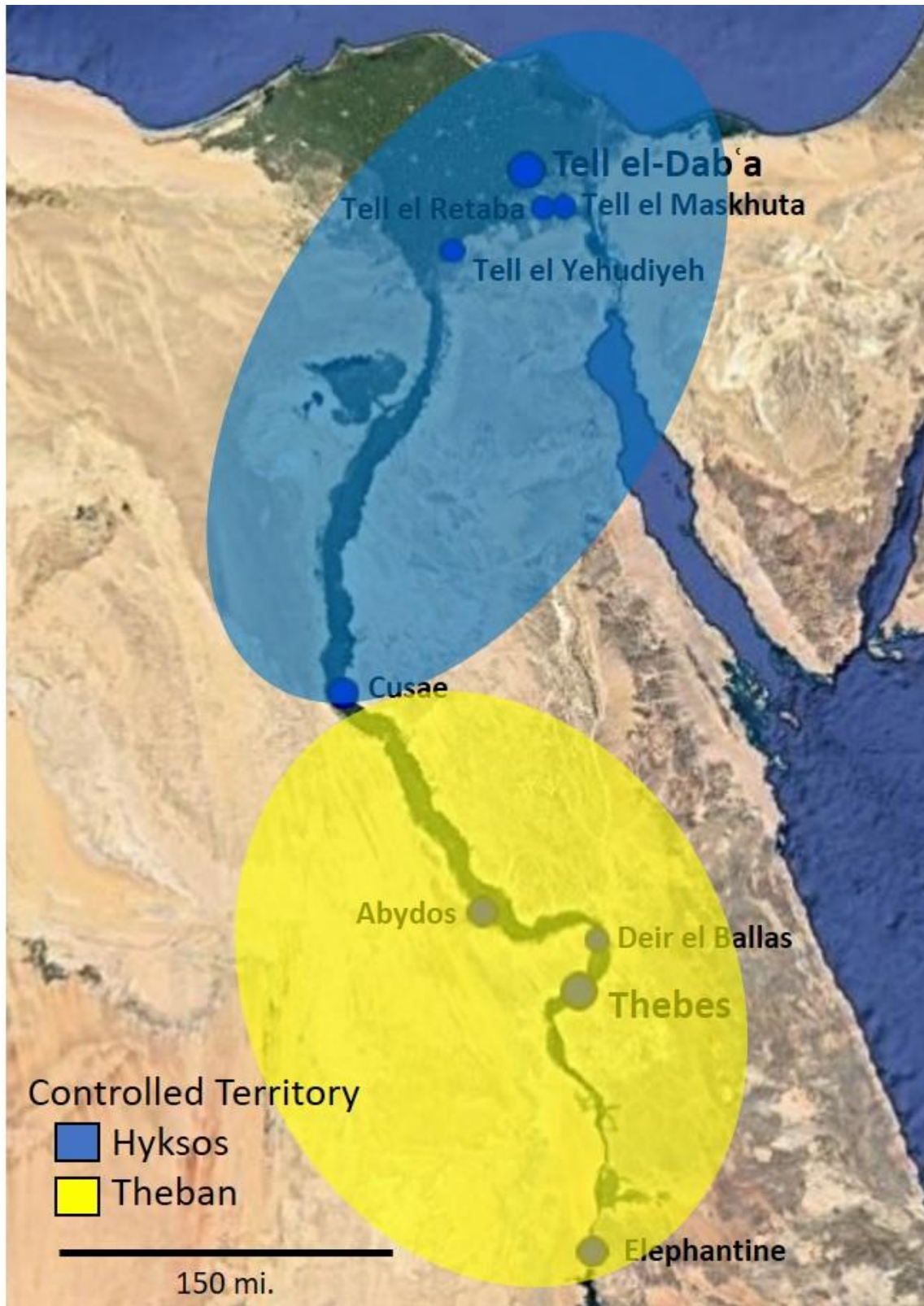


Figure 1 - Traditional reconstruction of the political landscape of the Second Intermediate Period, map by author

questions surrounding the dating of destruction horizons across the southern Levant, the introduction of particular Cypriot ceramic wares, and most controversially, the eruption of Thera. Further complicating the picture in the last fifteen years (and most within the last 8 years) is the publication of new radiocarbon dates for this period from sites across the eastern Mediterranean, which on average display an offset of ~100-120 years older (higher) than the traditional regional chronologies. In all four of these intermingled debates, the disagreement can essentially be condensed into two points of view, those who give preference to the archaeological and historical data or to the radiocarbon dates. The first group, the “traditional” or low chronology, utilize stratified ceramic typologies, inscriptional evidence (like royal seals), and the Egyptian chronographic tradition to associate archaeological strata with historical dates. On the other hand, especially over the last five years, the supporters of the high chronology have suggested that the consistent offset between the historical and radiocarbon dates found across the east Mediterranean cannot be coincidental, and are now investigating the archaeological and chronographic evidence for links with this older (higher) timeframe. The following discussion is not meant to be an exhaustive review of these various debates and the evidence, but to provide an overview of the history of these debates and the most current arguments surrounding the Hyksos and their capital.

### High vs. Low Chronology & Egyptian Historical Dates

The Egyptian historical chronology is built primarily from the chronographic tradition of Manetho, as preserved in excerpts by Julius Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus. The reconstruction is often complicated by names transliterated confusingly into Greek, an incomplete list, and variations among the different versions. The Manethonian tradition is



supplemented by five more ancient king lists, including the Turin Canon, the Palermo Stone, The Abydos King List, The Karnak King List, and the Saqqara table list. The latter three sources clearly omit unfavorable reigns, such as Hatshepsut and the Hyksos, and do not include reign lengths or dates. The Turin Canon and Palermo Stone both provide lengths of reigns and, in the case of the Turin Canon, the lengths of dynasties as well. Yet both of these sources are highly fragmentary, cover only a limited period of Egyptian history, and have several possible reconstructions.<sup>61</sup>

This foundation is then supplemented by archaeological and inscriptional evidence for these kings, especially those which involve the reuse of earlier kings' materials. Synchronisms with the Near East can provide further precision for the reigns of kings, with important examples found in the Amarna Letters of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the Ramesses II treaty with Hatti, and the appearance of Shoshenq I in the biblical tradition. Finally, astronomical dates—namely lunar dates and the Sothic Cycle—can give more precise dates, but only if the event is well described, dated to a reign and regnal year, and the general date of the document is already known (within approximately fifty years).<sup>62</sup> This necessary, yet often unknown, specificity has led experts of ancient astronomy and scholars such as Thomas Schneider to caution that these dates give us a false impression of certainty.<sup>63</sup> Three such lunar dates have set the limits for most of the reigns of the New Kingdom, occurring under year 52 of Ramesses II and years 23 and 24 of Thutmose III

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<sup>61</sup> Kitchen, “The Chronology of Ancient Egypt”; Kitchen, “Regnal and Genealogical Data of Ancient Egypt (Absolute Chronology I). The Historical Chronology of Ancient Egypt. A Current Assessment”; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*; Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*.

<sup>62</sup> Kitchen, “The Chronology of Ancient Egypt,” 204; Krauss, “Altägyptische Sirius-und Monddaten aus dem 19. und 18. Jahrhundert vor Christi Geburt (Berliner Illahun-Archiv)”; Krauss, *Sothis-und Monddaten*.

<sup>63</sup> Schneider, “The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period.”

(specifically the date of the Battle of Megiddo), establishing the minimum length of time between their accessions as 197 years (which is usually rounded up to 200 years to account for error).<sup>64</sup> This information in combination with the known astronomical data resulted in the production of three distinct chronologies: the Low, Middle, and High Chronology. The only perfect match for both Thutmose III lunar dates would have him take the throne in 1479 BCE, and Ramesses II in 1279 BCE—this is the Low Chronology and the most widely accepted.<sup>65</sup> The second-most entertained possibility (with a one day error in one of the two lunar dates) is that of the High Chronology, which would place Thutmose III’s accession in 1504 BCE and Ramesses II’s in 1304 BCE. The Middle Chronology has a larger margin of error of coincidence with the lunar dates (one-two day error in both dates), with a 1493 and 1293 BCE accession date for Thutmose III and Ramesses II, respectively.<sup>66</sup>

Knowing these two dates, scholars have used the reign length information from Manetho to ascertain the reign dates of most of the New Kingdom kings. One particularly pesky issue for assigning absolute dates to the historical chronology is that Thutmose II’s reign length is debated—either he ruled for three<sup>67</sup> or thirteen years.<sup>68</sup> The Sothic dates are even more unreliable, being correct only within four years and calculated according to the latitude where the event was observed. Two Sothic dates are utilized in chronological assessments, one predicted

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<sup>64</sup> Krauss, *Sothis-und Monddaten*; Kitchen, “The Chronology of Ancient Egypt”; Aston, “How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be,” 23.

<sup>65</sup> Krauss, “An Egyptian Chronology for Dynasties XIII to XXV”; Aston, “Radiocarbon, Wine Jars and New Kingdom Chronology,” 292.

<sup>66</sup> Krauss, “An Egyptian Chronology for Dynasties XIII to XXV,” 181; Krauss, *Sothis-und Monddaten*, 121–23.

<sup>67</sup> Gabolde, “La Chronologie du règne de Thoutmosis II.”

<sup>68</sup> Schneider, “Contributions to the Chronology of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.”

during the reign of Senwosret (II or III, already a problem) and one recorded during the reign of Amenhotep I. Depending on where one assumes the observation of the rising of Sothis occurred, an offset of up to 26 years can be created.<sup>69</sup> Considering all of the above together, scholars determined that the accession of Thutmose III most strongly matched the year 1479 BCE and the Low Chronology, meaning (based on reign-lengths) that the New Kingdom began in 1550 BCE.<sup>70</sup> Bietak prefers an even lower date, and takes the medium of the 15<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Ahmose from various scholars' chronologies as his start date of the New Kingdom: 1530 BCE.<sup>71</sup>

### New Kingdom Radiocarbon Dating

In 2010, Bronk Ramsey and a large team published the results of their crucial radiocarbon study of the Egyptian historical chronology. They AMS-dated 211 short lived plant samples drawn from museum collections outside of Egypt, “which were directly associated with particular reigns or short sections of the historical chronology.”<sup>72</sup> Most of these samples derived from funerary contexts, namely individual tombs that could be dated to specific kings' reigns, and consisted of seeds, basketry fragments, plant-based textiles, plant fragments, and fruits. Samples from problematic or easily contaminated materials, such as charcoal, wood, and mummified remains were specifically avoided. 188 dates were used to build their calibrated model – 128

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<sup>69</sup> Kitchen, “The Chronology of Ancient Egypt,” 205; Krauss, *Sothis-und Monddaten*.

<sup>70</sup> Bietak and Höflmayer, “Introduction: High and Low Chronology,” 14; Aston, “How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be,” 23; Aston, “Radiocarbon, Wine Jars and New Kingdom Chronology.”

<sup>71</sup> Bietak, “Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age,” 31, note 7. He reasons that the siege and defeat of Avaris could not have occurred before Ahmose's 11<sup>th</sup> year, but likely several years later. He does not specify why year 15 was selected, and it remains unclear why the “medium” year would be mathematically significant or more likely.

<sup>72</sup> Bronk Ramsey et al., “Radiocarbon-Based Chronology for Dynastic Egypt,” 1554.

from New Kingdom contexts, 43 from the Middle Kingdom, and 17 from the Old Kingdom. In the initial analysis, around 75% of those dates had calibrated ranges which overlapped the historical chronology. During the second stage of analysis, the researchers included phase limits at known accession dates (such as for Thutmose III) and included reign lengths as set intervals.<sup>73</sup> No samples or dates were associated with New Kingdom reigns before Thutmose III, so these dates were calculated largely using the reign-length information. The study determined that the New Kingdom “might have begun earlier by about a decade than the consensus date of Shaw” (1550 BCE), around 1560 BCE.<sup>74</sup> Overall, the study concluded that for the New Kingdom period, for which there were more samples and less compounded errors from unknown reign lengths or coregencies, the radiocarbon dates correlated quite well with the Egyptian historical chronology, specifically the Low and Middle Chronologies, with a small offset of 10-20 years (the entirety of which is accounted for in the inherent date ranges of the <sup>14</sup>C results).<sup>75</sup> These dates were recently remodeled using new data. Sturt Manning remodeled the dates based on a 2012 study of New Kingdom chronology by David Aston,<sup>76</sup> arriving at an only slightly older start date for the New Kingdom at 1578-1569 BCE.<sup>77</sup>

It is important to note, however, that new studies are suggesting that higher levels of resolution may be necessary in the future, as <sup>14</sup>C levels appear to be offset seasonally. In lower-

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<sup>73</sup> Bronk Ramsey et al., 1554–55.

<sup>74</sup> Bronk Ramsey et al., 1556.

<sup>75</sup> Bronk Ramsey et al., 1557.

<sup>76</sup> Aston, “Radiocarbon, Wine Jars and New Kingdom Chronology.”

<sup>77</sup> Manning, *A Test of Time Revisited*.

elevation Mediterranean contexts, Manning et al. have just demonstrated a ~ 13-31 year <sup>14</sup>C offset during the summer growing season.<sup>78</sup>

## Chronology of Tell el-Dab'a

### *Traditional Chronology*

Manfred Bietak developed the site stratigraphy of Tell el-Dab'a over 50 years of excavations. The site has been extensively excavated in four distinctly separate areas (A, F, H, and R), the stratigraphy across which has been linked mainly by the ceramic repertoire, as well as architectural features, and in areas A and F the occurrence of communal pit graves, thought to be plague burials.<sup>79</sup> In many cases, the sub-areas within each larger excavation area do not connect, meaning these were also linked according to the ceramic data.<sup>80</sup> Area specific stratigraphy was merged into a site-wide stratigraphic sequence that is anchored to the Egyptian historical chronology at four particular points or datum lines. The earliest archaeological material has been recovered from area F/1, a planned Middle Kingdom settlement.<sup>81</sup> Five strata encompass the time-distance between this earliest material (N/3) and the first datum line, a stela of Senwosret III discovered in the 1950's by Adams at the area R/I temple,<sup>82</sup> situated at the transition from

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<sup>78</sup> Manning et al., "Mediterranean Radiocarbon Offsets and Calendar Dates for Prehistory," 6.

<sup>79</sup> Bietak, "Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age"; Bietak and Höflmayer, "Introduction: High and Low Chronology"; Kutschera et al., "The Chronology of Tell El-Daba," 408.

<sup>80</sup> Aston, *Tell el-Dab'a XII*.

<sup>81</sup> Czerny, *Tell el-Dab'a IX*, 120–29.

<sup>82</sup> Adam, "Report on the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Ezbet Rushdi."

stratum L to K. Consequently, this datum line and the start of Stratum K have been fixed to the Egyptian historical chronological date for year 5 of Senwosret III (date of the stela), 1868 BCE.<sup>83</sup>

The following datum line was uncovered in excavations which discovered sealings of Khyan in an extensive pit deposit in area F/II,<sup>84</sup> linking the E1-D/3 transition with the reign of this king—an absolute date which is still hotly debated. The next datum line, which Bietak traditionally dates at 1530 BCE, is the conquest of Avaris by Ahmose, identified by Bietak as the end of Stratum D/2. Although no evidence for a violent destruction has been found in any excavation area at the site, Bietak argues that a settlement hiatus in some areas of R, F, and A marks the defeat of the city. He supports this idea with the notion that apparent soldiers' burials found in Area H, and the leveling of this area to build silos, both in very early Stratum D/1, may be the result of the final battle for Avaris.<sup>85</sup> This supposed first New Kingdom stratum, D/1, is followed by C/3 and C/2, the latter of which provides the final datum line by way of scarabs inscribed with the names of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.<sup>86</sup>

The eleven strata (K-D/2) which fall between the datum lines of Senwosret III and the Ahmose conquest “are sandwiched evenly in between” resulting in the determination of each of these phases having lasted around 30 years, or one generation.<sup>87</sup> It is important to note that these

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<sup>83</sup> Bietak, “Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age”; Czerny, *Tell el-Dab'a XXII*; Bietak and Höflmayer, “Introduction: High and Low Chronology,” 14.

<sup>84</sup> Bietak, “Antagonisms in Historical and Radiocarbon Chronology”; Bietak, Math, and Müller, “Report on the Excavations of a Hyksos Palace”; Forstner-Müller and Reali, “King Khyan and Avaris.”

<sup>85</sup> Bietak, “Antagonisms in Historical and Radiocarbon Chronology”; Bietak, “Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age”; Bietak, “Où est le palais des Hyksôs?”

<sup>86</sup> Bietak, “Relative and Absolute Chronology of the Middle Bronze Age”; Bietak, “Antagonisms in Historical and Radiocarbon Chronology”; Höflmayer, “An Early Date for Khyan”; Bietak and Höflmayer, “Introduction: High and Low Chronology.”

<sup>87</sup> Bietak and Höflmayer, “Introduction: High and Low Chronology,” 14–15.

phase lengths were determined arbitrarily because they all had to fit between the two “known” datum lines. This was pointed out by Manning and Weinstein,<sup>88</sup> and in response Bietak argued that there is very limited flexibility in the lengths of these strata because “if one would lengthen the time span of one stratum one has to squeeze the others to an extent that is not acceptable.”<sup>89</sup> Yet these strata are not dated by epigraphic evidence from a secure context, nor is the development of the ceramic sequence securely timed, so there is no way to know what an acceptable time span for each stratum should be.

Further important chronological markers include certain ceramic wares and Thera pumice. At Tell el-Dab’a, Thera pumice was recovered only from Area H in strata C3 and C2.<sup>90</sup> Red Splash Egyptian Ware, traditionally dated to the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, was found in Stratum C/3.<sup>91</sup> Cypriot Base Ring I and White Slip I wares, significant for establishing synchronisms with the Levant and Aegean, both first appear at Tell el-Dab’a also in Stratum C/3.<sup>92</sup> Stratum G/4 has been dated to the early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty on the basis of a statuette and ceramics, and was also linked with the MB II Ashkelon Moat Deposit on the basis of 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal seal impressions and the ceramic material.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Manning, *A Test of Time*; Weinstein, “The Chronology of Palestine in the Early Second Millennium B. C. E.”

<sup>89</sup> Bietak and Höflmayer, “Introduction: High and Low Chronology,” 15.

<sup>90</sup> Bietak and Höflmayer, 17; Bruins, Van Der Plicht, and MacGillivray, “The Minoan Santorini Eruption and Tsunami Deposits in Palaikastro (Crete),” 408; Höflmayer, “An Early Date for Khyan,” 163.

<sup>91</sup> Aston, “How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be,” 27.

<sup>92</sup> Aston, 26. For a chart of the first occurrence of various Cypriot wares across the Levant, see Chart 3 on page 22.

<sup>93</sup> Bietak et al., “Synchronisation of Stratigraphies: Ashkelon and Tell el-Dab’a,” 49.

### *Radiocarbon Chronology*

The results of a  $^{14}\text{C}$  study of samples from Tell el-Dab'a were published in 2012.<sup>94</sup> 47 short-lived botanical samples had been selected, mostly charred seeds from annual grasses. In many cases, the researchers could not be sure of the secure context of the samples, so “samples from as many phases as possible were selected, assuming that at least a large fraction of them should be representative of the phases where they were found.”<sup>95</sup> These samples were tested in the Vienna AMS lab, while as a control, 5 samples were split for independent testing at the Oxford AMS lab. Only 40 of the 47 samples were determined usable, and “firmly assigned to specific phases.”<sup>96</sup> Overall, the *relative* chronological sequence of the  $^{14}\text{C}$  results confirm the stratigraphic phase sequence from Tell el-Dab'a. After the Bayesian modeling taking into account those phases and the datum lines discussed above, the calibrated 95.4% probability date ranges display a 120 year (higher/older) *absolute* chronological offset with the traditional dates.<sup>97</sup> According to their findings, the start of the New Kingdom and Ahmose's so called “conquest” of Avaris, dated by excavators to the transition between strata D/2-D/1, falls sometime between 1688-1630 BCE, most likely around 1670 BCE (120 years earlier than the traditional 1550 BCE).<sup>98</sup>

The study concludes that these new  $^{14}\text{C}$  dates seem to correspond well with those for the Thera eruption,<sup>99</sup> but disagree with the Bronk Ramsey 2010 study showing a relatively close

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<sup>94</sup> Kutschera et al., “The Chronology of Tell El-Daba”; These results were discussed in Bietak and Höflmayer, “Introduction: High and Low Chronology.”

<sup>95</sup> Kutschera et al., “The Chronology of Tell El-Daba,” 410–11.

<sup>96</sup> Kutschera et al., 411.

<sup>97</sup> Kutschera et al., 414.

<sup>98</sup> Kutschera et al., 412–16.



correlation between the <sup>14</sup>C and historical dates.<sup>100</sup> The authors also note that despite several scholars suggesting the solution for the offset can be found in a regional, environmental cause, multiple studies have demonstrated that there were no discernable <sup>14</sup>C offsets in the eastern Mediterranean—certainly none which would account for a 120 year difference.<sup>101</sup> Höflmayer recently remodeled Kutschera et al.’s dates using the most up to date INTCAL13 calibration curve, and had similar results reflecting a 100-120 year offset with the traditional dates.<sup>102</sup>

### Egyptian Chronographic Tradition for the Second Intermediate Period

The state of evidence for the historical chronology of the Second Intermediate Period is extremely poor. The Hyksos, as well as other dynasties of the Second Intermediate Period, have been left out of almost every Egyptian king list, with the Abydos King list for example skipping directly from Amenemhet IV of Dynasty 12 to Ahmose and Dynasty 18. This period is preserved in the very fragmented Turin King list, and in various recountings of Manetho. In both cases, the information is corrupted, poorly preserved, and the order of kings is not even firmly established. Several scholars, primarily Ryholt, have supplemented this sparse tradition with royal seals and

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<sup>99</sup> Manning et al., “Chronology for the Aegean Late Bronze Age 1700-1400 B.C.”; Friedrich et al., “Santorini Eruption Radiocarbon Dated to 1627-1600 BC”; Sigurdsson et al., “Marine Investigations of Greece’s Santorini Volcanic Field.”

<sup>100</sup> Kutschera et al., “The Chronology of Tell El-Daba,” 418–19.

<sup>101</sup> Kutschera et al., 419; Studies disproving the offset: Manning et al., “<sup>14</sup>C Record and Wiggle-Match Placement for the Anatolian (Gordion Area) Juniper Tree-Ring Chronology~ 1729 to 751 Cal BC, and Typical Aegean/Anatolian (Growing Season Related) Regional <sup>14</sup>C Offset Assessment”; Manning and Kromer, “Radiocarbon Dating Archaeological Samples in the Eastern Mediterranean, 1730 to 1480 BC”; Manning and Kromer, “Considerations of the Scale of Radiocarbon Offsets in the East Mediterranean, and Considering a Case for the Latest (Most Recent) Likely Date for the Santorini Eruption”; but see Hagens, “Radiocarbon Chronology for Dynastic Egypt and the Tell El Dab’a Debate: A Regional Hypothesis.” for the suggestion.

<sup>102</sup> Höflmayer, “An Early Date for Khyan,” 150; Höflmayer, “A Radiocarbon Chronology for the Middle Bronze Age Southern Levant.”

sealings, drawing conclusions about everything from reign order, extent of control, familial relationships, and “Egyptianness.”<sup>103</sup>

### *Manetho*

According to Manetho as preserved in Josephus’s *Contra Apionem*, six kings known as Hyksos (and their descendants) ruled for 511 years before Thebes rose against them. He lists the major kings as Salitis, Beon, Apachnas (Apachnan), Apophis, Janias/Iannas, Assis, in that order. He specifically notes the reign length of each of these kings as 19, 44, 36, 61, 50, and 49 years, respectively.<sup>104</sup> One of the biggest issues with the Manethonian tradition is the Greek transliterations of the presumably Semitic names, which have complicated securely identifying these individual kings in the archaeological record. The second major problem is the 511 year

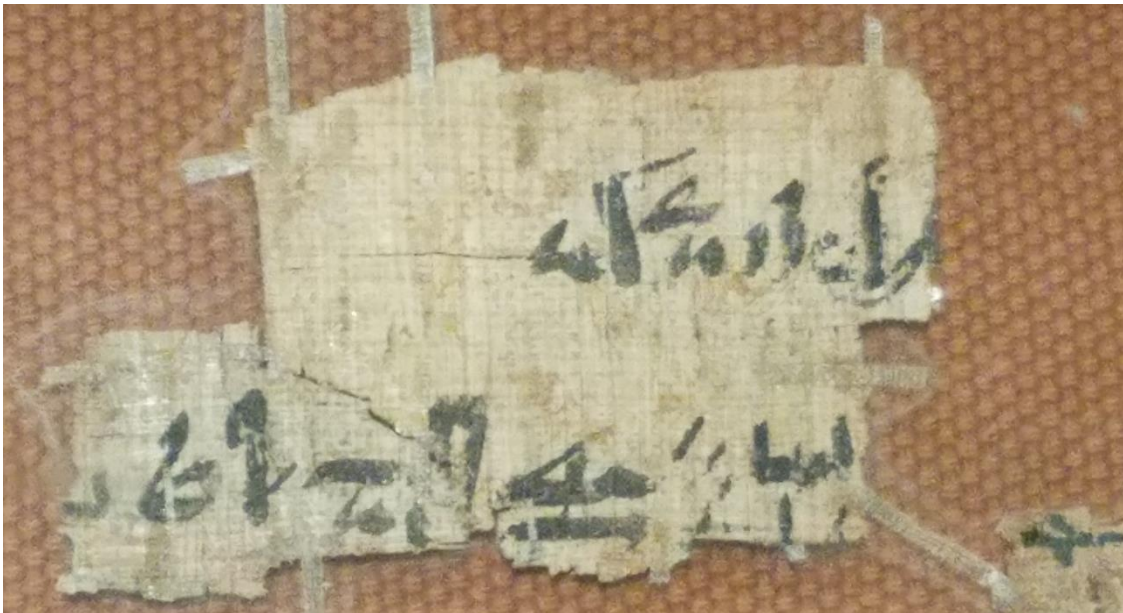


Figure 2 - 15th Dynasty Section of the Turin King List

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<sup>103</sup> See for example Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 123–25, 130–37.

<sup>104</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, 79–83. Manetho, *Aegyptiaca*, frg. 42, 1.76-1.79 in Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I.14.78-83.

span for the Second Intermediate Period, which is far longer than the archaeological material suggests.

*Turin King list*

The Royal Canon of Turin, or the Turin King List, is housed at the Museo Egizio di Torino.

Discovered by Bernardino Drovetti in Luxor in 1820 in a relatively intact state, the papyrus had badly fragmented by the time of its arrival in Italy. Its composition most likely dates to the reign of Ramesses II. The Second Intermediate Period section of the papyrus falls in columns 7 (line 4) – 11 and the end of the preserved document. It has been studied several times since Champollion’s first examination shortly after its arrival in Turin, with the most thorough being that of Kim Ryholt.<sup>105</sup> However, it should be noted that Ryholt never published his intended monograph on the Turin King List, so many of his assumptions and reconstructions of the papyrus cannot be verified.<sup>106</sup> On the basis of fiber joins in the papyrus, Ryholt reassigned the Hyksos fragments to the base of column ten.<sup>107</sup> He reconstruction the rest as (Table 1):

Table 1- Reconstruction of the Hyksos section of Turin King List, after Ryholt 1997, 119

Position in Turin King List	King	Reign
Column 10/26	[ . . . ]	10+ years, [...months, ... days.]
Column 10/27	[ . . . ]	40+ years, [...months, ... days.]
Column 10/28	[ <i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> ] Khamudi	[ . . . ]
Column 10/29	[Total:] 6 [ <i>ḥqꜣ.w</i> ] <i>ḥꜣs.wt</i> . They ruled 108 years, [...months, ... days.]	

<sup>105</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*; Ryholt, “The Turin King List”; Allen, “The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List”; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*.

<sup>106</sup> T. Schneider, personal communication.

<sup>107</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 25, 118.

The 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty section of the Turin King List is relatively well-preserved, and several kings' reign lengths are still legible. However, Ryholt assigns 57 kings to this dynasty, while Allen suggests 53; only 51 are preserved on the papyrus, and only 16 have secure reign lengths.<sup>108</sup> We know that Sobekhotep III, Neferhotep I, Sihathor, and Sobekhotep IV (most attested by sealings at Tell el-Dab'a and Edfu), date to the middle of this dynasty. Sobekhotep IV has been variously assigned as the 24<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> king of the Dynasty, with reign dates ranging from 1732-1720 and 1709-1701 BCE.<sup>109</sup> Sobekhotep IV seems to have been succeeded directly by Sobekhotep V, Ibiau, and Merneferenre-Aya, who is the last 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king attested in the north and south and is therefore assumed to be the final king of a united Egypt ruling from Itj-Tawy.<sup>110</sup> These three kings ruled for a total of 39 years according to the Turin King List, and after them, around 25 kings finished out the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty rapidly.<sup>111</sup> The story is picked up far to the south, in a series of tomb genealogies of the governors of El-Kab (the El-Kab and Yaueyebi Genealogies). These sources demonstrate that at least 8 generations span the interlude between Merhetepibre/Merhepetre Ini (the immediate successor of Merneferenre-Aya) and Amenhotep I of Dynasty 18. Bennett estimates, given an average 20 year generation, that 155 years separate the accessions of Merhetepibre and Ahmose.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Ryholt, 72–73; Ryholt, “The Turin King List”; Allen, “The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List”; Schneider, “The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period,” 180.

<sup>109</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 197; Franke, “Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches Teil II,” 268; Schneider, “The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period,” 176.

<sup>110</sup> Bourriau, “The Second Intermediate Period (c. 1650-1550 BC),” 185.

<sup>111</sup> Aston, “How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be,” 17.

<sup>112</sup> Bennett, “A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty”; Bennett, “Genealogy and the Chronology of the Second Intermediate Period,” 236–40.

According to Ryholt, up to 63 kings belong to the 14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, 33 of which are preserved only in the Turin Canon. A king named Nehesy is listed at the top of Column 9, and Ryholt assigns him as the first or second king of the 14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Ryholt includes Sheshi in the 14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty on the basis of stylistic similarities.<sup>113</sup> This dynasty is usually assumed to have ruled in the Delta, and traditionally any unplaced king with a foreign name is put in this dynasty.<sup>114</sup>

According to the various excerpts of Manetho, the “16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty” consisted of somewhere between 5 and 32 kings, who ruled either from Thebes (according to Eusebius’s excerpt of Manetho) or were also “Shepherd kings” (i.e. Hyksos, according to Africanus’s excerpt). Ryholt categorizes this dynasty as Theban and succeeded by the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, while Von Beckerath suggests that all Theban kings between dynasties 13 and 18 should be termed “Dynasty 16.”<sup>115</sup> Essentially, there is no scholarly consensus on which kings this dynasty encompasses, nor even from where they ruled. The Turin Canon preserves 15 kings at the top of Column 11, only the first half of which are attested archaeologically, mostly in the south.<sup>116</sup>

While the 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty does have a summation line, the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty begins straight away with kings’ names instead of the introductory line standard for the other dynasties on the Canon. There are at least 16 kings included in this dynasty, as there is room for 16 names after the summation line of Dynasty 16 in Column 11/15. Ryholt identifies these kings as a separate

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<sup>113</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 94–99.

<sup>114</sup> Schneider, “The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period,” 169; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 94.

<sup>115</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*; von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*.

<sup>116</sup> Müller, “Chronological Concepts for the Second Intermediate Period and their Implications for the Evaluation of its Material Culture,” 213–14.

unnumbered Abydos Dynasty, based on Second Intermediate Period monuments of otherwise unattested kings found only at Abydos, and featuring specifically Abydene names.<sup>117</sup> Allen refutes this claim, arguing that these kings are additional royal names from Dynasties 16 and 17 meant to show these two dynasties as a single continuation (i.e. both Theban).<sup>118</sup> Wegner instead agrees with Ryholt, identifying one of the first two kings of this dynasty as Seneb-Kay, a newly archaeologically attested king from Abydos (see below), on the basis of his throne name Woseribre.<sup>119</sup> The complex and fragmentary nature of the Turin King List evidence is still open to debate.<sup>120</sup>

### *Inscriptional Evidence*

A few links can be made between the Turin Canon and the archaeological and inscriptional evidence for the Hyksos 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Khamudi is the only king's name preserved in the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty section of the Turin King List. Although his name is not recorded elsewhere, many scholars believe him to be the king from the verso of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, recording the southern prince invading Tjaru.<sup>121</sup> From the regnal date of text, we know the final king of Dynasty 15 ruled for at least 11 years, and was contemporary with Ahmose. It is apparent from the Kamose Stelae that Kamose was a contemporary of Apepi, who is also directly attested at the

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<sup>117</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 163.

<sup>118</sup> Allen, "The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List."

<sup>119</sup> Wegner, "Woseribre Seneb-Kay," 296–98.

<sup>120</sup> For longer discussions, see Schneider, "The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period"; Schneider, "Überlegungen zur Chronologie der thebanischen Könige in der Zweiten Zwischenzeit."

<sup>121</sup> Franke, "Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches Teil II"; Bietak, "Historische und archäologische Einführung"; von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*; Spalinger, "The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus as a Historical Document."

pyramid temple of Ahmose at Abydos.<sup>122</sup> Apepi reached at least his regnal year 33 according to the date of the recto of the Rhind Papyrus, and due to this long reign length is most often considered to be the king from the Turin King List 10/27.<sup>123</sup>

Ryholt proposed that Khyan immediately preceded the reign of Apepi, based largely on the quantity of sources attested for these two kings and the “similarity of their seals.”<sup>124</sup> Many scholars<sup>125</sup> have challenged this assumption using a door post discovered at Tell el-Dab‘a bearing the inscription “King’s son of Khyan, Yanassi.”<sup>126</sup> Schneider and others have etymologically associated Khyan with Manetho’s Apachnan, and Yanassi with Iannas, confirming this succession order.<sup>127</sup> Therefore, either Yanassi or his successor would fill the position in the Turin Canon 10/26. The door jamb of Skr-Hr, also discovered at Tell el-Dab‘a,<sup>128</sup> demonstrates the Hyksos’s adoption of the five-fold Egyptian royal titulary, and the use of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title alongside a cartouche.<sup>129</sup> Unfortunately, no regnal date or familial tie is preserved in this inscription to aid in the placement of this king within Dynasty 15. Schneider has identified Skr-Hr with Manetho’s Assis, and suggests he be placed between Yanassi and Apepi (essentially

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<sup>122</sup> Harvey, “The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos.”

<sup>123</sup> Aston, “How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be,” 16.

<sup>124</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 120.

<sup>125</sup> Bietak, “Historische und archäologische Einführung”; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*; Vandersleyen, *L’Égypte et la vallée du Nil. Tome 2*; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten I*; Schneider, “The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period.”

<sup>126</sup> Bietak, “Eine Stele des ältesten Königssohnes des Hyksos Chajan.,” 63–71; Bietak, “Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom,” 65 fig. 53. The block was uncovered near area H/III during the dredging of a drainage channel.

<sup>127</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten I*, 57–75.

<sup>128</sup> According to Bietak, it was found in a later 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty context in area H/III. Bietak, “Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom,” 65 fig. 52.

<sup>129</sup> Bietak, “Historische und archäologische Einführung.”

in place 10/26).<sup>130</sup> No contemporaneous archaeological or inscriptional attestations of Manetho's Salitis or Beon have yet been found.

Evidence for Khyan has been found in several objects inscribed with his name. Within Egypt, these objects are mostly scarabs and sealings concentrated largely in the north, as well as a few fragmentary Middle Kingdom statues usurped by Khyan.<sup>131</sup> At Gebelein in the south, a semi-cylindrical granite block bearing his cartouche was discovered out of context, along with a door lintel of Apepi.<sup>132</sup> Outside of Egypt, Khyan scarabs and sealings have been found in the southern Levant. An obsidian vessel fragment with his name was found at the Hittite capital of Hattusha, though again unhelpfully out of context.<sup>133</sup> A black granite lion with his cartouche was purchased on the antiquities market in Baghdad.<sup>134</sup> Most famously, an alabaster (Egyptian calcite) lid with the titles and cartouche of Khyan was uncovered at the Minoan palace at Knossos. Sir Arthur Evans records having discovered the lid in a context known as the "North Lustral Basin" in a stratum with clear burnt remains of a previous structure and sealed by another stratum with secure Mycenaean remains. Evans consequently dated the lid's context to Middle Minoan IIIA.<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten I*, 57–74.

<sup>131</sup> Höflmayer, "An Early Date for Khyan," 145; Daressy, "Notes et Remarques," 42.

<sup>132</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 135; Polz, "Die Hyksos-Blöcke aus Gebelên. Zur Präsenz der Hyksos in Oberägypten." Ryholt uses this block to argue for temporary Hyksos control of the south, which Polz refutes on an extreme lack of evidence.

<sup>133</sup> Stock, "Der Hyksos Chian in Boğazköy."

<sup>134</sup> Höflmayer, "An Early Date for Khyan," 145–46 and citations therein.

<sup>135</sup> Evans, "The Palace of Knossos. Provisional Report of the Excavations for the Year 1901," 64, fig. 20; Evans, *The Palace of Minos. A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos I: The Neolithic and Early and Middle Minoan Ages*.



Royal sealings have formed the bulk of the remaining evidence used to fill in the Second Intermediate Period chronographic tradition. For the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, we have sealings only for Khyan and Apepi, while Khamudi only appears in the Turin King List, and Skr-Hr as well as possibly Yanassi are attested epigraphically. This leaves one or two of the 6 slots open for another ruler, usually considered to be one of the other three kings attested with the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title, ‘Anat-Har, ‘Aper-‘Anti, and Semqen.<sup>136</sup> On stylistic and typological grounds, Ryholt assigns ‘Anat-Har to earlier in the Second Intermediate Period. Based on the find spot of the single seal of Semqen at Tell el-Yahudiya, Ryholt prioritizes this individual as a ruler of the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>137</sup> Other scholars, chiefly Ben-Tor, attributes Sheshi to the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty according to his vast quantity of seals and sealings and their broad distribution.<sup>138</sup> Ryholt places both Sheshi and Ya’qub Har, also well known from his numerous sealings, along with other Semitic-named kings such as ‘Ammu, Yakbim, and Qareh, in the 14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>139</sup> It should be noted that all of these assignments are based on very little (if any) evidence, and are basically speculation.

The king Nehesi<sup>140</sup> is attested in Column 9 of the Turin Canon as belonging to Dynasty 14, and all of his inscribed material has been found at sites in the eastern Delta, including Tell el-Dab’a, Tell el Muqdam, Tell el Hebua (East), and Bubastis. Two relief fragments bearing the

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<sup>136</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 121–22.

<sup>137</sup> Ryholt, 123.

<sup>138</sup> Ben-Tor, “Sequences and Chronology of Second Intermediate Period Royal-Name Scarabs, Based on Excavated Series from Egypt and the Levant”; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*; Ben-Tor, “Second Intermediate Period Scarabs from Egypt and Palestine: Historical and Chronological Implications.”

<sup>139</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 96.

<sup>140</sup> Due to the name Nehesi meaning “the Nubian,” speculations have been made about the origins of this king. Ryholt notes that the find spot of many 14<sup>th</sup> Dynasty seals and sealings suggest a close link with the Kerman kingdom, and even proposes that Sheshi instigated a dynastic marriage with Tati, a Kerman princess (who is attested by numerous seals of her own). Ryholt further argues that their son was named Nehesi to recognize his mother’s origins. See Ryholt, 113–15, 252–53.

name Aa-seh-re Nehesi were found in phase F of the Temple III precinct in area A/II at Tell el-Dab'a. This phase has been linked archaeologically to the mid 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty,<sup>141</sup> although the context of the relief fragments has been challenged.<sup>142</sup>

### Theories on the Political Sequence of the Second Intermediate Period

Prior to 2010, when radiocarbon studies and new archaeological evidence began to be published, the above chronographic and archaeological sources were used to reconstruct several options for the political sequence of the dynasties included in the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>143</sup> Major unresolved debates include the ruling locations and ethnicity of Dynasties 14 and 16, as well as which dynasties overlapped or directly succeeded others. Table 2 summarizes four of these options to demonstrate the extremely unresolved nature of the Second Intermediate Period.

### New Archaeological & Radiocarbon Evidence

Starting with the published radiocarbon studies re-dating the Thera eruption in 2006, a whole corpus of new archaeological evidence and <sup>14</sup>C dates seriously altered the chronological reconstruction of the Second Intermediate Period.

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<sup>141</sup> Bietak, "Zum Königreich des '3-zh-R' Neḥesi"; Bietak, "Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom," 40, fig. 33.

<sup>142</sup> Ben-Tor, "Sequences and Chronology of Second Intermediate Period Royal-Name Scarabs, Based on Excavated Series from Egypt and the Levant."

<sup>143</sup> For various reconstructions, see among others: von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*; Kitchen, "Regnal and Genealogical Data of Ancient Egypt (Absolute Chronology I). The Historical Chronology of Ancient Egypt. A Current Assessment"; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*; Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*; Allen, "The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List"; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten I*; Schneider, "The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period"; Bennett, "A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty"; Davies, "Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: The Genealogical Data"; Müller, "Chronological Concepts for the Second Intermediate Period and their Implications for the Evaluation of its Material Culture."

*Edfu*

During the 2010 and 2011 excavation seasons at Tell Edfu, the excavations of an administrative complex to the southwest of the Ptolemaic temple were extended slightly to the north. The complex, which is just west of the Ptolemaic mammisi, features a northern and southern

Table 2 - Theories on the Political Situation of the Second Intermediate Period

Study	Dynasty 13	Dynasty 14	Dynasty 15	Dynasty 16	Dynasty 17
von Beckerath 1997	Directly succeeded by Dyn. 17, its end is contemporary with Dyn. 14	Several kingdoms ruling in the Eastern Delta, contemporary with late Dyn. 13	Hyksos, contemporary with Dyns. 16 and 17	Vassal kingdom of Hyksos in Delta, contemporary with Dyns. 15 and 17	Theban, directly succeeds Dyn. 13, contemporary with Dyns. 15 and 16
Kitchen 2000	Directly succeeded by Dyn. 17, contemporary with Dyns. 14 and 16	Kingdom in east Delta, contemporary with late Dyn. 12–13, 15 and 16	Hyksos, contemporary with Dyn. 16 and 17	Vassal kingdom of Hyksos in Delta, spans late Dyn. 12–17 (spans whole SIP)	Theban, directly succeeds Dyn. 13, contemporary with Dyns. 15 and 16
Ryholt 1997, largely after Winlock 1947	Directly succeeded by Dyn. 16, contemporary with Dyn. 14	Canaanite kingdom in Delta, directly succeeded by Dyn. 15, contemporary with late Dyn. 12 and 13	Hyksos, succeeds Dyn. 14, contemporary with Dyns. 16–17	Theban, succeeds Dyn. 13 and succeeded by Dyn 17, contemporary with Dyn. 15	Theban, succeeds Dyn. 16 after period of Hyksos control of South, contemporary with Dyn. 15

columned hall, which is fronted on the west by a small room. Extensive evidence was found in the complex for administrative activities of the Middle Kingdom, including button seals, scarabs,

and seal impressions, along with ceramics. Peg sealings in the southern Hall and side room indicate the complex was “officially closed and sealed on regular basis.”<sup>144</sup> The mud floor was renewed at least thirty times according to sublayers in the plaster.<sup>145</sup> The entire complex was abandoned by the end of Dynasty 13, with subsequent phases of the removal of the roof and columns, and finally in Dynasty 17, the area was rebuilt as a silo courtyard for administrative grain storage.<sup>146</sup> In the Northern Hall, context US2654, a 5-10cm thick silt layer, was found “directly on top of the last floor level which corresponds to the final phase of occupation,” and contained ceramics, sealings, faunal remains, ceramic weights, figurines, etc. The context was sealed by a sterile deposit of Aeolian sand indicating the abandonment of the administrative complex. 335 sealings have been recovered so far from this context, including 40 sealings of the Hyksos Khyan which were found specifically abutting a bench in the southwest corner.<sup>147</sup> Also within this context’s vast sealing corpus, excavators discovered 9 sealings of the mid-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty king Sobekhotep IV, identified securely by the inclusion of his mother’s name.<sup>148</sup> Further sealings included personal name sealings from the Middle Kingdom tradition, including a well known mid 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty King’s Daughter and a seal bearer, as well as more than 83 sealings from the Second Intermediate Period, including examples of the Palestinian Series.<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>144</sup> Moeller and Marouard, “The Context of the Khyan Sealings from Tell Edfu and Further Implications for the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt,” 174–75.

<sup>145</sup> Moeller and Marouard, 178.

<sup>146</sup> Moeller and Marouard, 174–75.

<sup>147</sup> Moeller and Marouard, 178–81.

<sup>148</sup> Moeller and Marouard, 184.

<sup>149</sup> Moeller and Marouard, 184–90.

Understandably, this unexpected find has caused chaos in the chronology debate, as it would appear to synchronize the Hyksos Khyan with the mid-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, a correlation which severely upsets the traditional historical chronology. Non-ideal <sup>14</sup>C dates<sup>150</sup> were obtained for context US2654, putting the Khyan sealings at 1777-1623 BCE at 89.5% probability.<sup>151</sup> These radiocarbon dates match extremely well with the historical chronology for the mid-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Sobekhotep group, further supporting the potential synchronism. Scarab experts such as Daphna Ben-Tor have argued that the co-appearance of these two king's scarabs in the same context suggests only that the Middle Kingdom sealings were made by heirloom scarabs—essentially that older, mid-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty scarabs were still being utilized for sealing during the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>152</sup> Both Porter and Ilin-Tomich have argued against this synchronism on the basis of the stratigraphy at Tell el-Dab'a, which puts phases G/1-3 and E/1 between Khyan and Sobekhotep IV.<sup>153</sup> Ilin-Tomich does allow that the Edfu evidence indicates that Khyan “predated the final stages of Dynasty 17.”<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> The dates are not ideal because samples cannot be exported from Egypt for testing, forcing the Edfu team to have the analysis performed by the new lab at IFAO Cairo. This lab uses an older testing method, not the preferred AMS dating, which also requires a larger sample weight to test. Therefore, the only testable sample was a piece of charcoal, which of course has its own issues in terms of dating reliability.

<sup>151</sup> Moeller and Marouard, “The Context of the Khyan Sealings from Tell Edfu and Further Implications for the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt,” 194.

<sup>152</sup> Ben-Tor, “The Sealings from the Administrative Unit at Tell Edfu. Chronological and Historical Implications,” 87.

<sup>153</sup> Porter, “The Second Intermediate Period According to Edfu,” 75; Ilin-Tomich, “The Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16,” 151.

<sup>154</sup> Ilin-Tomich, “The Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16,” 151.

*Tell el-Dab'a*

Three separate areas have been excavated relatively recently with sealings of Khyan. In 2010-2012 excavations of area R/III, excavators recovered nine Khyan sealings distributed around the area, in complex 1, street 1, and complex 3.<sup>155</sup> Unfortunately, none of these sealings were found in a primary context, but in stratigraphically later contexts. One scarab was found in a context which dates to stratum E/1 (early 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), four from contexts dating to either D/3 or D/2, and six from contexts which date to D/2.<sup>156</sup> A scarab of Khyan was discovered in area R/I, west of the Middle Kingdom temple in debris near an oven wall, during the excavations by Adam in the 1950's, for which a secure context is not known.<sup>157</sup>

The third area is F/II, the palatial center of the Second Intermediate Period. This palace was constructed in a Near Eastern architectural style, and ceramic dating indicates that it was in use over a long period spanning much of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>158</sup> Here, Khyan sealings were found in three separate contexts. One sealing was recovered from L803, the remains of an offering pit from a larger pit system in a courtyard just north of the palace dating to stratum D/3 or D/2, the late Second Intermediate Period. Another was found in L1023, an ashly pit fill cutting into Building S south of the palace proper. According to the excavators, precise dating of this context is not possible. Finally, five sealings were excavated from L81—a complex pit system from an inner courtyard of the palace.<sup>159</sup> The precise function and dating of this locus

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<sup>155</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, “King Khyan and Avaris,” 93–94, see Fig. 2 and 3.

<sup>156</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, 95.

<sup>157</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, 95; Adam, “Report on the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Ezbet Rushdi,” 221.

<sup>158</sup> Bietak, Math, and Müller, “Report on the Excavations of a Hyksos Palace”; Bietak, “Le Hyksos Khayan”; Bietak, “Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta”; Forstner-Müller and Reali, “King Khyan and Avaris,” 96.

<sup>159</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, “King Khyan and Avaris.”

is debated—originally it was thought to be connected to ritual feasting activities, and Aston has recently proposed it is simply a waste dump associated with the abandonment of the palace.<sup>160</sup> Mostly according to ceramics, L81 falls at the E/1-D/3-2 transition, with Bietak and Aston<sup>161</sup> arguing for an early 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date, while Kopetzky, Forstner-Müller and Rose argued for a later date.<sup>162</sup>

Another area F/II context, L637, is also the fill of a trash pit replete with discarded clay fragments and scarab seals. This deposit is located in court D of the palace, just southwest of magazine complex E.<sup>163</sup> Three of the sealing fragments found in this fill bear the name of mid-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty kings: one of Sobekhotep III and two of Neferhotep I.<sup>164</sup> Also within this fill context were found fragments of ceramics securely dated to the Hyksos period, strata E/1-D/3 (the same strata to which the Khyan sealings from this same palace were assigned).<sup>165</sup> So not only were sealings from the mid-13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty found within a Hyksos palatial complex, but from the same strata as sealings of Khyan. The 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty rulers represented in Locus L367 at Tell el-Dab'a rule directly before Sobekhotep IV (attested at Edfu), making it possible that Khyan may have been a (near) contemporary of them all.

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<sup>160</sup> Bietak et al., “Der Hyksos-Palast bei Tell el-Dab'a”; Bietak, “Le Hyksos Khayan”; Aston, “From the Deep South to the Far North: Nubian sherds from Khatan 'a and 'Ezbet Helmi (Tell el-Dab 'a).”

<sup>161</sup> Bietak, “Où est le palais des Hyksôs?”; Aston and Bader, “Fishes, Ringstands, Nudes and Hippos. A preliminary Report on the Hyksos Palace Pit Complex L81, with a contribution by C. K. Kunst”; Aston, “From the Deep South to the Far North: Nubian sherds from Khatan 'a and 'Ezbet Helmi (Tell el-Dab 'a).”

<sup>162</sup> Kopetzky, *Tell el-Dab'a XX: Die Chronologie der Siedlungskeramik der Zweiten Zwischenzeit aus Tell el-Dab'a*; Forstner-Müller and Rose, “Grabungen des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo in Tell El-Dab'a / Avaris: Das Areal R/III.”

<sup>163</sup> Moeller and Marouard, “The Context of the Khyan Sealings from Tell Edfu and Further Implications for the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt,” 191.

<sup>164</sup> Sartori, “Die Siegel aus Areal F/II,” 284–85.

<sup>165</sup> Höflmayer, “An Early Date for Khyan,” 160; Aston, “How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be,” 17, 49.

The final context with inscriptional and chronological significance comes from Area H, the so-called ‘Thutmosid’ palatial complex. Abutting the eroded eastern ramp of Palace F, excavators uncovered the walls of a small workshop. Inside were eight cubicles with small mudbrick platforms at the rear; the floor deposits of these cubicles yielded further clay sealing fragments and scarabs of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. On the basis of these scarabs, this stratum of the workshop and palatial complex have been dated to the reigns of these two kings.<sup>166</sup> Also found among the workshop sealings were impressions from Ahmose, Ahmose-Nefertari, and Amenhotep I, as well as a fragment with a seal impression of Yaquubhar which had been countersealed by a Middle Kingdom personal name seal.<sup>167</sup> Before the discovery of these seals, the palaces were initially dated to the end of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>168</sup> Bietak explained the co-occurrence of these various kings’ names in a rather complex way, suggesting that there were some late Second Intermediate Period goods which had been sealed by heirloom Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period scarabs. These goods came into Ahmose’s possession after his conquest of Avaris and were re-stored for several generations, finally being opened under Thutmose III.<sup>169</sup> Höflmayer suggests that the workshop area is in fact Thutmosid, while the C/2-3 palaces should be dated earlier.<sup>170</sup> A recent Master’s degree out of Vienna reanalyzed the sealings from this context, finding that 15 represented late Middle Kingdom style seals, and 31 bore Second Intermediate Period motifs, including examples from

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<sup>166</sup> Bietak, “Seal Impressions from the Middle till the New Kingdom.”

<sup>167</sup> Bietak, 49–52, see fig. 10.

<sup>168</sup> Bietak et al., “Der Tempel und die Siedlung des Mittleren Reiches bei ‘Ezbet Ruschdi,” 20–38.

<sup>169</sup> Bietak, “Seal Impressions from the Middle till the New Kingdom,” 54.

<sup>170</sup> Höflmayer, “An Early Date for Khyan,” 162.



the late Palestinian Series. Out of a total of 70 sealing fragments, only three could be dated securely to the New Kingdom (plus 10 scarabs).<sup>171</sup> Moeller and Marouard argue that this deposit more likely represents “the typical mix of sealings that characterizes the very early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and the rulers who are antecedents of Thutmose III.” They suggest that in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, scarabs which still displayed late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period motifs would still be in use, alongside a few new styles—a relatively gradual cultural change which mimics the ceramic typology for the transition into the New Kingdom, in which both ceramics and seals display a more marked change under Thutmose III.<sup>172</sup>

#### *Abydos & Synchronisms with Dynasty 16*

2014 excavations at South Abydos uncovered the tomb of a previously unknown Second Intermediate Period king, Woseribre Seneb-Kay. The tomb was only one of eight burials in this series; all were severely plundered, but show similar levels of local resource investment, reuse of nearby 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tomb materials, and 4-5 had skeletal remains for single male internments, leading Wegner to suggest these were royal tombs.<sup>173</sup> Based on the location of the tomb and the reuse of 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty materials, Wegner suggests that Seneb-Kay’s tomb was the earliest in the series.<sup>174</sup> As mentioned above, Wegner has identified Seneb-Kay’s prenomen, Woseribre, with the first two kings in the Turin Canon after the summation line for Dynasty 16. He argues that

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<sup>171</sup> Zeger, “Siegel und Siegelabdrücke aus Magazinen des Thutmosidischen Palastbereiches von Ezbet Helmi.”

<sup>172</sup> Moeller and Marouard, “The Context of the Khyan Sealings from Tell Edfu and Further Implications for the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt,” 193.

<sup>173</sup> Wegner, “Woseribre Seneb-Kay,” 302; Wegner, “A Royal Necropolis at South Abydos.”

<sup>174</sup> Wegner, “Woseribre Seneb-Kay,” 301.

these tombs represent the missing names from Column 11, which should be understood as a legitimate “Abydos Dynasty” contemporary with the Theban 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>175</sup>

Seneb-Kay’s tomb was the only one of the group that was decorated, and an analysis of the iconographic evidence, including a simplified false door, truncated hieroglyphs, and mimicry of Middle Kingdom coffin decoration, aligns this king most closely with the late 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>176</sup> Wegner specifically identifies the T-shaped nipple of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys as a unique feature, paralleled only in the tombs of Sobeknakht II, governor of El-Kab under the mid 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (King Nebiriau I or Bebiankh), and Horemkhauef at Hierakonpolis. These two tombs were in fact signed by the same artist, Sedjemnetjeru,<sup>177</sup> securing their (at least close) temporal proximity, if not contemporaneity, along with the tomb of Seneb-Kay.<sup>178</sup> An autobiographical stele of Horemkhauef (MMA 35.7.55) records his visit to Itj-Tawy during the late 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>179</sup>

When considered alongside the genealogical studies from the governors of El-Kab and the time-span restrictions for such a large number of kings (attested in inscriptions, at Abydos, and in the Turin Canon), Wegner argues that Seneb-Kay and his cemetery mates “represent a regional kingdom that may have arisen contemporaneously with the Theban 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty to the south and during the final stages of decay of Middle Kingdom state control from Itj-Tawy.”<sup>180</sup>

This conclusion is further supported by the skeletal analysis of Seneb-Kay, which demonstrated

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<sup>175</sup> Wegner, 296–99.

<sup>176</sup> Wegner, 291–94.

<sup>177</sup> Davies, “The Dynastic Tombs at Hierakonpolis.”

<sup>178</sup> Davies, “Renseneb and Sobeknakht of Elkab: The Genealogical Data,” 224–31.

<sup>179</sup> Hayes, “Horemkha’uef of Nekhen and His Trip to It-Towe,” 3.

<sup>180</sup> Wegner, “Woseribre Seneb-Kay,” 304.

that he died violently from extensive battle trauma,<sup>181</sup> suggesting political conflict between smaller neighboring polities.<sup>182</sup>

### *Levantine Radiocarbon Dates*

Within the last 5 years, new radiocarbon studies from Southern Levantine sites have been published. Tell el-Burak lies on the Lebanese coast just south of Sidon, and excavations have uncovered a Middle Bronze Age monumental mudbrick building with two main phases of construction. In terms of the ceramic evidence, the most significant form is the MBIIA ridged-neck pithos, found in both phases of the Tell el-Burak building, as well as the Moat Deposit at Ashkelon (Phase 14, early 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) and Tell el-Dab'a Stratum G/1-3 (early-mid 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty).<sup>183</sup> 19 samples were AMS-dated, with unmodeled dates falling between 2000 and the early 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Calibrated dates fell mainly in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century BCE—considerably earlier than the proposed dates for the Ashkelon and Tell el-Dab'a contexts (mid 18<sup>th</sup> century BCE). Radiocarbon dates for Stratum G/1-3 at Tell el-Dab'a fall between 1891-1822 BCE, much more consistent with the Tell el Burak <sup>14</sup>C dates than the traditional Low dates (1750-1710 BCE). Phase G at Tel Ifshar has also been synchronized with Tell el-Dab'a Strata G/4-G/1-3; short-lived <sup>14</sup>C samples for Phase G have been dated to ca. 1869-1748 cal. BCE (95.4%), again much more closely in agreement with the <sup>14</sup>C dates for Tell el-Dab'a and Tell el-Burak than the traditional chronology.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> Wegner, "A Royal Necropolis at South Abydos," 76–77.

<sup>182</sup> Wegner, "Woseribre Seneb-Kay," 304.

<sup>183</sup> Höflmayer et al., "New Evidence for Middle Bronze Age Chronology and Synchronisms in the Levant"; Bruins and Van Der Plicht, "Radiocarbon Dating Comparee of Hyksos-Related Phases at Ashkelon and Tell El-Dab'a."

<sup>184</sup> Höflmayer et al., "New Evidence for Middle Bronze Age Chronology and Synchronisms in the Levant."

A new <sup>14</sup>C study compared the chronological transitions at the sites of Tell el-Dab'a, Tell el-Hayyat, Tel Kabri, Jericho, and the Thera eruption. The transitions examined included those from the EBIV/MBI, the MBI/II, the MBII/III, and the MBIII/LBIA. In each case, the <sup>14</sup>C dates suggested these transitions occurred ~100 years earlier than the traditional chronology (which starts the Late Bronze Age at 1500 BCE).<sup>185</sup>

A third recent study investigated the chronology for the end of the Middle Bronze Age, characterized by MBIII (MBIIC) destruction layers at sites across the southern Levant. Traditionally, those destructions have been associated with the campaigns of Ahmose to expel the Hyksos.<sup>186</sup> Cypriot ceramic synchronisms with Tell el-Dab'a<sup>187</sup> have led Bietak to suggest that these destructions, and the MB/LB transition, happened closer to the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>188</sup> Recent <sup>14</sup>C dates from Tell el-Dab'a, Tell el Ajjul, Ashkelon, Jericho, Tell el-Hayyat, Tel Ifshar, Lachish, Megiddo, Tel Kabri, and Tell el-Burak suggest a MB/LB transition which could have taken several decades across the southern Levant, and fell around 1600 BCE (1575 BCE at the latest). These dates are yet again ca. 100 years higher than Bietak's chronology.<sup>189</sup>

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<sup>185</sup> Höflmayer, "A Radiocarbon Chronology for the Middle Bronze Age Southern Levant"; Höflmayer et al., "New Radiocarbon Dates from Tel Kabri Support a High Middle Bronze Age Chronology."

<sup>186</sup> Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine"; Dever, "Relations between Syria-Palestine and Egypt in the 'Hyksos' Period"; Dever, "'Hyksos', Egyptian Destructions, and the End of the Palestinian Middle Bronze Age."

<sup>187</sup> Namely the first appearance of White Slip I and Base Ring I wares in Strata C/3 and C/2 at Tell el Daba, phases which are dated to the Thutmosid period on the basis of seals.

<sup>188</sup> Bietak, "Antagonisms in Historical and Radiocarbon Chronology."

<sup>189</sup> Höflmayer, "The Expulsion of the Hyksos and the End of the Middle Bronze Age."

### *Synchronisms with the Near East*

According to the Amarna Letters, Thutmose IV should be contemporary with the Babylonian King Karaindash, who also corresponded with the Assyrian king Assurbelnisesu. However, using the dates of the traditional Low Chronology, with Thutmose III taking the throne at 1479 BCE, the absolute earliest Thutmose IV could have begun his reign is 1403-1402 BCE. Karaindash's reign seems to have ended by 1415/1405 BCE, and Assurbelnisesu reigned ca. 1417-1409/1407-1399 BCE, meaning that the reigns of these two Near Eastern kings would not overlap with Thutmose IV. If, however, the Middle or High Chronology dates are used, all three kings would be contemporaries.<sup>190</sup> The significance of this particular synchronism will be discussed further below. Additionally, a cuneiform letter fragment discovered in the area F/II palace at Tell el-Dab'a (Stratum D/2-3) links the Hyksos Period with the final decades of the Old Babylonian Kingdom, a synchronism which fits with either chronology.<sup>191</sup>

### *Thera Radiocarbon Dating and Pumice*

The eruption of Thera is an absolute datum point which should in theory unite the chronologies of the Aegean, Levant, and Egypt. Several categories of evidence that have already factored into the Second Intermediate Period debate are also central to the Thera timeline, including archaeological occurrences of Thera pumice across the region, certain Cypriot ceramic wares, and the lid of Khyan from Knossos.

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<sup>190</sup> Aston, "Radiocarbon, Wine Jars and New Kingdom Chronology"; Aston, "How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be," 23–24.

<sup>191</sup> Bietak, Math, and Müller, "Report on the Excavations of a Hyksos Palace," 24–25.

Several <sup>14</sup>C studies have been conducted on samples related to the Thera eruption. The most accurate date for the eruption on Santorini is 1627-1600 BCE (95.4%), which was obtained by wiggle-matching a radiocarbon dated tree ring sequence from an olive tree branch excavated in the tephra layer on Santorini.<sup>192</sup> Short-lived botanical samples from the site of Akrotiri, on the island of Thera, which was destroyed by the eruption and sealed by the volcanic destruction layer (VDL), returned <sup>14</sup>C dates also in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>193</sup> These <sup>14</sup>C dates were confirmed by dates obtained from animal bones found at Palaikastro, Crete in tsunami deposits caused by the eruption,<sup>194</sup> as well as speleothems from stalagmites.<sup>195</sup> An absolute date for the Thera eruption around 1625 BCE has been supported by numerous studies and publications since 2006.<sup>196</sup> Manning et al.'s 2020 publication showed that, despite a small <sup>14</sup>C offset in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century BCE, the Santorini eruption date becomes slightly more ambiguous but still occurred with greater probability in the late 17<sup>th</sup> as opposed to the earlier 16<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>197</sup>

Interestingly, Thera pumice has been found in archaeological contexts from the Levant and Egypt dated to the Late Bronze Age/Thutmose III. At Tell el-Dab'a, the pumice occurs in

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<sup>192</sup> Friedrich et al., "Santorini Eruption Radiocarbon Dated to 1627-1600 BC"; Balter, "New Carbon Dates Support Revised History of Ancient Mediterranean."

<sup>193</sup> Manning et al., "Chronology for the Aegean Late Bronze Age 1700-1400 B.C."

<sup>194</sup> Bruins, Van Der Plicht, and MacGillivray, "The Minoan Santorini Eruption and Tsunami Deposits in Palaikastro (Crete)."

<sup>195</sup> Badertscher et al., "Speleothems as Sensitive Recorders of Volcanic Eruptions – the Bronze Age Minoan Eruption Recorded in a Stalagmite from Turkey."

<sup>196</sup> See Manning, *A Test of Time Revisited*.

<sup>197</sup> Manning et al., "Mediterranean Radiocarbon Offsets and Calendar Dates for Prehistory," 8; Chemical analysis of a juniper tree from the Gordion series has recently shown a calcium depletion at ca. 1560 BCE which may be correlated with the Thera eruption, although analysis of more samples is needed. See Pearson et al., "Securing Timelines in the Ancient Mediterranean Using Multiproxy Annual Tree-Ring Data."

Stratum C/2, which is traditionally dated to the reigns of Thutmose III-Amenhotep II,<sup>198</sup> while the <sup>14</sup>C dates it to pre-1600 BCE (in line with the <sup>14</sup>C dates for the eruption). Höflmayer notes that the SCIEM 2000 project that studied these pumice samples essentially only looked for Thera pumice in Late Bronze contexts (not the later Middle Bronze).<sup>199</sup> Indeed, even the researchers involved in the study have cautioned that the “pumice data are still not conclusive.”<sup>200</sup> It is clear that the contexts in which Thera pumice are found also seem to contain two particular types of imported Cypriot ceramics.

Cypriot Base Ring I ware (a Late Cypriot IB style) has been debated as to its import date to Egypt, with one side arguing that it appears in the reign of Thutmose III, and the other during the late Hyksos period.<sup>201</sup> Recent discoveries of this ware in several archaeological contexts in Egypt strongly indicate its presence as an imported ware well before the start of the New Kingdom.<sup>202</sup> White Slip I ware is also being pushed older in date, as a White Slip bowl was found on the island of Santorini beneath the Thera destruction layer, meaning pre-1625 BCE according to the <sup>14</sup>C dates.<sup>203</sup> Eriksson now suggests that White Slip I ware appeared in Cyprus 20-30 years before the start of the New Kingdom, meaning that its occurrence at Tell el-Dabʿa in Stratum C/3 would coincide with the earliest New Kingdom. The first occurrences of Cypriot White Slip I and Base Ring I were found at Tell el-Dabʿa stratum C/3 and Tell el Ajjul Horizon 5, which both have radiocarbon results dating to just before 1600 BCE. White Slip I also first

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<sup>198</sup> Bietak and Höflmayer, “Introduction: High and Low Chronology,” 17.

<sup>199</sup> Höflmayer, “An Early Date for Khyan,” 163.

<sup>200</sup> Sterba et al., “New Light on Old Pumice,” 1738.

<sup>201</sup> Aston, “How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be,” 25–26.

<sup>202</sup> Eriksson, *The Creative Independence of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*, 44.

<sup>203</sup> Merrillees, “Chronological Conundrums,” 248.

occurs at the site of Gezer in a context <sup>14</sup>C dated to just pre-1600 BCE.<sup>204</sup> Another Cypriot import, Red Lustrous Wheel-Made Ware, which co-occurs in Egyptian contexts with Base Ring I (including Tell el-Dab'a C/3), has also been down-dated from the reign of Thutmose III to the very early New Kingdom.<sup>205</sup> Egyptian ceramic wares that are traditionally dated to the reign of Thutmose III, Red Splash Ware and Black Rim Ware (Tell el-Dab'a C/3), have also been redefined by recent archaeological finds suggesting they start by the reign of Thutmose I, if not earlier. Therefore, Aston concludes that on “the pottery alone, it is impossible to decide” if Tell el-Dab'a C/3 dates solely to Thutmose III, entirely predates Thutmose III, or starts before and continues into his reign.<sup>206</sup>

The Knossos lid of Khyan serves as another direct link between the chronologies of Egypt, Crete, and the eruption of Thera. As discussed above, the lid was found in a context covered by a secure Mycenaean layer, and (debated) dated to the Middle Minoan III period. The Thera eruption is dateable in the relative Cretan chronology to the Late Minoan IA period, directly following Middle Minoan III.<sup>207</sup> Therefore, if the Knossos lid is contemporary with (or shortly after) the reign of Khyan himself, the eruption of Thera would more likely be dated during the late Hyksos Period, thus matching the <sup>14</sup>C dates (ca. 1625 BCE).

Providing a further piece of evidence for the chronological puzzle, I studied the archaeological context and art historically analyzed the Aegean-style frescoes found in Area H at Tell el-Dab'a. They have been assigned by Bietak to the Thutmosid period, specifically under

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<sup>204</sup> Höflmayer, “The Expulsion of the Hyksos and the End of the Middle Bronze Age,” 24–25.

<sup>205</sup> Aston, “How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be,” 26–27.

<sup>206</sup> Aston, 31.

<sup>207</sup> Höflmayer, “An Early Date for Khyan,” 152–54.



Thutmose III. Yet, as demonstrated in my Masters thesis, the best art historical parallels could be found at pre-eruption Santorini sites like Akrotiri and Xeste, suggesting either that 1) the Thutmosid levels at Tell el-Dab'a should be dated to before the Thera eruption, and reassigned to Ahmose, or 2) the paintings were done during the Hyksos period.<sup>208</sup>

### Summary and Analysis

The first step to redefining the chronology of Tell el-Dab'a and the Second Intermediate Period is to reconsider the datum points used by Bietak to anchor particular strata to the historical chronology.

The earliest datum line, a stele from year 5 of Senwosret III, occurs in Stratum K (Area R/I). The stela is a particularly tricky item, as it refers to the estate of Amenemhet I, justified (i.e. dead), and two statues in the nearby temple are also inscribed for this earlier king. Therefore, the original excavator dated this stratum to the reign of Amenemhet I.<sup>209</sup> Bietak conversely argues that the temple was founded by Senwosret III on behalf of his ancestor's estate, based on calculations with cubit measurements from the stele and temple enclosure, as well as ceramic links to area F/I.<sup>210</sup> Höflmayer has pointed out that area F/I does not have a secure ceramic sequence, and the further lack of epigraphic evidence for F/I indicates that these ceramic parallels are tenuous at best.<sup>211</sup> In fact, Czerny actually doubts whether the stela should be used

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<sup>208</sup> Candelora, "From Weapons to Wall Paintings: A Reinterpretation of the Chronology of the Tell El Dab'a Frescoes."

<sup>209</sup> Adam, "Report on the Excavations of the Antiquities Department at Ezbet Rushdi," 213–16.

<sup>210</sup> Bietak et al., "Der Tempel und die Siedlung des Mittleren Reiches bei 'Ezbet Ruschdi," 17–19.

<sup>211</sup> Höflmayer, "An Early Date for Khyan," 159.

as a datum line at all, as it cannot be sure that it dates from the temple's establishment, a later enlargement, comes from a nearby temple (as it was not found in situ), or is even a later Second Intermediate Period object.<sup>212</sup> It can be stated without doubt then, that the Senwosret stela at the very least cannot be considered a secure datum line between Stratum K and the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

The next datum line, sealings of Khyan from the F/II palace in the strata E/1-D/3 transition, are used by Bietak to link the palace and strata to the reign of Khyan, ca. 1600 BCE.<sup>213</sup> The radiocarbon dates put this transition at 1746-1689 BCE (95.4% probability), which is around 100 years higher than the historical chronology, if not more. However, these <sup>14</sup>C dates match strongly with the historical chronology for the mid 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty kings Sobekhotep III and Neferhotep I (ca. 1700 BCE), whose seals were also found in contexts from this building and strata.<sup>214</sup>

The so-called conquest of Ahmose is the following datum line, falling at the end of Stratum D/2. Area A settlement activity does cease at this point, which has been interpreted as a sign of the conquest.<sup>215</sup> Bietak also argued that the shift in function of Area H from Hyksos citadel to silos, which he interpreted as supply storage for Theban troops, marked the conquest as well.<sup>216</sup> Aston, on the other hand, argues that there is no change in the material culture at this point, and the Area H silos could be explained as a Hyksos preparation for a siege.<sup>217</sup> In essence,

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<sup>212</sup> Czerny, "Ezbet Rushdi: Glimpses of a 12th Dynasty Town and Temple Site," 61. His reasoning for the stela being a Second Intermediate Period creation is based on the lack of cartouches around the king's name, and other "particularities."

<sup>213</sup> Bietak, "Où est le palais des Hyksôs?"

<sup>214</sup> Höflmayer, "An Early Date for Khyan," 150.

<sup>215</sup> Bietak, "Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age," 47.

<sup>216</sup> Bietak, "Bronze Age Paintings in the Levant."

<sup>217</sup> Aston, "How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be," 31–32.

there is no actual secure link between these archaeological changes and the reign of Ahmose, and several other explanations are also possible, invalidating this datum line as well.<sup>218</sup>

The final datum line, based on scarabs of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II found in a workshop abutting the Area H palaces, links Stratum C/2 to the reigns of these two kings. However, numerous questions have been raised about the dating of this context, as well as the palaces, which were originally dated to the end of the Hyksos Period.<sup>219</sup> As shown above, the sealing evidence is not quite so clear, and the Cypriot import wares also found in this stratum should be down-dated. Stratum C/2 is also the first occurrence of Thera pumice at the site (see above for the inconclusiveness of this argument). Radiocarbon dates for this stratum place it before 1600 BCE, which would clearly align with all the data except the scarabs of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. Höflmayer suggests the workshop context is Thutmosid, but incorrectly assigned to stratum C/2, which (along with the palaces, ceramics, and pumice) should be dated to the late Hyksos period, resolving the conflicts with the radiocarbon dates and new ceramic evidence.<sup>220</sup>

In sum, none of the four data lines linking the stratigraphy of Tell el-Dab'a to the Egyptian historical chronology are secure, and the evidentiary conflicts in most cases are best explained by accepting the high radiocarbon chronology.

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<sup>218</sup> Höflmayer, "An Early Date for Khyan," 159.

<sup>219</sup> Bietak et al., "Neue Grabungsergebnisse aus Tell el-Dab'a und 'Ezbet Helmi im östlichen Nildelta 1989-1991."

<sup>220</sup> Höflmayer, "An Early Date for Khyan," 162.

*Re-readings of the Turin King List*

Thomas Schneider recently proposed several possible new readings for the dynasty-length summation line for the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the Turin King List. Traditionally, this line is read as: [Total:] 6 [hkꜣw]-hꜣswt . They ruled 108 years, [...months, ... days].<sup>221</sup> Schneider suggests, according to parallel hieratic paleography from other Ramesside texts, that the number of years can be read as 108, 140+x (up to 149),<sup>222</sup> 160+x (up to 169), or 180+x (up to 189). According to the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty portion of the Turin Canon, it is possible to count 39 years of reign for the three immediate successors of Sobekhotep IV, and probably at least 50 years for the 25 kings which reigned at the end of the dynasty—in total (at minimum) 90 years passed between the end of Sobekhotep IV’s reign and the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.<sup>223</sup> Bennett’s work with the El-Kab genealogies has shown that between 9 and 10 generations passed between Sobekhotep IV and Amenhotep I.<sup>224</sup>

Schneider works through these scenarios on the possible contemporaneity or temporal proximity of Khyan and Sobekhotep IV as suggested by the Edfu evidence. Using the traditional 108 year time span for the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty would have to continue into the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty—an impossibility which rules out this scenario. Further, this timing would cause the El-Kab generations to be only 10-12 years long.<sup>225</sup> For the 140+x year time span, he is able to

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<sup>221</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 119.

<sup>222</sup> The 140 year option was proposed by Ryholt in a 2005 paper, but has never been published. See Schneider, “Khyan’s Place in History. A New Look at the Chronographic Tradition,” 282–83.

<sup>223</sup> Schneider, 279–80.

<sup>224</sup> Bennett, “A Genealogical Chronology of the Seventeenth Dynasty”; Bennett, “Genealogy and the Chronology of the Second Intermediate Period.”

<sup>225</sup> Schneider, “Khyan’s Place in History. A New Look at the Chronographic Tradition,” 281–82.

show that temporal proximity between the two kings is possible, but less likely.<sup>226</sup> Finally, both the 160+x and 180+x year time spans not only make such a temporal proximity likely, but indicate contemporaneity. These are the only two scenarios in which Bennett's generations come close to a standard 25 years/generation.<sup>227</sup>

### Conclusions Concerning the Political Landscape of the Second Intermediate Period

As noted above, the major disagreement between the Low and High chronologies can be boiled down to whether or not radiocarbon dating is a sound scientific method. Yet in fact, the two dating methods can be reconciled by introducing shifts to the various chronologies discussed above. Sturt Manning has effectively demonstrated this in his 2018 study, showing that all of this new evidence strongly supports a slightly higher (earlier) start to the New Kingdom and has major implications for the role of the Hyksos in the broader Eastern Mediterranean world.<sup>228</sup> In an effort to demonstrate that the chronological offset between the radiocarbon dates and historical sequence could be reconciled using only archaeological data (no radiocarbon), Aston presented 30 different scenarios for the link between the Tell el-Dab'a stratigraphy and the historical chronology. His permutations included everything from the low, high, or ultra high chronological schemes, a 3 or 13 year reign for Thutmose II, the redating of several ceramic wares, and the length of the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (108, 140, or 180 years).<sup>229</sup> He argues that, with a 189 year long 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, "it is, by utilizing conventional archaeological methods, possible that

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<sup>226</sup> Schneider, 282–83.

<sup>227</sup> Schneider, 283.

<sup>228</sup> Manning, "Events, Episodes and History: Chronology and the Resolution of Historical Process."

<sup>229</sup> Aston, "How Early (and How Late) Can Khyan Really Be," 32–48.

Khyan was indeed a contemporary of Sobekhotep IV,” placing their reign overlap around 1720-1701 BCE.<sup>230</sup>

The scenario which most effectively eliminates the offsets between the Tell el-Dab’a sequence, traditional chronology, and radiocarbon dates is Scenario X—the dates of which are laid out in the table below. In this scheme, Aston follows the High Chronology, assigns Thutmose II a reign of 13 years, and the Hyksos Period lasted for 180-189 years (Table 3).<sup>231</sup>

Table 3 - Dates for Aston’s Scenario X

Hyksos	Daba Phase	Archaeological dates under Scenario x	C14 dates, 2 sigma range
Ahmose’s Conquest	Late D/1.1	1558/6 BCE	D/1 1668-1601
Khamudi	D/1.1	1569/7 – 1558/6	
Apepi	D/1.2- D/1.1	1613/11 – 1569/7	
Seker-Har	D/2 – D/1.2	1643/1 – 1613/11	D/2 1723-1630
Yanassi	D/3 – D/2	1669/7-1643/1	D/3 1745-1673
Khyan	E1 – D/3	Pre 1700 – 1669/7	E/1 1759-1693
First two Hyksos	E/2 – E/1	1745/3 – Pre 1700	E/2 1781-1702

In this scenario, the radiocarbon dates and archaeological sequence of Tell el-Dab’a overlap for every phase, between 17-40 years per phase. It also ameliorates several synchronism and logic issues. In this case, the reign of Khyan would be contemporary with the mid-late 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, explaining the Tell el-Dab’a F/II L637 context as well as the evidence from Edfu. This is the only one of his 30 scenarios which fit the El-Kab genealogies with an acceptable span of 18-22 years per generation. In this case, each of the 6 Hyksos would have reigned on average 25-26

<sup>230</sup> Aston, 48–49.

<sup>231</sup> Aston, 47.

years, a reasonable time span. The conquest of Ahmose would fall at the close of Stratum D/1.1, explaining the extreme continuity in material culture and ceramics between strata D/2 and D/1—here they are both Hyksos period phases. The soldier burials found dating to the end of D/1.1 would now fit Bietak’s original suggestion that they were killed during the conquest of Tell el-Dab’a. This scenario supports the new chronology for the introduction of White Slip I, Base Ring I, and Black Rim wares, putting them in Egypt pre-Thutmose III. These dates also resolve the synchronism issue between Thutmose IV and the Babylonian king Karaindash from the Amarna Letters, in that their reigns would overlap. Finally, this scenario fits the radiocarbon dates for the Tell el-Dab’a sequence, the Thera eruption, the new <sup>14</sup>C dates from Levantine sites, and the 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty reigns. The Thera eruption would have occurred in 1625 BCE, now placed in stratum C/2 according to this dating scheme—the very stratum with Thera pumice.<sup>232</sup>

In sum, it is readily apparent that it is possible to reconcile the historical vs. radiocarbon offset by following the High Chronology and adjusting our knowledge of chronological markers (such as White Slip and Base Ring wares) on the basis of new finds. Schneider’s re-reading of the length for the Hyksos Period in the Turin King List also makes the synchronisms of Dynasty 15 and 13 from Tell el-Dab’a and Edfu fall well within the realm of possibility. Therefore, the profusion of new chronological evidence discovered in the last ten years have drastically altered our understanding of the chronology and political structure of the Second Intermediate Period and the Hyksos. Instead of a stark Thebes vs. Avaris binary, this period (like other Egyptian intermediate periods) was characterized by several contemporary regional powers who engaged in border skirmishes and resorted to all-out warfare during the final push to “reunify” the country (Figure 3). It seems to be the case that the mid 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty was still ruling from Itj-Tawy while

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<sup>232</sup> Aston, 49.

the Hyksos were ruling the Delta and the 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ruled the Thebaid south to Elkab. Some short time later, another dynasty arose locally in Abydos, partitioning the country four ways. Perhaps the occurrence of 13<sup>th</sup> Dynasty sealings alongside Hyksos sealings at Edfu can *both* be explained by diplomatic exchange and trade with a region that was actually under the control of the 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasty at the time.





Figure 3 - Hypothetical map of revised Second Intermediate Period political landscape, map by author

## CHAPTER 3 – HYKSOS ORIGINS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS: ORIENTALIST INTERPRETATIONS OF THE HYKSOS AND NEW SCIENTIFIC ANALYSES<sup>233</sup>

The next critical reexamination which will redefine our current perceptions of the Hyksos focuses on the most frequently discussed aspect of their identity—their origins. First and foremost, however, it is crucial to be conscious that the “origins of the Hyksos” in fact refers to the biogeographical ancestry of six individuals, several of whom may not even be related to one another. The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate that past searches for Hyksos origins were more strongly rooted in the entangled nature of scholarship itself, rather than any particular research question which would advance our knowledge about this dynasty or time period. Once this has been established, we can begin to reformulate which research trajectories will be most fruitful for understanding the complex processes of identity negotiation at play in this period.

In a study of material culture from historical periods, considering the archaeological and textual context is critical for interpretation; without it, information concerning production, use, deposition, social significance and human agency is lost. Yet only recently have scholars of the ancient world begun to consider their own contexts within broader academic disciplines. These disciplines have their own complicated histories, featuring individual actors from specific socio-political environments exerting influence on the direction of scholarship and research design. Indeed, the background of individual scholars and the developments in their contemporary world not only impact the discipline, but can structure research questions and give primacy to certain

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<sup>233</sup> A version of this chapter was published as Candelora, “Entangled in Orientalism.”

conclusions. This is certainly the case with Hyksos scholarship, especially that which focused on the origins of the Hyksos.

Studies performing this type of self-reflexive critique have been done in classical archaeology and other ancient Near Eastern disciplines,<sup>234</sup> yet remain at a relatively nascent stage for the history of Egyptology.<sup>235</sup> Pioneering works such as Donald Malcom Reid's *Whose Pharaohs?* have explored the birth of the discipline in the context of European imperialism and Orientalism,<sup>236</sup> while Thomas Schneider's investigations of Egyptologists in National Socialist Germany have elucidated the complicated history of the discipline in the Third Reich.<sup>237</sup>

In the following chapter, I will show that socio-political trends impacted the direction of Hyksos research over time and even effected the plausibility of particular deductions. Ideal recipients for the mantle of 'Oriental Despot,' the Hyksos became entangled in the European imperialist rhetoric of the nineteenth century and the racial science of the early twentieth. The ongoing search for the origins of western civilization spurred questions of origins and ancestry in ancient ethnic groups, and helped to maintain the misguided notion of the Hyksos as a race for over a century. Even in today's postcolonial, post-racial climate, new scientific techniques are

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<sup>234</sup> For example Holloway, *Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible*; Cooper, "Sumerian and Aryan"; Bahrani, "Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity"; Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*; Bernal, *Black Athena*.

<sup>235</sup> Quirke, *Hidden Hands*; Bednarski, *Holding Egypt: Tracing the Reception of the Description de l'Égypte in Nineteenth-Century Great Britain*; Bednarski, "Egypt and the Modern World"; Emberling, *Pioneers to the Past*; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*; Schneider, "Eine Führernatur, wie Sie der neue Staat braucht!" Hermann Kees Tätigkeit in Göttingen 1924-1945 und die Kontroverse um Entnazifizierung und Wiedereinstellung in der Nachkriegszeit"; Reid, "Egyptology under Khedive Ismail: Mariette, Al Tahtawi and Brugsch 1850-82"; Schneider and Raulwing, *Egyptology from the First World War to the Third Reich: Ideology, Scholarship, and Individual Biographies*; Hassan, "Egypt in the Memory of the World"; Breger, "Imperialist Fantasy and Displaced Memory."

<sup>236</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*

<sup>237</sup> Schneider, "Ägyptologen im Dritten Reich: Biographische Notizen anhand der sogenannten „Steindorff-Liste“"; Schneider, "Eine Führernatur, wie Sie der neue Staat braucht!"

resurrecting questions of biogeological ancestry and ethnicity. It is especially crucial, in light of this renewed quest for origins, to understand the motivations behind such research agendas through disciplinary self-reflection.

As will become clear below, it is crucial for the following study to be extremely clear concerning terminology. Two separate misconceptions persist, both in the scholarship and more popular works, surrounding the word “Hyksos.” The first is that this term is the name of a defined and relatively large population group (see below), when in fact it is only a royal title held exclusively by individual rulers. Any standalone use of the word “Hyksos” in the following article refers specifically to the foreign kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty.<sup>238</sup> The second, often-repeated notion holds that the ancient Egyptians gave the title to these kings and referred to them as *ḥkꜣ ḥꜣswt*. However, a thorough examination of all pharaonic examples of this title indicate that the Egyptians never referred to the Fifteenth Dynasty in this way, and the Hyksos more likely purposefully took on the title for themselves.<sup>239</sup> This article focuses on the first idea, following the history of Hyksos scholarship and the influence of scholars’ individual socio-political contexts on the evolution and perpetuation of this misconception, exploring how the Hyksos became a race. Following a brief discussion of the concepts of race and ethnicity, I examine the often-overlooked role of Orientalism and Imperialism on studies of the ancient world, then investigate Hyksos studies specifically. Finally, I assess the appeal which new scientific analyses hold for the question of Hyksos origins.

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<sup>238</sup> Due to its redundancy, the phrase Hyksos king(s) or ruler(s) will be avoided. The uncritical application of the term to elements of material culture has been correctly criticized before (c.f. Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, 3), and for the sake of clarity the complete phrase “Hyksos Period” should be used when a chronological descriptor is required.

<sup>239</sup> C.f. Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos.”

## Race and Ethnicity

The terminology and assumptions informing questions of race and ethnicity warrant consideration, as they have contributed to both advances and stagnation in the study of the Hyksos. Barth presented one of the first theoretical treatments exploring ethnicity instead of race, divorcing ethnicity from the categories of biological race, material culture, and languages groups with which it had become entangled. He defined ethnic groups as “categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves,” and emphasized the boundaries between these groups as more discernable than the composition of the groups themselves.<sup>240</sup> Numerous studies have built on Barth’s work, demonstrating that ethnicity is a social construct reliant on both self- and external ascription, and is malleable and contextually dependent.<sup>241</sup>

Although ethnicity may seem to be a universally defined term, its meaning has changed over time<sup>242</sup> and indeed changes subtly in each scholarly study in which it is utilized. For example, most scholars consider ethnicity to have an inherent aspect of shared ancestry,<sup>243</sup> though some assume that this should be biologically based (in that members of the ethnic group share a common descent and are biologically related), while others deny the biological link on the basis that it is too similar to the category of race, and that this shared ancestry can be

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<sup>240</sup> Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. 10-14

<sup>241</sup> See for example Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*; Shennan, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, 13; Lucy, “Ethnic and Cultural Identities”; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, “Introduction,” 11; Bentley, “Ethnicity and Practice.”

<sup>242</sup> See Emberling, “Ethnicity in Complex Societies,” 301–4. for a brief summary of the derivation of the term *ethnicity*, as well as its history of usage, cultural baggage, and changing meanings over time. See also Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 56.

<sup>243</sup> Emberling, “Ethnicity in Complex Societies,” 302.

fictitious kinship relations.<sup>244</sup> Several scholars have noted that the term ancestry is often used without being defined, but usually refers to the geographic region of biological ancestors,<sup>245</sup> clarifying that “ancestry” and “origin” are terms that are inherently associated with biological relatedness. Lee et al. have also commented that this “biogeographical ancestry,” or the “the sum of all the geographic locations inhabited by an individual’s biological ancestors,” often differs from their group self-ascription.<sup>246</sup> Furthermore, across the humanistic disciplines and the hard sciences, “race” and “ethnicity” have both been defined as biological fact and social construct.<sup>247</sup>

These neologisms are often introduced with the intent of being distinct from and more scientifically objective than their predecessors. However, the research aims remain unchanged, so these new terms quickly shoulder similar connotations to those they have replaced,<sup>248</sup> including inherent assumptions, theoretical underpinnings, and modern cultural baggage. Bahrani observed that in the anti-racial environment just after World War II the study of race was replaced with ethnicity, yet continued to be used for the same Culture History approaches in archaeology.<sup>249</sup> Bolnick even stated that although “ancestry has been widely promoted as an objective, scientific alternative to race,”<sup>250</sup> the two concepts do not differ greatly in practice. She explains that ancestry can involve socio-political definitions, and is often divided into broader

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<sup>244</sup> Lucy, “Ethnic and Cultural Identities,” 86; Brody and King, “Genetics and the Archaeology of Ancient Israel,” 926; Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*, 56–84.

<sup>245</sup> Bolnick, “Individual Ancestry Inference and the Reification of Race as a Biological Phenomenon,” 80; Lee et al., “The Ethics of Characterizing Difference,” 2.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.* 2.

<sup>247</sup> Gravlee, “How Race Becomes Biology,” 47; Lee et al., “The Ethics of Characterizing Difference,” 2. 2.

<sup>248</sup> Emberling, “Ethnicity in Complex Societies,” 300.

<sup>249</sup> Bahrani, “Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity,” 53.

<sup>250</sup> Bolnick, “Individual Ancestry Inference and the Reification of Race as a Biological Phenomenon,” 80–81.

regions that coincide with modern racial categories, ultimately promoting the “reification of race as a biological phenomenon.”<sup>251</sup>

Studies concerning race, ethnicity, or ancestry have been coopted for problematic or controversial narratives in both the past<sup>252</sup> and present.<sup>253</sup> Especially in light of new scientific methods for the analysis of isotopic signatures and ancient DNA, it is more important than ever that scholars not only explicitly define the terminology employed in their studies, but also their reasons behind the choice of specific definition, and how that definition has structured the research questions and hypotheses of the study itself. Furthermore, as Bahrani perceives, “ethnicity and race . . . are taxonomic categories that are constructed at a particular time and place, that can and ought to be historicized.”<sup>254</sup> It is crucial therefore to be cognizant of the historical baggage that implicitly accompanies these categorical terms, and to engage in self-reflexive critiques of the history of such studies in our own disciplines.

### Orientalism in Academia of the Ancient World

Such a discursive historiographical mission has been undertaken by Michael Dietler in his paradigm-shifting study of Greek and Roman colonialism in Massalia, bringing to light the

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<sup>251</sup> Bolnick, 82.

<sup>252</sup> See Emberling, “Ethnicity in Complex Societies,” 296. for a brief survey.

<sup>253</sup> Curtoni and Politis, “Race and Racism in South American Archaeology,” 100–103; MacEachern, “Africanist Archaeology and Ancient IQ,” 73–74; Gravlee, “How Race Becomes Biology,” 48; Brody and King, “Genetics and the Archaeology of Ancient Israel,” 932–35.

<sup>254</sup> Bahrani, “Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity,” 49.

complex relationship between ancient colonialism, the discipline of archaeology, and archaeological studies of colonialism. He states that:

the *ancient* colonial encounter in the western Mediterranean had a profound influence on the cultural construction of *modern* European colonial ideologies and discourse, and that, reciprocally, this discourse has had a pervasive influence on modern scholars engaged in the archaeological exploration of that ancient colonial situation.<sup>255</sup>

Furthermore, Dietler argues that it is only by examining the historical sociocultural context of such studies, and the discipline of archaeology itself, that we can avoid the risk of:

unconsciously imposing the attitudes and assumptions of ancient colonists, filtered and largely reconstituted through modern colonial ideology and practice and embodied as part of the Western intellectual habitus, back onto the ancient situation.<sup>256</sup>

Although Dietler's work is centered on the question of colonialism, it serves as a model for, and is in fact closely interwoven with the notion of Orientalism and its complicated relationship with academic disciplines. As Reid puts it, Orientalist and Classical discourse, as well as the imperialism and colonialism of eighteenth-nineteenth century Europe are intimately entangled "mirrors within mirrors."<sup>257</sup> According to Said, Orientalism is a worldview built on the understanding of a fundamental dichotomy between East and West, and is largely concerned with the hegemonic domination of the latter over the former.<sup>258</sup> Often in Western discourse, this

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<sup>255</sup> Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, 14.

<sup>256</sup> Dietler, 14.

<sup>257</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 143.

<sup>258</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 2–3.



East-West dichotomy was conflated with the foundational Greco-Roman distinction between “civilized” and “barbarian,” serving nineteenth century European imperial rhetoric of bringing civilization to colonized territories.<sup>259</sup> It was in this charged context that the academic discipline of Egyptology developed,<sup>260</sup> and the strength of its influence is even memorialized on the façade of one of the disciplines’ most important monuments, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.<sup>261</sup>

Scholars of the ancient world, particularly in the Classics and Egyptology, aligned these ancient civilizations as the cultural forbearers of western civilization in the “unilinear narrative of world history.”<sup>262</sup> This concept was popular in the nineteenth century, and presumed a singular march towards progress that had culminated in civilization par excellence, that of contemporary Europe.<sup>263</sup> The pursuit of the self-evident superiority of ancient Greek or Egyptian culture structured the research questions and outcomes of scholarship. Even as these disciplines developed new models based on anthropological theory, the new approaches replicated the inherent issues of older Hellenization or Egyptianization models,<sup>264</sup> giving primacy to the notion that culture flows from the “West to the rest,”<sup>265</sup> and simultaneously reifying imperial rhetoric. Furthermore, the nineteenth century also saw the introduction of the idea of civilization as a

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<sup>259</sup> Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, 35.

<sup>260</sup> Holloway, “Introduction: Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible,” 3–8.

<sup>261</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 1–17. The introduction to this work is an excellent survey of the nascence of Egyptology, the European influence on the discipline and popular conceptions of ancient Egypt.

<sup>262</sup> Bahrani, “Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity,” 52.

<sup>263</sup> Curtoni and Politis, “Race and Racism in South American Archaeology,” 96; Bahrani, “Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity,” 52; Breger, “Imperialist Fantasy and Displaced Memory,” 138; Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, 28.

<sup>264</sup> Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, 46–50.

<sup>265</sup> Dietler, 47.

unique achievement of specific races, and the consequent development of racial science and proliferation of studies on physiognomic traits in the ancient world.<sup>266</sup>

Eckart Frahm has published a diachronic study of Assyriological scholarship in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, exploring both the contemporary socio-political context and its effect on research design, which is an excellent example of the sort of reflexive historiography which elucidates Orientalism in ancient Near Eastern studies. He observed that in the nineteenth century, the overwhelming majority of studies were focused on Assyria's associations with the Classical and Biblical worlds.<sup>267</sup> In the late nineteenth century, the translation of particular Assyrian myths such as the flood story sparked a hunt for Biblical parallels and often led the Assyrian beliefs inherent within these stories to be read through the lens of Christian doctrine.<sup>268</sup>

Around the turn of the century, many studies began to focus on questions of race, and the racism and specifically anti-Semitism of contemporary politico-ideological movements could be detected in the scholarship. Perhaps the most controversial of these ongoing scholarly debates was the so-called Sumerian Question, and the assertion that the Semitic Akkadians and Babylonians could not have been responsible for the introduction of writing and other elements of civilization into Mesopotamia.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> Gosden, "Race and Racism in Archaeology," 3; Ambridge, "Imperialism and Racial Geography in James Henry Breasted's *Ancient Times, a History of the Early World*," 20–21; Cooper, "Sumerian and Aryan," 177–90; Bahrani, "Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity," 52; Bohrer, "Inventing Assyria: Exoticism and Reception in Nineteenth-Century England and France," 346–52; Frahm, "Images of Assyria in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Western Scholarship," 83–84; Holloway, "Introduction: Orientalism, Assyriology and the Bible," 11.

<sup>267</sup> Frahm, "Images of Assyria in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Western Scholarship," 77–78.

<sup>268</sup> C.f. Frahm, 81–82.

<sup>269</sup> Frahm, 82–83. and citations therein. Specifically refer to footnotes 41-2 for more examples of anti-Semitism in Assyriology.

After World War II, the political climate in Europe and the United States was markedly pro-democracy and anti-war, and in this charged socio-historical context, the bellicosity and violence of the Neo-Assyrian Empire were considered extremely objectionable. Indeed, this narrative of an Assyria which was aggressive and unnecessarily violent, often against defenseless opponents, was so commonplace that it was reproduced in many general works on ancient Mesopotamia, and scholars left it largely unchallenged.<sup>270</sup> Frahm concludes by noting that current geopolitical developments still have a clear impact on scholarship. In the last twenty years, an increasingly globalized economy has given rise to questions of contact, cultural interaction, and the spread of technologies and other ideas.<sup>271</sup> Many of the same trends can be traced throughout the development of Hyksos studies.

### How the Hyksos Became a Race

Hyksos scholarship is an especially interesting case study within Egyptology as the Hyksos, alongside the rest of the Levantine immigrants in the Eastern Delta, are more susceptible to latent anti-Semitic sentiments and to being “Orientalized” within the scholarship compared to their ancient Egyptian contemporaries. Indeed, within the Egyptian sources such as the Kamose Stelae and the Speos Artemidos Inscription, these foreigners were characterized as invading barbarians who ‘ruled without acknowledging Re.’<sup>272</sup> Said’s definition of Orientalism is largely about the hegemonic domination of West over East, and filters the East into “Western consciousness.”<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Frahm, 86–87.

<sup>271</sup> Frahm, 89–90.

<sup>272</sup> *Speos Artemidos*, line 38 – translation in Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period,” 17.

This can be applied to the Hyksos period, with Egypt as the West, and the foreign Hyksos, the East.

As discussed above for the case of ancient colonial encounters, narratives within scholarship took up the Classical division of society into the civilized and barbarians,<sup>274</sup> with nineteenth century imperialists identifying with the civilized Greco-Roman colonizers. This trend was replicated in Egyptology, where scholars identified with the ancient Egyptians<sup>275</sup> and the barbaric nature of the Hyksos was often uncritically accepted as the Oriental Other. This intertwined, recursive relationship of ancient and modern Orientalism has led to the marginalization of the Hyksos in Egyptology, as well as influencing the choice of research questions—even precluding some—and tipping the scales in favor of particular interpretations.<sup>276</sup> For example, the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* is usually studied in an effort to tackle the complex chronological and political problems of the Second Intermediate Period,<sup>277</sup> but until recently had not been investigated in an effort to understand identity formation and maintenance.<sup>278</sup> Studies focusing on such questions of identity usually involve larger population groups, and have variously utilized or avoided the term “Hyksos.” While it is now commonly accepted in academic publications that the term *ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt*<sup>279</sup> refers only to the individual

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<sup>273</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, 6.

<sup>274</sup> Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, 35.

<sup>275</sup> Breger, “Imperialist Fantasy and Displaced Memory,” 138.

<sup>276</sup> Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, 42; For a modern example, see Al-Ayedi, *The Liberation [Sic] War*. The choice of “liberation” for the title suggests a sympathy for the Egyptian/Theban side, and insinuates a more despotic Hyksos regime.

<sup>277</sup> C.f. Ryholt, *The Political Situation*.

<sup>278</sup> Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos.”

foreign rulers of the late Second Intermediate Period,<sup>280</sup> misconceptions concerning the ethnic nature of the term persist, especially in the more popular literature.<sup>281</sup>

The original source for the notion of a “Hyksos race” is almost certainly to be found in the work of Manetho as it is preserved by Josephus.<sup>282</sup> In Josephus’s *Contra Apionem*, it is recorded that Manetho stated, “and there came up from the East in a strange manner men of an ignoble race”<sup>283</sup> and “all this nation was styled Hyksos . . . some say they were Arabians.”<sup>284</sup> Manetho also claimed “they made war on the Egyptians with the hope of exterminating the whole race,” so that the Egyptians are juxtaposed with a Hyksos group as another race.<sup>285</sup> He even noted that 240,000 households departed from Egypt during the Hyksos expulsion.<sup>286</sup>

These passages of Manetho fulfilled the trifecta of nineteenth century Egyptology by being a classical Hellenistic source with potential links to the Bible and featuring a barbaric,

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<sup>279</sup> The derivation of Hyksos from *ḥkꜣ* and *ḥꜣswt* was proposed in early twentieth century scholarship (c.f. Sethe, “Neue Spuren Der Hyksos,” 84; Gunn and Gardiner, “New Renderings of Egyptian Texts: II. The Expulsion of the Hyksos,” 38). Prior to this, Egyptologists such as Naville argued that the *sos* syllable derived from the Egyptian term *šꜣs.w*, meaning shepherd or nomad (Naville, *Bubastis*, 19; Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 237.). Some scholars even asserted that the first syllable, *hyc*, was actually the Egyptian word *ḥꜣk*, meaning prisoner, and the entire phrase would read “the Shasu prisoners” (Krall, *Studien zur Geschichte des alten Aegypten I-II*).

<sup>280</sup> See for example Säve-Söderbergh, “The Hyksos Rule in Egypt”; Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition”; Bietak, “Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom.”

<sup>281</sup> Most examples feature unclear wording which suggests that the Hyksos were a larger population group, but are overall excellent publications. See for example Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 132; Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 35.

<sup>282</sup> In fact, this racial understanding of the Hyksos is used already by Josephus to relate them to the population group from the Biblical narrative of the Exodus, (*Contra Apionem I*), see Chapter 1.

<sup>283</sup> *Contra Apionem I*, ln. 75. Although various translations from the original Greek γένος differ slightly in their choice of words and syntax in English (race, genus, kin, etc.), the sense of a “Hyksos race” is preserved.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.* ln. 82. “Nation” is translated from the Greek ἔθνος.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.* ln. 81.

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.* ln. 89.

Oriental other to civilize. As discussed above, the academic discipline of Egyptology was developed in the context of European colonialism and imperialism (and the attendant Orientalist ideology), and an emphasis on classics as the only civilized form of higher education.<sup>287</sup> Therefore, the majority of the nineteenth century scholarship on the Hyksos was focused on this classical source and possible Biblical parallels. In his 1824 *Lettres a M. Le Duc de Blacas d'Aulps*, Champollion referred to Manetho's writings and identified stereotypical depictions of Asiatics, shown with Nubians as idealized enemies of Egypt, as the "fameux pasteurs."<sup>288</sup> Clearly, by this early point in the field of Egyptology, the Hyksos passage of Manetho was already well known and often discussed. In his *Briefe*, Lepsius argued that the Asiatics in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan are a migrating Hyksos family requesting to settle in Egypt, and that perhaps their "prosperity" encouraged the tribes of their Semitic relations to follow, alluding to future Biblical scenarios.<sup>289</sup> Even the Egyptian scholar al-Ṭaḥṭāwī included the classical sources like Manetho and Herodotus in his Arabic textbook covering Egyptian history from the Pharaonic period through the Islamic conquest.<sup>290</sup> In what could be considered a glimmer of early Egyptian nationalism or simply a translation of Manetho's "Arabians," al-Ṭaḥṭāwī identified the Hyksos as Arabs.<sup>291</sup>

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<sup>287</sup> Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*, 28–35; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 140–43.

<sup>288</sup> Champollion, *Lettres a M. Le Duc de Blacas d'Aulps relatives au Musée royal égyptien de Turin: Première lettre – Monuments Historiques*, 57. The early explanation that the derivation of Hyksos was from šꜥꜣw, and Manetho's translation as shepherds, meant that many Nineteenth century scholars referred to the Hyksos as "shepherds" or "shepherd kings;" see note 44 above.

<sup>289</sup> Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien, und der Halbinsel des Sinai*.

<sup>290</sup> Reid, "Egyptology under Khedive Ismail: Mariette, al Tahtawi and Brugsch 1850-82," 155–57.

<sup>291</sup> al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *Anwar Tawfīq al-Jalīl fī akhbar Miṣr wa-tawthīq Banī Ismā'īl*, 80.

Mariette made critical progress in 1861, when he stated: “La conquête des Pasteurs ne fut donc pas un fléau aussi terrible qu'on se l'était imaginé, et pour ma part je pense qu'il y a quelque chose à rabattre dans les renseignements que les annales égyptiennes nous ont transmis sur l'arrivée de ces Asiatiques.”<sup>292</sup> He was correct to reconsider the destructiveness of the “Hyksos invasion;” however, he went on to discuss the racial implications of the physiognomy of the Tanis sphinxes,<sup>293</sup> which becomes an often-cited piece of evidence particularly for the Scythian origin hypothesis (see below). Indeed, the study of physical features in sculpture and their assignment into racial categories was a popular methodology in early twentieth century Near Eastern scholarship.<sup>294</sup> In fact, W. M. F. Petrie argued for a Semitic origin based on onomastica and physiognomic parallels between so-called Hyksos sculptures<sup>295</sup> and Ramesside wall reliefs.<sup>296</sup>

By the turn of the twentieth century, the scholarly discourse was focused on the composition and purity of the “Hyksos race,” with proponents for both a single origin and heterogenous nature. Indeed, the growing racialism inherent in nationalist ideologies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century had worked its way into the scholarship.<sup>297</sup> Naville claimed that the Hyksos cannot be exclusively of the Semitic or Turanian races, but “must be

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<sup>292</sup> Mariette, *Lettre a M. Le Vicomte de Rougé sur les fouilles de Tanis*, 12–13.

<sup>293</sup> Here he is referring to sphinxes of Amenemhet III which were re-carved with the names of Apepi.

<sup>294</sup> Bahrani, “Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity,” 52.

<sup>295</sup> Again referring to the Tanis sphinxes and other pieces inscribed with Hyksos names, including the famous double statue of Amenemhet III as a Nile god in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

<sup>296</sup> Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 237–40.

<sup>297</sup> Frahm, “Images of Assyria in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Western Scholarship,” 83.

considered a crowd of mixed origin.”<sup>298</sup> Tomkins also proposed a mixture, though in his estimation it was of Hittite and Amorite races.<sup>299</sup> On the other hand, Maspero was a proponent of a pure Scythian origin for the Hyksos, although he reviewed that they had been “asserted to have been Canaanites, Elamites, Hittites, Akkadians, and Scythians”.<sup>300</sup> Both Sayce<sup>301</sup> and Daressy<sup>302</sup> supported an at least partially Semitic origin for the Hyksos, mainly referencing the onomastics. Petrie summarized this period in Hyksos scholarship well: “As to the origin of the Hyksos race much has been written, though but little is certain.”<sup>303</sup> It is now commonly held that such racial attitudes are outdated and even dangerous, and to be avoided in scholarship, yet the underlying assumptions continue to linger.

During the decades surrounding World War I and II, the most notable development in Hyksos scholarship was the heated debate over the possibility of an Aryan/Hurrian/Indo-Iranian origin. Many of these terms are problematic in and of themselves, in that they originally referred to linguistic rather than racial categories. It was precisely in the 1930’s and 40’s that Hitler’s new ideology had entangled these linguistic classificatory terms and racial ideas which were not only accepted but also disseminated by scholarship of the period.<sup>304</sup> Within ancient Near Eastern

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<sup>298</sup> Naville, *Bubastis*, 18.

<sup>299</sup> Tomkins, “Notes on the Hyksôs or Shepherd Kings of Egypt.” The “Amorite race” is also a falsehood, and has been demonstrated to be a linguistic term taken up to label what is more often referred to today as a social identity (see Burke, “Amorites, Climate Change”; Burke, “Entanglement, the Amorite Koine, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant”; Schwartz, “An Amorite Global Village.”).

<sup>300</sup> Maspero, *History of Egypt, Chaldea, Syria, Babylonia, and Assyria*, IV:76.

<sup>301</sup> Sayce, “The Hyksos in Egypt.”

<sup>302</sup> Daressy, “Un Poignard du Temps des rois pasteurs.”

<sup>303</sup> Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 273.

<sup>304</sup> C.f. Raulwing, “Manfred Mayrhofer’s Studies on Indo-Aryan and the Indo-Aryans in the Ancient Near East: A Retrospective and Outlook on Future Research,” 261–62.



scholarship, an Indo-Iranian or Aryan infusion was often cited as the explanation for Semitic cultural achievements, innovations or the spread of technology.<sup>305</sup> The Hurrian invasion hypothesis was developed to understand the relatively rapid spread of chariot technology and tactics across the Near East in the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> millennium. This innovation was ascribed to this ethno-linguistic group due to the Indo-Aryan etymology of numerous terms relating to the chariot.<sup>306</sup> Naturally, this hypothesis entered the discourse on Hyksos origins due to the introduction of the chariot to Egypt during the Hyksos period.<sup>307</sup>

While it is beyond the scope of this chapter to document the personal and professional biographies of the scholars engaged in this debate, such work can be extremely illuminative of the types of personal ideological leanings which are driving the scholarly discourse.<sup>308</sup> However, it is important to note that these ideas were in circulation at the time, and to be cognizant of the effects such philosophies on the direction of scholarship. Even if most scholars did not ascribe to such ideologies, the nature of academia required that they engage with and respond to studies which did. For example, an early work which critiqued the Hurrian/Aryan hypothesis was Wolf's

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<sup>305</sup> Frahm, "Images of Assyria in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Western Scholarship," 83–84, see especially the references in notes 41–42; Cooper, "Sumerian and Aryan," 177–78.

<sup>306</sup> Raulwing, "Manfred Mayrhofer's Studies on Indo-Aryan and the Indo-Aryans in the Ancient Near East: A Retrospective and Outlook on Future Research," 252 no. 17; Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.: The Hurrians and Their Connections with the Habiru and the Hyksos," 49.

<sup>307</sup> Speiser, "Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.: The Hurrians and Their Connections with the Habiru and the Hyksos," 49; Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 31; Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, 184–85.

<sup>308</sup> See for example Ambridge, "Imperialism and Racial Geography in James Henry Breasted's Ancient Times, a History of the Early World."; Schneider, "Ägyptologen im Dritten Reich: Biographische Notizen anhand der sogenannten „Steindorff-Liste“"; Schneider, "„Eine Führernatur, wie sie der neue Staat braucht!“ Hermann Kees Tätigkeit in Göttingen 1924–1945 und die Kontroverse um Entnazifizierung und Wiedereinstellungen in der Nachkriegszeit"; Raulwing, "Manfred Mayrhofer's Studies on Indo-Aryan and the Indo-Aryans in the Ancient Near East: A Retrospective and Outlook on Future Research"; Raulwing and Gertzen, "Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von Bissing im Blickpunkt ägyptologischer und zeithistorischer Forschungen: die Jahre 1914 bis 1926."

*Der Stand der Hyksosfrage*. He argued that the introduction of the horse and chariot does not prove that the Hyksos were Aryan, but rather that they were north Syrian Semites who had had extensive interaction with Aryan groups (from whom they had adopted the new technology).<sup>309</sup>

A notable shift occurred in 1933, when E. A. Speiser altered the pursuit of Hyksos origins to a discussion of ethnicity, at least in terminology if not in practice. He postulated the idea of ethnic shifts within the Hyksos over time, and compared them to the Habiru in that they were both constituted of several ethnicities.<sup>310</sup> However, comments such as “the one definite racial element among the Hyksos is Semitic,”<sup>311</sup> and that the Hyksos were composed of “a conglomeration of Semites and Hurrians, with an admixture of other *strains* which defy identification for the present”<sup>312</sup> (emphasis added), indicates that while the overarching language had changed, the inherent understanding of origins and race had not. Speiser also suggested both Indo-Iranian and Habiru elements, although he noted that the Habiru were not the same as those of the Amarna Letters. Indeed, demonstrating the persistence of Biblical questions for Hyksos discourse, Speiser identified the Semitic element within the Hyksos as the “Habiru, or Hebrews, of the patriarchal period.”<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>309</sup> Wolf, “Der Stand der Hyksosfrage,” 69–73. However, see a discussion of his implicit sanctioning of National Socialist ideals in Schneider, “Ägyptologen im Dritten Reich: Biographische Notizen anhand der sogenannten „Steindorff-Liste“,” 125–26. Wolf however was of the opinion that a non-Semitic element was mixed in, yet remained unconvinced that it was a Hurrian element, c.f. Wolf, “Der Stand der Hyksosfrage” 78-80.

<sup>310</sup> Speiser, “Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.: The Hurrians and Their Connections with the Habiru and the Hyksos,” 47–51.

<sup>311</sup> Speiser, 48.

<sup>312</sup> Speiser, 51.

<sup>313</sup> Speiser, 52–53. Speiser does make it very clear that the Habiru were not a racial category, but rather a group of social outcasts likely comprised of multiple ethnicities (Ibid. 35).

A full survey of the Hurrian/Indo-Iranian hypothesis was subsequently presented in Engberg's *The Hyksos Reconsidered*. Engberg was one of the first to support Mariette's suspicion of the Hyksos "invasion," and instead suggested that they entered Egypt "in small and ethnically disparate groups, increasing in number until finally they gained such influence through infiltration, as apparently the Kassites did in Babylonia, that the various elements became a political factor."<sup>314</sup> The idea of a long immigration process rather than invasion was an important development in the research, but was initially only sporadically adopted in the scholarship. Regardless, Engberg continued the discussion of the Hyksos as a population group consisting of a "number of racial strains,"<sup>315</sup> including Semitic, Hurrian, Indo-Iranian, and the Habiru "class."<sup>316</sup> In fact, he stressed that "The problem of the ethnic composition of the Hyksos must be approached from the linguistic, the racial, and the cultural points of view,"<sup>317</sup> precisely the same categories that Barth would later divorce from an understanding of ethnicity.<sup>318</sup>

As in other ancient Near Eastern fields, the post-World War II anti-war, anti-racial socio-political climate<sup>319</sup> was soon absorbed into Hyksos studies. Only a few scholars still supported the Hurrian invasion hypothesis,<sup>320</sup> including Helck, who still saw the Hyksos as an Indo-Iranian military elite who were able to wrest control of northern Egypt due to their military might and

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<sup>314</sup> Engberg, *The Hyksos Reconsidered*, 2.

<sup>315</sup> Engberg, 41.

<sup>316</sup> Engberg, 49.

<sup>317</sup> Engberg, 49.

<sup>318</sup> Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, 10–14.

<sup>319</sup> See also Bahrani, "Race and Ethnicity in Mesopotamian Antiquity," 53.

<sup>320</sup> Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*.

technological superiority. In this particular work, evidence of subsumed racial ideals lingered in Helck's proposal that the greatness and might of New Kingdom imperialism was a product of Hyksos influence, yet that, in his view, the Hyksos could not be Semitic.<sup>321</sup> However, the general trend of scholarship took an opposing view, namely that of a gradual influx of a heterogenous population, perhaps followed by a coup d'état to seize control of northern Egypt.<sup>322</sup> This school, including Alt, Säve-Söderbergh, and Van Seters, also denied any connection between the Hyksos and the Hurrians, proposing instead a general Semitic or Amorite background based on the onomastics,<sup>323</sup> imported deities,<sup>324</sup> and chronological conflicts. Alt also questions the uncritical adoption of Manetho's invasion narrative, and is one of the first to propose that Manetho's account is likely colored by the more recent Babylonian and Assyrian invasions of Egypt.<sup>325</sup>

It was in this post-racial context following World War II that Säve-Söderbergh finally made explicit the nature of the term "Hyksos." He posited that the term *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* was simply a royal title, and argued that "this term gives us the impression that the Hyksos were only a little group of foreign dynasts rather than a numerous people with a special civilization."<sup>326</sup> This crucial observation was supported by Van Seters in 1966, who also noted and condemned the uncritical use of the term Hyksos for certain archaeological or cultural material:

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<sup>321</sup> Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 124–25. See also Schneider, "Ägyptologen im Dritten Reich: Biographische Notizen anhand der sogenannten „Steindorff-Liste“,“ 125 note 17."

<sup>322</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt"; Alt, *Die Herkunft der Hyksos in neuer Sicht*; Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, 192; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, 98–122.

<sup>323</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," 58; Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, 192.

<sup>324</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, 181–90.

<sup>325</sup> Alt, *Die Herkunft der Hyksos in neuer Sicht*, 72–98.

<sup>326</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," 56.

In the past many archaeologists, including Engberg, abused the term “Hyksos” by using it to describe certain cultural aspects in Palestine, Syria, or Egypt— “Hyksos” fortifications, “Hyksos” pottery, “Hyksos” scarabs, etc. The use of the term in this way implies that “Hyksos” is an ethnic or cultural designation. But “Hyksos” is not an ethnic term; to use it as such begs the whole question of an openminded consideration of the archaeological evidence.<sup>327</sup>

The ongoing excavations of the Austrian expedition at Tell el-Dab’a began in 1966, yielding an incredible amount of new evidence and the potential for new research. Yet the search for origins has continued for both the Hyksos themselves and the broader immigrant population of the Eastern Delta.<sup>328</sup> Moreover, the distinction between the two is often not made sufficiently explicit, contributing to the persistence of the misconception of the Hyksos as a population group. In recent years, studies have begun to employ anthropological theory to understand the hybridity and cultural blending that characterize the site of Tell el-Dab’a and all of its inhabitants, attempting to access the process of identity negotiation that is apparent in the material record.<sup>329</sup> Even the term *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* itself has been re-evaluated in this light.<sup>330</sup>

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<sup>327</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, 3.

<sup>328</sup> See Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?,” 150–63.

<sup>329</sup> See for example Bader, “Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology”; Bader, “Migration in Archaeology”; Bader, “Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine”; Forstner-Müller, “Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab’a”; de Vreeze, “A Strange Bird Will Breed in the Delta Marsh”; Redmount, “Ethnicity, Pottery, and the Hyksos at Tell El-Maskhuta in the Egyptian Delta.”

<sup>330</sup> Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos.”

However, new developments in scientific methods such as isotopic analysis and ancient DNA are reinvigorating the hunt for Hyksos origins.

### Scientific Methods and the Reification of Race

In the last two decades, scientific studies such as the Human Genome Project have revived debates about the links between biology, genetics, and race.<sup>331</sup> Furthermore, new developments in isotopic analysis have led to its increased use in the determination of human origins.<sup>332</sup> Recent technological breakthroughs have also allowed for new sampling strategies and analysis techniques, all of which has resurrected the question of race.<sup>333</sup> Indeed, these new methods have renewed discussion within biomedical fields about the nature of race as biological fact, and how closely it aligns with human genetic variation.<sup>334</sup> Certain medical professionals and scholars have adopted the terminology of “ancestry,” promoting it as an objective, more scientifically-grounded replacement for race.<sup>335</sup> However, this neologism is often not distinguishable from race in practice (see above),<sup>336</sup> and it also serves to conflate biological ancestry and geographic origin.<sup>337</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Lee et al., “The Ethics of Characterizing Difference,” 1; Gravlee, “How Race Becomes Biology,” 47 and references therein.

<sup>332</sup> Pollard, “Isotopes and Impact,” 635.

<sup>333</sup> Pickrell and Reich, “Toward a New History and Geography of Human Genes Informed by Ancient DNA,” 378.

<sup>334</sup> Gravlee, “How Race Becomes Biology,” 47–49.

<sup>335</sup> Bolnick, “Individual Ancestry Inference and the Reification of Race as a Biological Phenomenon,” 80.

<sup>336</sup> Bolnick, 81.

<sup>337</sup> Lee et al., “The Ethics of Characterizing Difference,” 2.

The use of these techniques, along with osteological analyses, to determine “race” or “ancestry” is often employed in forensics. However, in this context, the pragmatic goal is to narrow the possibilities enough to lead to a positive identification of unknown skeletal remains. Therefore, forensic anthropologists measure known variability among particular osteological traits to assign a most-likely government census-defined “race” to the individual.<sup>338</sup> Yet in any other context, such as archaeology, skeletal analysis only estimates original geographic origin within three major categories: east Asian, European, and African. However, there are numerous pitfalls in this association of skeletal markers and geography; for example, southern Asian individuals like those in India and Pakistan have osteology that most closely resembles Europeans.<sup>339</sup> Furthermore, the use of DNA in forensics to determine genetic heritage in an effort to *narrow* the pool of potential suspects has led to the popular misconception that race or ethnicity is easily determined using DNA.<sup>340</sup> Below I discuss what information can actually be determined using isotopic and aDNA analysis, issues inherent in these scientific techniques, and their potential impact on the study of the Hyksos.

### *Isotopic Analysis*

The first human isotopic analysis was done on bone collagen in the late 1970’s, but for several years the most popular application of isotopes in archaeology was using lead isotope analysis to provenance metals. However, it was soon realized that this origin source information had to be

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<sup>338</sup> White, Black, and Folkens, *Human Osteology*, 422.

<sup>339</sup> White, Black, and Folkens, 421–24.

<sup>340</sup> Bolnick, “Individual Ancestry Inference and the Reification of Race as a Biological Phenomenon,” 71.

interpreted in context and taking into account all of the available archaeological evidence and human agency, as changes in lead signatures might just be recycled metal or new deposition practices, and not necessarily new metal sources.<sup>341</sup> Strontium, carbon, and oxygen isotopes are the most common when study human mobility, but cannot be used to pin down precise origins<sup>342</sup> due to variation and inexactitude for local signatures. These local geological signatures can vary across small distances and be affected by hydrology,<sup>343</sup> the selection of water sources, agricultural and cooking practices,<sup>344</sup> and the consumption of non-local food (in the case of extensive herding techniques or agricultural tribute).<sup>345</sup> Essentially, isotopic analysis can track human mobility and migration if people were eating locally raised foods, there is a measurable difference in local isotopic signatures,<sup>346</sup> and these local signatures have been thoroughly defined.<sup>347</sup>

Even in this best-case scenario, isotopic analysis identifies foreigners within a local context, and simply allows for speculation as to their origins.<sup>348</sup> For example, in a study of the strontium variation of individuals from Cahokia, researchers were able to identify that certain

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<sup>341</sup> Pollard, "Isotopes and Impact," 631–33.

<sup>342</sup> Bentley, "Mobility and the Diversity of Early Neolithic Lives," 303.

<sup>343</sup> Buzon and Bowen, "Oxygen and Carbon Isotope Analysis of Human Tooth Enamel from the New Kingdom Site of Tombos in Nubia," 861–64.

<sup>344</sup> Pollard, "Isotopes and Impact," 635–36; Bentley, "Mobility and the Diversity of Early Neolithic Lives," 310.

<sup>345</sup> Buzon and Simonetti, "Strontium Isotope (87Sr/86Sr) Variability in the Nile Valley," 5; Pollard, "Isotopes and Impact," 635; Slater, Hedman, and Emerson, "Immigrants at the Mississippian Polity of Cahokia," 124–25.

<sup>346</sup> Buzon and Simonetti, "Strontium Isotope (87Sr/86Sr) Variability in the Nile Valley," 3.

<sup>347</sup> Pollard, "Isotopes and Impact," 636.

<sup>348</sup> Slater, Hedman, and Emerson, "Immigrants at the Mississippian Polity of Cahokia," 126; Shaw et al., "Identifying Migrants in Roman London Using Lead and Strontium Stable Isotopes," 58–59; Buzon and Simonetti, "Strontium Isotope (87Sr/86Sr) Variability in the Nile Valley," 3–4; Pollard, "Isotopes and Impact," 636..



individuals and groups were in fact outsiders, and that their strontium signatures indicated their immigration from multiple different regions. However, they did not speculate on or attempt to identify these regions of origin.<sup>349</sup> A study on migration in Roman Britain determined that, due to the similarity in local geologies, the strontium isotope ratios in Britain and the European continent, specifically northern Europe, are not unique enough to delineate individuals' origins.<sup>350</sup> Buzon and Simonetti, studying Egyptian immigrants at Tombos, concluded that:

While it is clear that  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  values of Egyptians and Nubians overlap and concretely identifying Egyptians and Nubians in a sample is *far from straightforward*, the distributions and median values indicate that  $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$  analyses can provide some information about *possible* immigrant individuals *within the context of specific research questions*.<sup>351</sup> (emphasis added)

Also, the above-mentioned study of immigrants in Roman Britain was designed to better understand “how the correlation between a person’s origins and funerary context might influence our understanding of their identity.”<sup>352</sup> As Buzon and Simonetti stressed, this study was designed with a clear and specific research question, and did in fact find some evidence to link an individual’s burial goods to a strontium signature which both suggested possible Germanic origins.<sup>353</sup> Yet the researchers still emphasize that “the cultural construction of identity is not always a true reflection of where a person spent their childhood,” and instead argue that this

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<sup>349</sup> Slater, Hedman, and Emerson, “Immigrants at the Mississippian Polity of Cahokia,” 126.

<sup>350</sup> Shaw et al., “Identifying Migrants in Roman London Using Lead and Strontium Stable Isotopes,” 59.

<sup>351</sup> Buzon and Simonetti, “Strontium Isotope ( $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ ) Variability in the Nile Valley,” 6.

<sup>352</sup> Shaw et al., “Identifying Migrants in Roman London Using Lead and Strontium Stable Isotopes,” 58.

<sup>353</sup> Shaw et al., 63.

approach is used to nuance their understanding of the creation and display of funerary identity.<sup>354</sup> Therefore, it is crucial that isotopic analysis be used in context with all other available evidence to gain possible answers to very well-defined research questions, and not to identify individuals' homelands. As Pollard has cautioned for strontium studies:

Certainly birthplace may be significant, but it isn't the only consideration. So how useful is it to know where somebody lived as a child? We might feel that it is, but did it matter to the individual or the society in which she or he lived? As with lead isotopes, we might feel that facts are facts and it is important for us to know, but it again depends very much on the aims of the research. Much more significantly, however, the tendency towards simple geological determinism in the identification of origin should be resisted.<sup>355</sup>

A recently released paper has laid out plans for the isotopic study of Hyksos origins under the auspices of the ERC Hyksos Enigma Project. The researchers are compiling a large comparative database of published isotopic results, as well as analyzing both strontium and oxygen isotopes of human teeth from Tell el-Dab'a to determine if anyone seems to have been raised elsewhere and moved to the Delta.<sup>356</sup> While results are not yet published, a conference talk given at the American Association of Physical Anthropologists Annual Meeting in 2019 suggested that most of the individuals whose teeth suggested origins outside of Egypt were female.<sup>357</sup> These unpublished findings were sensationalized in the media, suggesting that the Hyksos 'invasion' should be reimagined as the gradual immigration of Southwest Asian women

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<sup>354</sup> Shaw et al., 65.

<sup>355</sup> Pollard, "Isotopes and Impact," 635–36.

<sup>356</sup> Stantis and Schutkowski, "Stable Isotope Analyses to Investigate Hyksos Identity and Origins."

<sup>357</sup> Stantis and Schutkowski, "Migration into Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period."

into the Delta and marrying into local power.<sup>358</sup> This is a telling example of the type of unsubstantiated claims media outlets will extrapolate from the scientific data, which itself is cautiously stated along with several caveats.

### *Ancient DNA Analysis*

In a similar vein, DNA analysis can inform us about ancient migration or differences in the ancestries of local populations, but in most cases cannot be used to isolate a specific and concrete geographic origin for an individual's ancestors. Perhaps most importantly, the history of humanity is characterized by mobility and genetic admixture,<sup>359</sup> which has several effects on the archaeological use of ancient DNA. First, modern DNA sample sets should not be compared to ancient DNA to demonstrate geographical origin.<sup>360</sup> The assumption that modern populations are representative of ancient populations in the same location has often been disproven, for example in the Americas, Germany, and Siberia.<sup>361</sup> Moreover, Hellenthal et al. have shown that sampling from genetically similar populations can obfuscate any instances of admixture which may have occurred in their shared history.<sup>362</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> <https://www.sciencenews.org/article/mysterious-hyksos-dynasty-conquered-ancient-egypt-marriage>

<sup>359</sup> Pickrell and Reich, "Toward a New History and Geography of Human Genes Informed by Ancient DNA," 377–78.

<sup>360</sup> Llamas et al., "Ancient Mitochondrial DNA Provides High-Resolution Time Scale of the Peopling of the Americas," 3–5; Brody and King, "Genetics and the Archaeology of Ancient Israel," 932; Hellenthal et al., "A Genetic Atlas of Human Admixture History," 748.

<sup>361</sup> Pickrell and Reich, "Toward a New History and Geography of Human Genes Informed by Ancient DNA," 379–80.

<sup>362</sup> Hellenthal et al., "A Genetic Atlas of Human Admixture History," 750.

For ancient DNA, as for isotopic analysis, it is crucial that sampling strategies are standardized, and that data sets expand in number and breadth.<sup>363</sup> Additionally, due to the different types and resolution of information that can be gleaned from mitochondrial (maternal only) DNA and autosomal DNA, both types of analyses should be combined.<sup>364</sup> Researchers must not only make explicit when genetic data only reflects a subset of an individual's ancestors, but also account for it in their interpretation. In the case of a Y-chromosomal or mitochondrial study, the lineage information is only a partial record of ancestry.<sup>365</sup> Most importantly, Lee et al. acknowledge that “genetic clusters are ... far from being equivalent to sociopolitical racial or ethnic categories,” and that “in some cases individuals’ or groups’ self-identification differs from their biogeographic ancestry.”<sup>366</sup> For archaeological studies of ancient DNA, archaeologists and population geneticists must work collaboratively to interpret the data, taking into account both the science and the material remains of actual ancient lives, always in an effort to better understand what the science can tell us about individual identity.

Recently, a study was released on the ancient DNA analysis of Egyptian mummies from the site of Abusir el Meleq, spanning a period of over 1300 years. Using a newly developed methodology, the researchers extracted DNA from soft tissue, bone and teeth, and successfully retrieved mitochondrial DNA from 90 samples and genome-wide SNP data from three males.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>363</sup> Pickrell and Reich, “Toward a New History and Geography of Human Genes Informed by Ancient DNA,” 383–84.

<sup>364</sup> Pickrell and Reich, 382.

<sup>365</sup> Lee et al., “The Ethics of Characterizing Difference,” 2.

<sup>366</sup> Lee et al., 2.

<sup>367</sup> Schuenemann et al., “Ancient Egyptian Mummy Genomes Suggest an Increase of Sub-Saharan African Ancestry in Post-Roman Periods,” 2–3.

While the paper does include that caveat that all of the samples were obtained from a single site and might not reflect all of ancient Egypt, this cautionary note receives only two sentences.<sup>368</sup> The ancient DNA was compared to both ancient Levantine and Anatolian samples (most of which were not contemporary with the Abusir el Meleq mummies) and modern samples from Egypt (which were collected from only three sites), Ethiopia, and West Eurasia.<sup>369</sup> The conclusions of this study have already been over-generalized in the media<sup>370</sup> and sparked controversy among Egyptians and Egyptologists.<sup>371</sup> This article is a contained example of many of the issues inherent in ancient DNA studies.

### *Discussion*

Despite the exciting new data such analyses can provide for archaeological studies, caution must be exercised for several reasons. Given the misuse of scientific techniques in the past to promote racist ideologies, scholars should not only be aware of this controversial history, but must also be cognizant of the potential impact of their studies and the ideological narratives they may be coopted to support.<sup>372</sup> Additionally, it is crucial to acknowledge that these are constantly developing techniques, and consequently there are extensive methodological issues with

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<sup>368</sup> Schuenemann et al., 8.

<sup>369</sup> Schuenemann et al., 3–5.

<sup>370</sup> Page, “DNA Discovery Unlocks Secrets of Ancient Egyptians.” <http://www.cnn.com/2017/06/22/health/ancient-egypt-mummy-dna-genome-heritage/index.html>.

<sup>371</sup> El-Aref, “Not out of Africa?” <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/9/40/270666/Heritage/Ancient-Egypt/Not-out-of-Africa.aspx>.

<sup>372</sup> Lee et al., “The Ethics of Characterizing Difference,” 1–3. See also MacEachern, “Africanist Archaeology and Ancient IQ,” 73–74. for a survey of and argument against Philippe Ruston’s *Race, Evolution and Behaviour: A Life History Perspective* (2000), which states that the present conditions of different races are due to genetic differences in intelligence and behavior, and is especially popular among anti-immigration and white supremacist groups.

sampling, testing, data storage, processing, rapidly outdated software programs, statistical interpretation, etc.<sup>373</sup> Perhaps most significantly, a systematic approach to sampling, or even a standard sample-size for best practices, has yet to be established in either isotopic analysis or ancient DNA studies.<sup>374</sup> The final caution is perhaps best outlined by Pollard:

There is sometimes a lack of communication in archaeology between laboratory scientists on one hand and, on the other, essentially humanistic scholars or professional field archaeologists who have occasionally been persuaded to believe that science provides definitive answers. This, unfortunately, is a widely held misconception, partly but unwisely promoted by scientists themselves as a response to a political framework which demands clear-cut answers—now required in order to produce impact—in return for funding.<sup>375</sup>

Essentially, none of these analyses can provide definite answers to the questions of ancestry, nor pinpoint origins. Specialist reports are often conditional and feature discussions of uncertainties and ambiguities in the methods or interpretations of the findings, but these often do not translate into mainstream archaeological studies. When the media becomes involved, the limitations of the study or contradictory data are often lost to the desire for a punchy headline.<sup>376</sup> Successful

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<sup>373</sup> Pickrell and Reich, “Toward a New History and Geography of Human Genes Informed by Ancient DNA,” 384–85; Bolnick, “Individual Ancestry Inference and the Reification of Race as a Biological Phenomenon,” 80. In this paper, the author critiques two studies which used a statistical program known as Structure to identify clusters in human genetic variation (essentially races). However, she explains that in this particular program, the number of clusters the researcher wishes to identify is pre-set, before the analysis is run, meaning that the clusters determined by the program are not strictly natural and may have had artificial divisions imposed on them.

<sup>374</sup> Pollard, “Isotopes and Impact,” 636–37; Pickrell and Reich, “Toward a New History and Geography of Human Genes Informed by Ancient DNA,” 384.

<sup>375</sup> Pollard, “Isotopes and Impact,” 632.

<sup>376</sup> Lee et al., “The Ethics of Characterizing Difference,” 3; Pollard, “Isotopes and Impact,” 634–35.

studies should be collaborative efforts between specialists and archaeologists, which acknowledge and account for all of the above issues, and also interpret the scientific findings in the context of the archaeological data and any available textual information.

In keeping with the evolution of Hyksos studies surveyed above, Schuenemann et al. demonstrate the persistence of the misconception of the Hyksos as a population group, even in academic papers. In an attempt to explain their findings that the Abusir el Meleq mummies show closer genetic affinity to Levantine groups, the researchers discuss ancient examples of population influx from that region into Egypt:

Especially from the second millennium BCE onwards, there were intense, historically- and archaeologically documented contacts, including the large-scale immigration of *Canaanite populations, known as the Hyksos*, into Lower Egypt, whose origins lie in the Middle Bronze Age Levant.<sup>377</sup> (emphasis added)

This passage reveals the remarkably long-standing influence that questions of race, ethnicity, and origins have had on the study of the Hyksos, and the allure which these new scientific techniques will hold for such scholarship. It again reifies the misconception that the Hyksos title refers to a broader group rather than specific rulers, a narrative which, due to the popular appeal of this study, will be broadly disseminated to the interested public. Consequently, this study clearly underscores the importance of collaboration between archaeologists and geneticists to interpret and disseminate scientific findings.

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<sup>377</sup> Schuenemann et al., “Ancient Egyptian Mummy Genomes Suggest an Increase of Sub-Saharan African Ancestry in Post-Roman Periods,” 8.

The goals and methods of two further Hyksos origin studies were outlined in the most recent Hyksos Enigma volume. They center on the collection of non-metric skeletal measurements and dental morphology as potential markers of familial relationships, and still seek to locate the geographical origins of the Southwest Asian immigrants to Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>378</sup> Presumably there are plans to conduct aDNA studies in some way related to these immigrants, as that was written into the ERC proposal for the broader Hyksos Enigma Project, though nothing has yet been released.

### Conclusions

It is apparent from this aDNA study that the same misconceptions and entrenched narratives concerning Hyksos origins are still alive and well in the discipline, regardless of shifts in terminology and methodology. Reflexive studies of the history of Hyksos scholarship can elucidate why these questions continue to be asked, and how the questions themselves are inherently structuring the types of conclusions that studies can draw. Furthermore, the primacy afforded to questions of origin have obfuscated other important avenues in scholarship.

Birthplace, ancestry, origin, or ethnicity only account for a small portion of individual identity. Instead, questions could be investigated focused not only on the Hyksos, but on all the inhabitants of the Eastern Delta within their uniquely mixed context, to better understand how foreignness was negotiated and how it may have structured their lives, reigns, and the archaeological material left behind.

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<sup>378</sup> Maaranen et al., “The Hyksos in Egypt: A Bioarchaeological Perspective”; Maaranen, Schutkowski, and Zakrzewski, “Hidden in Bones: Tracking the Hyksos Across the Levant.”



## CHAPTER 4 - REINTERPRETING TIRED TEXTS

The foundation of Hyksos scholarship, including the nature of their rule, their region of control, etc. is built upon almost two centuries of interpretations of the same limited body of textual sources. This chapter therefore serves as the final critical reevaluation of our basic narrative concerning the Hyksos and their rule. The picture of the Hyksos and the Hyksos Period arrived at by the previous two chapters allows for the reassessment of these Egyptian texts, weeding out the propagandistic bias in light of new conclusions regarding the Hyksos's contemporaneity and diplomacy with other Egyptian polities, an absence of evidence for destruction or despotism, and the legitimacy of their reign.

The Second Stele of Kamose, arguably the most important extant text for the Hyksos period, was not discovered until 1954, which means that the foundations of the scholarly narrative of the Hyksos was constructed on later and more warped or biased texts such as Speos Artemidos and especially Manetho. These texts have been read and re-read, and the sheer amount of varying types of information which scholars have argued can be extrapolated from these texts is staggering. Further, the archaeological excavations of Tell el-Dab'a did not begin until 1966, and the site was not securely identified as the Hyksos capital until a few years later, so Hyksos scholarship already had around 150 years of established narrative to grapple with, along with its attendant biases and baggage. Indeed, the legacy of this textual narrative has been preserved in one of two opposing lines of scholarship; while many build on the vast corpus of archaeological research on Avaris, some fall prey to the more spectacular elitist agenda of

Egyptology, dismissing the site and period as un-Egyptian.<sup>379</sup> The goal of this chapter, therefore, is to contribute to the former group, and to re-read the limited corpus of texts available to us without an *a priori* understanding of the Hyksos. I use several literary and social theoretical frameworks to establish not only what the texts themselves can actually tell us (and what they cannot), but also how these texts interacted with one another throughout history, altering the story along the way.

### Theory: Deconstruction, Intertextuality, Monumentality, and Social Memory

Texts may be classed as “historical” insofar as they describe a past for the present, or record the present for posterity. They may be classed as “political” insofar as they urge actions or attitudes on the present for the present. They may be classed as “literary” insofar as they have a deliberate artistic form appreciated as such by the audience. The classifications overlap; the dichotomy between form and content is artificial and problematic. —Eyre 1996, 432

It is often said that history is written by the victors. This is even more true for monumental inscriptions that were commissioned purposefully to commemorate those victories, and erected on public display in the most sacred precinct of the victors—such as the Kamose Karnak texts. Yet these texts have been allowed to stand unchallenged, supported by uncritical

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<sup>379</sup> Schneider, “Hyksos Research in Egyptology and Egypt’s Public Imagination: A Brief Assessment of Fifty Years of Assessments,” 83, and see entire article for nuanced discussion and examples.

interpretations that simply accept that victorious discourse as historical narrative.<sup>380</sup> Eyre argues that in both royal historical narratives and *belles lettres*, “history is the format for a literary-ideological argument, and not a neutral presentation of factual events.”<sup>381</sup> “History” is often usurped in Egyptian royal inscriptions as propaganda meant to legitimize the current ruler—whether by taking responsibility for earlier victories, or by establishing a link to the glorious past and divine ancestors.<sup>382</sup> Indeed, the “development of a military-heroic ideology during the New Kingdom” especially necessitated such royal self-justification, similar to earlier private tomb autobiographies; such texts also drew heavily on other genres, such as wisdom literature and tales.<sup>383</sup> Certain examples, such as the Poetical Stele of Thutmose III at Karnak, blend the literary and historical “as evidence of political order,” having not been originally intended as a pure historical record.<sup>384</sup> Therefore, the analysis below seeks to recognize this narrative for what it is, and extract more historical based information when possible.

In the study of the ancient world, texts are often still assumed to be a more secure historical source than the archaeological record. Yet texts are mostly written by elite authors, and so-called “historical” texts often have large gaps in information. Most importantly however, and most often forgotten, “texts are not a reflection of past society and therefore easily comparable to archaeological data, but must be seen as often parallel tangible products of past social

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<sup>380</sup> For a modern example of this, see Al-Ayedi, *The Liberation [Sic] War*. The choice of the word “liberation,” with its heavily politicized and propagandistic connotations of good versus evil, exemplifies the victorious discourse.

<sup>381</sup> Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?,” 417.

<sup>382</sup> Eyre, 417–18, 423; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, 54.

<sup>383</sup> Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?,” 422.

<sup>384</sup> Eyre, 419–20.

strategies.”<sup>385</sup> Essentially, texts are biased and their credibility depends on the author’s intentions, access to the events, and qualifications.<sup>386</sup> The New Historicist approach to literary theory attempts to account for this bias by considering the historical context in which the text was composed.<sup>387</sup> While certainly crucial to understanding the corpus of texts dealing with the Hyksos, New Historicism overlooks several aspects central to their interpretation. Beyond the historical situation in which the text was written, we must also consider the motivations of the author, their own biases, as well as the form of the text, possible audiences and their different responses to and receptions of the text.

The literary theory of Deconstruction will be applied to this corpus in order to disentangle these elements from the established narrative. Deconstruction searches for internal contradictions within the text that work against or resist the overall message and can speak to the intentions, biases, and feelings of the author.<sup>388</sup> Fundamentally, deconstruction looks for details within the discourse “to show how it undermines the philosophy it asserts.”<sup>389</sup> Indeed, small details within the overall, unified narrative can actually “work to undo the structures to which they seem marginal,”<sup>390</sup> and reinscribe the narrative “with a different force by this transgression of the narrative and thematic structures.”<sup>391</sup> Therefore, I apply this deconstructivist framework to these

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<sup>385</sup> Small, *Methods in the Mediterranean*, 5.

<sup>386</sup> Kosso, “Epistemic Independence between Textual and Material Evidence,” 179.

<sup>387</sup> Small, *Methods in the Mediterranean*, 25.

<sup>388</sup> Dyson, “Is There a Text in This Site?,” 25; Culler, *On Deconstruction*, 251.

<sup>389</sup> Culler, *On Deconstruction*, 86.

<sup>390</sup> Culler, 260.

<sup>391</sup> Culler, 256.

Hyksos textual sources, identifying details which seem counter to the traditional or expected narrative in order to better assess the authors' actual perceptions of these historical events and individuals. Reader Response Criticism will also be used in this analysis. This literary approach considers that different readers operate from within distinct socio-cultural contexts, and thus will have different reactions to the text, creating a range of meanings.<sup>392</sup>

The interpretation of this corpus of texts must also be informed by their physical forms and settings, as they are all either scribal texts or monumental inscriptions. The scribal texts are crucial to my analysis, as they represent not only texts which were copied and disseminated via training over generations, but also because this genre often displays much more freedom of experimentation and even deviation from the state discourse than royal inscriptions. The monumental inscriptions have their own unique aspects to investigate, such as access, visibility on the landscape, and the timespan of that visibility. Monuments are objects which remind, and therefore are active, historically significant, long-lived, often public, and usually large.<sup>393</sup> Yet monumental inscriptions are often official, redacted versions of history, purposefully prepared memory meant to be socially shared.<sup>394</sup> These monuments then are inextricably linked to cultural, collective memories and the "creation and maintenance of group identity."<sup>395</sup> The construction, removal, or reinscription of these monuments are then conscious acts of

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<sup>392</sup> Dyson, "Is There a Text in This Site?," 25; Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?*, 307.

<sup>393</sup> Osborne, *Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology*, 3–4.

<sup>394</sup> Wendrich, "Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality," 412–14.

<sup>395</sup> Wendrich, 425.

remembering or forgetting<sup>396</sup> which contribute to the construction of this identity and the narrative which drives it.

The elites who composed these inscriptions were an inextricable part of the state's discursive authority, and had immense power to control and fix both the meaning and the 'truth' of not only the historical narrative, but the social identity it constructs.<sup>397</sup> Doty even acknowledges that the state discourse around who is considered to be a part of the group, vs. an outsider, is "historically novel and changing. The identity of the "we" is a flexible political resource, adaptable to changing circumstances."<sup>398</sup> Especially within the monumental context of some of the texts analyzed below, it is crucial to remember the omnipresence of this state discourse dictating the definitions and depictions of foreigners. This serves to explain quite a lot of the negative understandings of the Hyksos, and stands separately from how individuals may have considered or remembered them. Furthermore, the deconstructivist approach becomes more important in this context as well, illuminating those details which are contrary to this state narrative, and may point to more individualized opinions.

Yet the monumentality and sacred religious contexts of the Kamose Karnak texts in particular raise the question of accessibility. Who would have actually gotten to see these monuments, and beyond that who would have been capable of reading their message? As Eyre puts it, "The nature of the historical text as an artifact—its "publication" as an inscription, with the constraints on form and accessibility imposed by its monumental form—obscures the

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<sup>396</sup> Wendrich, 420.

<sup>397</sup> Doty, "Sovereignty and the Nation: Constructing the Boundaries of National Identity," 122.

<sup>398</sup> Doty, 126.

relationship to the literary background, and to other forms of display by Egyptian kings, which provided more immediate settings for political and propaganda statements.”<sup>399</sup> Several scholars are proponents of the idea that these kinds of texts would have been performed orally, recited aloud at royal appearance events, coronations, or jubilees.<sup>400</sup> Eyre links this oral performance to the New Kingdom examples of public royal spectacles, such as Window of Appearance ceremonies or the instance of Thutmose III performing impressive feats of archery for his troops. Consequently, the performance itself “motivated the elaboration of literary form, and reinforced the potential for exploiting audience reaction” for political causes or propaganda.<sup>401</sup> If this was the case, and these texts were performed aloud at public celebrations, then their restricted access within sacred temple precincts would not have limited their contemporary audience at all.<sup>402</sup>

Monumentality and audience accessibility also contribute to collective or cultural memory. “Memory (or reference to the past), identity (or political imagination), and cultural continuity (or the formation of tradition)” are all intimately linked, nowhere more so than in these monumental inscriptions.<sup>403</sup> Cultural memory is the social construction of a collective notion (not an individual belief) about the way things were in the past,<sup>404</sup> and is usually a reinterpretation of the past to serve the agenda of the present.<sup>405</sup> Collective memory is often

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<sup>399</sup> Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?,” 423–24.

<sup>400</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 34; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 27–28; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, 42; Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?,” 223.

<sup>401</sup> Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?,” 223–26.

<sup>402</sup> Eyre, 433.

<sup>403</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, 2–3.

<sup>404</sup> Van Dyke and Alcock, “Introduction,” 2.

created via cognitive strategies, or active choices to remember or forget, like the construction or reinscription of monuments.<sup>406</sup> Additionally, collective or cultural memory tends to cluster around paradigmatic events or personalities,<sup>407</sup> which is pertinent to the later fixation on these individuals, especially the Hyksos and their “expulsion” from Egypt. Also, in keeping with the prepared memory of monuments, cultural memory “has to be thoroughly prepared and vetted. Its distribution is controlled . . .”<sup>408</sup> Collective memory then can differ among identity groups, and contribute to the differential perception of the Hyksos in later eras.<sup>409</sup>

In the following analysis, I begin with an introduction to the texts themselves. This is followed by a careful and critical re-reading of the texts through the lens of the above theoretical frameworks. Finally, I examine the intertextual exchange and interaction between the texts within the corpus, as well as broader Egyptian literature. Full translations of the analyzed texts can be found in the appendices.

## The Kamose Karnak Texts

### *The First Stele of Kamose*

Originally erected by Kamose in the Amun temple at Karnak, the First Stele was found incomplete. The limestone stele was uncovered in two fragments by the excavations of Lacau in

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<sup>405</sup> Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*; Connerton, *How Societies Remember*; Van Dyke and Alcock, *Archaeologies of Memory*; Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*.

<sup>406</sup> Yoffee, *Negotiating the Past in the Past*.

<sup>407</sup> Alcock, *Archaeologies of the Greek Past*; Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 200.

<sup>408</sup> Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, 40.

<sup>409</sup> Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos,” 53.



1932 and 1935, reused within the foundations of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Pylon at Karnak built under Amenhotep III.<sup>410</sup> The surviving fragments contain portions of 15 lines of text, and given that the regnal year formula is featured at the start of the remaining text, it appears to be the beginning of a full stele.<sup>411</sup>

The orthography and writing sequence of individual words of this text, as well as the overall subject matter, match the text recorded on the Carnarvon Tablet (see below). However, the text from the First Stele breaks off before reaching the end passage preserved on the Carnarvon Tablet, so it is not possible to know exactly how long the complete text would have been. Lacau compared the two texts in length and size of writing, and made assumptions about the shape of the original stele, using these two aspects to suggest that the complete monument was between 2.7 and 4.0 meters in height and approximately 2.1 meters wide, allowing for 15 or more additional lines of text.<sup>412</sup>

### *The Carnarvon Tablet*

The Carnarvon Tablet, so named after its discoverer, Lord Carnarvon, was found in 1908 among the loose debris near the entrance of a plundered tomb in the Birabi (near the entrance to the Deir el Bahri valley). This tablet is one of two scribal writing boards found at the mouth of this tomb, which Carter dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Both were constructed of wood and covered with fine plaster, and each featured a hole in one of the short ends from which to hang the tablet. The

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<sup>410</sup> Lacau, “Une stèle du roi ‘Kamosis’”; Enmarch, “Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions,” 254.

<sup>411</sup> Lacau, “Une stèle du roi ‘Kamosis’”; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 82ff, no. 119.

<sup>412</sup> Lacau, “Une stèle du roi ‘Kamosis’”; Enmarch, “Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions,” 255; Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts,” 49–50.

second, smaller writing board was badly damaged, but fragments of a literary or didactic text remained. The Carnarvon Tablet itself has the Kamose text on the recto, and the beginning of the *Teachings of Ptahhotep* and small grid on the verso. Gardiner dated the paleography to the late 17<sup>th</sup> or early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and also noted that the hands on both tablets appeared to be the same.<sup>413</sup> As mentioned, the text matches that of the First Stele, down to elements of orthography. The unusual writing of the regnal formula, for example, has been replicated on both sources.<sup>414</sup> This level of agreement has been used to suggest that the Carnarvon Tablet is actually an ancient scribal copy of the First Stele, done no more than 50 years after the erection of the monument itself.<sup>415</sup>

The combined texts of the First Stela fragments and the Carnarvon Tablet begin with the regnal dating formula and titles of Kamose. The king is then depicted speaking to his court, bemoaning the situation of Egypt which is partitioned between himself, the Hyksos, and the kingdom of Kerma. Although his officials appear satisfied with the situation and council inaction, Kamose disregards their advice and begins campaigning to the north. This text breaks off with the successful conquest of Nefrusy.<sup>416</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I," 95–97.

<sup>414</sup> Lacau, "Une stèle du roi 'Kamosis,'" 249.

<sup>415</sup> Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I," 97; Enmarch, "Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions," 255; Lacau, "Une stèle du roi 'Kamosis,'" 249.

<sup>416</sup> See translations in Gardiner, "The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I," 97–108; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 82ff no. 119; Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period," 13–14; Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," 59–60.

### *The Second Stele of Kamose*

The Second Stele of Kamose was discovered in July 1954, during the restoration of the Second Pylon at Karnak. Earlier that year, the excavations under Chevrier uncovered pieces of a colossal statue of a king and its foundation while clearing the north side of the pylon. The statue has most convincingly been identified as Ramesses II, though the piece has been re-inscribed for the High Priest Pinedjem. Hammad took over the work after Chevrier resigned, and began the processes of re-erecting the statue by investigating the foundation base. In doing so, the team discovered that this base and the base of another adjacent, but badly damaged, Ramesses II colossal statue (only preserved to below the knees) were constructed of reused inscribed blocks from multiple earlier kings. The base of the broken colossus was re-inscribed by Ramesses IV, and it was under this that the Second Stele of Kamose was found, laid inscription-side down on a layer of fresh sand, as if to protect it.<sup>417</sup>

The Second Stele is itself a reused block of limestone, originally inscribed for a structure of Senwosret I at Karnak (Figure 4).<sup>418</sup> It measures approximately 2.2 meters high, 1.1 meters wide, and 28 cm thick. A small portion is missing from the top of the stele, which is of the standard round-topped form with a winged sun disk, that would add about 15 cm to the total height. From the sun disk hang two uraei which reach the start of the text, which spans 38

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<sup>417</sup> Hammad, “Découverte d’une stèle du roi Kamose”; Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 16–20.

<sup>418</sup> Biston-Moulin, “De Sésostris Ier à Kamosis. Note sur un remploi de Karnak”; Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 29. Habachi argued that the traces of decoration, of which 3 registers remain on one of the sides of the stele, indicate that the block was originally a pillar of Senwosret I. Biston-Moulin on the other hand proposes that the block was most likely from a door jamb of a limestone chapel of the same king.

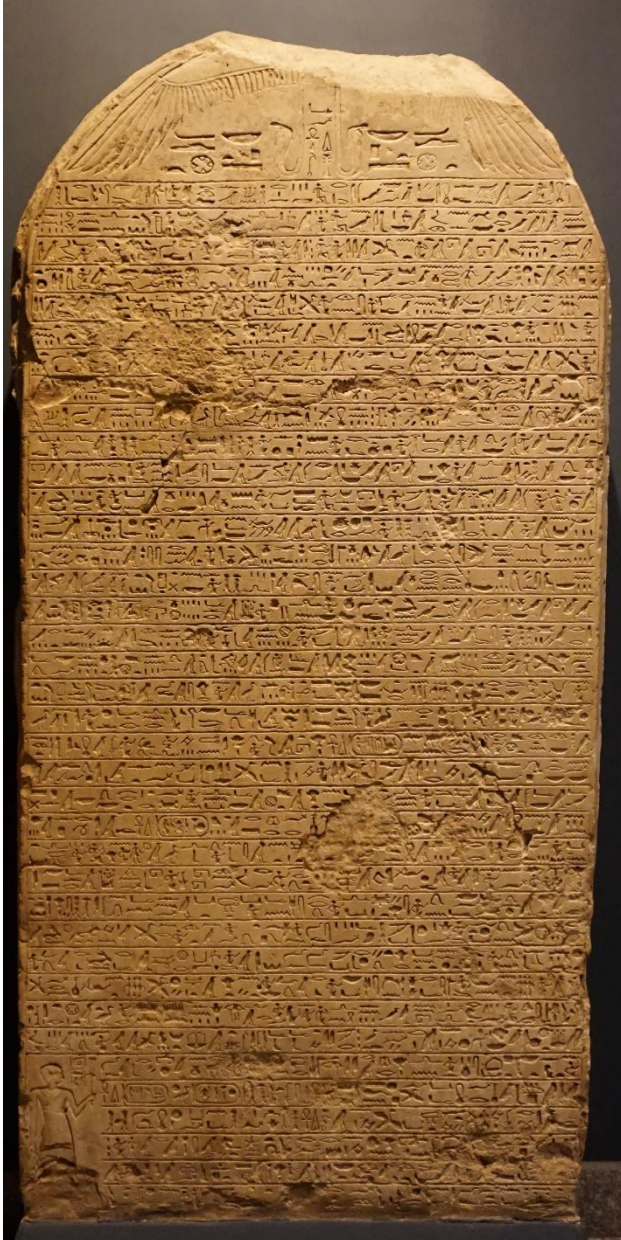


Figure 4 - The Second Stele of Kamose, Luxor Museum, photo courtesy of J. Galczynski

horizontal lines.<sup>419</sup> The text itself consumes most of the stele, with a small figure of the author Neshi (or Userneshi)<sup>420</sup> at the bottom left.<sup>421</sup> The sides of the stele also feature decoration; one side contains three registers of Senwosret I, while the other has the remains of a large cartouche and a graffito or sketch of a man with uplifted arms. Habachi postulated that this sketch was added in later generations by an admirer of Kamose.<sup>422</sup> The combination of this sketch and the stele's reuse in the foundation of Ramesses II's colossus indicates that the stele was left on display somewhere in the temple for at least three hundred years.<sup>423</sup>

The text of the Second Stele begins *in medias res*, which has important implications for the relationship of all the Kamose texts to

<sup>419</sup> Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 31.

<sup>420</sup> Habachi notes that the *Wsr* does not appear in the label accompanying the image of the official in the bottom corner, and thus that his name was most likely Neshi “the powerful” – with *Wsr* as an epithet attached to military service Habachi, 44, note c.

<sup>421</sup> Habachi, 44.

<sup>422</sup> Habachi, 29.

<sup>423</sup> Or longer, if the stele had been standing since the time of Semwosret I; Habachi, 30.

one another (see below). It starts with Kamose in the middle of a disparaging speech to Apepi, then switches abruptly to a more narrative tone describing the arrival of Kamose's fleet outside of Avaris. Kamose then directs a second boastful speech at Apepi, listing his successes and the fine goods he has taken from Apepi. The actual sack and destruction of Avaris is mentioned quickly, although perhaps the outer areas of the city is what is really meant here, since Ahmose also claims to have conquered Avaris (via the tomb autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibana at Elkab). The narrative shifts again to explain how Kamose captured a messenger, sent via the Western Desert oasis road, carrying a message from Apepi to the ruler of Kerma which instigated an alliance against Thebes. Kamose, in a power move, returns the messenger to Apepi and continues to sack presumably Hyksos-controlled towns, and finally returns in triumph to Thebes. The Second Stele then closes with the 'by-line' of Neshi, the official who carried out the king's command to commission this monument.<sup>424</sup>

### *The Third Stele of Kamose*

The Third Stele of Kamose was discovered by G. Legrain in 1900–1901, having fallen out of the limestone facing at the base of the Eighth Pylon at Karnak. The Eighth Pylon was constructed during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, indicating that this particular stele was not on display in the temple for as long as the Second Stele.<sup>425</sup> The limestone stele is badly damaged and was found in more than eight fragments, creating a puzzle for scholars. It was not until the early 2000s that two scholars independently realized that these fragments comprised another

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<sup>424</sup> See translations in Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," 60–62; Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period," 14–15; Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 32–44.

<sup>425</sup> Approximately 75-150 years, depending on the chronological scheme you follow.

stele of Kamose, based on the inclusion on Fragment A of his unique Nebty name *wḥm mn.w*. Originally, the complete stele had similar dimensions to that of Kamose's Second Stele, measuring approximately 2.85 meters high, 1.05 meters wide, and 25 cm thick. The forms of these two stelae also match, with a rounded top, sunken relief, and winged sun disk at the top. At least 29 lines of text are preserved, and Gabolde suggests that there were at least 32 in total.<sup>426</sup> Van Siclen notes that the paleography of the city sign on the Third Stele matches its counterpart on the First Stele, indicating that they were written relatively contemporaneously.<sup>427</sup>

Due to the fragmentary nature of the text, studies are not conclusive even concerning the relative placement of the fragments, let alone the full translation.<sup>428</sup> However, several details can be discussed. The stele clearly starts with the titulary of Kamose, due to the inclusion of his nebty name, and also seems to end with the titles of an official (perhaps even the same Neshi) and the temple paraphernalia he commissioned on behalf of the king.<sup>429</sup> Fragment D mentions the word *nḥsy* in a "warlike context" (Van Siclen 2010: 357), suggesting that this text may cover Kamose's campaigns into Nubia<sup>430</sup>—both the existence of a third stele and its Nubian subject matter were surmised by A. and H. Smith.<sup>431</sup>

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<sup>426</sup> Van Siclen, "The Third Stele of Kamose," 355–57; Gabolde, "Une troisième Stèle de Kamosis," 35–36.

<sup>427</sup> Van Siclen, "The Third Stele of Kamose," 357.

<sup>428</sup> For the best attempts, see Van Siclen, "The Third Stele of Kamose"; Gabolde, "Une troisième Stèle de Kamosis."

<sup>429</sup> Van Siclen, "The Third Stele of Kamose," 357.

<sup>430</sup> Gabolde, "Une troisième Stèle de Kamosis," 37–38; For further sources suggesting actions of Kamose and Ahmose in Nubia, see Krauss, "Zur Problematik der Nubienpolitik Kamoses sowie der Hyksosherrschaft in Oberägypten"; Säve-Söderbergh, "The Nubian Kingdom of the Second Intermediate Period"; Zibelius-Chen, *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien: Eine Darlegung der Grundfaktoren*.

<sup>431</sup> Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," 68.

*Theories on the Relationship Between the Kamose Karnak Texts*

Initially, it was clear to Habachi that the First and Second Stelae could not have been a matched pair, as they are drastically different in size.<sup>432</sup> Smith and Smith then noted that the Second Stele must have been the continuation of another text because it starts in the middle of a speech without the traditional introduction, titles, or date line. They argue that although the continuation of a single text across twin stelae is unusual, this is the most likely explanation. They suggest that, because it is “not uncommon for complementary texts and scenes to appear either side of a doorway or other monumental feature,” and due to the Egyptian predilection for symmetry, that the most likely explanation is that the Second Stele has a twin, and they flanked a door or monument.<sup>433</sup>

Conveniently, the Third Stele appears to be roughly the same size as the Second Stele and decorated similarly. Further support for these two monuments being the matched pair the Smiths proposed can be found in the direction of the writing; the Second Stele is written from right to left, while the Third is left to right. This mirroring effect is standard among the complementary texts mentioned by the Smiths, and strongly suggests that the two were erected together flanking an entryway or monument. In this case, the Third Stele would be the beginning of a complete text, of which the Second Stele was the end, which would also explain the lack of date and regnal formula at the start of the Second Stele.<sup>434</sup>

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<sup>432</sup> Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 46–47.

<sup>433</sup> Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts,” 49.

<sup>434</sup> Van Siclen, “The Third Stele of Kamose,” 357.

However, a major flaw in this interpretation is that both texts seem to end with the byline and boasts of an official. The Third Stele even appears to list the monuments and temple furnishings produced by this official, which certainly does not seem like it would lead naturally into the disparaging speech of Kamose at the start of the Second Stele.

The relationship between these three texts is further complicated by an examination of the locations of their reuse and potential original placements within Karnak temple. We know that the First Stele was reused in the fill of the Third Pylon (Amenhotep III), the Second Stele was reused in the base of a colossus of Ramesses II at the Second Pylon, and the Third Stele was reused in the Eighth Pylon (Hatshepsut/Thutmose III). The Second Stele shows signs of Amarna Period erasures, as well as post-Amarna reconstruction, most likely dating to the reign of Tutankhamun or Horemheb, indicating it was on view at least until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, if not until the construction of the Great Hypostyle Hall itself.<sup>435</sup> Habachi and the Smiths then extrapolate from this reuse information to estimate the original locations of the stelae. They suggest that the First Stele was located in an eastern/older section of the temple, perhaps in a sanctuary area that was cleared for the constructions of Amenhotep III. The Second Stele, along with its potential twin, were likely in a more westerly area cleared for the construction of the Hypostyle Hall, possibly flanking the passageway through a pylon on the processional route. Smith and Smith do acknowledge that it is impossible to know if this pair originally belonged to the Kamose constructions in the temple, which were then removed and re-erected elsewhere in the Thutmosid Period.<sup>436</sup> If the Second and Third Stelae are a matched pair, the last scenario would explain the dating of the Third Stele's reuse in Hatshepsut's pylon. However, it does not

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<sup>435</sup> Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," 49.

<sup>436</sup> Smith and Smith, 49–50; Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 16–30, 45–46.



explain why the second half of the pair was saved and re-erected, while the first half was broken up for fill. Indeed, Van Siclen questions in general why the two stelae would have been reused so separately in space and time if they were originally a matched pair.<sup>437</sup>

Smith and Smith presented three theories on the relationship between the texts: 1) all three record consecutive stages of Kamose's wars in the sequence of First, Third, Second stele; 2) the First Stele and the combined Second and Third Stelae both record all of the military events, but were "differently constituted or arranged"; 3) the First Stele was inscribed with the same text that was split between the Second and Third Stelae. They were able to demonstrate that according to the postulated spacing of the complete First Stele, this final scenario was possible.<sup>438</sup> To these three hypotheses, Van Siclen adds: 4) the First Stele is the beginning of the text which ends on the Second Stele (although they were not matched and erected separately), while the Third Stele is unrelated; 5) the Third Stele is the beginning of the text which ends on the Second Stele as a matched pair, while the First Stele is unrelated; and 6) all three are completely separate unique texts.<sup>439</sup> Unfortunately, all six of these hypotheses are plausible given the fragmentary nature of the First and Third Stelae. While I do believe the best explanation for the lack of titulary and dating formula on the Second Stele is that it is the continuation of another monument, I do not think that the Third Stele is its partner. The inclusion of the official's titles and deeds at the end of the Third Stele indicates a concluded, complete text. Perhaps the fragments of yet another matching stele, bearing the beginning of the text from the Second Stele, is still forthcoming from the depths of a pylon. Given the consistency in orthography and

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<sup>437</sup> Van Siclen, "The Third Stele of Kamose," 357–58.

<sup>438</sup> Smith and Smith, "A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts," 50.

<sup>439</sup> Van Siclen, "The Third Stele of Kamose," 357–58.

paleography between all three stelae, it is possible that they were part of a larger series that contained another, matching monument. Alternatively, perhaps some of the fragments of the Third Stele actually belong to this fourth monument, which would aesthetically match the Second and Third stelae but contain the start of the text which ends on the Second Stele as its mirrored partner.

All of this speculation on the original placement and the length of time these stelae were on display impacts the interpretation of these texts considering their role as monuments, the agendas of their authors, and the reuses of the texts themselves (rather than the stone on which they were inscribed).

### Re-Reading the Stelae of Kamose

I can think of few other moments in the course of Bronze Age Egyptian history when the state discourse on what it means to be Egyptian would be more virulently and strongly defined than at the end of the Second Intermediate Period. That charged political message was then compounded and imbued with religious significance through its erection in the sacred space of the Amun temple at Karnak. Yet, despite the gravitas and heated political climate of these texts, the Kamose Karnak Stelae are still riddled with details that seem strongly at odds with the constructed narrative. Scholars have discussed these texts as both literary and historical sources,<sup>440</sup> but most fail to consider that these were physical monuments on the landscape that were built to achieve something, rather than simply commemorate it.

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<sup>440</sup> See for example: Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*; Flammini, “Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt”; Enmarch, “Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions”; Spalinger, “Two Screen Plays”; Eyre, “Is Egyptian

### *The First Stele/The Carnarvon Tablet*

It is important to note that throughout these texts, different terms will be used to identify the Southwest Asians in the eastern Delta, including (most often) *ʕzm.w*, *sti.w*, and *mnt.ḫw*. Both of the latter terms do not appear to be linked specifically to any single geographical location; for example in Lines 3 and 4 which are discussed below, the term *sti* refers to a Nubian individual and the Hyksos (*sti.w*) respectively. Instead, these two terms may more likely be general catch-all terms for foreigners, or refer more specifically to occupations such as bowmen or nomads.<sup>441</sup> The term *ʕm* is also incredibly difficult to associate with a specific region narrower than anything to the North and/or East of the Nile Valley.<sup>442</sup> In all three cases, these terms indicate connotations closer to an ethnogeographic or cultural identity, while *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* stands separately as a political title—one which Kamose completely avoids using as it implies the Hyksos’s power and legitimacy.

The text of the First Stele/Carnarvon Tablet opens with the standard titulary and regnal formula of Kamose. In line 3, Kamose begins his famous lament:

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Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?”; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*; Goedicke, *Studies about Kamose and Ahmose*; Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts.”

<sup>441</sup> Cooper, “Toponymy on the Periphery: Placenames of the Eastern Desert, Red Sea, and South Sinai in Egyptian Documents from the Early Dynastic until the End of the New Kingdom,” 80.

<sup>442</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II*, 5–6; Redford, “Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom,” 131; Cooper, “Toponymy on the Periphery: Placenames of the Eastern Desert, Red Sea, and South Sinai in Egyptian Documents from the Early Dynastic until the End of the New Kingdom,” 80.

To what end do I know my (own) strength? One chief is in Avaris, another in Kush, and I sit united with an Asiatic (*ʿzm*) and a Nubian (*sti*)! Each man holding his slice in this Egypt and so the land is divided with me!

It is interesting, and perhaps an intentional play on words, that the author chose to describe these three rulers as *smꜣ* (united), the traditional word used in naming the unification of the two lands of Egypt—distinctly juxtaposed with the current state of affairs. This choice also evokes the traditional unification (*smꜣ-tꜣ.wy*) iconography in which Seth and Horus tie the heraldic plants of Upper and Lower Egypt together—ironically now Seth is strongly linked to the ruler of Avaris.<sup>443</sup> Furthermore, the phrase “his slice in *this* Egypt” is very unusual, as it is uncommon to include the demonstrative pronoun before the word *km.t*. In the letter portion of the Second Stele (see below), the portions of Egypt belonging to Apepi are referred to as “this Egypt” (*pꜣ km.t*), while Kamose is cited as in the midst of Egypt (*nty m hnw.s*). Given the distinction in usage, I do not believe the article is meant to emphasize an empathetic relationship, but rather indicates the cultivated land which the speaker considers to be under their sovereignty. In this case, Kamose is claiming that all of the cultivated land traditionally considered to be Egypt rightfully belongs to him, yet is being divided amongst the three rulers. However, in the Second Stele, the phrase *pꜣ km.t* is only used by Apepi, suggesting that he is referring to the cultivated land he considers his own territory (see below).

This line provides an excellent example of the sort of *a priori* assumption of Egyptian superiority which is constantly (and unconsciously) applied in the interpretation of the texts, especially regarding the Hyksos. In this case however, it affects how scholars have understood

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<sup>443</sup> T. Schneider, personal communication.

the reach of the polity of Kerma. Flammini suggests that this line indicates that Lower Nubia was considered an integral part of Egypt already in the Middle Kingdom. She cites other sources, such as the boundary stelae of Senwosret III, as well as the Execration Texts, to show that by the mid-12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Lower Nubia was economically and administratively part of Egypt. This line then implies that, by the late Second Intermediate Period, Lower Nubia had been so ideologically incorporated into Egypt that the Nubian chief's so-called slice of "Egypt" was actually in Lower Nubia.<sup>444</sup> However, this interpretation of the line in the First Stele ignores the archaeological and textual evidence which suggests that not only was Nubia under Kerma control in the Second Intermediate Period, but this polity raided deep into Theban territory on multiple occasions.<sup>445</sup> Furthermore, the "slice" of Apepi is located within the traditional boundaries of Egypt. Therefore, I suggest an alternative reading of this section which implies that the Kerma ruler may have had control over some territory in Upper Egypt itself, or raided it frequently enough that it could not have been considered under Theban control. In fact, in lines 5-6, Kamose's officials claim that "We are doing alright with our Egypt: Elephantine is strong, (6) and the interior (heartland?) is with us as far as Cusae." It is interesting that Elephantine was simply described as strong, not as part of the Theban holdings. While the most straightforward reading suggests that Thebes held the south from Elephantine to Cusae, perhaps a less likely reading might imply a more independent Elephantine harried by Kerma.

In line 4, Kamose decries how much Egyptian territory Apepi controls, and claims, "No man can rest, being shorn (stripped) by the taxes of the Asiatics (*Sti.w*)."

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<sup>444</sup> Flammini, "Ancient Core-Periphery Interactions: Lower Nubia during Middle Kingdom Egypt," 57.

<sup>445</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, "A Buhen Stela from the Second Intermediate Period (Khartum No. 18)."

always discussed in terms of the despotic rule of the Hyksos,<sup>446</sup> it has a much greater (and more objective) significance. Given that the Thebans were this aware of the taxes being paid to the Hyksos, it is clear that the latter had established a fully functioning bureaucratic system. This bureaucracy would have had to be capable of calculating how much wheat, agricultural goods, and perhaps even labor, were owed to the new capital from various locales, and ensure that those taxes were paid. Such a system implies the employment of scribes, administrative practices and implements such as seals, etc. I have argued elsewhere that much of the Hyksos administrative system appears to have been adapted from the preexisting Egyptian administration, with expanded roles to accommodate Middle Bronze Age southwest Asian kinship networks.<sup>447</sup> Further evidence of this taxation is found in the inscription of a stone vessel of Apepi which was discovered in Spain in a later context:

The good god, lord of the two lands, whose power reaches the limits of victories; there is no country free of paying tax (*b3k.w*) to him. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Aauserre, son of Re Apepi.<sup>448</sup>

Another passage which has been read over and over through the same entrenched understandings is in line 6. This is the portion of the text in which Kamose's council officials advise him to inaction, arguing that the situation is just fine the way it is. The scholarly discourse on this section focuses almost completely on the plot structure as an early example of the *Königsnovelle* in Egyptian literature.<sup>449</sup> Yet line 6 in particular includes some striking details,

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<sup>446</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*.

<sup>447</sup> Candelora, "The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground."

<sup>448</sup> Padró and Molina, "Un vase de l'époque des Hyksos trouvé à Almuñécar (province de Grenade, Espagne)."

which, when re-read without the standard literary approach, suggest new understandings of the political relationships between Thebes and Avaris. Line 6 is written:

The finest of their fields are ploughed for us. Our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. The spelt is sent to our swine. Our cattle are not taken away . . . . on account of it.<sup>450</sup>

This portion clearly suggests that, before Kamose instigated the war, the Thebans enjoyed beneficial trade and grazing agreements with the Delta.<sup>451</sup> Apparently, Delta-grown agricultural products were regularly sent to the Thebaid, while Theban livestock could be driven north to make use of the prime grazing land in the Delta. In fact, there is no mention of payment for these benefits, and the way this line is phrased supports the notion that they were free perks—possibly a savvy political move by the Hyksos meant to ensure that the Thebans were satisfied with the status quo and less likely to attack, or the reciprocal diplomatic gift of southern gold, a valuable commodity to which the Hyksos did not have direct access.

This line is the first hint that Kamose was the only Egyptian we can point to among his contemporaries who was concerned with the Hyksos rule in the North, beyond those he claims are suffering. Further, it suggests that Kamose alone was the aggressor in the war, a detail which one can detect again and again in these texts if they are not read with a preconceived understanding of the Hyksos as the quintessential “enemies of Egypt.”

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<sup>449</sup> Flammini, “Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt”; Loprieno, “The ‘King’s Novel’”; Goedicke, *Studies about Kamose and Ahmose*; Spalinger, “Two Screen Plays”; Enmarch, “Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions.”

<sup>450</sup> Gardiner, “The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I.”

<sup>451</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 223.

The next section of interest strongly reinforces this re-reading. In line 12-13, Kamose sends a troop of Medjay against an individual named Teti:

I sent a strong troop of Medjay to enclose Teti, son of Pepi, in the midst of Nefrusi. I did not allow him to escape. I detained the Aamu who had defied Egypt, when he made it like a nest for the Aamu. (Line 13)

Teti is established as not only an enemy of Kamose, but as a loyal supporter of the Hyksos. Given his traditional Egyptian name, as well as that of his father, and the location of Nefrusi in Middle Egypt,<sup>452</sup> it can be argued that Teti was most likely an Egyptian with longstanding roots in the region. Therefore, this line reports that an Egyptian from Middle Egypt, well outside the core region of the Hyksos in the Eastern Delta, seems to have voluntarily sided with the Hyksos. Additionally, the phrase “he made it like a nest<sup>453</sup> for the Aamu” suggests that Teti not only supported, but possibly facilitated the immigration of Southwest Asians into his home region for permanent settlement. Clearly, not all Egyptians were as oppressed by the Hyksos or anti-Hyksos as Kamose would have us believe. Again, although Kamose’s victory over Nefrusi is in keeping with the expected narrative of this monument, the details included seem to undermine it and present Kamose as the unwanted aggressor.

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<sup>452</sup> Habachi has identified Nefrusi as being located near Ashmunein, since the funerary monument of an individual named Iamnofer calls him both the governor of Nefrusi and a servant in the cult of Thoth, lord of Ashmunein Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 51.

<sup>453</sup> The choice of the word “nest” is very interesting here, as it has positive connotations in Egyptian ideology as a sanctuary, especially for the young Horus. Kamose could easily have painted a more vile picture in this section of the text by using a negative metaphor for Nefrusi. However, I believe this word choice can be linked to another text, see below.



*The Second Stele*

The opening line of the Second Stele has stumped scholars for decades, and in multiple ways.

The fact that the stele begins *in medias res*, in the middle of a first-person speech, is extremely unusual and much discussed (see above). The translation of this line in particular has been much debated, so I provide here five examples which show the varying interpretations of this difficult passage.<sup>454</sup>

(1) *rꜥk ḥns m irꜥk wī m wr iwꜥk m ḥqꜣ r dbḥ* (2) *nꜥk tꜣ nm.t ḥr.tꜥk nꜥs*

“(1) . . . your authority is restricted - inasmuch as you, in your capacity as suzerain, have made me a chief – so that (now) you must (even) beg (2) for the block where you shall fall”<sup>455</sup>

“(1) . . . Your speech is mean, when you make me as ‘a chieftain’, while you are a ‘ruler’; so as to want (2) for yourself what is wrongly seized, through which you shall fall”<sup>456</sup>

“(1) . . . your mouth is narrowed when you make me a chief and yourself a ruler of Upper Egypt; in order to demand (2) for yourself the robbery because of which you shall fall”<sup>457</sup>

“(1) . . . your boast, making me out a vassal while you are the sovereign, is so mean as to demand (2) for you the chopping block to which you will (surely) fall”<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>454</sup> See Flammini, “Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt,” 60, note 15 for further examples; and Flammini, “Building the Hyksos’ Vassals” for a discussion of this passage in terms of vassalage.

<sup>455</sup> Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period,” 14.

<sup>456</sup> Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 32.

<sup>457</sup> Flammini, “Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt,” 60.

<sup>458</sup> Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts,” 60.

“(1) . . . deine törichte Rede, mich “Häuptling” zu nennen, und du selbst seist Herrscher, (2) wird für dich *den Richtblock* erfordern, durch den du fällst“<sup>459</sup>

I believe the strongest translations center on a sense of restricted authority, suggesting that the Hyksos at one point exercised authority over the Theban rulers, but that control had ebbed by this point. Regardless of translation difficulties, the implication of this phrase is clear: the author (whether that was Kamose, Neshi, or another Theban) understood that Apepi considered himself to be Kamose’s superior in political station. In fact, Habachi notes that the phrase *r=k hns* “is to be taken in a metaphorical sense meaning: “mean of speech,” in the same way as *hns-c* (narrow of hand) means “ungenerous.”<sup>460</sup> Schneider suggests that a more accurate translation is “your speech is narrow,” in the sense of a limiting authorization.<sup>461</sup> Given the stele’s public display at Karnak, and the ability of the author to compose the text to meet the desired, elite Theban, anti-Hyksos narrative, it is intriguing that the text refers to Apepi’s opinion—or the official political terminology which this text may also represent—as though it was ungenerous, rather than incorrect or untrue. Smith and Smith’s translation, and Redford’s choice to translate *r* as “authority” is even more interesting, suggesting that in reality Apepi was in fact the more legitimate and powerful ruler, so much so that he had some role in raising Kamose to his current, though subordinate, position. In either case, this line raises the question as to why Kamose or the author would have recorded this information on his own propaganda/victory monument within a sacred precinct? Indeed, this line presents a detail that made Kamose himself appear as less legitimate than, or even as a vassal of, the Hyksos king.

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<sup>459</sup> Kaplony-Heckel, “Der Kriegszug des Ka-mose gegen die Hyksos,” 530.

<sup>460</sup> Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 32 note e.

<sup>461</sup> T. Schneider, personal communication.

Perhaps it was so well-known a fact that the author did not feel that it could be evaded, even in this victory text.

This line has also been examined with focus on the meaning and implications of the differential use of titles for the various characters. A. Smith and H. Smith have argued that *ḥqꜣ* is used for ‘legitimate rulers’ while *wr* applies only to foreign or subordinate rulers. They submit that Apepi and Kamose both refer to themselves within the text as *ḥqꜣ*, while they use *wr* for the other.<sup>462</sup> However, Apepi apparently calls Kamose *ḥqꜣ* in his letter to the ruler of Kerma, and depending on the translation of the first line of the Second Stele, Kamose does in fact refer to Apepi as a *ḥqꜣ*. In another case, and unquestionably in his own words, Kamose calls Apepi *ḥqꜣ n Ḥw.t-Wꜣr.t* (ruler of Avaris—ln. 19 of Second Stele).<sup>463</sup> Flammini has also studied the issue in depth for the Second Stele in particular, observing that the title *ḥqꜣ* is used six times, referring to each Kamose, Apepi, and the Kerman ruler twice. The distinction she notes is that some of these instances feature the papyrus role (Y1) as a classifier sign, while others use the ruler wearing the white crown (A43). She suggests that semantically, the word *ḥqꜣ* written with the A43 classifier was meant to be read as “Ruler of Upper Egypt,” while those with the Y1 sign were meant to signal the illegitimacy of these characters. Flammini concludes that the followers of Kamose would have recognized the A43 classifier as a symbol of Kamose’s legitimacy.<sup>464</sup> However, she fails to explain why both Apepi and the ruler of Kerma are each titled once as *ḥqꜣ* with the A43 classifier—I would argue that these instances undermine her claim. While I do accept

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<sup>462</sup> Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts,” 68–69.

<sup>463</sup> Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 33, note g.

<sup>464</sup> Flammini, “Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt,” 57–64.

Flammini's reading of *ḥqꜣ* + A43 as "Ruler of Upper Egypt," I believe the only other inferences that can be made about these titulary disparities is that *wr* was considered a lesser title than *ḥqꜣ*,<sup>465</sup> and that the Y1 classifier may simply have been used when the title received further geographic information, such as *ḥqꜣ n Ḥw.t-Wꜣr.t*.

Yet all of this discussion about titles is rendered more confusing when considering the socio-political and physical context of these monuments. Given that these pieces had clear propagandistic and religious intentions, it seems strange that the Theban authors used any positive terms or titles in describing their enemies—and the cosmic enemies of Ma'at—especially a title that could be considered superior to one given to their own ruler. In a much more expected move, all of the writings of Apepi's name not only lack a cartouche, but are classified by an enemy sign (A14, A14\*) rather than a ruler symbol.<sup>466</sup> This kind of negative treatment fits much more within the historical and religious contexts of the Second Stele, still allowing the source to name the enemy, while invalidating any sense of their legitimacy. However, even in these instances, Apepi still receives the *sꜣ rꜥ* title before his name, a detail which does provide the enemy with not only legitimacy, but implicit divinity and divine backing.

Even if these sources are approached from another standpoint, these details are distinctly counter-narrative. Flammini does convincingly critique the notion of propaganda as a "concept strongly biased by modern and western conceptions, while the ancient Egyptian beliefs were connected to the idea that it was possible to obtain a certain result by putting action into words

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<sup>465</sup> Habachi suggests that *wr* likely implied that the individual was the head of a town or city, rather than a large region or country (1973: 33 note f).

<sup>466</sup> Flammini, "Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt," 62.

(i.e. the Execration Texts).”<sup>467</sup> However, if we operate with the understanding that the Theban authors of these texts considered words and writing to be religiously and magically effective, rendering written things as reality, why would they have included these positive details about their enemies? Instead, they could have left all of the titles and epithets out, referring to Apepi only as a ‘vile Asiatic,’ and rendered him magically illegitimate and weak.<sup>468</sup> Indeed, there is evidence that the composition of the text on the Second Stele did undergo “editing,” which will be discussed below (see the section on the letter from Apepi to Kush).

The oft-cited section in lines 11-15 details the spoils that Kamose won from his conquest of the area around Avaris. This list includes oils, weapons, horses, precious stones and metals, as well as imported woods, and is a standard literary trope, especially from later New Kingdom texts, to demonstrate the might and successes of the king. However, such a list simultaneously describes the vast wealth of Avaris as a northern port city with ties to the Levant and eastern Mediterranean. Given the wealth of the city itself, it can be extrapolated that the Hyksos rulers and their subjects (at least the elites) were both quite wealthy and cosmopolitan, engaged within the sorts of elite international display and consumption that were common throughout the Middle Bronze Age Near East, as well as the trade networks required to support that display.<sup>469</sup>

A portion of this list which is of further interest to this discussion is lines 11-12: “I drink of the wine of your vineyards (12) which the Asiatics whom I captured pressed out for me.” While wine grapes had been cultivated in the eastern Delta since the Early Dynastic period,<sup>470</sup>

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<sup>467</sup> Flammini, 56.

<sup>468</sup> T. Schneider (personal communication) comments that this choice may have been a cautious political move, meant to protect the Theban elite in the case of Apepi’s eventual victory.

<sup>469</sup> See further discussion in Candelora, “The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground.”

Kamose specifically refers to these as “your vineyards” while speaking directly to Apepi. The phrasing suggests that Apepi is in full, uncontested ownership of these vines, and therefore that the Hyksos were responsible for their ongoing cultivation or perhaps their restoration, improvement with imported grapes, etc. This idea may be further supported by the fact that Kamose has his Aamu prisoners press out new wine especially for him. Instead of capturing vast wine stores from which he decides to sample, Kamose indicates his full conquest over these Hyksos resources by having their subjects harvest the grapes and produce new wine for his personal consumption. This decision is even more interesting considering the longstanding tradition of Southwest Asians being highly skilled vintners<sup>471</sup>—Kamose takes for himself not only the grapes and wine, but the highly specialized labor and knowledge of these prisoners of war.

In the following section, Kamose describes what he did to cities and towns controlled by or loyal to the Hyksos:

(17) I leave them in desolation, there are no people; I destroyed their cities and burned their places made into red mounds (18) forever, because of the destruction they had made in the midst of this Egypt: they who had caused them(selves) to serve the Asiatics, had forsaken Egypt their mistress.

Despite Kamose’s claims, no archaeological evidence has yet been uncovered to suggest anything close to this level of destruction in either Middle Egypt or the Delta, caused by Kamose

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<sup>470</sup> See evidence and references in Levy and Van den Brink, “Interaction Models, Egypt and the Levantine Periphery.”

<sup>471</sup> Candelora, “Hybrid Military Communities of Practice”; Morris, “Mitanni Enslaved”; Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?”

or the Hyksos and their subjects.<sup>472</sup> Again, line 18 reinforces that the Hyksos did indeed have loyal Egyptian subjects who seem to have voluntarily sided with them in this conflict, suggesting (as also discussed above) that these Middle Egyptians were not dissatisfied with Hyksos rule. This completely goes against the narrative Kamose himself established early in the First Stele, in which he desired to rescue Egyptians who were being exploited and oppressed by their foreign overlords.

Yet the section of the Second Stele which records the intercepted letter from Apepi to the ruler of Kerma is perhaps the most interesting for the study of counter-narrative elements. The concept that the letter was in fact a real, physical document is yet another tangential discussion which is debated. Flammini believes that this passage of the Second Stele was copied and altered slightly from an original text.<sup>473</sup> A. and H. Smith have argued that the Kamose Karnak texts were based on several ‘real’ sources, including the official, royal campaign daybook of Kamose, some of his actual speeches given on the battlefield, some record of the ‘minutes’ of his war councils, and the captured message from Apepi to Kerma.<sup>474</sup> While I do believe that a messenger was captured on the Western Desert route, bearing some letter between Apepi and Kerma (with something approximating the text recorded on the stele), I do not think we can say anything about the reality of these ‘other sources.’

The text of the letter, which Kamose claims was written by the hand of Apepi himself, says:

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<sup>472</sup> Bietak, “Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom.”

<sup>473</sup> Flammini, “Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt,” 62.

<sup>474</sup> Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts,” 75.

(20) Aauserre, son of Re, Apepi greets my son,<sup>475</sup> the ruler of Kush. Why have you risen as ruler without causing me to know? Have (21) you seen what Egypt has done against me? The ruler who is in its midst, Kamose the Brave, given life, is attacking me on my soil, but I do not attack him in the way (22) he has done also against you. He cut up the two lands in order to make it suffer, my land with yours, and he ravaged it/them. Come downstream! Do not (23) (be afraid/hesitate). See, he is here with me. There is no one who will stand (wait) for you in this Egypt. Look, I will not allow that he go until you arrive. Then we will divide (24) the towns of this Egypt and *Hnt-ḥn-nfr* will be in joy.

This letter is rather disjointed in its presentation of Kamose when the details are examined closely. Most apparently, Kamose's name is still encircled by a cartouche, and followed by the epithet "the Mighty" as well as a standard blessing. These elements are all to be expected given the Theban author of the text. Conversely, lines 21-22 depict Kamose rather negatively as the aggressor, not just against the enemy rulers but also against Egypt itself. The term "the two lands" (*pꜣ tꜣ.wy*) is used, possibly implying the collectivity of Egypt, especially with the definite article. In fact, where the letter refers to the territory under Hyksos control, the definite article is always used (*pꜣ km.t*), while the mention of Kamose's territory is simply termed *km.t* (see above for further discussion). Kamose and "Egypt" (no article) are equated in the letter as the aggressors. This suggests that the Theban authors of the text (and presumably the letter as well) are making it seem as though Apepi acknowledges Kamose not only as a ruler of

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<sup>475</sup> The phrase "my son" in the letter has received quite a bit of attention as well. Van Seters and Flammini see this phrase as a reflection of the political structure of Amorite vassalage in the Middle Bronze Age. Essentially, they argue that Apepi calls the ruler of Kush "my son" as a form of patrimonial address indicating his own superiority in rank, which is common among diplomatic correspondence at Mari. See Flammini, "Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt," 69; Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*, 162–68.



Egypt, but as a powerful military enemy. It is unfortunately impossible to know if Apepi would have agreed.

Strikingly, the letter presents Kamose as the inverse of a good Egyptian king whose major role was to uphold and defend Maat. Instead, Kamose causes chaos and literally de-unifies the two lands of Egypt. He is also depicted as the antagonist, the one who attacked un-provoked, which is precisely the opposite of what is heralded as good behavior in much of the preexisting Middle Kingdom wisdom literature (and according to Kamose’s own council! —see First Stele, ln. 7: “Only when one comes who acts against us do we act against him”). Therefore, much of this letter characterizes Kamose in a way that is not only counter to the expected narrative, but in many ways its polar opposite. While Kamose could have been depicted negatively in the letter portion of the text to better “sell” the idea that the letter was written by Apepi, and consequently to bolster Kamose’s claims to military action, the extremity of the negative depiction is unusual. Again, the inversion of the king’s role in preserving Maat and unifying the land is, as far as I am aware, unique among royal texts in which the king is claiming the entirety of Egypt as his domain.<sup>476</sup>

I propose that it is these strong counter-narrative details, when examined through the lens of deconstruction, which can tell us the most about the actual historical situation of the late Second Intermediate Period—rather than the biased Theban narrative itself. This is especially true when investigated alongside the fact that this text clearly underwent editing by the Theban author, which can be seen specifically in the letter sent from Apepi to the ruler of Kerma. Within the letter, supposedly authored by Apepi himself, Kamose is not only given the title “Ruler of

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<sup>476</sup> There are First Intermediate Period texts which deal with inter-Egyptian skirmishes, but no explicit claims are made to be the rightful ruler of a unified Egypt.

Upper Egypt” (*ḥqꜣ* + A43), but his name is enclosed in a cartouche and is appended by several royal epithets (Second Stele, ln. 21). Flammini argues that these details are unlikely to have been included in the original letter, as would Apepi’s use of the enemy sign in his own name, and therefore that the Theban authors had at least edited the text of the letter to enforce its compliance with the broader narrative of the monument.<sup>477</sup> This understanding is strongly in keeping with the function of monuments to memorialize deeds for the future. As Wendrich states:

The type of remembering that is expressed in monuments differs markedly from personal memories, through its communal character and its endorsement by official entities. . . . The communality of the effort (to build the monument) results in a depersonalized, often canonized memory, an “official” version of how a particular history is to be remembered.<sup>478</sup>

The Theban editing of Apepi’s letter is therefore a standard tactic in monument construction, and fully to be expected—which is precisely why the inclusion of the rest of the counter-narrative details is so unusual and significant.

The titles of Neshi are another strong example of the sort of “editing” or propagandistic tweaking of the text which is to be expected from such a monument. In the final few lines of the text, the official Neshi includes his byline and takes responsibility for the erection of the monument by the orders of Kamose. In line 36, he refers to himself as the *sdꜣ.wty bꜣ.ty*, “Seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt,” using the red crown in place of the usual bee sign to

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<sup>477</sup> Flammini, “Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt,” 62.

<sup>478</sup> Wendrich, “Visualizing the Dynamics of Monumentality,” 412–13.

indicate Lower Egypt. It is clear that this was meant as a political statement about Kamose's legitimacy and his right to rule the North by insinuating that Kamose was already king in the North as well as Thebes. We know, however, that this was not the case, and that Kamose himself was likely killed (in battle?) soon after this monument was created. But the conscious choice of title by the authors is perfectly in keeping with the intended narrative, and indeed the intended function, of the monument. In an interesting juxtaposition however, two lines later (line 38) Neshi refers twice to the king, and in each case the words *Hmꜣf* (his majesty) and *nsw* (king) are followed by the classifier sign A43—the king wearing only the white crown. Again, if Flammini's interpretation of the semantic significance of this sign is accepted, Neshi essentially invalidates himself in this section. He calls himself the seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, but subsequently refers to Kamose as a King of Upper Egypt only. These are precisely the sorts of small details which could have easily been changed to reflect the intended narrative of the monument—why not classify these royal words with both the A43 and A45 signs, indicating that Kamose was a king of Upper and Lower Egypt? These particular details of titulary are particular difficult to resolve.

In general, I suggest that many of the counter-narrative details in the text were included because they were so normative for the period, so well-known as to be considered mundane. Therefore, the general information presented in these texts,<sup>479</sup> when re-read without the Theban bias, would read something like: The Hyksos, like all Egyptian kings before them, taxed their subjects and had loyal and voluntary Egyptian subjects at least as far south as Middle Egypt. Avaris was a bustling, metropolitan port city, and Apepi considered himself superior to the

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<sup>479</sup> The Third Stele and its contents have been omitted from this portion of the discussion, as it is so fragmentary and the translation so disputed that it does not contribute additional insights.

upstart down in Thebes. Kamose was less powerful than his northern counterpart, and was the aggressor in the situation, despite Thebes having beneficial trade and grazing agreements with the Delta, and no other expression of dissatisfaction with the status quo by either party.

### The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus

The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus was discovered in Thebes in the 1850s in the “ruins of a small building close to the mortuary temple of Ramesses II at Thebes.” Subsequently it was bought in Luxor by Alexander Henry Rhind, who brought it to England, and finally was purchased by the British Museum in 1865 in two pieces (BM 10057-8).<sup>480</sup> The papyrus was originally a continuous roll of 14 sheets of papyrus, ca. 40 x 32 cm each—a size standard for late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period papyrus sheets.<sup>481</sup> The recto of the papyrus has the scribe’s name (Ahmose) and the regnal formula: the 4<sup>th</sup> month of the inundation season, year 33 of king Auserre Apepi. The scribe also notes that he is copying writings from the reign of King Nimaatre (Amenemhet III),<sup>482</sup> which demonstrates how the Hyksos supported scribal practice and the preservation of knowledge. The verso is mostly blank except for a patched area (Number 86) and Number 87, halfway along the top edge, with a regnal date and short inscription (Figure 27).<sup>483</sup>

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<sup>480</sup> Robins and Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 9.

<sup>481</sup> Robins and Shute, 10.

<sup>482</sup> “This book was copied in the year 33, in the fourth month of the inundation season, under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, A-user-Re, given life, in likeness to writings of old made in the time of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nimaatre.” Translation in Chace et al., *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 49; Robins and Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 11.

<sup>483</sup> Robins and Shute, *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 10; Chace et al., *The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*.

The inscription of Verso Number 87 (hieroglyphs, transliteration, and translation can be found in the appendices) dates to regnal year 11 of an unnamed king. It is a record of how *p3-n-rsy* (“that southern one”) managed to defeat several Hyksos-controlled cities in the North, including Heliopolis and Tjaru (Sile). Most scholars now agree that the ‘southern one’ is most likely Ahmose, and the Northern King to whom the 11-year reign belongs must be Khamudi, the final Hyksos.<sup>484</sup> This conclusion would make the Rhind’s verso the only preserved Hyksos record of the war against Thebes, as well as providing crucial information on the progression of Ahmose’s campaign and chronological details.

### Ahmose Karnak Stele

The Ahmose Karnak Stele features 33 lines of text carved from a white limestone block measuring 2.38 meters high by 1.06 meters wide. The stele was found face down below the base of a colossal statue at the foot of the 7th pylon, but on a lower level than the base itself. Legrain suggested that it was reused as part of the paving of Thutmose III which runs under the later statue. A lack of Amarna Period revisions to the text also suggest the stele was buried before the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.<sup>485</sup> It is interesting to note that the fragments of the Third Stele of Kamose were also reused under Hatshepsut or Thutmose III, suggesting that this stele

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<sup>484</sup> Franke, “Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches Teil II,” 263; Bietak, “Historische und archäologische Einführung,” 29; Spalinger, “The Rhind Mathematical Papyrus as a Historical Document”; contra Ryholt, *The Political Situation*; most recently see Schneider, “Khyan’s Place in History. A New Look at the Chronographic Tradition,” 280, especially note 28.

<sup>485</sup> Legrain, “Second Rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak,” 27; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt Volume II*, 13.

was also a victim of their extensive building program, or even her campaign of vilification & damnatio of the Hyksos seen in her Speos Artemidos inscription.

The text is essentially a restoration text, extolling the great deeds of Ahmose. There are two sections, however, which warrant closer inspection. A phrase in Line 4 of the stele calls Ahmose the *nsw ns.yw m t3.w nb.w* (King of Kings in all lands). I would argue the reasoning behind this unusual phrase lies in Ahmose's known reaction to and usurpation of Hyksos titulary. He took the throne name *ḥq3-t3.wy* in direct response to the *ḥq3 ḥ3s.wt* title,<sup>486</sup> and in the same way this phrase could be linked to the common Near Eastern concept of the "King of Kings."<sup>487</sup> This title arose from a completely different political system than that of Egypt, where more powerful kings created alliances with various lesser kings, literally making them the "King of Kings." It is interesting that Ahmose uses this particular title in conjunction with the phrase "of all lands," stressing that he ruled the two lands of Egypt and beyond.

The second section of the text with importance here is lines 24-26. In particular, line 25-26 read:

*ʿw3.n3s mnf3.t3s nbnb.n3s sy nw.n3s wthw.w3s inq3s t3w.w3s sgrḥ.n3s Šmʿw dr3s bt3nw.w3s ḥm.t  
nsw Iḥ-ḥtp ʿnh.ti*

She recruited (gathered) its infantry, she secured it, she took care of its refugees, she gathered its deserters, she calmed (silenced) Upper Egypt, she drove out its rebels, Queen Ahhotep, may she live!

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<sup>486</sup> Harvey, "King Heqatawy"; Candelora, "Defining the Hyksos."

<sup>487</sup> See Law Code of Hammurabi, Epilogue xlvi 79: "I am the king preeminent among other kings" Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 134.

These lines clearly imply that, while Ahmose (and maybe also Kamose) was away on campaign, Queen Ahhotep not only took care of refugees, but captured deserters from the Theban forces and even quelled rebellions. These rebellions are specifically noted as having occurred in Upper Egypt, strongly indicating that local southerners, and likely even Thebans, were not all unanimously thrilled with the rule of this family. Perhaps some were dissatisfied with the decision to go to war with the Hyksos, as they considered the cause to be an unnecessary one which might hurt their own economic interests. Helck has also suggested that this passage may refer to the uprising of Tetian as recorded in the autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana, and conflicts between Egyptian royal family lines.<sup>488</sup> Indeed, these variable interpretations remind us about how complex the political situation of the late Second Intermediate Period likely was, and how little of that complexity we can determine from the preserved records.<sup>489</sup>

### Speos Artemidos

Speos Artemidos (Istabl 'Antar) is a small rock cut temple in Middle Egypt, dedicated to the local lioness goddess Pakhet. The site is located approximately 2.5 km south of the Middle Kingdom necropolis of Beni Hasan, at the mouth of the Batn el-Baqara. The temple consists of a portico with a four-columned façade, four more columns supporting the roof of the portico itself. Beyond this is a short passage leading to the inner sanctuary with an inset niche at the back.<sup>490</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> Helck, "Der Aufstand des Tetian," 131.

<sup>489</sup> See Schneider, "The Old Kingdom Abroad."

Apparently commissioned during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the columns and portico depicted both kings. The roughness of the columns, as well as the restriction of the Thutmoside decoration to only portions of the façade and portico areas, may indicate that the temple was only partially completed during its initial construction.<sup>491</sup> Brand suggests that the names and images of Hatshepsut were removed during the *damnatio memoriae* campaign late in the reign of Thutmose III, while the names and images of Amun were removed during the Amarna Period. Seti I then restored the temple, constructing and decorating the short passageway and sanctuary, and usurping the pre-existing scenes.<sup>492</sup>

The inscription of interest here is the restoration text of Hatshepsut, in which she claimed not only to have restored the area in the aftermath of the Second Intermediate Period, but also to have been responsible for the expulsion of the Hyksos.<sup>493</sup> This inscription is located on the façade of the temple, above the portico's outer western columns (the right half of the cliff face façade, when facing the temple).<sup>494</sup> The text consists of 42 vertical columns of unequal lengths, which Gardiner attributed to "carelessness" despite the high quality finish of the rock surface.<sup>495</sup> Liszka speculates that because this area was in the "buffer zone" between the Hyksos and

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<sup>490</sup> Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 54; Fairman and Grdseloff, "Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos," 12–13.

<sup>491</sup> Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 54; Liszka, "Speos Artemidos," 6351; Bickel and Chappaz, "Missions épigraphiques du Fonds de l'Égyptologie de Genève au Spéos Artémidos," 24.

<sup>492</sup> Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 54; Bickel and Chappaz, "Missions épigraphiques du Fonds de l'Égyptologie de Genève au Spéos Artémidos," 19; contra Fairman and Grdseloff, "Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos," 13.

<sup>493</sup> Goedicke, *The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut and Related Discussions*; Gardiner, "Davies' Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription"; Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period," 16–17; Allen, "The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut."

<sup>494</sup> Fairman and Grdseloff, "Texts of Hatshepsut and Sethos I inside Speos Artemidos," 12–13.

<sup>495</sup> Gardiner, "Davies' Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription," 44.



Theban territories, the location was chosen for this inscription because “many battles likely occurred here.”<sup>496</sup> While there is little evidence to suggest that any battles took place in this region, this is an excellent example of the types of historical information that scholars attempt to draw out from the text.<sup>497</sup> The most popular current opinion on the function of the text is Hatshepsut’s usurpation of the past in order to reinforce the legitimacy of her rule.<sup>498</sup> This inscription is crucial for the analysis presented here for several reasons: it bears striking resemblances to other texts within the restoration genre, as well as the Kamose Karnak texts and the Hyksos narrative preserved by Manetho, and remained visible and accessible on the monumental landscape for generations (directly evidenced by the constant reworking of the temple during the New Kingdom).

### *Re-Reading the Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut*

The vast majority of this text focuses on the restoration of temples in the region, as well as Hatshepsut’s might and divine right to rule. The only lines of interest here are those that reference the Hyksos, an usurpation of history which is often discussed as negative New Kingdom propaganda against these foreign kings or as legitimization for her rule.<sup>499</sup> In this section, she makes the famous claim that the Hyksos “ruled without Re” (*ḥqꜣꜣsn m-ḥmt Rꜥ* - In.

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<sup>496</sup> Liszka, “Speos Artemidos,” 6351.

<sup>497</sup> see also Weill, *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*, 1:37.

<sup>498</sup> Gardiner, “Davies’ Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription,” 45; Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?,” 417–18.

<sup>499</sup> Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos,” 207; Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?”; Gardiner, “Davies’ Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription”; Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition.”

38), which has been proven to be untrue numerous times.<sup>500</sup> The text goes on to say that she “has driven off those detested by the gods, and the earth has removed their footprints” (*šhr.n=i b.wt ntr.w jn.n t3 tb.wt=sn*—ln. 40), taking full responsibility for another untruth, that she was the king who expelled the Hyksos.

Two of these lines in particular are remarkable for the small details which appear contrary to the traditional narrative of the despotic, destructive Hyksos. Lines 37-38 read:

(37) *ʿ3m.w m-qbs n t3-mḥ.w Hw.t Wʿr.t šm3.w m-qbs=sn* (38) *ḥr šḥn ỉry.t*

(37) Aamu were in the midst of the Delta (at) Avaris, while nomads in their midst (38) were destroying what had been made.

The duplication of the phrase *m-qbs* is unusual, and serves to highlight the distinction between the Aamu in Avaris and the *šm3.w* among them, clearly identifying these two as separate groups. Although the term *šm3.w* can have the meanings of “wanderers” or “wandering demons,” especially in medical texts, it came to be associated with the general notion of foreignness. Of note in this text however is that the word is labeled with a distinctive classifier sign, Gardiner’s A33 (man with stick and bundle over his shoulder). This sign implies an understanding of the term *šm3.w* as a transhumant or mobile group, essentially nomads.<sup>501</sup> Therefore, a careful rereading of these lines indicates that these nomads—perhaps akin to the Shasu or Habiru of the 15<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE—not the general Aamu population of Avaris, were the ones blamed for their destructive ways. Identifying who was meant by this group is likely impossible, but it can

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<sup>500</sup> Candelora, “The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground”; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*; Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*; Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt.”

<sup>501</sup> Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period,” 32, note 207.

be argued that the destruction which is attributed to the Hyksos on the basis of this text may be misplaced. It is to be expected that the Hyksos would be vilified in Egyptian sources, so this line may also be indicating that several nomadic groups were considered a part of the Hyksos constituency.

### The Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre

The so-called “Quarrel” of Apepi and Seqenenre is a fragmentary piece of a Late Egyptian tale, centering around the historical figures of the Hyksos Apepi and the 17<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Theban king Seqenenre Taa. Both rulers are located in their historical capitals at Avaris and Thebes, respectively, and Apepi sends a messenger to Seqenenre complaining that the noise of some Theban hippopotami are preventing him from sleeping. Seqenenre appears baffled by this message, but responds subserviently, setting the stage for what seems like it would be a comedic battle of wits of sort, had the tale not broken off at this point.<sup>502</sup> The text is preserved only in part, and on a single papyrus: British Museum EA 10185 (Papyrus Sallier I). This tale appears on the recto of the papyrus ahead of a letter-writing manual, while the *Instruction of Amenemhat I* is on the verso. The text and papyrus are dated to year 10 of Merenptah, and the scribe responsible for the recording is the same Pentaweret known for his copy of the *Qadesh Battle Poem* (Papyrus Sallier III)—as Spalinger puts it, this text has a paleography and “idiosyncratic writings” which match Pentaweret’s Qadesh Poem.<sup>503</sup> Quirke posits that, although the find spot of P. Sallier I was

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<sup>502</sup> See translations in Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*; Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period”; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*.

<sup>503</sup> Spalinger, “Two Screen Plays,” 115; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 32–33; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 193; Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*.

not recorded, it belongs to a cache from a single Saqqara tomb which also contained several other Ramesside copies of literary works such as the *Teaching of Khety*, the *Satirical Letter* (P. Anastasi I) and the *Tale of Two Brothers*.<sup>504</sup>

Several interpretations of this text have been proposed. Di Biase-Dyson and Manassa have written two of the more recent investigations of this text, focusing on literary and grammatical analysis. Manassa classifies this story as a work of historical fiction, in which the primary characters are “fictionalized versions of known individuals.”<sup>505</sup> This category of text is distinct from both the monumental sphere and stories set in myth.<sup>506</sup> Di Biase-Dyson approaches the text from a much more technical perspective. She presents the text overall as a comedic parody of contemporary Ramesside historical royal texts, specifically monumental inscriptions, which feature a strong, active Egyptian king subduing a foreign threat. In the case of this text, she argues that the grammatical analysis characterizes Apepi as the dynamic, active character, while Seqenenre is portrayed as static and indecisive.<sup>507</sup> The only monograph length study by Goedicke read the text very literally as a historical source, essentially through somewhat tortured reconstructions of lacunae and alternate readings or translations of particular words or phrases.<sup>508</sup> In this way, *Apepi and Seqenenre* was viewed through an extreme historicist lens, and elements from the narrative were taken as “evidence of factual events.”<sup>509</sup> Both Manassa and Di Biase-

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<sup>504</sup> Quirke, “Archive,” 388–91.

<sup>505</sup> Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 3.

<sup>506</sup> Manassa, 21–24.

<sup>507</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 204–12.

<sup>508</sup> Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*; von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, 188.

<sup>509</sup> Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 34.

Dyson deny that this story provides any historical proof of the wars at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>510</sup> As Di Biase-Dyson notes,

In sum, scholars seem to either superimpose the swashbuckling heroics of Kamose and Ahmose onto the narrative, or use the circular logic that this story provides an indication of conflict with the Hyksos, for which reason the text should be read literally.<sup>511</sup>

Instead, she proposes that perhaps the parody is meant to comment on religion as intercultural antagonism, relating in some way to the Ramesside zeitgeist of personal piety.<sup>512</sup>

An incredible amount of ink has been spilled specifically on the plot point surrounding the hippopotami of Thebes which ostensibly made so much noise they kept Apepi awake at night. Goedicke, continuing his tendency to read the text literally, did not believe this could be a realistic issue, and consequently re-read *db.w* (hippopotami) as *dbj* (army), despite the incorrect spelling.<sup>513</sup> Säve-Söderbergh suggested a more cosmic or religious interpretation, linking the hippopotami to the Hyksos patron deity Seth. He argued that the noisiness was the result of the spearing of the hippopotami by the Thebans, which upset Apepi due to their Sethian symbolism, and instigated a cosmic dispute between Amun-Re and Seth.<sup>514</sup> Spalinger links the hippopotami letter-writing episode to the international diplomacy of the Late Bronze Age,<sup>515</sup> while Redford

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<sup>510</sup> Which many studies, especially earlier studies, absolutely do – see for example Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz*; Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*.

<sup>511</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 225.

<sup>512</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, 226.

<sup>513</sup> Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, 24.

<sup>514</sup> Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*, 43–45; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 201–2, note 46.

<sup>515</sup> Spalinger, “Two Screen Plays,” 125.

identifies it as a narrative motif of Southwest Asian origins, in this case featuring “Re’s creation through the slaying of a noisome beast.”<sup>516</sup> Schneider argues that the hippopotami and their swamp environment were meant to symbolize the Delta, emphasizing Seqenenre’s claim to Lower Egypt.<sup>517</sup> Manassa suggests that the text on the verso of the Rhind Papyrus records the “birthdays” of Seth and Isis as marked by noisy divine storms, and that these festivals actually coincided with the sack of Avaris—thus the loud hippopotami in *Apepi and Seqenenre* are a cultural memory of this military event.<sup>518</sup> Regardless of the significance of the hippopotami themselves however, they provide the impetus which drives the plot of this tale.

Some scholars have considered why only a few lines of this text appear before the scribal letter-writing manual on one papyrus. This curious arrangement indicates that only a portion of the complete text of the tale was ever meant to be copied onto this papyrus, suggesting that the two texts are related in some way. Most have dismissed this arrangement as evidence of scribal practice, but Manassa proposes that this excerpt was chosen specifically by Pentaweret to serve as a humorous opening for his instructions on letter-writing. She suggests that the witty repartee of the exchanged messages in the tale provide a comic, but salient example of the battle of wits scribes might appreciate in their own exchanges.<sup>519</sup> It is precisely this bizarre correspondence that drives the vast majority of scholarship on this Late Egyptian story, as many have considered

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<sup>516</sup> Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, 278, note 79.

<sup>517</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten I*, 163.

<sup>518</sup> Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 57.

<sup>519</sup> Manassa, 33.

it through the lens of genre and investigated its unorthodox application of the *königsnovelle* motif.<sup>520</sup>

### *Re-Reading the Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre*

In essence, each ruler has their own *königsnovelle* episode in this story. First Apepi meets with his council in order to draft a provoking message to be sent to Thebes, and subsequently Seqenenre consults his own officials in an attempt to formulate a response. Manassa proposes that the variations on the traditional *königsnovelle* were employed to characterize Apepi and Seqenenre differently. Apepi is portrayed as illegitimate because he actually followed his court's advice, the opposite action of the traditional Egyptian king in this plot motif.<sup>521</sup> Alternatively, Seqenenre's response is interpreted by Manassa in two ways: either he is meant to appear very inactive, in opposition to the standard kingly reaction to "rage like a panther," or that his long delay in answering was actually a strategic stalling action meant to get Apepi to reveal his battle plans.<sup>522</sup> Di Biase-Dyson also notes that "Apophis is textually dominant as an episode initiator whereas Seqenenre appears as a partaker," both within the broader plot and the *königsnovelle* episodes themselves, although Apepi's actions counter the traditional plot device.<sup>523</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> Spalinger, "Two Screen Plays," 119–20; Fischer-Elfert, "Representations of the Past in New Kingdom Literature," 135; Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, 32–35; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 195–99; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 51–59; Loprieno, "The 'King's Novel.'"

<sup>521</sup> Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 51.

<sup>522</sup> Manassa, 59–65.

<sup>523</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 212–15.

The königsnovelle scene of Apepi has also been investigated through an interpretation of the actions and attitudes of his courtiers, who are often seen as overly-assertive for this context. Wente's translation of the story fills in many of the lacunae, and his reconstruction of the text presents this episode as though Apepi requires the aid of his officials to draft the message because he had an inadequate knowledge of the Egyptian language.<sup>524</sup> This is clearly not the case, as Apepi is in the midst of sending another missive, without the help of his court, as the text breaks off at the end. Fischer-Elfert argues instead that this passage indicates Apepi's general ineptitude.<sup>525</sup> This seems an incredibly suspect conclusion to me. It does serve a comedic interpretation of the text, but I am struck by the fact that Seqenenre's literal inability to form a response is not also characterized as a show of his ineptitude. I find this apparently disparate treatment of the two characters to be a consequence of the decades of scholarship (or millennia if you start the count with the Speos Artemidos inscription) which assume the Hyksos to be the antagonists, as well as the barbaric foil to the civilized Theban heroes.

A careful re-reading of this section without this preconception yields a very different understanding. Different translations of the text vary greatly in this section as the ink is poorly preserved and the papyrus extremely fragmented.<sup>526</sup> The sole secure take-away is that Apepi does heed the advice of his council, which opposes the progression of the traditional Egyptian königsnovelle theme. However, if this episode is approached from the understanding that Apepi, as a Hyksos, would have been operating from a Southwest Asian *habitus*, the interpretation changes. In the Middle Bronze Age Near East, political relationships were based on kinship

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<sup>524</sup> Wente, "The Quarrel of Apophis and Seknenre," 70, 1.5.

<sup>525</sup> Fischer-Elfert, "Representations of the Past in New Kingdom Literature," 134.

<sup>526</sup> Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period"; Manassa, *Imagining the Past*.



networks, alliances, and patrimonial language, creating a region where several kings could be united under a more powerful sovereign. Diplomatic exchange was crucial to the functioning of this system.<sup>527</sup> Therefore, the Apepi *königsnovelle* episode could instead be read as the Southwest Asian approach to a council session—Apepi requested advice from the high officials of his palace and, presumably approving, he followed it. Apepi’s actions did not follow the expected Egyptian course, not because he was stupid or inept or illiterate, but perhaps simply because he was not Egyptian. Furthermore, in the context of the New Kingdom composition of this text, diplomacy between Egypt and Western Asia would have been common, potentially increasing Egyptian awareness of these foreign customs of leadership, or even introducing them to the court through royal diplomatic marriage. Additionally, the Ramesside rulers themselves had a strong affinity for Southwest Asian cultural traditions and religion, hailing as they did from the long-since hybrid eastern Delta, again providing possible exposure to non-Egyptian customs.

Much of these prior assumptions have also influenced the reading of the religious aspects of this story. In another historicist reading, Orly Goldwasser interpreted the emphasis on monotheism within the text as representative of actual Hyksos religious practice, suggesting that the Hyksos kings were the original monotheists.<sup>528</sup> Others, chiefly Jan Assmann, have embraced the religious reading instead through the lens of collective memory, arguing that this monotheistic theme is actually a conflation of two traumatic events: Hyksos rule and the Amarna religious revolution.<sup>529</sup> Yet the focus on the monotheism of Apepi in this story ignores several lines of evidence: 1) Seqenenre is also presented as monotheistic in his worship of Amun-Re; 2)

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<sup>527</sup> Candelora, “The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground.”

<sup>528</sup> Goldwasser, “King Apophis of Avaris and the Emergence of Monotheism.”

<sup>529</sup> Assmann, *Of God and Gods*, 44–48; Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian*, 28–29.

numerous artifacts and texts reference the Hyksos (and specifically Apepi’s) worship of other gods, including his own throne names which glorify Re.<sup>530</sup> Spalinger argues that the sole focus of both characters on their respective gods is meant as a literary device to highlight the “alien nature of the Hyksos” in contrast to “the native Egyptian cult of the sun god Re.”<sup>531</sup> Strikingly, Goedicke claims that “religious affiliation was also for the Egyptians a reflection of character traits. Adherence to Sutekh was synonymous with instability, lawlessness, egoism and intemperance,”<sup>532</sup> making Apepi’s worship of Seth simultaneously the “most ‘foreign’ and offensive part of Apophis’ character.”<sup>533</sup>

Apepi’s entire character is defined as negative solely according to his religious affiliation to Seth. However, column 1.3 can be restored in a way that suggests that Seth was the one who demanded Apepi’s sole focus. The text reads:

*ḥr irt n=f Swth m nb iw=f tm.[t bzk.w] n ntr nb nty m p3 t3 r-drf [m wpw.t n Swth]*

He made Seth as lord, and he did not work for any god which was in the entire land at the behest of Seth.<sup>534</sup>

<sup>530</sup> See discussion in Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 37, 49.

<sup>531</sup> Spalinger, “Two Screen Plays,” 122.

<sup>532</sup> Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, 33.

<sup>533</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 226–27.

<sup>534</sup> As the papyrus is broken at this point, I restore it as , rather than Gardiner and Manassa who restore , but simply interpret the phrase as *ḥr-wpw Swth* “except Seth”

On the other hand, Seqenenre's fundamental nature is not questioned, but rather hailed for his piety and loyalty, despite his sole worship of Amun-Re. Papyrus Sallier 2.1 goes so far as to claim that Seqenenre:

*Nn hnwꜣ [f sw] n nꜥr nb.t nty m pꜣ [tꜣ r-dꜣꜣf] wp.w ꜥmn-Rꜥ nsw nꜥr.w*

He does not submit [himself] to any god which is in the [entire land] except Amun-Re, king of the gods.

In fact, Redford translates the word *hnw* as “trust,” yielding the meaning: “He did not trust in any other god in the entire land except Amunre, king of the gods.”<sup>535</sup> According to the structure of Egyptian religion, and the trauma of the Amarna revolution, this sentence identifies Seqenenre as just as much of a blasphemer as Apepi, if not more. Yet due to the entrenched assumption that the Hyksos were in some way evil, Seqenenre's monotheism is excused while Apepi's is denounced. Certainly, the extreme distinction between the sole worship of Seth versus the sole worship of Amun-Re may be seen as a reflection of the struggle between these two priesthoods during the Ramesside Period. The Seth-Baal cult, as the new patron deity of the Ramesside kings, allowed its priesthood a new chance at power and influence, which the Amun priesthood in Thebes had long enjoyed, and whose own power was growing (at least in the south) at the same time.<sup>536</sup>

Beyond that, the author of the text seems to have gone out of his way to describe Apepi's piety and the absolute Egyptian correctness of his cultic activity. Again in column 1.3, Apepi:

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<sup>535</sup> Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period,” 18.

<sup>536</sup> T. Schneider, personal communication.

[i<sub>w</sub>:f hr] qd ḥw.t-ntr m b3k.w nfr nhḥ

and he built a temple of fine workmanship for eternity/ and he built a temple of fine and enduring workmanship,

which is one of the fundamental duties of the Egyptian king. Additionally, the texts goes on to establish that

[i<sub>w</sub>:f] ḥ<sup>c</sup>w [tn] hr.w r rdit m3<sup>c</sup> . . . [m mn.t] n Swth iw n3 wr.w . . . <sup>c</sup>.w.s. hry mḥiḥ.w  
mḥ i irt ḥw.t-ntr n P3-R<sup>c</sup>-Hr-3hty hr <sup>c</sup>q3:f sp sn.w

and he appeared [every] day in order to give offerings/sacrifices . . . . daily? for Seth, while the officials [of the palace] l.p.h. were under (bearing) garlands like that which is done in the temple of Re-Horakhty as is twice<sup>537</sup> correct.

The text emphasizes that Apepi performs his cultic duties daily and exactly as tradition dictates, which should characterize Apepi as pious and a king strong in his role as priest. Yet, although Manassa recognizes this possibility, she also argues that this passage could indicate that Apepi was confused about Egyptian worship and was performing the cult incorrectly, as one should do for Re-Horakhty but instead in the temple of Seth.<sup>538</sup>

Furthermore, it is crucial to remember that this story was composed during the Ramesside Period, an era in which Seth (Baal) was the patron deity of the ruling family. Kings literally took the name of this god. The 400 Year Stele demonstrates that perhaps audiences during this particular period not only saw Seth positively, but even the Hyksos worship of Seth was

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<sup>537</sup> In the sense of very or exactly correct.

<sup>538</sup> Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 50.

celebrated and the temple originally constructed by the Hyksos at Avaris was still in full operation. Manassa argues that the text thus “reinforces the legitimacy” of the Ramessides “while mitigating the negative associations between Seth . . . and the foreign Hyksos.”<sup>539</sup> She claims that this mitigation can be seen in that, although Apepi exclusively worships Seth, the god does not then act for Apepi. Seth stays loyal to Egypt by remaining inactive, which then reinforces the popularity of the god during the Ramesside Period.<sup>540</sup> Yet all of these interpretations are premised on the notion that the reign of the Hyksos was traumatic, and they were considered to be evil. Instead, it is likely that at the site of Avaris/Piramesses, positive traditions surrounding both the cult of Seth-Baal and the Hyksos would have survived into Ramesside times.

Some have even argued that this dichotomy of religious affiliation and the antagonism between northern and southern Egypt that form the foundation of the plot may actually be linked to contemporaneous Ramesside sensibilities. They propose that the text is a subtle jab at Ramesside kingship by Theban scribes, who align the Ramessides with the Hyksos through their devotion to Seth. Through this comedic tale then, southern scribes were able to “hint at dissent” without being recognized outright as rebels.<sup>541</sup> However, even this interesting interpretation is predicated on the idea that the Hyksos were bad, and thus were used to mock the Ramessides. Instead, especially given the find spot of the only copy of this text—Saqqara, a *northern* necropolis—I would argue the opposite interpretation. Perhaps this text was authored by a

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<sup>539</sup> Manassa, 4.

<sup>540</sup> Manassa, 48.

<sup>541</sup> Maciejewski, “Der Streit zwischen Apophis und Seqenenre. Ein gedächtnisgeschichtlicher und ethnopschoanalytischer Zugang zu einer Erzählung aus ramessideischer Zeit”; Spalinger, “Two Screen Plays”; Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 230, note 182.

northern scribe, well situated within the Ramesside administration such as Pentaweret, who was in fact mocking Thebes. This would then explain why Seqenenre is made to appear dumbfounded and inactive, unintelligent to the point that he was unable to solve the riddle posed by Apepi's bizarre message. In this way, the north would be ridiculing the Theban tradition of kingship, especially given the contemporaneous rise in the power of the Theban Amun priesthood - perhaps signaled by Seqenenre's almost defiant sole worship of Amun-Re.

Much has also been made of the differential use of titulary in this story (Table 4). Both kings are given more than one title throughout the text, and both are referred to at least once by a combination of *wr* (chief) and their capital city. For both rulers, if their name is used, it is framed by a cartouche and receives the *ꜥnh wdꜣ snb* (life, prosperity, health) royal epithet. Seqenenre is referenced on eleven preserved occasions, but eight of these are the rather lackluster title *wr n niw.t rsi.t* (chief of the southern city). He is first introduced with the title *nsw* (King) and his name, then quickly qualified by the addition of "ruler of the southern city." Apepi on the other hand is introduced as *wr ꜥppy ꜥnh wdꜣ snb Hw.t-Wꜥr.t* (Chief Apepi, l.p.h. of Avaris), but oddly still with a cartouche and the royal epithet. Apepi is referred to eleven more (secure) times as *nsw*, with cartouche and l.p.h, and twice more as *nb*—again oddly with the addition of the royal epithet l.p.h.

Already apparent are several elements which challenge the assumption that Seqenenre is the protagonist of this tale. He is referred to less often, and by titles which indicate his status as less powerful than Apepi. Goedicke claims both rulers could not simultaneously hold the *nsw* title, as it was reserved for sole monarchs.<sup>542</sup> Yet this title is used for several of the 'kinglets' on

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<sup>542</sup> Goedicke, *The Quarrel of Apophis and Seqenenre*, 16.

Table 4 - Application of titles of rulership in The Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre

	Apepi			Seqenenre		
Line	Title	Cartouche	L.P.H.	Title	Cartouche	L.P.H.
1.1				<i>nsw + name</i>	x	X
				<i>ḥqꜣ n nīw.t rsi.t</i>	x	X
1.2	<i>wr +name+ Ḥw.t</i> <i>Wꜣr.t</i>	x	x			
	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x			
1.3	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x			
1.5	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	Lacuna
				<i>wr n nīw.t rsi.t</i>		
1.6	Completely restored					
1.9				<i>wr n nīw.t rsi.t</i>		
2.2	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x	<i>wr n nīw.t rsi.t</i>		
2.3	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x	<i>wr n nīw.t rsi.t</i>		
				<i>wr n nīw.t rsi.t</i>		
2.4	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x			
2.5	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x			
2.6				<i>wr n nīw.t rsi.t</i>		
2.7	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x			
	<i>Nb</i>		x	<i>wr n nīw.t rsi.t</i>		
2.9	Completely restored			Completely restored		
2.11	<i>nsw (restored) + name</i>	x	x			
3.1	<i>Nb</i>		x	<i>wr n nīw.t rsi.t</i>		
3.2	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x			
3.3	<i>nsw + name</i>	x	x			

the victory stele of Piye, who all ruled simultaneously.<sup>543</sup> Perhaps the patrimonial vassal system of the Hyksos established the possibility of one “king of kings” (*nsw nsw.w*), and therefore also subordinate kings (still *nsw*).<sup>544</sup> Manassa argues that these titles were purposefully used to work against the actions of these rulers, so despite his lesser titles, Seqenenre acts according to Ma’at and this provides his legitimacy. The initial use of the title *nsw* for Seqenenre is meant to mark that he is the possessor of the royal ka, while the remainder of the titles indicate his actual area of political control.<sup>545</sup> Conversely, Spalinger suggests that Apepi begins to be called *nsw* when the narrative shifts, when he becomes the main actor and therefore the protagonist— “logically within the constraints of the narrative, he has to be a ‘king’,” and simultaneously Seqenenre loses his *nsw* title to that of a *wr*.<sup>546</sup> Di Biase-Dyson also links the title choices generally to the active and passive natures of the characters, but proposes that their introductory titles are the traditional choices for the Egyptian vs. foreigner topos.<sup>547</sup>

Yet again, these titles represent details which appear to be contrary to the expected narrative. Apepi is clearly established as the ruler with more power, and even the application of titles highlights this Hyksos as the protagonist of the tale. Indeed, if the author of this text meant to demean the Hyksos king, this character could have been referred to using phrases such as *ꜥ3m hsi* (vile Asiatic), rather than as a king. Beyond that, the name Apepi is always enclosed in a cartouche, a kingly prerogative, and every single reference to Apepi (using his name or not) is

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<sup>543</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 220.

<sup>544</sup> T. Schneider, personal communication.

<sup>545</sup> Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 36–37.

<sup>546</sup> Spalinger, “Two Screen Plays,” 124.

<sup>547</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 221–22.



followed by the l.p.h. epithet. These small details are not only ones which could have easily been omitted, but whose constant and careful inclusion is significant. Viewed through a deconstructionist lens, this sort of detail strongly indicates that in the cultural memory of the Ramesside Period, or even in the opinion of the original author or Pentaweret himself, the Hyksos were remembered as legitimate historical kings warranting such titulary treatment.<sup>548</sup> Beyond that, the continuous use of the lesser title for Seqenenre not only communicates, but emphasizes his subordination to Apepi. In column 2.7, Seqenenre responds to the messenger of Apepi by referring to the Hyksos as *pꜣyꜣk nb ꜥ.w.s.* (your lord, l.p.h.). In this case, Seqenenre himself (via the author) gives Apepi the legitimizing royal epithet, “a term which emphasizes Apepi’s role as lord and master.”<sup>549</sup> This new understanding of these titles seems to further corroborate the above proposed interpretation of this text, that of a northern scribe mocking Thebes and Theban power—an interpretation which is much more relevant for contemporary Ramesside north/south tensions.

When re-read without negative bias against the Hyksos, additional details of the story also support this interpretation, emphasizing Apepi’s power and control while ridiculing Thebes. First, I will address the issue of the plague, pestilence or misery which is mentioned in the first line. Column 1.1 reads:

*ḥpr.w sw.wt wn in tꜣ n Km.t nw iꜣd.t iw nn wn nb ꜥ.w.s. nsw hrw. Ḥpr.w is.tw rf ir  
nsw Sḳnn-Rꜥ ꜥ.w.s. sw m ḥqꜣ ꜥ.w.s. n nīw.t rsi.t iꜣd.t nw dmi.t Rꜥ imꜣw*

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<sup>548</sup> Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos,” 207.

<sup>549</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 221; Windus-Staginsky, *Der ägyptische König im Alten Reich*, 244.

Then it happened that the land of Egypt was in a state of pestilence/in misery, while there was not a lord, l.p.h., as king at that time. It also happened that as for King Seqenenre, l.p.h., he was as ruler/sovereign, l.p.h., in the southern city. Pestilence/misery was in the city of Re on account of them.

Many scholars have linked this mention of pestilence to the archaeologically attested plague burials at Tell el-Dab'a, or the "Asiatic Disease" mentioned in medical texts, as well as to a more general state of cosmic disorder.<sup>550</sup> However, the implication of translations is always that the plague is to be blamed upon the Hyksos. Yet the use of the plural suffix pronoun at the end of this clause requires an antecedent—a subject named specifically *before* the pronoun appears. Neither the Hyksos Apepi nor the general Southwest Asian population of the eastern Delta have been mentioned at this point in the text, meaning that they cannot be the cause of the plague. Instead, it would seem that the only possible antecedent, given the plurality of the suffix pronoun, are the implied citizens of the southern city, i.e., Thebes. Indeed, the pestilence seems to be centered in the city of Re, likely Heliopolis in the north. Thus, either the Thebans are somehow responsible for the plague, or arguably they are indirectly responsible by not being able to prevent Hyksos rule in the north. Regardless, grammatically, the text does not in fact lay the blame on the Hyksos, and in either case disparages Thebes.

Immediately after this passage comes a description of Apepi's power and realm of control. Column 1.2 reads:

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<sup>550</sup> Manassa, *Imagining the Past*, 44–46.

*ʾIw wr ʾIppy ʿ.w.s. Hw.t-Wʿr.(t) iw hrp.w nʿf pʿ tʿ r-drʿf hry bʿk.wʿsn mh m mi.t.t hry  
hr.wt nb.t nfr.w nw tʿ mrhii*

While the chief Apepi, l.p.h., was in Hutwaret (Avaris), while the entire land was controlled for him, under (bearing) their taxes, the north in likeness under (bearing) every good thing of the Ta-Merhy (Delta).

Strikingly in agreement with a similar passage from the First Stele of Kamose/Carnarvon Tablet (see above), this line emphasizes that Apepi was in control of the entire land, not just the Delta, and all of Egypt paid taxes to him. This detail again implies that Seqenenre was subordinate to, and perhaps literally a vassal of, Apepi.

Towards the end of the surviving text are two more details that suggest Apepi's supremacy over Thebes. Column 2.10 is rather fragmented, but a portion can still be deciphered in which Seqenenre speaks to the messenger of Apepi. Redford suggests a translation with restorations along the lines of "[say to your master], 'whatever you say to me, I will do!'"<sup>551</sup> In Redford's translation, Seqenenre is subservient and accommodating to Apepi, acquiescing even to as of yet unknown demands. However, I would argue that the tail of the horned viper of the *f* suffix pronoun can be identified just left of the lacuna, indicating that Redford's translation of "whatever you say to me" is incorrect, and should be read "to him," something like:

*pʿ nty nb iwʿk hr dd.nʿf iwʿi irtʿf*

As for anything which you say to him, I will do it.

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<sup>551</sup> Redford, "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period," 18.

With this reading, the line goes so far as to present Seqenenre as deferential and obsequious to the messenger, allowing him (rather even than Apepi) to dictate the actions of the southern ruler. Finally, in column 3.2-3.3, Seqenenre repeats Apepi’s message to his own army officers and officials, and their response was:

*ḥꜥ.nꜣsn gr.w m r wꜥ<sup>552</sup> m i3d.t ꜥ3,<sup>553</sup> nn rhꜣsn ḥr wšb nꜣf m nfr m r pw bin*

Then they were in a state of silence as one for a great time, not knowing how to respond to him, whether good or bad.

These lines can be interpreted as having been meant to show the bumbling nature of the Theban court, who were dumbfounded and completely stumped by Apepi’s message, unable to perform their duties by providing aid to an equally stumped Seqenenre. The request itself was framed as a cryptic demand, perhaps a powerplay by Apepi designed to confuse the Thebans<sup>554</sup>—an outcome which undoubtedly elicited laughter from a northern audience.

Certainly, I would propose that almost all of the oft-discussed elements of this text can be re-read, without anti-Hyksos notions, in a new light. Instead of the traditional interpretations, I argue that the text does read as a comedic parody, but one which frames Apepi as a legitimate, powerful ruler and the Thebans as his rather fumbling and nervous subordinates. This would support the idea of the text having been composed by a northern scribe strongly involved in the Ramesside court. The Ramessides considered themselves to be the heirs to the Hyksos, including

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<sup>552</sup> *m r wꜥ* is translated in Late Egyptian as “unanimously” or “in one voice.” See Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* Vol. I p. 198.

<sup>553</sup> The  $\overline{\text{C}}$  at the very start of the line is reconstructed by Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*.. These form part of the determinatives of *i3d.t* from the previous line, in this case meaning “time”

<sup>554</sup> See Di Biase-Dyson 2013: 216.

their capital city and patron deity, thus explaining their positive treatment by this Ramesside intellectual. The main intent of the tale then was to ridicule Thebes, mocking the burgeoning power of the Amun priesthood as a comic provincial upheaval. That this interpretation of the text has not yet been put forward is in itself an example of the deep, entrenched bias against the Hyksos and how it colors not only the conclusions drawn in scholarship, but even the very research questions themselves.

### Manetho's Aegyptiaca

The text of *Aegyptiaca* was originally composed by Manetho, an Egyptian scribe, under orders from the Greco-Macedonian king Ptolemy II sometime in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. No original version of the text survives, instead excerpts have been transmitted through later classical authors, including most famously Josephus (*Contra Apionem*, ca. 95 CE), Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus.<sup>555</sup> Due to its preservation in classical sources, this is the first text studied and analyzed concerning the Hyksos and the nature of their rule. With the foundation of the discipline of Egyptology rooted in 19<sup>th</sup> century academics, these classical sources, especially those linked to Biblical themes, were the focus of attention. Even in the early research of Champollion and Lepsius, it is clear that the Hyksos passage of *Aegyptiaca* was already well known and debated.<sup>556</sup> Therefore, the content of this text and its early interpretations cemented

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<sup>555</sup> Waddell, *Manetho*, xv–xxv.

<sup>556</sup> Candelora, “Entangled in Orientalism,” 53–54; Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien, und der Halbinsel des Sinai*; Champollion, *Lettres a M. Le Duc de Blacas d’Aulps relatives au Musée royal égyptien de Turin: Première lettre – Monuments Historiques*.

the foundations of our current narrative and understanding of the Hyksos, one which remains tenacious despite much ongoing work incorporating the Avaris data.<sup>557</sup>

While for the most part it is difficult to see the Hyksos in any kind of positive light in this narrative, multiple elements of the text indicate its questionable historicity. First, in line 82 of *Contra Apionem I*, the Hyksos are identified as an entire race, rather than a small dynasty of individual rulers.<sup>558</sup> Second, the population numbers given seem extremely large for the ancient world, as Manetho sets the ‘Hyksos garrison’ alone at 240,000 (*Contra Apionem I*: 78). Further elements conflate the Hyksos period with later eras of history, as a recurring theme is the Hyksos’s fear of the (Neo-) Assyrians (*Contra Apionem I*: 77, 89). Redford argues that, due to these references to Phoenicia and Assyria, Manetho’s source for his narrative on the Hyksos was “an Egyptian (Demotic) piece composed sometime late in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, or during the 28<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, and redolent of the patriotism of the times.”<sup>559</sup> Thus it is likely that, like *Apepi & Seqenenre*, the narrative of *Aegyptiaca* was heavily influenced by more current events. The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian invasions of Egypt were damaging military affairs, with actual battles fought, which could explain the emphasis in *Aegyptiaca* on the destruction caused by the Hyksos, their military invasion, etc. (see *Contra Apionem I*: 75-77) —elements for which no evidence is preserved in the archaeological record, but which remain entrenched in the

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<sup>557</sup> Schneider, “Hyksos Research in Egyptology and Egypt’s Public Imagination: A Brief Assessment of Fifty Years of Assessments.”

<sup>558</sup> Candelora, “Entangled in Orientalism,” 52–53.

<sup>559</sup> Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books*, 241–42.

scholarship.<sup>560</sup> Indeed, *Aegyptiaca* is the sole text in this corpus which qualifies the presence of the Hyksos in Egypt as an ‘invasion.’

### Intertextual Influences on and of the Hyksos Sources

The examination of intertextuality also affects our understanding of these sources, the reception of the Hyksos, and collective memory. The “use of formulaic phraseology” and “the productive recycling of text” were standard elements of ancient Egyptian literary composition, just as in artistic production.<sup>561</sup> Plots were exchanged and adapted between genres and periods, and historical texts especially employed tropes from the categories of wisdom and self-praise literature.<sup>562</sup> Assmann asserts that no texts were created in a cultural vacuum, so they must have pre-existing cultural capital, definitions, biases, and intentions, elements of *topos*.<sup>563</sup> Character motifs (essentially stereotyped caricatures: “The Asiatic”) established in other genres thus influence characterization in ‘historical’ sources.<sup>564</sup> Beyond this, “characters act not because of psychological motivation . . . but due to the requirements of the text,” and characterization exploits the entire “intertextual field of reference.”<sup>565</sup> Therefore, identifying the intertextual exchange of these texts contributes to the redefinition of the Hyksos.

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<sup>560</sup> See discussion in Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition,” as well as the continued understanding of a Hyksos invasion Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*.

<sup>561</sup> Eyre, “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?,” 429.

<sup>562</sup> Eyre, 429.

<sup>563</sup> Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 17.

<sup>564</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*, 21.

<sup>565</sup> Parkinson, *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt*, 125–26.

A brief survey of the intertextual influences on and of this corpus of textual sources will demonstrate strong borrowing of certain themes between texts, both earlier and later. However, it is important to note that a true study of intertextuality would require the preservation of all texts, whereas this study will, by necessity, only examine the intertextuality among a very small corpus of coincidentally preserved texts. I will show that the composition of these texts included certain motifs which either contradict the archaeological record, or were oddly specific details that managed to be retained in texts about the Hyksos for millennia. Essentially, themes which appear in the Kamose Karnak texts are maintained in sources through the New Kingdom and down to Manetho himself, demonstrating an incredible longevity of detail. Yet even the Kamose stelae, which seem to be the genesis of these descriptions of the Hyksos, borrow many motifs from earlier texts—an influence which might explain why the Kamose narrative diverges, in places rather extremely, from the archaeological record. Furthermore, the individual sources within the wider corpus of intertextual borrowing all belong to one of two types: either they are monumental inscriptions which remained visible on the landscape for at least two generations after their erection, or they are standard scribal texts which would be well known by literate elite authors. Therefore, the content of these texts would be accessible to authors of new texts, whether from an elite milieu, scribal experience and training, or simply by walking up to read them.

The Kamose Karnak texts appear to be the first Egyptian sources which refer directly to the Hyksos, and therefore were the initial sources to insinuate the barbaric destructions of these foreigners and the oppression of their rule. Yet neither widespread destruction nor economic hardship has been uncovered in the archaeological record, and the texts themselves can be re-read in a way that casts a much more legitimate and positive light on the Hyksos reign. So, where



is all of this detail coming from? Did Neshi or another Theban invent these evils to better fit the narrative of the victorious Kamose, or did they have earlier inspiration? An investigation of intertextuality would suggest that these texts were shaped by both Middle Kingdom lamentation/wisdom literature, as well as local Theban monuments.

Starting with the visible monuments, Enmarch notes that much of the “bellicose language” utilized in the Kamose texts first appears in First Intermediate Period tomb autobiographies, such as that of Ankhtifi of Mo’alla. These texts describe conflict in “remarkably personal terms, and at considerable length” and also include “self-laudatory descriptions of their challenging of enemies.”<sup>566</sup> Indeed, the Kamose texts are unusual within especially the New Kingdom corpus of royal monumental and victory texts for Kamose’s long and insulting speeches directly to Apepi. Apparently, this “pugnacious, even pugilistic, personalized self-presentation seems to have found few royal imitators in the Eighteenth Dynasty,”<sup>567</sup> but was much more popular in First Intermediate Period autobiographies. These tomb inscriptions may well have been known by or accessible to the local Theban community,<sup>568</sup> allowing them to serve as creative inspiration for the author(s) of the Kamose texts. This bellicose language continues, although in a slightly subdued form, in Middle Kingdom victory stelae such as the Semna Stele of Senwosret III, and it amped up yet again in Second Intermediate Period Theban monuments of Dynasty 17. For example, the Karnak Stele of Sankhenre Montuhotep of Dynasty 17 seems to have provided many creative prompts for the Kamose texts. Though badly fragmented, enough

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<sup>566</sup> Enmarch, “Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions,” 258.

<sup>567</sup> Enmarch, 263.

<sup>568</sup> The tomb of Ankhtifi is only about 35km south of Thebes, and even more local Theban tombs would likely also have recorded the conflict with this nearby ruler in similarly warlike verbiage.

of this stele survives to classify the text as one of the earliest fitting the *königsnovelle* motif. Further, small phrases are shared between the monuments, including a simile comparing the ruler's troops to lions, as well as their self-reference as "King within Thebes."<sup>569</sup> The stele of the earlier king would certainly still have been visible within the precinct of Karnak, and accessible as a source of inspiration for the Kamose texts. It is equally possible that examples of this type of speech in libraries which would have been available to Kamose's court.<sup>570</sup>

Although only one extant copy of *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* is known today,<sup>571</sup> it can be argued that this text belongs to the category of didactic lamentation literature which was often copied in the New Kingdom, and thus Second Intermediate Period Theban scribes might have been familiar with it. Certainly, there are some passages in the Kamose texts which bear remarkable similarity to *Ipuwer*. One theme which may have been inspired by *Ipuwer* is that of women struggling to conceive children. In line 2 of the Second Stele, Kamose threatens that "the women of Avaris will not conceive" out of terror, while in *Ipuwer* lines 1.3-4, the chaos of the times have resulted in a state in which "women are barren, none conceive." Another shared motif is that of Asiatics ruling the land. This is incorporated throughout the Kamose texts, especially towards the beginning of the First Stele/Carnarvon Tablet, and occurs in line 15.2 of *Ipuwer*: "(It) [happ]ens through it that the Asiatics are caused to know the leadership of the land!" These details in *Ipuwer* seem to so closely match the historical circumstances of the Second

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<sup>569</sup> Enmarch, "Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions," 257–58. See the First Kamose Stele/Carnarvon Tablet, lines 2 and 11 for the "king within Thebes" designation, and line 15 for the lion simile.

<sup>570</sup> T. Schneider, personal communication.

<sup>571</sup> Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 150.. See translation herein as well.

Intermediate Period that Enmarch even suggests that the original composition of the text be dated to this period.<sup>572</sup>

Additional influence can be inferred from texts which are securely considered to have been included in standard scribal education and training, such as *The Prophecies of Neferti* and *The Teaching for King Merikare*. Numerous examples of these texts have been found in fragmentary form, often on ostraca, writing boards, or papyrus discovered among scribal caches or “libraries,”<sup>573</sup> indicating their inclusion within scribal copying exercises or standard didactic texts. It stands to reason that anyone literate or trained specifically as a scribe would have some knowledge of or access to copies of these texts. A strong theme appears in these two texts which are repeated not only in the Kamose stelae,<sup>574</sup> but also later sources such as *Speos Artemidos* and even Manetho. The first is the broader motif of an influx of Asiatics into Egypt, sometimes dramatized as an invasion. This theme was already hinted at in *Ipuwer*, and occurs in a passage of *Merikare* (lines 91-98). The incursion of Asiatics is also mentioned twice in *Neferti*: “Asiatics were roaming in their strength” (Line 19), and “Asiatics who roamed the land . . . Asiatics have come down to Egypt” (Line 33-34). Of course, the presence of Southwest Asian individuals in Egypt, and even the influx of larger groups, was a historical reality for much of Egyptian history, and unquestionably occurred during the Hyksos period. However, a small detail of word choice might suggest an intertextual exchange specifically between *Neferti* and the Kamose texts. Line 29-30 of *Neferti*, referring to the Asiatic incursion, reads “A strange bird will breed in the Delta

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<sup>572</sup> Enmarch, “Some Literary Aspects of the Kamose Inscriptions,” 261–62.

<sup>573</sup> See discussions and translations in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2006, 139; Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 153.

<sup>574</sup> Unless these two texts are 18th Dynasty compositions, as suggested by Gnirs, “Das Motiv des Bürgerkriegs in Merikare und Neferti: Zur Literatur der 18. Dynastie.”

marsh, having made its nest on the two sides of the people, the people having let it approach by default/out of neglect.” Similarly, in the First Stele of Kamose/Carnarvon Tablet, Kamose rages that a certain Teti had turned the town of Nefrusy into “a nest for the Asiatics” (Line 13). The connection between these analogies is striking; in both cases the Asiatics are compared to invasive species who establish their ‘nests’ in Egyptian territory, simply uninvited or through a “neglect” of the immigrant influx. Perhaps this similarity actually represents intertextual exchange and direct influence on the Kamose texts from earlier literature.

When the identity of the author(s) of the Kamose Karnak texts is considered, creative borrowing from these two bodies of texts, Middle Kingdom wisdom literature and Theban monuments, makes good sense. Any scribe composing these texts would be able to show off their training and erudition through such intertextual references to earlier compositions. In fact, it may have been an attempt to demonstrate the depth of their knowledge, despite their arguably provincial context. Furthermore, if the atmosphere in Thebes came anywhere near the almost nationalistic fervor which infuses the Kamose texts, then drawing on older Theban monuments would have served to link the Kamose stelae to a local Theban tradition—not only of local pride and bellicosity, but also of reunifying Egypt. The mortuary temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep at Deir el Bahri featured both reliefs and inscriptions commemorating his reunification of the two lands, his Theban roots, as well as hints of the defeat of Asiatics in battle (Figure 5). Theban elites would have been familiar with them and would have drawn on them to construct the narrative of Kamose’s Theban victory as well.



Figure 5 - Asiatic Battle Relief Fragment, Temple of Montuhotep II, Deir el Bahari, EA732 © Trustees of the British Museum

The influence which the Kamose texts had on later sources cannot be denied. Although the First Stele was only standing for a few generations, and had been removed during the reign of Hatshepsut, it was copied onto a writing board suggesting that copies of this text survived much longer. The Second Stele was accessible within Karnak until the construction of the Hypostyle Hall in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the same time in which *Apepi & Seqenenre* was composed. The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut is still visible on the landscape today, and thus would have been available to Pentaweret and even as a source for Manetho. Indeed, we know from the re-inscription of the temple that it was known about and seen at least during the Amarna Period

and early Ramesside Period. Furthermore, it is possible that copies of *Apepi & Seqenenre* were still in circulation during the Ptolemaic Period. Therefore, the long accessibility of these texts, either as scribal copies or visibly upon the monumental landscape, allowed their influence on later narratives, especially Manetho's.

I will demonstrate this potential intertextual influence by tracking several recurring motifs through these texts. I selected the motifs either because they contradict the archaeological (and thus actual historical) record, or because they preserve an individual detail over an incredibly long timespan. The first motif is that of the Hyksos extracting rather oppressive taxes or tribute, not just from the north but the entirety of Egypt. Hyksos taxation is substantiated by a stone vessel inscription of Apepi himself uncovered in Spain, and is provided in the First Stele/Carvarvon Tablet as one of the major reasons Kamose wants to initiate war. Yet considering the physical context and intent behind this monument, the inclusion of the taxation motif actually serves to reinforce Hyksos power (whether they yield it like any other polity, or as oppressors). Conversely, the taxation motif seems like the amplification of an oddly specific detail. Either way, the ongoing insertion of this motif in later texts is an interesting choice which would suggest these later authors were using the Kamose texts for inspiration or detail. Given the emphasis on the whole of Egypt sending tribute to Apepi in both *Apepi & Seqenenre* and *Aegyptiaca*, it is possible that Pentaweret (or other Ramesside authors), who likely had access to the historical records of Piramesses, used actual Hyksos records of this taxation for his tale, which was then replicated intertextually by Manetho. Otherwise, the taxation motif may have been a common element of any rule, and was used in more biased sources as a literary motif to vilify the Hyksos.

Recurring Motif: Taxes extracted from the entire land		
Stone Vessel of Apepi	Lid inscription	“There is no country free of paying tax ( <i>b3k.w</i> ) to him. The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Auserre, son of Re Apepi.”
First Stele of Kamose/ Carnarvon Tablet	Line 4	“No man can rest, being shorn (stripped) by the taxes of the Asiatics ( <i>Sti.w</i> ).”
<i>Apepi &amp; Seqenenre</i>	Column 1.2	“Meanwhile the chief Apepi, l.p.h., was in Hutwaret (Avaris), while the entire land was controlled for him, under (bearing) their taxes, the north in likeness under (bearing) every good thing of the Ta-Merhy (Delta).”
Manetho, <i>Aegyptiaca</i>	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem I</i> Line 77	“Then finally they bestowed the kingship on one of their own, Salitis by name, and resided in Memphis, exacting taxes from the south and north of the land.”

Table 5 - Recurring Motif: Taxes

The second recurring motif is the notion that the Hyksos did not follow the tenets of Egyptian religion, particularly by ignoring certain gods. This element occurs in both Speos

Recurring Motif: Hyksos did not follow Egyptian religion		
Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut	Line 38	“They ruled without Re.”
<i>Apepi &amp; Seqenenre</i>	Column 1.3	“He (Apepi) made Seth as lord, and he did not work for any god which was in the entire land at the behest of Seth”

Table 6 - Recurring Motif: Hyksos Sacrilege

Artemidos and *Apepi & Seqenenre*, but no other text in our corpus, suggesting that perhaps the inspiration for this detail of the Ramesside tale was drawn from the monumental landscape itself. While admittedly the knowledge of the Hyksos’s Seth Baal worship could have been drawn from evidence at Avaris and the still-functioning Seth Baal temple, this explanation would also require Pentaweret to have consciously ignored all of the other Hyksos records which demonstrate their respect for other Egyptian gods. Alternatively, given that Seth was the state god, perhaps the

Ramesside author found nothing wrong with his sole worship, and instead intended the Seqenenre’s devotion to Amun-Re to be the object of suspicion. It is also possible the sole worship of Seth in this tale, juxtaposed specifically against the worship of Amun-Re, might be better explained by influence from the Speos Artemidos inscription.

The final two recurring motifs are the founding pillars of the entrenched Hyksos narrative, namely that their invasion caused mass destruction, and the Egyptian retribution was equally devastating. The damage attributed to the Hyksos is represented in the First Stele/Carnarvon Tablet as another major catalyst in Kamose’s decision to go to war. It features in the Speos Artemidos inscription as well (although see above for a re-reading of this line). The

Recurring Motif: Hyksos caused destruction in Egypt		
First Stele of Kamose/ Carnarvon Tablet	Line 5	“. . . for my desire is to rescue Egypt which the Asiatics have destroyed”
Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut	Line 37-38	Asiatics were in Avaris, while “nomads their midst were destroying what had been made”
Manetho, <i>Aegyptiaca</i>	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem I</i> Line 76	“They thereafter savagely burned the cities and demolished the gods’ shrines. They treated all the inhabitants most hatefully, slaughtering some, and leading into slavery the children and wives of others.”

Table 7 - Recurring Motif: Hyksos Destruction

timing of these two texts is interesting, as the First Stele was taken down and reused during the reign of Hatshepsut. Perhaps during this process, Hatshepsut commanded that some of its content be included in her own restoration text. Finally, this motif reaches its most extreme expression in the *Aegyptiaca*, which suggests a possible conflation of the Speos Artemidos text with later Assyrian (and possibly other) invasions. It is interesting that this motif was not included in *Apepi*



& *Seqenenre*, which fits my re-reading of the text and the idea that the Ramesside scribe saw the Hyksos more positively (see above).

The final motif is that the Egyptians laid siege to Avaris, and/or obliterated any signs of the Hyksos from the earth. The Second Stele claims not only that Kamose sacks the outskirts of the city and its harbor, but that he destroyed everything by fire. While it is a bad habit to look for

Recurring Motif: Avaris besieged and/or all signs of the Hyksos obliterated (by fire)		
Second Stele of Kamose	Line 7-17	Text makes it clear Kamose is attacking the outskirts of the city, especially the harbor and agricultural land
	Line 17-18	“I destroyed their towns and burned their homes to reddened ruin-heaps forever”
Autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana	Line 8	“Siege was laid to the town of Avaris”
	Line 13-14	“Then Avaris was sacked and I brought booty from there”
Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut	Line 40	“ . . . spitting fire against my enemies, I have driven off those detested by the great god, and the earth has removed their footprints”
Manetho, <i>Aegyptiaca</i>	Josephus, <i>Contra Apionem I</i> Line 87-88	“Thoummosis, son of Misphegmothosis, tried to take them by siege, blockading the walls with 480,000 soldiers. Then, giving up the siege, he made a treaty to the effect that they should all quit Egypt and go unharmed wherever they wished.”

Table 8 - Recurring Motif: Hyksos/Avaris Destroyed

a confirmation of the text in the archaeological record, this case has often been treated as an accurate historical record, so it must be said that ongoing excavations at Tell el-Dab’a have found no evidence of this destruction, such as the expected massive burnt destruction layer. The Autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana also records a siege and sack of Avaris, though situating these events in the reign of Ahmose rather than Kamose—which is the most likely point in time

for the actual sack of Avaris, perhaps represented in his Abydos cenotaph war reliefs. Again, though, there is very little physical evidence of destruction. In her Speos Artemidos inscription, Hatshepsut replicates the fire detail, claiming to have spit fire at her enemies and that the earth had obliterated signs of the Hyksos. Finally, a siege attempt is recorded in *Aegyptiaca*, although it was ultimately unsuccessful, and no fires are mentioned. Given that the only element of this narrative which may be historically accurate is a much less destructive siege of Avaris, the replication of exaggerated details like the fire and utter demolition of Hyksos constructions indicates a potential interplay between these various texts (and specifically between Speos Artemidos and the Second Stele, which would have still been erected at Karnak during Hatshepsut's reign). Again, the fact that this motif is excluded from *Apepi & Seqenenre* leaves open the possibility that the author had not only more access to actual historical evidence in the Eastern Delta which would refute at least the obliteration idea, but perhaps also a more sympathetic collective memory of Hyksos rule, and the continuing habitation of, by then, approximately the 13<sup>th</sup> generation of people with ties to Levantine identities.

A final note which is crucial to reinterpreting these texts and updating the current understanding of the Hyksos is that of their expulsion. In fact, *there is no Hyksos expulsion* recorded anywhere in this entire corpus. Kamose claims only to have destroyed their towns, which fits with the timeline of Ahmose actually laying siege to Avaris. Once the sack of Avaris was recorded in the autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana, the text transitions immediately into the siege of Sharuhén (Line 15). There is no explanation of a Hyksos flight to this refuge site, in fact no correlation at all is spelled out. The siege of Sharuhén is followed by a line which reads “after his majesty had slain the Bedouins . . .” (Line 16), suggesting that the enemies of the Sharuhén siege may instead have been these *mn.tjw st.t*, a term which is generally used for

transhumant groups and never (excepting this possible example) for the Hyksos.<sup>575</sup> Line 40 of Speos Artemidos tells of Hatshepsut “having driven off those detested by the gods,” but the specific reference to the Hyksos is not made clear, and certainly the phrasing seems more appropriate to a small group of interlopers rather than a large expulsion. Even in the most negative text of the corpus, Manetho tells us that the siege had to be abandoned in favor of a treaty with rather comfortable terms for the Hyksos exiting on their own accord. All of this lack of evidence also corresponds well with the archaeological record, which shows the continued inhabitation of Avaris by Southwest Asians into the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty—again indicating that at least much of the large immigrant population of the Delta did not go anywhere.<sup>576</sup> At best, the “Hyksos Expulsion” should likely be understood as the removal of certain elites from Egypt.<sup>577</sup> Therefore, our fundamental characterization of the Hyksos, and even the events bounding their rule in Egypt (invasion and expulsion) are the result of extrapolation and infilling, a scholarly invention.

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<sup>575</sup> See Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos.”

<sup>576</sup> Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?”

<sup>577</sup> Perhaps this was what Hatshepsut was actually referring to.

## CHAPTER 5 – THE HYKSOS’ CONSTRUCTION OF A MIDDLE GROUND<sup>578</sup>

The previous chapter utilizes counter-narrative details in the textual corpus to draw out a less biased image of the Hyksos; indeed, they are presented as powerful, legitimate, and cosmopolitan rulers of a wealthy port city, with loyal Egyptian subjects and diplomatic ties with contemporary Egyptian polities. With these foundational principals reformulated, new research questions and theoretical frameworks concerning the negotiation of identity in contexts of cultural interaction and immigration can be employed to better understand how the Hyksos ruled (and why) and how they and their subjects had such an intense impact on Egypt.

### Identity Theory and Cultural Interaction

Past scholarship on the subject of cultural contact focuses on acculturation and assimilation, the unidirectional imprint or adoption of culture onto another group. More recent work has emphasized the indigenous perspective and agency within what is actually a reciprocal interaction between two groups. Lyons and Papadopoulos argue that “assimilation was not the endpoint of interaction but a creative strategy by which native peoples incorporated selected ideas and objects into existing categories of meaning, while maintaining their traditional beliefs and customs.”<sup>579</sup>

Identity Theory in general discusses identity as a subjective, socially-constructed, and continuous process of identification by oneself and others. Identity groups are heterogeneous and

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<sup>578</sup> A re-worked version of this chapter is forthcoming as Candelora, “The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground.”

<sup>579</sup> Lyons and Papadopoulos, *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, 7.

polythetic;<sup>580</sup> as Shennan puts it “untidiness is, in fact, the essence of the situation.”<sup>581</sup> Barth was one of the first scholars to argue against the Culture-History approach of seeing a one-to-one correlation between a defined archaeological culture and an ethnic/identity group.<sup>582</sup> Instead he (and many others citing him) have both proposed and demonstrated that such a correlation does not exist because identity boundaries are constantly renegotiated and permeable. Identity is also contextually dependent, can be adapted or altered to different situations, and individuals may ascribe to multiple identities simultaneously.<sup>583</sup> Due to this fluid, amorphous nature of identity, scholars have turned to Bourdieu’s notion of the *habitus*, or “systems of durable, transposable dispositions” which are embodied at an early age through social experience in a specific context, and which structure and inform daily practice.<sup>584</sup>

Identity studies often concentrate on borderlands or marginal spaces, contexts of cultural contact where difference is negotiated.<sup>585</sup> Furthermore, archaeologists applying this sort of theory pay closer attention to the context of objects, as well as deposits that may reflect practice, rather than simply assigning a ‘culture’ to a material assemblage.<sup>586</sup> This framework also utilizes the idea of hybridity, which suggests that in the marginal spaces where cross-cultural contact

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<sup>580</sup> Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*; Díaz-Andreu et al., *The Archaeology of Identity*; Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*; Shennan, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*; Bentley, “Ethnicity and Practice.”

<sup>581</sup> Shennan, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*, 13.

<sup>582</sup> Emberling, “Ethnicity in Complex Societies,” 298–99.

<sup>583</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, “Introduction,” 11.

<sup>584</sup> Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.

<sup>585</sup> Lyons and Papadopoulos, *The Archaeology of Colonialism*.

<sup>586</sup> Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*; Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*; Lightfoot, Schiff, and Martinez, “Daily Practice and Material Culture in Pluralistic Social Settings: An Archaeological Study of Culture Change and Persistence from Fort Ross, California.”

occurs, the material culture will begin to reflect this interaction by integrating stylistic and formal aspects of both cultures together.<sup>587</sup> Overall, these collected theories of cultural contact stress that both groups involved in contact zones will mutually influence one another and this contact will result in new or modified aspects of culture.<sup>588</sup>

### Foreigners and Immigrants in Ancient Egypt

The analysis of “foreigners,” especially their representation, immigration, and incorporation into Egyptian society, has become an increasingly popular topic in the study of ancient Egypt in recent decades. This is due to the growing recognition that individuals of foreign descent, from voluntary immigrants to prisoners of war, constituted a considerable portion of the Egyptian social fabric.<sup>589</sup> as well as an ever-growing body of theory grappling with notions of identity, ethnicity, and contexts of cultural interaction.<sup>590</sup>

Schneider questions the conception of “foreigners” in ancient Egypt, suggesting that modern, nationalistic understandings of the term have affected interpretations of the ancient evidence. In ancient Egypt, it seems that immigrants who had adapted to Egyptian society and

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<sup>587</sup> Ackermann, “Cultural Hybridity: Between Metaphor and Empiricism,” 11–16; see also Maran and Stockhammer, *Materiality and Social Practice*; Stockhammer, *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization*.

<sup>588</sup> Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism*; Dietler, “Colonial Encounters in Iberia and the Western Mediterranean: An Exploratory Framework.”

<sup>589</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II*; Schneider, “Akkulturation – Identität – Elitekultur: Eine Positionsbestimmung zur Frage der Existenz und des Status von Ausländern in der Elite des Neuen Reiches.”; Schulman, “The Royal Butler Ramessessami’on.”; Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt.”; Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*.

<sup>590</sup> Díaz-Andreu et al., *The Archaeology of Identity*; Jones, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*; Shennan, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*; Insoll, *The Archaeology of Identities*; Emberling, “Ethnicity in Complex Societies”; Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*.

functioned within expected social roles, even those who continue to be identified by foreign ethnonyms, were considered Egyptians.<sup>591</sup> The process of adaption is often characterized as acculturation or Egyptianization, and has a long history of scholarship in Egyptology and broader anthropological research.<sup>592</sup> In the past five years, discussions of acculturation in ancient Egyptian contexts have begun to include investigations into the identity negotiation inherent in the course of this cultural adjustment.

An interesting example is the debate focused on the Nubian prince Hekanefer and his depiction in tomb decoration. A member of the New Kingdom Egyptian administration in Nubia, Hekanefer opted to depict himself in his own tomb at Toshka following traditional artistic tropes for Egyptian ethnicity. Yet in the Theban tomb of Huy, the Viceroy of Kush under Tutankhamun, Hekanefer is presented as an “Egyptianized” Nubian. Van Pelt and Smith debate the significance behind these depictions. Smith proposes that this is an example of Loprieno’s concepts of *topos* and *mimesis*,<sup>593</sup> and that in Huy’s tomb, Hekanefer was depicted as Nubian in order to emphasize the ideological purpose of the foreign tribute scene.<sup>594</sup> Conversely, van Pelt focuses on the details of Hekanefer’s image in the tomb of Huy that indicated identity negotiation and maintenance, arguing that the conflicting representations of Hekanefer are a clear example of the contextually dependent and malleable nature of identity.<sup>595</sup>

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<sup>591</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II*; Schneider, “Akkulturation – Identität – Elitekultur: Eine Positionsbestimmung zur Frage der Existenz und des Status von Ausländern in der Elite des Neuen Reiches.”; Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt,” 144.

<sup>592</sup> For an excellent overview, see Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt,” 143–49 but see below for further discussion.

<sup>593</sup> Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*.

<sup>594</sup> Smith, “Hekanefer and the Lower Nubian Princes: Entanglement, Double Identity or Topos and Mimesis?”

<sup>595</sup> Van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia.”

Working from similar critiques of Romanization, van Pelt eloquently details the issues of the models of Egyptianization which have frequently been applied to studies of New Kingdom Nubia. He argues that inherent in the concept of Egyptianization, like assimilation, is the assumption of a unidirectional influence of one culture over another—in the case of Egypt, that any foreign immigrant would in varying degrees adapt themselves to Egyptian traditions and practices. This idea also belies the underlying notion that Egyptian culture is the “superior” culture in any interaction, which by default other groups would seek to adopt. Advances have been made by Junker and Säve-Söderbergh in describing the lack of assimilation by indigenous Nubian groups in the Middle Kingdom as resistance to Egyptian rule,<sup>596</sup> and later models ascribe the Egyptianization of local elites to trade, wealth, and political links to the Egyptian empire.<sup>597</sup> Alternatively, van Pelt presents Stockhammer’s model of cultural entanglement,<sup>598</sup> which emphasizes that interaction is a multi-directional process with “a variety of acculturative outcomes,”<sup>599</sup> and also questions the monolithic and unchanging nature of the cultures engaged in contact scenarios.<sup>600</sup>

Yet van Pelt applies this new theoretical framework to contact situations in Nubia, and does not examine the interaction process for cases of foreigners immigrating into Egypt. Few

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<sup>596</sup> Junker, *Ermenne: Bericht über die Grabungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf den Friedhöfen von Ermenne (Nubien) im Winter 1911/12.*; Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte altägyptischer Aussenpolitik*; Smith, *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*; Smith, “Revenge of the Kushites Assimilation and Resistance in Egypt’s New Kingdom Empire and Nubian Ascendancy over Egypt (in Empires and Complexity).”

<sup>597</sup> Cf. Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*; Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*; Koch, “Goose Keeping, Elite Emulation and Egyptianized Feasting at Late Bronze Lachish.”

<sup>598</sup> Stockhammer, “Questioning Hybridity”; Stockhammer, “Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization in Archaeology.”

<sup>599</sup> Van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia,” 523.

<sup>600</sup> For the full discussion, see Van Pelt, 523–34.



studies have been done which account for the intentional maintenance by these immigrants of their culture of origin,<sup>601</sup> or which allow for any influence of the outside culture on that of Egypt.<sup>602</sup> This issue is especially striking during intermediate periods, when foreigners seem to appear in large numbers in the textual records, and when the decentralization of the Egyptian state allowed for more local variation and external influence on local cultural settings. Although this complexity and variation was likely the case in most periods, the monolithic, state-controlled nature of the records from centralized periods tends to obscure these details, which only become apparent in intermediate periods. The situation is further complicated in liminal spaces and borderlands, where persistent cultural interaction occurs, and identity is constantly being negotiated.<sup>603</sup> In these settings, individuals might “cross between cultures, or shift between categories,”<sup>604</sup> and the identity factors they choose to highlight might be contextually dependent.<sup>605</sup>

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<sup>601</sup> Liszka, ““Are the Bearers of the Pan-Grave Archaeological Culture Identical to the Medjay-People in the Egyptian Textual Record?”; Liszka, ““We Have Come from the Well of Ibheth””; de Souza, “The Egyptianisation of the Pan-Grave Culture: A New Look at an Old Idea.”; Saretta, *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt*; Mourad, “Asiatics and Abydos: From the Twelfth Dynasty to the Early Second Intermediate Period”; Mourad, *Rise of the Hyksos*; Bader, “Traces of Foreign Settlers”; Bader, “Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology.”; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II.* It is interesting to note that while studies of “Nubian” groups like the Pan-Grave, Medjay, and C-Group cultures often discuss identity maintenance, the ethnic (or not) nature of the group identity, etc., studies of “Asiatic” immigrants still tend to focus on the process of acculturation. See also Lakomy, *Der Löwe auf dem Schlachtfeld*. for an in-depth treatment of the life and tomb of Maiherpri, likely an individual whose origins lay to the south of Egypt (see pp. 82–3) who was raised and educated in the palace and became fan-bearer of the king under Thutmose III.

<sup>602</sup> Cf. Sparks, “Canaan in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence for a Social Phenomenon”; Schneider, “Wie der Wettergott Ägypten aus der großen Flut errettete.”

<sup>603</sup> Lightfoot and Martinez, “Frontiers and Boundaries in Archaeological Perspective”; Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants*; Hämäläinen and Truett, “On Borderlands”; Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt,” 146–47.

<sup>604</sup> Hämäläinen and Truett, “On Borderlands,” 348.

<sup>605</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, “Introduction,” 11.

## The Eastern Delta as Borderland

The eastern Delta is certainly such a borderland, characterized by continuous cultural exchange, and is even described in Papyrus Anastasi IV as the boundary between Egypt and the Levant.<sup>606</sup>

The Delta as a whole is understood as one of the two lands of Egypt, implying a fundamental understanding of a distinction between Lower and Upper Egypt. The Delta is marked by its own geography and agro-pastoral system,<sup>607</sup> and Papyrus Anastasi I indicates that regional dialects would have hindered communication between individuals from the Delta and Elephantine,<sup>608</sup> dialectical differences which are maintained at least through the introduction and use of Coptic.<sup>609</sup> A potentially illuminating comparison for the Delta as simultaneously unique from and central to the conception of Egypt is pre-World War I Italy. While the socio-historic and geopolitical contexts of the two are very different, the analogy has heuristic value for the study of Delta identities. Just as in the Egyptian case, regional dialects in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Italy often impeded communication, and northern Italians, who collectively considered themselves more French than Italian, either disdained more southern dialects or did not speak Italian at all.<sup>610</sup> Southern Italy, and Sicily in particular, was considered “part of, but also fundamentally different from, the rest of the Italian nation,”<sup>611</sup> and individuals ascribed to village- or region-based, familial, or religious identities, rather than claiming an ‘Italian’ one.<sup>612</sup> While this preliminary

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<sup>606</sup> Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt,” 147.

<sup>607</sup> Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, 53–54.

<sup>608</sup> Fischer-Elfert, *Die Satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*, 238., 238.

<sup>609</sup> Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 2–5.

<sup>610</sup> Gabaccia, “Is Everywhere Nowhere?,” 2.

<sup>611</sup> Gabaccia, 4.

discussion will be expanded in more detail elsewhere, it may be revealing for the understanding of ancient Egyptian local identities and senses of self, especially outside the realm of royal inscriptions and ideology.

Within the Delta itself, lateral communication and travel was difficult, hampered by multiple Nile branches and marshes, and so the eastern Delta acquired a cultural identity all its own. The Autobiography of Weni even highlights that this official commanded soldiers from both of the Two-Sides-of-the-House, referring to the eastern and western halves of the Delta.<sup>613</sup> This region as a whole would always be more fragmented than the valley, presenting obstacles to communication, administration, and even unified rule, whereas centralization would most often come from the south, following the single artery of the Nile. First in the late Predynastic, then under Montuhotep II, Ahmose, and even the Napatian Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, southern kings would lead campaigns for (re)unification. The southern origins of these dynasties, as well as the more unified, and better preserved, picture presented by the archaeological record of the Nile Valley has led to a general Theban-centric approach in Egyptological research. Yet the Delta, one of the two distinct lands of Egypt, demands its own framework and research questions.

In close proximity to several important trade routes, including the coastal Sinai road, the Wadi Tumilat, and the Mediterranean itself, the Eastern Delta was heavily influenced by the continuous interaction and coexistence with myriad ‘Asiatic’ groups.<sup>614</sup> Levantine immigration into this region of the Delta began at least in the early Predynastic, and continued to occur

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<sup>612</sup> Gabaccia, 3.

<sup>613</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2006, 19–22.

<sup>614</sup> Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?,” 142; Arnold, “Image and Identity: Egypt’s Eastern Neighbours,” 189.

through the early Middle Kingdom. This process of immigration was heightened in the late Middle Kingdom, indicated by an increase in the number and variety of sources.<sup>615</sup> Arnold suggests that this influx of immigrants “reinvigorated” the distinctive identity of the eastern Delta,<sup>616</sup> and indeed this process culminated in the Second Intermediate Period with a truly hybrid capital city, a mixed ceramic tradition exclusive to the region, and a “foreign” rule that lasted for over a century. Philip even makes the important observation that although much of the elite symbolism of the eastern Delta was influenced by Near Eastern/Levantine themes, “the main dynamic in determining those material characteristics that encapsulate the Delta entity were concerned with internal structure and practice.”<sup>617</sup>

Despite the unique cultural and geographic context of the Eastern Delta, the Levantine immigrants of the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period are still often discussed in terms of Egyptianization.<sup>618</sup> The Hyksos rulers specifically are traditionally represented in the scholarship as having striven to become as Egyptian as possible. Arnold proposes that the Hyksos refrained from producing statuary in the style of the late Twelfth-early Thirteenth Dynasty Asiatic official found at Tell el Dab‘a because it was too closely associated with the symbolism of defeated enemies, and the Hyksos “wanted to be understood as Egyptians.”<sup>619</sup> She goes on to argue that the Nehemen dagger and the Atju palette indicate that the Hyksos “clearly

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<sup>615</sup> Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?,” 142–50; Bietak, “The Predecessors of the Hyksos,” 285–91.

<sup>616</sup> Arnold, “Image and Identity: Egypt’s Eastern Neighbours,” 189.

<sup>617</sup> Philip, *Tell el-Dab‘a XV*, 187.

<sup>618</sup> Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?,” 139; Bader, “Traces of Foreign Settlers,” 137.

<sup>619</sup> Arnold, “Image and Identity: Egypt’s Eastern Neighbours,” 209.

saw themselves as the successors to the pharaohs.”<sup>620</sup> Quirke discusses the Atju palette inscription as an often-cited piece of evidence for the Egyptianization of Apepi,<sup>621</sup> while Ryholt posits that Apepi’s lack of attestation with the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* suggests that the end of the Fifteenth Dynasty forsook this “petty” title in favor of the standard Egyptian titles of kingship.<sup>622</sup>

However, these traditional interpretations do not account for the possibility that in mixed communities like the Eastern Delta, ethnic Egyptians may have taken on Levantine cultural markers or traits as readily as their Levantine neighbors ‘Egyptianized.’ It is entirely feasible that the hybridity apparent in the tomb assemblages at Tell el-Dab’a is the result of a community characterized by intermarriage between locals and immigrants, and that traits and practices of both cultures would have been incorporated into these burials.<sup>623</sup> This possibility is further supported by the appearance of hybrid, Eastern Delta ceramics at the sites of Tell el-Dab’a and Tell el Maskhuta, indicative of a mixed community or households producing pottery to meet the functional and aesthetic needs of both traditions.<sup>624</sup> In fact, Redmount argues that because these hybrid Delta ceramics appear fully realized in the archaeological record at Tell el Maskhuta—which was missing the earliest phases from Tell el-Dab’a—they likely represent a second generation of the immigrant population moving to the mouth of the Wadi Tumilat.<sup>625</sup> If it is

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<sup>620</sup> Arnold, 212.

<sup>621</sup> Quirke, “The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE: New Rulers without an Administration,” 136.

<sup>622</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 124; Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos,” 210–11.

<sup>623</sup> Forstner-Müller, “Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab’a”; Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab’a XVI: Die Gräber des Areals A/II von Tell el-Dab’a*; Bader, “Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine”; Bader, “Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology.”

<sup>624</sup> Redmount, “Ethnicity, Pottery, and the Hyksos at Tell El-Maskhuta in the Egyptian Delta”; Bader, “Traces of Foreign Settlers”; Bader, “Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology.”

<sup>625</sup> Redmount, “Ethnicity, Pottery, and the Hyksos at Tell El-Maskhuta in the Egyptian Delta,” 188.

possible to discuss second generations of these Levantine immigrants, and indeed their continued presence in the eastern Delta through the Thutmosid Period,<sup>626</sup> then a rapid or unidirectional Egyptianization process is not the most appropriate description of the situation.

### Identity Negotiation and Maintenance in the Eastern Delta

While it is important to understand the ways in which the Hyksos and the broader Levantine Delta population adopted and adapted elements of Egyptian culture, these strategies must be considered alongside the variety of examples which demonstrate an intentional maintenance and even public advertisement of foreign identity. This is a more difficult task for scholars to apply to the wider Delta community; since it was likely comprised of a blended Egyptian-Levantine cultural identity, it is problematic to propose that certain elements of the material record were created by one cultural tradition or the other. Although the archaeological record at Tell el-Dab'a features examples of both strictly Egyptian and purely Levantine traits, the overall record is characterized by hybridity.<sup>627</sup> Both Egyptian and Levantine styles of domestic<sup>628</sup> and religious architecture<sup>629</sup> are present, and the religious practices associated with both the temples and tombs can be characterized as one cultural tradition or the other.<sup>630</sup> However, these elements tend to occur in combination; single tombs which are purely Egyptian in architecture, including a

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<sup>626</sup> Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?," 170.

<sup>627</sup> But see Bietak, "The Egyptian Community in Avaris during the Hyksos Period" for the possibility of an Egyptian enclave in area R/III. .

<sup>628</sup> Bader, "Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology," 270.

<sup>629</sup> Bietak, "Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta," 209–20.

<sup>630</sup> Forstner-Müller, "Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a," 131–34; Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos*, 36–48.

dedicated tree pit, feature Levantine style weapons and donkey burials.<sup>631</sup> Egyptian style houses have been found sporting sub-floor burials or attached Totenhäuser, a Levantine practice of burying the dead within settlement contexts.<sup>632</sup> Ceramics at the site are also a blend of Egyptian, imported Levantine wares, local imitations thereof, and the distinctive, hybrid Delta ceramics discussed above.<sup>633</sup>

Two non-royal cases of clear identity negotiation can be discussed: the statues of the Asiatic officials from Tomb F/I p/19-no. 1 at Tell el-Dab'a and the Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich (ÄS 7171). Arnold argues that these pieces were clearly sculpted by Egyptian artists and are hybrids of Egyptian style and signifiers of the individual's foreign descent, including hair style, skin color, and clothing.<sup>634</sup> These late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty officials would still have been serving under an Egyptian administration, and clearly had the means to commission a piece from a skilled Egyptian sculptor. In this political context, it would not have been surprising if these individuals had simply depicted themselves as Egyptian, just as later Nubian officials like Hekanefer would do in their own tombs.<sup>635</sup> However, these men purposefully retained clear symbols of their foreign origins in an effort to broadcast their "cultural and ethnic ties to the east outside Egypt's frontier."<sup>636</sup> These are perhaps our clearest

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<sup>631</sup> Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos*, 21; Bader, "Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine," 44 - the burials in question are those of officials in Area F/I phase G/4.

<sup>632</sup> Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos*, 49–54, specifically seen in area F/I, stratum b/2 (=E/3); Forstner-Müller, "Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a," 129.

<sup>633</sup> Bader, "Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine," 58; Bader, "Traces of Foreign Settlers," 139–47; Bader, "Migration in Archaeology," 219–22; Redmount, "Ethnicity, Pottery, and the Hyksos at Tell El-Maskhuta in the Egyptian Delta," 187–88.

<sup>634</sup> Arnold, "Image and Identity: Egypt's Eastern Neighbours," 192–200; Schiestl, "The Statue of an Asiatic Man from Tell el Dab'a, Egypt," 173–85.

<sup>635</sup> Van Pelt, "Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia," 536.

non-royal examples of the conscious maintenance of foreign identity by persons of presumably Levantine descent.

For the Hyksos, on the other hand, clearer examples survive which indicate the adaptation of Egyptian cultural elements alongside the retention of Levantine or Near Eastern identity. As discussed above, studies tend to focus on the former, citing these instances as evidence of the Hyksos' progression towards Egyptianization. One example is the Rhind Papyrus, which includes the regnal formula of Apepi composed in the traditional Egyptian manner featuring regnal year followed by the season and month. This represents the use of an Egyptian style of recording time and kings' reigns in the dating of scribal documents. Further, this regnal formula indicates that Apepi commissioned the copying of the text and thus sponsored the study and maintenance of scientific knowledge—perfectly in keeping with the pharaonic ideal of preserving literary, religious, and scientific texts.<sup>637</sup> In the inscription on the scribal palette of Atju, Apepi portrays himself as the archetypal Egyptian king: he upholds Maat, was personally instructed by Thoth, and is the living embodiment of Re.<sup>638</sup> Apepi and other Hyksos or Fourteenth Dynasty kings adopted many Egyptian titles and epithets, as well as taking on Egyptian throne names. One example of this is the alabaster lid of Khyan found at Knossos which reads “the good god, Sewoserenre, Son of Re, Khyan,”<sup>639</sup> demonstrating the use of the *sꜥ rꜥ* title, *ntr nfr* epithet and the corresponding use of an Egyptian name. Scarabs of the Fourteenth

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<sup>636</sup> Arnold, “Image and Identity: Egypt’s Eastern Neighbours,” 197.

<sup>637</sup> Morenz, *Beiträge zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 159.

<sup>638</sup> Morenz, 167–70; See translations or transcriptions in Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 57f; Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period,” 7.

<sup>639</sup> Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 54.



Dynasty kings Sheshi and Yakub-Har also employ the *s3 r* title with the nomen and *ntr nfr* with the prenomen, often presenting the king's name in a cartouche,<sup>640</sup> an incredibly Egyptian symbol of kingship. Titulary epithets further hint at the worship of gods other than Seth; Apepi is described on an axe-blade as “beloved of Sobek, lord of Sumenu,” and on the Atju Palette as beloved of Re.<sup>641</sup> Finally, the door jamb of Skr-Hr (Sikru-Haddu) testifies to the Hyksos's adoption of the five-fold Egyptian titulary,<sup>642</sup> as well as the production of monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions.<sup>643</sup>

This brief overview highlights the evidence past scholarship have focused on to argue that the Hyksos seem to have adopted Egyptian practices and conventions. Now this narrative needs to be complicated and nuanced by investigating some of the strategies the Hyksos took to maintain and publicize their Levantine identities. First and foremost, it should be noted that in the titulary examples discussed above, these kings consciously retained their Semitic personal names, a strong statement of identity. In terms of the broadcasting of that eastern identity, perhaps no more brazen declaration exists than that many of the monumental buildings on the landscape of Tell el-Dab'a in the Fifteenth Dynasty were of Near Eastern architectural style. The sacred precinct in Area A/II, which had been constructed initially in the Thirteenth Dynasty, changed markedly in the Fifteenth Dynasty. The original layout of the precinct consisted of two Near Eastern style temples (Temples II and III) and several tripartite Egyptian mortuary temples.

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<sup>640</sup> Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos,” 210–11; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 45–46.

<sup>641</sup> Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 55–57; Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period,” 7; Morenz, *Beitrage zur Schriftlichkeitskultur im Mittleren Reich und in der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 164.

<sup>642</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 124.

<sup>643</sup> Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt,” 158.

Temple II has been characterized as a bent-axis temple with an adjoining tower, and Temple III as a broad room temple with a niche in the rear wall opposite the entrance, both layouts with parallels across the ancient Near East.<sup>644</sup> However, from stratum D/3 onwards, domestic structures were built over the earlier cemeteries and Egyptian mortuary chapels, leaving only Temple III undisturbed.<sup>645</sup>

Thus, at the height of the Hyksos Period, the now domestic area in was dominated by the Near Eastern style Temple III, one of the largest sanctuaries known from the Middle Bronze Age.<sup>646</sup> Additionally, the Fifteenth Dynasty palace in area F/II was built in a segmented style using additive construction techniques with several courtyards, strongly indicative of Near Eastern style palatial architecture.<sup>647</sup> Even the earlier Fifteenth Dynasty evidence of a temple precinct underneath the New Kingdom Seth Temple<sup>648</sup> may have appeared Near Eastern. Thus, it is likely that the monumental landscape at Tell el-Dab'a would have rendered this harbor city instantly recognizable as Near Eastern, or at the very least hybrid, just as the major architecture of Ptolemaic Alexandria would have been unmistakably Greek,<sup>649</sup> or Ramesses III's Migdol gate at Medinet Habu clearly Syrian. Indeed, the dominant Grecian monuments of Alexandria, perched at the edge of the Mediterranean nearest the Greek mainland, acted as clear signals of Ptolemaic identity and links to the Graeco-Macedonian world. Similarly, Tell el-Dab'a was

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<sup>644</sup> Bietak, "Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta," 209–20.

<sup>645</sup> Forstner-Müller, "Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a," 129.

<sup>646</sup> Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos*, 36.

<sup>647</sup> Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?," 153–56; Bietak, Math, and Müller, "Report on the Excavations of a Hyksos Palace"; Bietak, "Le Hyksos Khayan."

<sup>648</sup> Bietak, "Zur Herkunft des Seth von Avaris," 14.

<sup>649</sup> Cf. Tkaczow, *Topography of Ancient Alexandria*.

located at the boundary of Egypt and the Levant, and the Near Eastern-ness of the city served to broadcast Hyksos identity, communicating their kinship ties with the east. This is not to say that the Hyksos were culturally illiterate, or “stuck in their ways,” but that the advertisement of their eastern culture was advantageous to both their rule and continued contact with power players in the Levant and Syro-Mesopotamia.

This intentional maintenance of eastern identity can also be seen in evidence for diplomatic exchange during the Hyksos Period. The excavations of the Near Eastern style palace in Area F/II mentioned above uncovered a fragment of a document written in cuneiform Akkadian. This tablet has been identified by van Koppen and Radner as a letter or diplomatic correspondence between a Fifteenth Dynasty king and a ruler of the First Dynasty of Babylon.<sup>650</sup> Additionally, the distribution of Twelfth and Thirteenth dynasty statuary across the Levant has been interpreted as the result of diplomatic gift exchange from the Hyksos to several Levantine, or more specifically Amorite, royal courts.<sup>651</sup> This correspondence and exchange was a central element of the (often fictitious) kinship ties shared among these Middle Bronze Age Amorite rulers across Syria and Mesopotamia, serving to reinforce these ties alongside political alliances and trade agreements.<sup>652</sup> Thus, although only a relatively small amount of evidence remains, it is likely that the Hyksos were actively participating in these exchange practices, identifying themselves as members of these broad kinship networks stretching into Syria and Mesopotamia.

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<sup>650</sup> Bietak et al., “Der Hyksos-Palast bei Tell el-Dab‘a,” 116.

<sup>651</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 138–40. See especially 139 n. 500.

<sup>652</sup> Sasson, “Texts, Trade, and Travellers,” 95–97; Schwartz, “An Amorite Global Village,” 4–6 Schwartz identifies this practice as an integral part of his Syro-Mesopotamian/Amorite Oikoumene.

This not only linked them to powerful political allies and hegemonic structures, but also to lucrative trade markets which would further bolster their rule.

Beyond these examples of Near Eastern styles and practice as markers of the intentional preservation and communication of Hyksos foreign identity, there are numerous cases which indicate the conscious blending of Near Eastern and Egyptian traditions.<sup>653</sup> Therefore, the unidirectional model of Egyptianization must be discarded in favor of identity negotiation or cultural entanglement, and the unique context of the eastern Delta reimagined as a middle ground.

### Middle Ground Theory

The more cerebral aspect of cultural interaction is explored in Richard White's Middle Ground Theory. In this work, White proposes that in situations of cultural contact, different groups will create a conceptual "middle ground," a newly created and shared worldview which allows both groups to live and function together, which often includes invented kinship or shared origins and myths.<sup>654</sup> White originally formulated his theory of the middle ground to understand the interactions between the French and Algonquian-speakers in the *pays d'en haut* territory in the Great Lakes region between 1650-1815 CE. White developed this framework to elaborate on this cross-cultural contact as both a process and a space; the process involved creating a new, mutually constituted and negotiated worldview between participating groups, while the space

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<sup>653</sup> Discussed below.

<sup>654</sup> White, *The Middle Ground*.

featured particular infrastructure and a past history of successful interaction.<sup>655</sup> This process of mutual accommodation, which eventually expanded to include numerous native groups and early French, English, and American traders and settlers, “grew according to the need of people to find a means, other than force, to gain the cooperation or consent of foreigners.”<sup>656</sup> Although the model has been applied widely in more modern studies of colonial situations, the specific premise of lack of force has prevented its extension into the ancient Near East, with the exception of the Old Assyrian trade enclave at Kültepe-Kanesh. The parallels in this case and the *pays d'en haut* are clear, as are the original trade motivations behind the contact. The discussion of the middle ground at Kanesh has been centered mainly around the common practice of intermarriage between Assyrian merchants and local Anatolians, as well as the hybridity visible in the glyptic iconography.<sup>657</sup> Yet much more can be done to focus on the cerebral, rather than material, aspect of interaction by exploring the shared worldview behind the practices and beliefs for which we have archaeological evidence.

The case of the eastern Delta, and Tell el Dab‘a specifically, can be identified as a middle ground. Trade was certainly a prime motivator for cultural interaction in this region, occurring between Egypt and the Levant since the early Predynastic, and heightened in the Middle Kingdom due to mining expeditions to Serabit el Khadim. Just as in the *pays d'en haut*, this trade is complicated by a military apparatus, in this case the use of Asiatics as mercenaries, and the taking of prisoners of war to be used in Egyptian household service. For the Hyksos case, the

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<sup>655</sup> White, “Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings,” 10.

<sup>656</sup> White, *The Middle Ground*, 51.

<sup>657</sup> Cf. Lumsden, “Material Culture and the Middle Ground in the Old Assyrian Colony Period.”; Larsen and Lassen, “Cultural Exchange at Kültepe.”

initial trade impetus of contact had been superseded by their desire for a more successful and efficient rule in their hybrid Delta context, also likely promoting the use of peaceful accommodation in the practice of this rule. This is not to suggest that violence, coercion, or force were not present in this context, only that it served the best interest of these rulers to pursue their goals via other means. In fact, White also emphasizes that violence is “hardly foreign to the process of creating and maintaining a middle ground, but the critical element is mediation.”<sup>658</sup> By the time of the mid-Second Intermediate Period, a longstanding middle ground infrastructure had been established in the eastern Delta, featuring culturally hybrid settlements, places of worship, and a record of successful interaction. Further, White notes that the middle ground *space* which had been established in Canada did not extend much farther than the Mississippi River, despite the fact that French traders, and with them the *process* of middle ground interaction, did.<sup>659</sup> It can be argued that this situation was also paralleled in Egypt; the middle ground space and infrastructure existed in the eastern Delta and not beyond, while some of the conceptual creations of the middle ground permeated the rest of Egypt.

The middle ground as process is the creation and “mutual invention” of a new “conceptual order”<sup>660</sup> which allows both groups to cooperate and function together. The peaceful means mentioned above meant that both sides were engaged in efforts to persuade the other to achieve their own goals. This persuasion usually featured attempts by one group to comprehend the world through the other group’s eyes, including their reasoning and beliefs, in order to use that worldview to the first group’s advantage. As White put it, “the central and defining aspect of

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<sup>658</sup> White, “Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings,” 10.

<sup>659</sup> White, 10.

<sup>660</sup> White, *The Middle Ground*, 50–51.

the middle ground was the willingness of those who created it to justify their own actions in terms of what they perceived to be their partner's cultural premises."<sup>661</sup> In the course of the construction of this middle ground, people exploited what they supposed to be similarities between the two cultures, whether they were real or perceived. The difficulties associated with understanding an entire cultural system from an outside perspective meant that these perceived cultural premises were often misunderstandings. However, these "mutual and creative misunderstandings" often led to new cultural creations if embraced by all involved.<sup>662</sup> Although the Second Intermediate Period Delta is drastically less well-documented than White's *pays d'en haut*, or even than Kanesh, enough evidence remains to explore case studies which indicate a Hyksos middle ground.

### Hyksos Administrative Structure

One example of this middle ground negotiation is the administrative structure utilized in the north under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties. The administrative titles preserved from this period show a marked change from the Middle Kingdom and Thirteenth Dynasty administration and reflect a middle ground accommodation in the overlay of Egyptian administrative titles onto a more Syro-Mesopotamian kinship-based governmental structure.

The Middle Kingdom is regarded as one of the most highly structured, segmented, and hierarchical periods in the administration of ancient Egypt.<sup>663</sup> Extensive research has been

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<sup>661</sup> White, 52.

<sup>662</sup> White, "Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings," 10.

<sup>663</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 163–92; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*.

conducted on the titles of Middle Kingdom officials and the organization of both the state and local government in their various branches and bureaux. Quirke and Grajetzki identify several branches subsumed under the central state administration in the Middle Kingdom, the chief of which was the office of the vizier. This official was second only to the king and was responsible for several other high officials and their bureaux, including overseers of fields and agricultural concerns, as well as various labor offices. Alongside the vizier was the “treasurer” or overseer of what is sealed, who ran an entire “department of sealed things,” and further branches included the palatial administration and the military. Grajetzki marks ten positions as essential to the central administration: the vizier, the director of the broad-court, the secretary of documents of the king, and overseers of what is sealed, sealers, troops, the great estate, fields, the enclosure, and marsh-dwellers.<sup>664</sup>

With the transition to the Second Intermediate Period, much of this administrative structure was retained in the south by the Theban dynasties. In fact, the majority of the highest offices and bureaux of the Middle Kingdom continue in use in Upper Egypt through the Seventeenth Dynasty.<sup>665</sup> Of the ten major administrative positions above, only the secretary of documents of the king is not attested in the south in this period, although the region did see the addition of the title of King’s son.<sup>666</sup>

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<sup>664</sup> Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, 25–110; Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 58–120; Quirke, “The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE: New Rulers without an Administration,” 132–33.

<sup>665</sup> Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 4; Grajetzki, “Notes on Administration in the Second Intermediate Period,” 305–6; Quirke, “Identifying the Officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty,” 186–88; Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, 41.

<sup>666</sup> Quirke, “The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE: New Rulers without an Administration,” 133.



In the Delta however, the elaboration of the administrative structure contracts to two essential titles: the overseer of what is sealed, and King's son.<sup>667</sup> Most striking is the lack of the vizier position and the offices this individual would have overseen.<sup>668</sup> Quirke suggests that this position was absent from the north "as if it was too unfamiliar for the new rulers there,"<sup>669</sup> while Grajetzki posits that the Hyksos would have only retained Egyptian titles which they were familiar with from their previous trade encounters with Egypt—primarily from the department of sealed things.<sup>670</sup> Yet, as Shirley points out, Asiatics had been incorporated into the Egyptian administration since the Middle Kingdom, and thus at least the Hyksos's local Delta subjects would have been familiar with the traditional positions and titles.<sup>671</sup> Grajetzki also proposes that the association of the vizier with scribal offices, which were not as important under the Hyksos, made the position unnecessary under their rule.<sup>672</sup> However, despite the meager evidence which survives from this period, numerous sources are preserved which indicate the continued importance of scribalism under the Hyksos. Not only are several individuals with Semitic names attested with scribal titles,<sup>673</sup> but the palette of Atju (both the inscription and type of object), the

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<sup>667</sup> Quirke, 133; Quirke, "Identifying the Officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty," 171; However, see Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 526–33, especially Table 1, for an accounting of all the titles which may be dated – although not all with certainty – to the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties. The list includes one or two overseers of marshland dwellers, two king's acquaintances, two governors, and one of each: deputy overseer of sealed things, overseer of sealers, administrator of the seal, overseer of the gs-pr, personal scribe of the king's documents, and overseer of the army, most of which reflect the importance of the department of sealed things.

<sup>668</sup> Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 533.

<sup>669</sup> Quirke, "The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE: New Rulers without an Administration," 133.

<sup>670</sup> Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, 66.

<sup>671</sup> Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 533.

<sup>672</sup> Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, 66.

Akkadian letter fragment, and the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus all demonstrate royal investment in scribal pursuits by the Hyksos.<sup>674</sup>

Instead, it seems that the duties of the vizier were subsumed under the overseer of sealed things and King's sons.<sup>675</sup> The department of sealed things was responsible for trade and commodities exchange, both internally and internationally. Shirley argues that the continued importance and extension of the duties of this office in the north indicate that the "foreign kings continued to utilize the administrative system already in place, at least for the purposes of economic relations."<sup>676</sup> Yet she nuances this point by comparing this department to the prevalence of palace economies at Middle Bronze Age Syro-Mesopotamian sites like Qatna, Alalakh, Mari, and Ebla, suggesting that the Hyksos adopted "an Egyptian institution whose workings were basically familiar to them and adapt[ed] it to suit their needs."<sup>677</sup> Quirke also points out that the word for "what is sealed" shares an Egyptian-Semitic root: *khetem*.<sup>678</sup> All of this makes the maintenance and extension of the department of sealed things under the Hyksos a prime example of the middle ground. White notes that middle ground actors actively "sought out cultural 'congruences, either perceived or actual'."<sup>679</sup> In this case, the Hyksos exploited a very real cultural similarity, retaining Egyptian titles for Egyptian offices which closely mirrored

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<sup>673</sup> Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 534.

<sup>674</sup> See above for discussion and references.

<sup>675</sup> Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 535–37.,

<sup>676</sup> Shirley, 534.

<sup>677</sup> Shirley, 545.

<sup>678</sup> Quirke, "The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE: New Rulers without an Administration," 133.

<sup>679</sup> White, "Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings," 9, citing White 1991, 52–3.

Syro-Mesopotamian administrative practices. Utilizing systems familiar from both cultural spheres, the Hyksos effectively incorporated both Egyptians, local acculturated “Asiatics,” and newly arrived immigrants in their administrative structure, and arranged it such that most parties would be competent and comfortable in positions recognizable to all.

### The King’s Son Title as Middle Ground

Middle Ground Theory can also be applied to the identification of royal kinship structuring administrative roles. The resurgence in popularity of the King’s Son title in the Second Intermediate Period is slightly more complex than the department of sealed things, but can still be considered indicative of middle ground construction. Individuals who held the King’s Son title played important administrative roles in the Old Kingdom, especially the Fourth Dynasty, but there is no evidence for the position in the Middle Kingdom until the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty at the earliest.<sup>680</sup> Perhaps this absence of King’s son titles can be linked to the Twelfth Dynasty practice of naming the heir to the throne as coregent during the living king’s lifetime. In this context, elevating other children of the king into high administrative offices, as well as publicly recognizing their dynastic link to the king, may have presented a more dangerous power dynamic than was desired. In any case, the title came into use again in the Second Intermediate Period, in both the north and south. In both regions, the bearers of this title usually also held military positions. A southern example would be the King’s Son Herunefer, who was also the Great Overseer of Troops, and appears to be the actual biological son of an obscure king Montuhotep

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<sup>680</sup> Grajetzki, *Court Officials of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, 8.

and a great king's wife.<sup>681</sup> Given the general increase in military titles and the textual evidence for skirmishes and warfare during this period, it is unsurprising that in this context royal family members would have been given leadership positions in the military,<sup>682</sup> likely in an attempt to foster loyalty to the king. Yet several biographies of southern King's Son title holders use phraseology similar to expressions of being recognized as a child by the king, though replacing the king with a god. Thus in at least some cases, the title may not be indicative of a familial relationship, or even a close link to the king, but only that the individual was raised in the palace.<sup>683</sup>

In the north, however, the position of King's Son exhibits several notable differences. This becomes one of two of the highest available titles in the Delta, and the sheer quantity of King's Son seals suggests that they were more active in administrative positions than their southern counterparts.<sup>684</sup> Furthermore, all of the attested King's Son title bearers in the north had Semitic names and were likely of foreign descent.<sup>685</sup> Ryholt suggests that the individuals titled King's Eldest Son were likely the actual heirs to throne "acting as a kind of coregent."<sup>686</sup> Shirley expands on this idea through an apt comparison with the Middle Bronze Age Near East,

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<sup>681</sup> Grajetzki, 102.

<sup>682</sup> Grajetzki, "Notes on Administration in the Second Intermediate Period," 310; Quirke, "The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE: New Rulers without an Administration," 137.

<sup>683</sup> Kubisch, "Biographies of the Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties," 322–23; Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-njswt "Königsson"*; Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: Biographische Inschriften der 13.-17. Dynastie*.

<sup>684</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 110, 299.

<sup>685</sup> Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 534; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 109 n. 362.

<sup>686</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 110.

specifically the kingdom of Shamshi-Adad in upper Mesopotamia.<sup>687</sup> This ruler literally placed two of his sons on the thrones of regional capitals under his ultimate control,<sup>688</sup> so it is possible that these King's Eldest Sons are actual biological sons of the ruling king, and potentially placed in charge of other cities in the Delta. Yet Shamshi-Adad's political strategy is a rare example, even within the Near East, in which princes were placed as kings in their respective capitals, and in the Delta there is no evidence to suggest that these King's Sons had more power than would be expected for any high official.

Instead, it is more likely that the situation in the Delta reflects a political organization founded on kinship ties which was prevalent throughout the Near East, especially in the Amorite polities of the Middle Bronze Age. Kinship ideology was fundamental to the elite Amorite culture which spread across Syro-Mesopotamia and the Levant in the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BCE.<sup>689</sup> The use of kinship terminology featured prominently in the administrative documents at Ebla and Mari,<sup>690</sup> and even the onomastic corpus at Amorite Ebla often featured words like \*li'mun ("clan") and \*damum ("blood," in the sense of blood ties).<sup>691</sup> The Mari Archives reveal that much of the population of these Amorite kingdoms "identified themselves by tribal social structures" based on familial affiliation rather than residence in a particular location, and that the political structure at Mari was rooted in these kinship traditions.<sup>692</sup> Schwartz identifies a Syro-

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<sup>687</sup> Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 545.

<sup>688</sup> Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 10.

<sup>689</sup> Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*; Schloen, *The House of the Father As Fact and Symbol*, 283.

<sup>690</sup> Michalowski, "Thoughts About Ibrum"; Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*.

<sup>691</sup> Bonechi, "Lexique et idéologie royale à l'époque protosyrienne."

Mesopotamian/Amorite *Oikoumene* which was characterized by rulers who shared (often invented) kinship ties and who were not only in continual contact with one another, but frequently entered into (and broke) alliances.<sup>693</sup> Indeed, Fleming argues that “the ideology of kinship suffuses the political relationships” in the Mari Archives, demonstrating the foundation of governance on social ties of biological or fictive kinship based on shared ancestry.<sup>694</sup> This type of “tribal” organization was also characteristic of Libyan groups, and in the Third Intermediate Period a similar structure of kinship-based administration also accompanied foreign rule, in this case from the West.<sup>695</sup>

Schloen argues that this is a system forged in patrimonial societies, where social order is constructed on “traditional legitimation, which is usually expressed in terms of kinship.” As the territory of the polity grows, the local kinship ties are “metaphorically expanded and reconstructed” such that the “ruling elite remains embedded, therefore, in an ascriptive social framework.”<sup>696</sup> He notes that in bureaucratic societies, the social order is more complicated, segmented, and described by numerous distinctive titles, whereas the kinship-based systems

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<sup>692</sup> Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 24. See 26–33 for a discussion of the issues in the terminology of “tribe” and “tribal” and a comparison with “kinship.”

<sup>693</sup> Schwartz, “An Amorite Global Village,” 4; See also Burke, “Entanglement, the Amorite Koine, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant.”

<sup>694</sup> Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 31.

<sup>695</sup> Cf. Broekman, “Libyan Rule Over Egypt. The Influence of the Tribal Background of the Ruling Class on Political Structures and Developments during the Libyan Period in Egypt”; Moreno García, “Elusive ‘Libyans’: Identities, Lifestyles and Mobile Populations in NE Africa (Late 4th-Early 2nd Millennium BC)”; Moreno García, “Invaders or Just Herders? Libyans in Egypt in the Third and Second Millennia BCE”; Ritner, “Egypt and the Vanishing Libyan: Institutional Responses to a Nomadic People”; Snape, “The Emergence of Libya on the Horizon of Egypt”; Morkot, “Before Greeks and Romans: Eastern Libya and the Oases, a Brief Review of Interconnections in the Eastern Sahara.”

<sup>696</sup> Schloen, *The House of the Father As Fact and Symbol*, 69. See 70–71 for an excellent discussion of the distinction (or lack thereof) between real and fictional kinship, as well as his choice of “household” terminology.

expressed power via household terminology.<sup>697</sup> In these systems, “those who exercise authority do so by virtue of their roles within preexisting networks of traditional personal relationships, and not because they occupy offices in a constitutionally ordered bureaucracy.”<sup>698</sup>

The administration of the Delta under the Hyksos is most accurately represented by this type of political system, in this case likely originating in eastern Amorite traditions. It is apparent that the differentiated bureaucratic terminology of the Middle Kingdom is reduced to a few titles which reflect personal relationships with the king. Even the position of overseer of what is sealed, as well as the entire department of sealed things and other offices, were dominated by individuals with Semitic names,<sup>699</sup> suggesting that they too were involved in these kinship networks. A strong parallel can be found at Ugarit, where two major administrative titles were in use: the *rabbu qarīti* (chief of the city) and the *sākinu* (royal representative). While the duties of these two officials were “broad and ill defined,” their authority was based on their relationships to the king, rather than their placement in administrative positions with clear powers, and they were involved in a range of matters from economic and political to judicial concerns.<sup>700</sup> This resembles the wide-ranging purviews and powers of the overseer of what is sealed and the King’s Son, which seem to have also stemmed from real or fictitious kinship ties to the king. Perhaps the reason the Delta loses so many administrative titles is because a ‘tribal’ structure has been introduced—not only reflected in the kinship terminology of the titles that remain in use,

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<sup>697</sup> Schloen, 71.

<sup>698</sup> Schloen, 69.

<sup>699</sup> Shirley, “Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses,” 533–34; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 109 n. 362.

<sup>700</sup> Schloen, *The House of the Father As Fact and Symbol*, 253.

but also the potentiality that the lack of titles overall might indicate a more collective or corporate form of governance and decision making common to kinship-based societies.<sup>701</sup>

Consequently, another example of middle ground negotiation can be seen in the Hyksos administrative structure. In order to effectively govern the hybrid region of the eastern Delta, the Hyksos adapted aspects of the preexisting Egyptian administration to overlay their own power structures based on kinship networks. They retained Egyptian practices such as the use of scarab seals and hieroglyphic record-keeping, as well as titles in the Egyptian language, but created and expanded roles to fit their administrative traditions. It is also possible that, in this northern context, the military associations of the King's Son title holders are reflective of the warrior status prized and broadcast amongst elite Amorites.<sup>702</sup> This may represent another misunderstood cultural congruence characteristic of the middle ground; while the southern combination of King's son title and military offices builds on late Middle Kingdom titulary for Nubian garrison commanders<sup>703</sup> in order to promote loyalty to the king, in the north it may instead be representative of elite Amorite traditions of kinship and warrior status. This perceived, surface congruence was exploited, and as is common in the middle ground, took on a new cultural understanding of its own.<sup>704</sup> While the King's son title for high ranking military officers mostly falls out of use at the beginning of the New Kingdom,<sup>705</sup> except for certain King's Sons of Kush,

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<sup>701</sup> For discussions of corporate government in Near Eastern contexts, see Michalowski, "Thoughts About Ibrum"; Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 15.

<sup>702</sup> C.f. Burke, *Amorites and the Bronze Age Near East*; Schwartz, "An Amorite Global Village."

<sup>703</sup> Shirley, "Crisis and the Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 553.

<sup>704</sup> White, "Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings," 9.

<sup>705</sup> Spalinger, "The Organisation of the Pharaonic Army (Old to New Kingdom)," 437.



a resurgence of this title and its military association occurs in the Ramesside Period when almost all King's sons hold high military rank.<sup>706</sup>

In any case, the use of Egyptian titles for broad, kinship-based authority would have been recognizable in the worldview of local Egyptians and Levantine immigrants alike, and again demonstrates how the Hyksos justified their administrative practices in terms of Egypt's cultural premises.

## Conclusions

While Egyptologists and Near Eastern Archaeologists have focused on the hybridity of material culture, now this discussion should be taken a step further by asking what this means for social systems in practice and actual human interaction. The Hyksos were more than just the old trope of invading foreigners who strove to be as Egyptian as they could manage, despite failing to completely or correctly understand Egyptian cultural systems. Instead, they creatively negotiated their own blended identities with those of the local, mixed Delta population, constructing a rule and worldview amenable to the majority. The middle ground is a useful framework for approaching these contexts of ancient immigration, incorporating the ancient evidence into an investigation of the cerebral side of cross-cultural interaction. By focusing on the beliefs and practices accessible through a close scrutiny of the ancient sources, the notion of the middle ground allows for an examination of the blending of cultural traditions and the

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<sup>706</sup> Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-njswt "Königsson"*; Gnirs, "Coping with the Army: The Military and the State in the New Kingdom"; Spalinger, "The Organisation of the Pharaonic Army (Old to New Kingdom)," 395. This also represents yet another link between the Ramesside and Hyksos Periods, which I have discussed; in Candelora, "Defining the Hyksos," 207–8 nn. 50, 53.

creative production of a new, mutually constituted perception of the world. The groups involved in the creation of the middle ground all benefit from this shared perspective, and from within it new cultural forms or practices are produced. In the case of the Hyksos, these foreign kings sought to negotiate their eastern identities and cultural forms with adapted Egyptian practices, traditions, and titles in order to more effectively rule a diverse population. As discussed above, monumental architecture, royal titulary, scribal practice, diplomatic exchange, and a reorganized administrative structure all demonstrate conscious maintenances, adaptations, and compromises of traditions from both the Egyptian and Near Eastern spheres. Through this accommodation process, all parties would have been able to operate from within a worldview that was not only recognizable from their own cultural perspectives, but perhaps most importantly, was now common to the eastern Delta as a whole. This Hyksos system worked well in the unique context of the Delta, and aspects of it would even be exploited again in the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods.

## CHAPTER 6 – THE *HQ3 H3S.WT* TITLE AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR HYKSOS IDENTITY<sup>707</sup>

This chapter serves two purposes, the first of which being to provide a thorough examination of the namesake of the Hyksos, the Egyptian title *hq3 h3s.wt*. The second aim of this chapter is to build upon the discussion of the Middle Ground accommodation process investigated in the previous chapter, as well as to provide a more in-depth case study example of this phenomenon—again, utilizing the *hq3 h3s.wt* title. This investigation will cover epigraphic and inscriptional evidence, as well as briefly looking back at the textual corpus from Chapter 4 (to passages relevant to the specific titulary discussed here). The analysis of this title, as well as who assigned it to the Hyksos and how it was employed, can tell us a great deal about the Hyksos’s strategies of rule and the advertisement and maintenance of their “foreignness.”

### Identity Negotiation and the Hyksos

Cultural contact, including both the material and conceptual aspects of identity negotiation and interaction, have become a popular topic in the archaeology of the ancient Near East and Egypt. Spanning from ancient Nubia<sup>708</sup> to Kültepe in Anatolia,<sup>709</sup> and even

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<sup>707</sup> A version of this chapter is published as Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos.”

<sup>708</sup> Smith, “Revenge of the Kushites Assimilation and Resistance in Egypt’s New Kingdom Empire and Nubian Ascendancy over Egypt (in Empires and Complexity”); Smith, *Wretched Kush*; Van Pelt, “Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia”; Minor, “The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period.”

encompassing much of the fertile crescent,<sup>710</sup> the study of identity is finding a strong foothold due to the numerous sites and instances of interaction in this broad region. Tell el-Dab'a, capital of the Hyksos Dynasty in the eastern Delta of Egypt, is just such a borderland, a hotbed for cultural contact and identity negotiation between native Egyptians and an immigrant Levantine populace. Excavations at the site have uncovered evidence for exchange and hybridity, beginning with the initial settlement of Levantine people in the late Twelfth Dynasty, and continuing through the Hyksos Period.<sup>711</sup> Both the maintenance of specific identities,<sup>712</sup> and the blending thereof, can be seen in domestic and temple architecture,<sup>713</sup> tombs,<sup>714</sup> and ceramics.<sup>715</sup> Bettina Bader has also explicitly applied both migration theory,<sup>716</sup> as well as concepts of cultural mixing, including creolization, mestizaje, and hybridity,<sup>717</sup> to the case of Tell el-Dab'a.

The Hyksos themselves are an excellent case study in cultural blending, as they both maintained aspects of their foreign origin and adopted Egyptian conventions of rule and

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<sup>709</sup> Lumsden, "Material Culture and the Middle Ground in the Old Assyrian Colony Period"; Larsen and Lassen, "Cultural Exchange at Kültepe."

<sup>710</sup> Burke, "Entanglement, the Amorite Koine, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant"; Burke, "Amorites, Climate Change"; Schwartz, "An Amorite Global Village."

<sup>711</sup> Bietak, "The Predecessors of the Hyksos," 200; Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?"

<sup>712</sup> Bietak, "The Egyptian Community in Avaris during the Hyksos Period."

<sup>713</sup> Bietak, Math, and Müller, "Report on the Excavations of a Hyksos Palace"; Bietak et al., "Der Hyksos-Palast bei Tell el-Dab'a"; Bietak, "Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta"; Bietak, "Two Ancient Near Eastern Temples with Bent Axis in the Eastern Nile Delta."

<sup>714</sup> Forstner-Müller, "Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a"; Bader, "Traces of Foreign Settlers."

<sup>715</sup> Bader, "Migration in Archaeology"; Bader, "Traces of Foreign Settlers"; de Vreeze, "A Strange Bird Will Breed in the Delta Marsh."

<sup>716</sup> Bader, "Migration in Archaeology."

<sup>717</sup> Bader, "Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology."

administration. They likely arose from among the immigrant population at Tell el-Dab'a, gaining power in the context of the political fragmentation and economic crisis that characterized the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>718</sup> Until the discovery of the Skr-Hr door jamb<sup>719</sup> at Tell el-Dab'a (Figure 6), the widespread assumption was that the Egyptians had labeled these foreign kings as *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* (Hyksos). However, the door jamb preserves a partial traditional Egyptian titulary alongside the use of *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*, leading scholars to suggest that the Hyksos may have taken on the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title for themselves.<sup>720</sup> Bietak proposed that “this term perhaps was originally applied by the Egyptians in a disparaging way to the new rulers of the land, the rulers themselves employed ‘Hyksos’ as an official ruler’s title.”<sup>721</sup> Although the first statement is certainly a possibility, based on a survey of the extant evidence, this paper demonstrates that the Hyksos are not called *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* in Egyptian sources. While the recent scholarship has accepted that the Hyksos adopted the title for themselves, the misconception concerning the Egyptian sources has been maintained, primarily in educational texts.<sup>722</sup> However, few have considered *why* the Hyksos

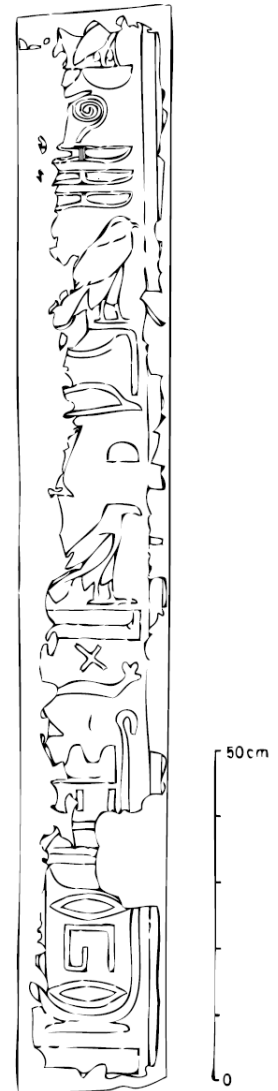


Figure 6 - The door jamb of Skr-Hr, line drawing by author

<sup>718</sup> Bietak, “Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom,” 113.

<sup>719</sup> Bietak and Hein, *Pharaonen und Fremde - Dynastien im Dunkel*, 151–52.

<sup>720</sup> Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition,” 13.

<sup>721</sup> Bietak, “Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom,” 113.

<sup>722</sup> Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, 199; Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, 132.

adopted the title and what significance it might have held for them, especially in the context of extended cultural interaction.

Much of the theoretical framework discussed in the previous chapter has recently been applied to cases of extended cultural interaction in the ancient Near East, and at Tell el-Dab'a specifically. Archaeological evidence from the site is used to examine the negotiation of identity between a general Levantine population and local Egyptians. But, in his seminal study of these Asiatic individuals, Thomas Schneider demonstrated that very few monuments survive that both reference *ꜥm.w* and are proven to have been commissioned by Asiatics.<sup>723</sup> Bader then recognized that this particular lack of evidence bars scholars from knowing how these Asiatics viewed themselves, a crucial aspect of understanding identity.<sup>724</sup> However, it is possible to access a portion of this emic perspective for the Hyksos themselves. By performing a much closer analysis of the usage and find contexts for the term *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*, it can be demonstrated that in the Second Intermediate Period, this term was adopted by the Hyksos kings as a self-ascriptive title, likely in an effort to negotiate their identity within an Egyptian worldview.

### Egyptian (Etic) texts that refer to the Hyksos

As stated above, the notion that the Egyptians called the Fifteenth Dynasty 'Hyksos' can be disproven by a survey of the relevant textual evidence. Among the most common Egyptian sources cited for the Hyksos Period, or directly describing this foreign dynasty and the Hyksos-Theban war, are the Carnarvon Tablet, the First, Second, and Third Stelae of Kamose, the

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<sup>723</sup> Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II*, 334–35.

<sup>724</sup> Bader, "Traces of Foreign Settlers," 150; Shennan, *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*.

autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibana, the Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut, and the *Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre*.<sup>725</sup> While all of these texts directly refer to the Hyksos and their subjects in the Eastern Delta, none of them ever employ the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*. The first five of these sources are contemporary with and record the events of the Hyksos-Theban wars at the close of the Second Intermediate Period, and are referring to Apepi, or possibly Khamudi,<sup>726</sup> yet rarely call these Hyksos by name and never use the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title. In the Autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibana, the northern enemies are distinguished only by the use of two geographical locations, Avaris and Sharuhen.<sup>727</sup>

Common terms for Asiatics<sup>728</sup> are frequently used to describe individual kings, especially within the Kamose texts. For example, in the Second Stela, the Egyptian author labels Apepi *ꜥꜣm ḥꜣs* twice and simply *ꜥꜣm* once,<sup>729</sup> while the First Stela and the Carnarvon Tablet label him, slightly less virulently, as an *ꜥꜣm*.<sup>730</sup> These texts also use a variety of other terms of rulership to denote the Hyksos Apepi, including *wr*, *nb*, and *ḥqꜣ*.<sup>731</sup> In certain instances, these titles are

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<sup>725</sup> Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period” Redford also includes other contemporary Second Intermediate Period sources that do not deal directly with the Hyksos conflict. None of these sources use the phrase *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣswt*.

<sup>726</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 120.

<sup>727</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2006, 12–13.

<sup>728</sup> Redford, “Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom,” 125–43; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II*, 5–15.

<sup>729</sup> Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose*, 36. Second Stela lines 11, 16.

<sup>730</sup> Smith and Smith, “A Reconsideration of the Kamose Texts”; Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*; Gardiner, “The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I.”

<sup>731</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 325–26.

defined more specifically, such as *wr n Rtn.w* and *hq3 n Hw.t-Wcr.t*.<sup>732</sup> I further review the differential use of rulership titles in this text in Chapter 4.

The final two texts, which postdate the Hyksos Period, still clearly refer to the Hyksos, yet never utilize the term *hq3 h3s.wt*. The Speos Artemidos Inscription<sup>733</sup> of Hatshepsut is cited in the scholarly literature as an example of negative New Kingdom propaganda against these foreign kings.<sup>734</sup> While it is clear from the reference to *Hw.t-Wcr.t*, ancient Avaris, that the text is dealing with the Hyksos period, the title *hq3 h3s.wt* is absent. See Chapter 4 for a full discussion of the pertinent sections of this text.

The second of these texts is the *Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre* from Papyrus Sallier I. As examined in depth in Chapter 4, this 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty tale is often discussed as a fictional story with some historical implications, but certainly as another Egyptian text which vilifies and mocks the Hyksos,<sup>735</sup> or sets Apepi up as a foil to Seqenenre.<sup>736</sup> Again, the text is unquestionably set during the Hyksos period, yet lacks any use of the phrase *hq3 h3s.wt*.

The only Egyptian-authored text which may refer to the Fifteenth Dynasty as Hyksos is the Turin King List. The most extensive reconstruction of the Second Intermediate Period section was undertaken by Ryholt<sup>737</sup> and then refined further by both Ryholt and Allen.<sup>738</sup> However, due

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<sup>732</sup> Flammini, “Disputed Rulership in Upper Egypt,” 61–64.

<sup>733</sup> Gardiner, “Davies’ Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription”; Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period,” 16–17.

<sup>734</sup> Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition,” 32–33.

<sup>735</sup> Manassa, *Imagining the Past*; Redford, “The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition,” 35–36.

<sup>736</sup> Spalinger, “Two Screen Plays.”

<sup>737</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 118–23.



to the fragmentary nature of the document, the small area designated to the Fifteenth Dynasty is largely absent or illegible. Ryholt proposes that the Fifteenth Dynasty heading is *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*, which also replaces the expected *nsw bi.ti* in front of the native kings' names. This reconstruction is based entirely on the lack of cartouche and replacement of the falcon on a standard with a throwing stick in the name of Khamudi, which is the only name preserved in this section, as well as the word *ḥꜣs.wt* in the summary line. Despite the fragmented evidence, the reconstruction is still plausible given the distinct change from the standards in the remainder of the document.

However, this reconstruction then raises the question of why the Turin King List is the sole Egyptian source which preserves the Hyksos' use of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title. I believe this is linked to the idea of a unique, regionally specific cultural memory of the Eastern Delta, in which the Hyksos were considered entirely legitimate Egyptian kings. Documents or monuments produced locally in the area of Avaris would have perpetuated the memory of their kingship, and may have been the original sources copied by the Turin King List (also likely composed in the Eastern Delta). This then helps to explain the cultural continuity between the Hyksos and Ramesside periods, given the centrality of the Eastern Delta to both (see also Chapters 7 and 8).

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<sup>738</sup> Ryholt, "The Turin King List"; Allen, "The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List."

## Use of *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* outside the Second Intermediate Period

Before discussing the unique usage of the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* during the period of interest, it is important to understand the application of the term throughout pharaonic history. Outside the Second Intermediate Period, this title is found only sparsely, and usually in monumental contexts. The thirty-three attestations known to me<sup>739</sup> are catalogued in Table 9 in chronological order, if possible listed with their date, a brief description, and provenience information or archaeological context. I have also included a geographical location of the referenced foreign ruler, since ancient Egyptians seem to have considered geographical regions as closely associated with potential ethnic or cultural identity.<sup>740</sup> I use the term “general” to indicate that, from the text or corresponding imagery alone, the geographic assignment of the *ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt t* is indeterminate.

As indicated by Table 9, the diachronic distribution of the non-Second Intermediate Period examples is relatively balanced,<sup>741</sup> exhibiting intensification in the Eighteenth Dynasty. This marked New Kingdom increase is due to the inclusion of the phrase *ḥwī ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw* ([who] has struck the rulers of foreign lands who had attacked him) within the jubilee epithets of Thutmose III. Seven examples are from the first line of the jubilee names of Thutmose III, identically replicated on his Karnak obelisks, the Amun Temple at Karnak, the Akhmenu, and

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<sup>739</sup> This paper examines the use of the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*, and so any usages of the two words in broader phrases were not included. For example, *ḥqꜣ n ḥꜣs.t nb.t* in line 176 of Papyrus Berlin 3022 (the Story of Sinuhe); *ḥqꜣ imw ḥꜣs.t nb.t* in an inscription in the Tomb of Intef at Dra Abu el-Naga; and *ḥqꜣ n ḥꜣs.t nb.t* in an inscription at Esna temple of Diocletian. Much of the catalog is found in Redford, “Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period.”19.

<sup>740</sup> Smith, *Wretched Kush*; Smith, “Ethnicity and Culture”; Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt.”

<sup>741</sup> The lack of examples from the First and Third Intermediate Periods is not unexpected given the general dearth of evidence.

the temples at Medinet Habu, Elkab, Semna, and Heliopolis.<sup>742</sup> Three more examples are described by Sethe as Ehrenbezeichnungen of Thutmose III, occurring twice more at Medinet Habu and once again at the Akhmenu at Karnak.<sup>743</sup> Another example can be found on the back side of the left obelisk erected at Heliopolis to commemorate the Third Jubilee of Thutmose III, now in New York.<sup>744</sup> Amenhotep II also incorporated this phrase into his kingly epithets on the Eighth Pylon at Karnak.<sup>745</sup> Therefore, this standardized replication of the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* can be considered a single example for each Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, eliminating the Eighteenth Dynasty as an outlier within the chronological distribution.

The results are also evenly distributed in terms of the geographic, and the potentially linked ethnic, association for the use of *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*. The non-Second Intermediate Period examples all occur in Egyptian sources, texts or artifacts clearly commissioned by Egyptian individuals, including the Execration Texts, tomb autobiographies, royal inscriptions, the Story of Sinuhe, etc. In these cases, the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* is an etic label applied by Egyptian authors to these foreign individuals. The term references both Levantine and Nubian leaders, as well as more abstract examples of ideological enemies. As discussed above, the New Kingdom contains many more examples which fall into this latter category due to the inclusion of the title in jubilee titulary. Otherwise, no marked shifts occur in the Egyptian usage of the term as a result of the Hyksos' appropriation.

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<sup>742</sup> Sethe, *URK. IV:8*, IV:8:599.

<sup>743</sup> Sethe, IV:8:555.

<sup>744</sup> Sethe, IV:8:593.

<sup>745</sup> Helck, *URK. IV:17*, 1333.

The usage of *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* does undergo a shift beginning in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, when Montuemhat adopts the title for himself.<sup>746</sup> He seems to have set a fashion, as other high elites and pharaohs of the Late and Ptolemaic Periods also adopt the title as a personal epithet, including a Saite elite named Padiharessne,<sup>747</sup> Philip Arrhaeus,<sup>748</sup> Ptolemy XIII,<sup>749</sup> and a Ptolemaic general by the name of Nectanebo.<sup>750</sup> The title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* is twice included in the epithets of divinities, once in a Nineteenth Dynasty votive stela from Deir el Medina dedicated to Shed,<sup>751</sup> and once in the Ptolemaic period as an epithet of Min at Dendera.<sup>752</sup> Perhaps the most interesting later occurrence of the title is in the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel, in which he refers to Artaxerxes III as a *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*.<sup>753</sup> Unfortunately in this case it is impossible to know whether the Persian ruler consciously adopted the title in a manner similar to the Hyksos,<sup>754</sup> or if the tomb owner commissioned the work as a factual description of his sovereign's foreign origin.

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<sup>746</sup> Leclant, *Montuemhat; quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville.*, 254.

<sup>747</sup> Christophe, "Trois monuments inédits mentionnant le grand majordome de Nitocris, Padihorresnet.," 81f.

<sup>748</sup> Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte IV*, 206; Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*, 9.

<sup>749</sup> Junker, *Der große Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, 72 Abb. 37.

<sup>750</sup> Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*, 24 no. 7.

<sup>751</sup> Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh*, 165.

<sup>752</sup> Mariette, *Dendérah Vol. I: Description générale du grand temple de cette ville*, 23.

<sup>753</sup> Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, 81 no. 28.

<sup>754</sup> See below.

### Use of *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* during the Second Intermediate Period

The diachronic distribution of *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* exhibits a spike during the Second Intermediate Period with a total of thirty-five occurrences, all of which can be associated with a Levantine geographical referent. These examples, compiled in

*Table 10*, occur almost exclusively on seals and seal impressions, with the sole exception of the monumental door jamb of Skr-Hr,<sup>755</sup> and are the only instances of the use of *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* which are contemporary with the Hyksos Period. Interestingly, all but five of these examples belong to Khyan. Most importantly for the study of Hyksos identity, all of these artifacts were likely commissioned by the Hyksos themselves, or were manufactured for the administrative use of their officials. Therefore, they exemplify the elusive combination which Schneider sought for *ʿsm* and Levantine individuals, having both the use of a specific identifying word and a secure commission by the same group which is referenced.<sup>756</sup>

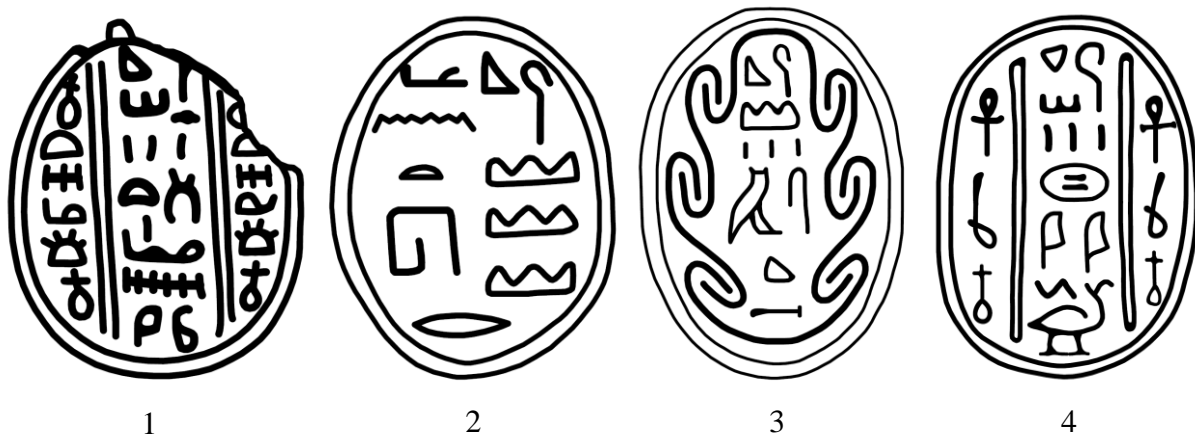


Figure 7 - Scarabs with *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title, line drawings by author

Each of these instances feature the term *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* followed by the personal name of the ruler, which are in each case Semitic: *ʿpr-ʿnti* (Figure 7 n. 1), *ʿnt-Hr* (Figure 7 n. 2), *Smqn* (Figure 7 n. 3), *Khyan* (Figure 7 n. 4), and *Skr-Hr*.<sup>757</sup> There is some debate over the chronological position of *ʿnt-Hr*: while Ward assigns this king to the Fifteenth Dynasty based

<sup>755</sup> Bietak and Hein, *Pharaonen und Fremde - Dynastien im Dunkel*, 155ff.

<sup>756</sup> See above. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten II*, 334–35.

<sup>757</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 123–25; Schneider, *Lexikon der Pharaonen*, 275; Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten I*, 41–42.

primarily on the use of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title,<sup>758</sup> Ryholt locates him in the Twelfth Dynasty based on the style of elytra on one of his two total scarabs.<sup>759</sup> In my view, the combination of the Semitic name and *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title would most likely place ʕnt-Hr in the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Dynasty, alongside the proposed chronological positions of the other four kings attested with this title. Indeed, it seems much more likely that a Twelfth Dynasty scarab was reused, and only the inscription was re-carved for ʕnt-Hr.

While the name of Khyan is preserved on numerous scarabs with the traditional Egyptian royal title *sꜣ rꜥ*, it is in the earlier reign of Skr-Hr that we have evidence of a Hyksos adopting most of the five-fold titulary. However, while the door jamb still utilizes the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title following the Nebty and Golden Horus names,<sup>760</sup> by the following reign, Apepi has seemingly left the term behind.<sup>761</sup> Ryholt uses this apparent shift in titulary to assign an order to the reigns of these kings, proposing that Skr-Hr should be Khyan's immediate predecessor. He suggests that Khyan himself only used the term early in his reign, and upon conquering all of Egypt, adopted the traditional Egyptian titulary and “abandon[ed] the use of the ‘petty’ title *ḥqꜣ*

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<sup>758</sup> Ward, “Royal Name Scarabs,” 170.

<sup>759</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 122. The style features the elytra divided by three lines, which is usually found during the Twelfth Dynasty.

<sup>760</sup> Ryholt, 124.

<sup>761</sup> No examples have been found pairing the *ḥꜣꜣ ḥꜣswt* title and the name of Apepi.

*ḥꜣꜣ.wt*.<sup>762</sup> According to Ryholt, this would also explain why no *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣꜣ.wt* titles survive from the reigns of Apepi and Khamudi.<sup>763</sup>

Although Ryholt does raise the question of why these final two kings are recorded as *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣꜣ.wt* in the Turin King List despite never having used the title themselves, he suggests that the early Eighteenth Dynasty sources would have preserved the title for reasons of consistency or to “mark the entire dynasty as dissident.” This notion is built off of the passage in the Speos Artemidos inscription claiming that “they ruled without acknowledging Re,”<sup>764</sup> and not on the actual usage of the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣꜣ.wt*, which, as demonstrated above, is not used to refer to the Hyksos until the Nineteenth Dynasty (if ever). Instead, it is possible that Apepi and Khamudi did in fact employ the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣꜣ.wt*, but that no examples survive. Given that ꜥpr-ꜥnti, Smqn, and Skr-Hr are each attested with the title only once, and ꜥnt-Hr twice, we are in theory only one discovery away from an example for Apepi or Khamudi. In fact, a recent discovery of a single attestation has altered Ryholt’s interpretations (see below). Furthermore, all but the Skr-Hr example occur on seals and sealings, small mobile objects, easily displaced or in the case of the latter, often fragmentary or destroyed by environmental conditions. Also in support of this notion is that the Turin King List may have been copied from a monument or document contemporary with the Fifteenth Dynasty, which would explain the maintenance of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣꜣ.wt* title throughout the dynasty.

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<sup>762</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 124-125. Part of his argument is that some of the sA ra examples are accompanied by Khyan’s name in the royal cartouche, while the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣꜣ.wt* examples do not feature the cartouche. ; See also Roberts, “Hyksos Self-Presentation and ‘Culture,’” 286, in which the author proposes a similar significance to the lack of *nsw-ḫi.ti* or *nb-tꜣ.wy* titles before the reign of Apepi - namely that the earlier Fifteenth Dynasty kings did not consider themselves rulers of both Lower and Upper Egypt until Apepi.

<sup>763</sup> See also Allen, “The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List,” 5.

<sup>764</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 125.



Additionally, the notion that these kings dropped the less prestigious title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* in favor of Egyptian titulary is called into question by scarabs from slightly earlier in the Second Intermediate Period. For example, the kings Šši (Sheshi) and Yꜥqb-Hr (Yakubhar) have been assigned by Ryholt to the early and later Fourteenth Dynasty respectively, based on archaeological contexts at Uronarti, Shiqmona, and Kerma.<sup>765</sup> Scarabs of these kings almost always employ *nfr ntr* with the prenomen and *sꜣ rꜥ* with the nomen, and often the *sꜣ rꜥ* examples also feature the king's name in a cartouche.<sup>766</sup> Neither of these kings are attested with the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title. These kings, with Semitic names, are already employing the supposedly more significant Egyptian titulary before the Hyksos Dynasty, and cannot be discounted in this model of titular negotiation. Ryholt also proposes that Khyan's shift to the *sꜣ rꜥ* title corresponds with his 'conquest' of all of Egypt. However, there does not seem to be direct evidence for this conquest, nor for the chronological separation in Khyan's use of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* versus *sꜣ rꜥ* titles. It also seems unlikely that Šši and Yꜥqb-Hr were in control of all of Egypt, which, as Ryholt suggests, might be the criteria for the use of *sꜣ rꜥ* and a cartouche. Especially considering his placement of ʕnt-Hr and his *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title in the Twelfth Dynasty, an explanation must be given for why the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* would have fallen out of favor twice. Many of these chronological issues may be solved by the potential overlap between the mid Thirteenth and early Fifteenth Dynasties suggested by the new sealing evidence from Edfu and Tell el-Dab'a (see Chapter 2). These findings further complicate Ryholt's timeline and causation for the abandonment of the title, and at the same time may clarify the relatively early style of the ʕnt-Hr

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<sup>765</sup> Ryholt, 42–50.

<sup>766</sup> Ryholt, 45–46.

scarab. Most convincingly, recent excavations in area R/III at Tell el Dab'a uncovered a new sealing of Khyan (Inventory # 9664N), featuring the inscription: *s3 r' hq3 h3s.wt h[y3n]*.<sup>767</sup> This is the only example of this seal type found for Khyan, and invalidates Ryholt's argument that the Hyksos drop the "petty" title in favor of more traditional titles. Reali's stylistic analysis of the seal even places it in the typological sequence before Type A, those seals with only the *hq3 h3s.wt* title and Khyan's name.<sup>768</sup>

While it is important to discuss the geopolitical significance of these titles, it is also crucial to consider how these titles are linked to the self-conception of the rulers who adopted them. A few scholars have started to apply this framework of identity, such as Bader, who described the combination of Egyptian titulary and *hq3 h3s.wt* on the door jamb as a "good example demonstrating cultural mixture."<sup>769</sup> Allen developed the chronological argument further and suggested that the first kings of the Fifteenth Dynasty adopted the title *hq3 h3s.wt* to "reflect the dynasty's initial view of itself as different from previous and contemporary Egyptian rulers."<sup>770</sup>

Expanding on these observations, this chapter investigates the situation through the lens of individual agency, emphasizing the purposeful choices made by the Hyksos to employ this title, as well as the meaning the title might hold for them. I believe the Hyksos's adoption of the

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<sup>767</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, "King Khyan and Avaris," 104.

<sup>768</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, 109–10.

<sup>769</sup> Bader, "Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology," 277.

<sup>770</sup> Allen, "The Second Intermediate Period in the Turin King-List," 5; Contra Roberts, "Hyksos Self-Presentation and 'Culture,'" 285–88, who argues that the titles on scarabs and seals are beyond the scope of royal self-presentation, and are more likely reflective of the "perceived identity" given to the rulers by the artisans producing the seals. However, he does concede that the royal self-identity and their perceived identity were likely the same because royal artisans and the kings themselves functioned within the same ideological milieu.

title *hq3 h3s.wt* is indicative of their attempts to negotiate their foreign identity from an Egyptian perspective. This interpretation is in line with White's Middle Ground Theory, which proposes that the social groups involved in creating the Middle Ground were willing, and perhaps attempting, "to justify their actions in terms of what they perceived to be their partner's cultural premises."<sup>771</sup> Perhaps the Hyksos sought to commemorate their foreign origins in a way that would still convey their royalty, power, and ties to their homelands, yet using a title that their Egyptian subjects would recognize because it hailed from their own cultural milieu.<sup>772</sup>

From a middle ground perspective, this was a clever choice of title on the part of the Hyksos. While they adopted traditional Egyptian titles for rulership in conjunction with Egyptian throne names, they found a creative way in which to preserve their personal, Semitic names. The Hyksos seem to have intentionally selected a title which would indicate their foreign origins, heightening the effect by pairing it with their Semitic names, in an effort not only to maintain, but broadcast, their Southwest Asian identity. Yet they opted for a term which their Egyptian subjects would be familiar with because it originated in their own language and cultural background. Consequently, the Hyksos were able to negotiate their outside identities from within an Egyptian worldview, using an Egyptian title and the culturally-inscribed meaning thereof to simultaneously commemorate their royalty and their ties to the east.<sup>773</sup>

As White and others note, another central tenant of the middle ground process are the creative misunderstandings that occur when individuals are attempting to operate within another

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<sup>771</sup> White, *The Middle Ground*, 52.

<sup>772</sup> Contrary to the idea proposed by Redford, who suggested that the Egyptians and Hyksos rejected one another and all associated traditions. See Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition," 8.

<sup>773</sup> Candelora, "Defining the Hyksos," 212, 216.

culture's worldview.<sup>774</sup> However, while the historical situation investigated by White had the benefit of personal accounts, journals, and letters detailing these misunderstandings, the ancient world is often lacking such records of personal thought-processes. Thus, it can be difficult, and potentially problematic, to identify these misunderstandings in the ancient world, yet it is possible to investigate scenarios that might be categorized as such. In the case of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title, perhaps the Hyksos chose it for themselves because in their understanding, this was the proper Egyptian title for a ruler of foreign descent, without fully realizing that it may have undermined their legitimacy as kings of *Egypt*. However, it is equally possible that the Hyksos, fully versed in the Egyptian uses and significance of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title, chose it to simultaneously affirm their foreign ties and to indicate that, from their point of view, Egypt was the “foreign land” under their control.<sup>775</sup>

Another scenario explaining the Hyksos use of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title is that it parallels the widespread elite adoption of Amorite titles alongside traditional Mesopotamian titles across the Near East in the early second millennium BCE. It was around this period, after the collapse of the Third Dynasty of Ur, that individual city-states headed by Amorite rulers—or at least rulers self-identifying as Amorite—appeared from Southern Mesopotamia to Syria. These sovereigns took the expected Mesopotamian titles alongside their personal Amorite names, but added more which directly linked them to the Amorites or Amorite sub-groups.<sup>776</sup> In fact, Hammurabi

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<sup>774</sup> White, *The Middle Ground*, x, 52–53; White, “Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings,” 9; Deloria, “What Is the Middle Ground, Anyway?,” 16.

<sup>775</sup> T. Schneider, personal communication. He suggests that from a Delta perspective, the *ḥꜣswt* here may refer to the mountainous lands of Upper Egypt as a Hyksos claim to control over the south.

<sup>776</sup> Schwartz, “An Amorite Global Village,” 2–5.

himself took the title “king of all the Amorite land,”<sup>777</sup> which best illustrates the similarity in intent behind this titulary. In a Near Eastern context, elites associated themselves with this powerful, well-known group. However, the Hyksos, situated as they were in their Egyptian setting, took on a title that their Egyptian subjects were familiar with yet communicated the same idea—in the Egyptian context, it mattered less which foreign lands/people were controlled, only that they were foreign. Thus, perhaps the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title is the Egyptian substitute for these Amorite-affiliation titles, especially given that identity is known to be malleable and often contextually-dependent.<sup>778</sup>

The Hyksos were also preserving their foreign identity by purposefully displaying their origins in other ways. The monumental architecture at Tell el-Dab‘a, namely the palace<sup>779</sup> and two temples,<sup>780</sup> appears to be Near Eastern in style. If one is willing to extrapolate from older strata at Tell el-Dab‘a, these immigrants made an effort to maintain religious beliefs,<sup>781</sup> mortuary

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<sup>777</sup> Schwartz, 3.

<sup>778</sup> Díaz-Andreu and Lucy, “Introduction,” 10–11. It is interesting to speculate that if the beginning of the Old Babylonian letter fragment discovered in the Fifteenth Dynasty palace at Tell el-Dab‘a had been preserved (Bietak et al., “Der Hyksos-Palast bei Tell el-Dab‘a.”) perhaps the Amorite-affiliation titles would have been used. In the context of diplomatic correspondence with another Amorite ruler, it seems likely that the Hyksos would have consciously chosen to self-identify as Amorite, actively maintaining kinship ties and ascribing to the international elite identity of the day. Indeed, Moeller suggests a similar conscious selection of titulary when trading with Upper Egypt, noting that the Khyan sealings from Edfu only feature the *sa ra* title. See Moeller and Marouard, “The Context of the Khyan Sealings from Tell Edfu and Further Implications for the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt”; Moeller, Marouard, and Ayers, “Discussion of Late Middle Kingdom and Early Second Intermediate Period History and Chronology in Relation to the Khyan Sealings from Tell Edfu.”

<sup>779</sup> Bietak, Math, and Müller, “Report on the Excavations of a Hyksos Palace,” 19–32; Bietak, “Le Hyksos Khayan”; Bietak et al., “Der Hyksos-Palast bei Tell el-Dab‘a.”

<sup>780</sup> Bietak, “Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta,” 213–20; Bietak, “Two Ancient Near Eastern Temples with Bent Axis in the Eastern Nile Delta,” 13–22.

<sup>781</sup> Bietak, “Near Eastern Sanctuaries in the Eastern Nile Delta,” 209–15; Porada, “The Cylinder Seal from Tell El-Dab‘a,” 485–88.

practice,<sup>782</sup> craft traditions,<sup>783</sup> even ceramic forms and potentially the attendant foodways.<sup>784</sup> In every case however, this marked persistence of their origins was in constant negotiation and dialog with Egyptian traditions. The Hyksos adoption of the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title may be yet another example of this negotiation process.

Indeed, the occurrence of these *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* examples almost exclusively on seals and sealings is further indicative of the blending of broader Near Eastern and Egyptian glyptic styles. The Hyksos hail from a Syro-Mesopotamian glyptic tradition featuring full graphic scenes carved on cylinder seals. This type of seal can be exemplified in the Baal-Zephon cylinder seal found at Tell el-Dab'a in area F/I on the floor of the Thirteenth Dynasty palace, which contains a Syrian-style scene yet appears to have been carved locally.<sup>785</sup> However, all but three of the seals featuring the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title are scarabs, and all examples favor inscription over imagery (even the three cylinder seal examples). Therefore, it appears that the Hyksos were operating from within an Egyptian administrative tradition, most likely because their administrative officials were either Egyptian or local Levantines who had been employed under earlier Egyptian kings.

It is important to keep in mind that much of the cultural material that the Hyksos produced is lost. However, it is significant that we see this conscious negotiation of foreign and

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<sup>782</sup> Forstner-Müller, "Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a," 128–32.

<sup>783</sup> Philip, *Tell el-Dab'a XV*, 231–41.

<sup>784</sup> Bader, "Traces of Foreign Settlers," 137–47; de Vreeze, "'A Strange Bird Will Breed in the Delta Marsh,'" 155–78; Redmount, "Ethnicity, Pottery, and the Hyksos at Tell El-Maskhuta in the Egyptian Delta," 184–88.

<sup>785</sup> Porada, "The Cylinder Seal from Tell El-Dab'a," 485.

Egyptian identity in two particular contexts: monumental inscription and administrative seals, both extremes on the spectrum of royal display.

### Titulary Wordplay: Unique examples featuring *ḥqꜣ*

The active process of identity negotiation undergone by the Hyksos can be further elucidated in

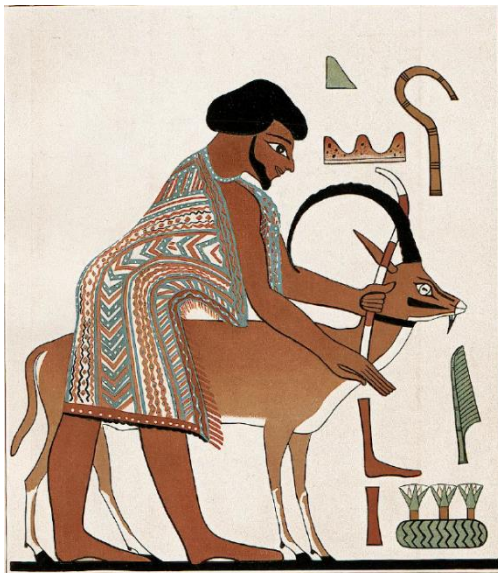


Figure 8 - *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt Abshar*, Tomb of Khnumhotep II, Beni Hasan Tomb 3, after Newberry 1893 Pl. XXVIII

examples of unique experimentation with the word *ḥqꜣ*, starting in the late Twelfth Dynasty through the Hyksos Period and into the early Eighteenth Dynasty. One of the most cited scenes in discussions of the Hyksos is the painting of Asiatics and the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt Abshar* in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan (Figure 8).<sup>786</sup> On the mastaba of his son, Khnumhotep III, at Dashur, a historical inscription in the style of a literary text has been partially preserved. In the preliminary report on this text, Allen notes that the word *ḥqꜣ* is provided with

a classifier sign of “a seated man with the beard and ‘mushroom’ hairdo, holding a round-bladed ax.”<sup>787</sup> Indeed, the classifier bears a remarkable resemblance to the Beni Hasan individual and the over-lifesize sculptures discovered at Tell el-Dab’a.<sup>788</sup> This is an unusual way of writing the word, and similar “Asiatic” determinative signs are used on the same monument for both *ꜥꜣm*

<sup>786</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 69, Pl. XXXI.

<sup>787</sup> Allen, “The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep,” 33.

<sup>788</sup> Arnold, “Image and Identity: Egypt’s Eastern Neighbours,” 191–200; Schiestl, “The Statue of an Asiatic Man from Tell el Dab’a, Egypt,” 177–80.

and *mn.ti*.<sup>789</sup> These examples are also paralleled on an obelisk-shaped stela from Serabit el Khadim, on which the Semitic names of individuals involved in mining expeditions are determined by the same seated, mushroom-haired Asiatic with a rounded ax.<sup>790</sup> It seems that by the late Twelfth Dynasty, at least in the case of the Beni Hasan scene and Dashur inscription, Asiatics and the term *hq3* are becoming more closely associated.<sup>791</sup> Perhaps Levantine rulers were adopting this Egyptian title for themselves, or at the very least Egyptians were labeling these foreign leaders with the native title *hq3*—in either case, examples such as these may have served as partial inspiration for the Hyksos’ choice of Egyptian title.

By the height of the Fifteenth Dynasty, the Hyksos had begun adopting aspects of the traditional Egyptian titulary. The Skr-Hr door jamb is the most complete example, but numerous other objects are inscribed with a Hyksos personal name alongside Egyptian titles, of which *s3 rʕ* is by far the most common. For example, a scarab of Khyan<sup>792</sup> includes the *s3 rʕ* title preceded by the phrase *ntr nfr*, often included within the royal titulary.<sup>793</sup> An alabastron lid of Khyan found at Knossos, reads *ntr nfr Swsr-n-rʕ s3 rʕ Hy3n*.<sup>794</sup>

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<sup>789</sup> Meaning ‘Asiatic’ and something like ‘Asiatic Bedouin’, respectively. See Allen, “The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep,” 33.

<sup>790</sup> Gardiner, Peet, and Černy, *Inscriptions of Sinai Vol. II*, Pl. 51 no. 163.,

<sup>791</sup> It is also interesting to note that these sources are roughly contemporary with the first influx of Asiatic settlers into the Eastern Delta, especially at Tell el Dabʿa (Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?”).

<sup>792</sup> This piece reads *ntr nfr s3 rʕ Swsr-n-rʕ*. Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 119.

<sup>793</sup> von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 2.

<sup>794</sup> Evans, *The Palace of Minos. A Comparative Account of the Successive Stages of the Early Cretan Civilization as Illustrated by the Discoveries at Knossos I: The Neolithic and Early and Middle Minoan Ages*, 419.



Two examples exist<sup>795</sup> which feature the signs *ḥqꜣ* and *nfr* together at the start of the

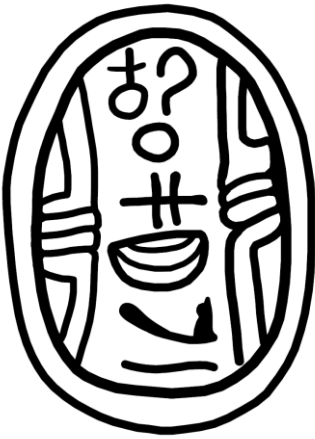


Figure 9 - Israel Museum  
76.31.3883, line drawing by  
author

inscription as though a single title. The first is a scarab seal in the Israel Museum inscribed *nfr ḥqꜣ Shꜥn-rꜥ* (Figure 9).<sup>796</sup> The second is a cylinder seal now in the National Museum in Athens, with *ḥqꜣ nfr* followed by plural strokes and the name *Ḥiꜣn* (Khyan).<sup>797</sup>

Giveon identifies this as a “conflation of the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* with *nfr nꜥr*; the sign for foreign countries has been omitted and only its plural strokes remain.”<sup>798</sup> Apepi has two scarabs inscriptions which contain *nsw nfr* and *nfr nsw bi.t*, which Ryholt also ascribes to scribal error, “reveal[ing] the inability of the craftsmen who

produced the seals to understand the titles they were cutting.”<sup>799</sup> While it is possible that these inscriptions were “errors,” given that they all retain *nfr* and a word for some sort of ruler, they may instead represent a negotiation of or experimentation with the traditional Egyptian titulary. Perhaps these craftsmen intentionally inscribed these titles to evoke the idea of a “good ruler”<sup>800</sup> or “best of rulers” in the case of the Athens seal.

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<sup>795</sup> Of which I am aware.

<sup>796</sup> IMJ 76.31.3883. <http://www.imj.org.il/node/229771>.

<sup>797</sup> Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 119.

<sup>798</sup> Giveon, “A Sealing of Khyan from the Shephela of Southern Palestine,” 204 no. 5.

<sup>799</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 51–52.

<sup>800</sup> Labib, *Die Herrschaft der Hyksos in Ägypten und ihr Sturz*, 31.

At the end of the Hyksos Period and into the early Eighteenth Dynasty, even the Theban kings begin to experiment with *ḥqꜣ* titles. This transitional period is marked by a manipulation of titles which not only deviates from traditional Egyptian titulary, but is clearly a response to the titles adopted by the Hyksos. In the reign of Kamose, his name was occasionally replaced in cartouches by names featuring *ḥqꜣ: pꜣ ḥqꜣ rsy*, *pꜣ ḥqꜣ qn* and *pꜣ ḥqꜣ ʕꜣ*.<sup>801</sup> Harvey has also commented that Kamose's adoption of *sdfꜣ tꜣ.wy* as his Horus name is likely in direct response to Apepi's Horus name, *shꜣp tꜣ.wy*.<sup>802</sup> Harvey proposes that this emphasis on the use of *ḥqꜣ* was to "reinforce his identity against the insult of the Hyksos king Apepi, who apparently referred to Kamose as a mere *wr*."<sup>803</sup> Ahmose then took this a step farther by taking the prenomen *ḥqꜣ tꜣ.wy*, simultaneously a play on the traditional *nb tꜣ.wy* and *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*, removing any doubt as to his supremacy not over foreign lands, but over the two lands of Egypt.<sup>804</sup>



Figure 10 - Ahmose Hekatawy scarab, Museo Egizio di Torino, line drawing by author

This unusual royal name has long been attested due to its early discovery on several small objects, including funerary cones of the Chief Prophet of Amun and Chief Treasurer Djehty,<sup>805</sup>

<sup>801</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, 400 no. 1; Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes," 264.

<sup>802</sup> Harvey, "King Heqatawy."

<sup>803</sup> Harvey, 356.

<sup>804</sup> Harvey, 355–56.

<sup>805</sup> Davies and Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones Part I*, nos. 535-537. The funerary cone reads 'sꜣ Rꜥ Ḥꜣꜣ tꜣwy di 'nḥ dt.' See also Winlock, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes," 264; Harvey, "King Heqatawy," 343.

as well as two scarabs (Figure 10).<sup>806</sup> Recently, Harvey and his team uncovered further examples of the unconventional name at south Abydos, stamped onto bricks from Building D.<sup>807</sup> Harvey makes the valid observation that by taking on this name, “Ahmose may have sought to remove any tarnish that traditional ideas of rulership had acquired during the Hyksos era, a period during which ... the integrity of traditional Egyptian linguistic categories surrounding kingship” had come into question.<sup>808</sup>

Indeed, the impetus among the Egyptian rulers of the early Eighteenth Dynasty to reclaim these linguistic categories was so strong that the use of *Hq3-t3.wy* continues for several reigns.

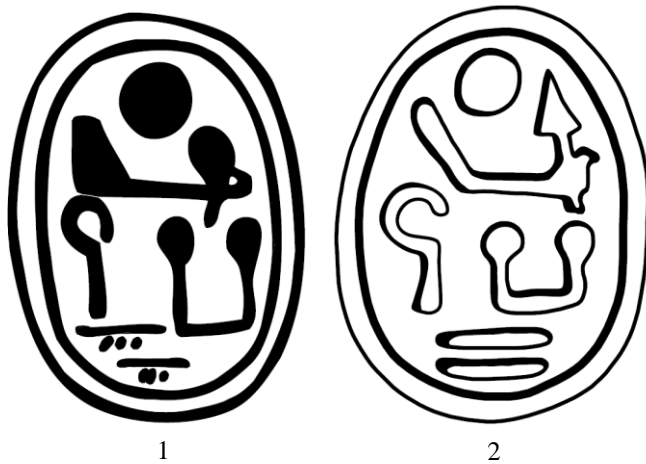


Figure 11 - Amenhotep I Hekatawy Scarabs, line drawings by author

Harvey discusses a scarab, which Winlock incorrectly assigned to Thutmose I, with both *Hq3-t3.wy* and the throne name *ʿ3-hprw-rʿ*. Harvey suggests that it might be possible to read it as *ʿ3-hprw*, Ahmose’s earlier Horus name, or that it was indeed

<sup>806</sup> The first is a scarab in Turin reading ‘*s3 Rʿ Hk3 t3wy Tʿhms*,’ see Petrie, *Historical Scarabs: A Series of Drawings from the Principal Collections, Arranged Chronologically*, no. 779. The second scarab was previously in the Grenfell Collection, and reads ‘*Nbphʿtyrʿ Hk3t3wy*,’ see Petrie, *The Grenfell Collection of Scarabs*, 23 and 27 no. 16; See also Harvey, “King Heqatawy,” 343.

<sup>807</sup> Harvey, “King Heqatawy,” 344 figs. 4, 349. The bricks were inscribed for ‘*Hq3-t3.wy mry Wsir*.’

<sup>808</sup> Harvey, 346.



Figure 12 - Ramesses *Hq3-t3.wy*, Abu Simbel, photo by author

intended for Amenhotep II.<sup>809</sup> Further examples of *Hq3-t3.wy*, which Harvey does not discuss, occur on objects of Amenhotep I. The first is a scarab formerly in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago with the inscription *Dsr-k3-r Hq3-t3.wy* (Figure 11 n. 1).<sup>810</sup> The same inscription is featured on a scarab found at Semna,<sup>811</sup> and a scarab (Figure 11 n. 2) and small plaque in Basel.<sup>812</sup> These examples illustrate the same identity negotiation process undertaken by the Hyksos: the early Eighteenth Dynasty intentionally and carefully selected new elements of titulary to reify their identities in response to and as separate from the Hyksos.

Several centuries later, Ramesses II also took the *Hq3-t3.wy* moniker, specifically on one of his colossal statues from the main hall at Abu Simbel (Figure 12). It is especially interesting that he selected this title in this extremely southern context; perhaps he felt that the Nubian portion of the Egyptian empire was a fitting place to acknowledge his rule over Egypt proper, and simultaneously call upon the memory of the Hyksos in the North.

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<sup>809</sup> Harvey, 347.

<sup>810</sup> Pier, “Historical Scarab Seals from the Art Institute Collection, Chicago,” 88, Pl. V: 1254.

<sup>811</sup> Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts Volume 1: Semna Kumma*, 75, pl. 121 no. 8.

<sup>812</sup> Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen*, 232 nos. 207 and 208.

## Conclusions

Throughout pharaonic history, the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title is used for foreign rulers from the Levant and Nubia, as well as ideologically generalized enemies of the state. For the kings of the later Second Intermediate Period, the title is employed uniquely as an indication of self. It is important to note that, with the exception of the Turin King List, none of the Egyptian sources referencing the Hyksos ever employ the title *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt*. In the Late Period it becomes a personal epithet for both high elites and gods, all of whom are associated with Upper Egypt<sup>813</sup>—an interesting divergence in usage, and perhaps a reflection of the notion that the center of ‘true’ Egypt was in the Delta in this period. The preservation of the Fifteenth Dynasty as *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* in the Turin King List may reflect the same strong sense of regionality in the Second Intermediate Period, as it was perhaps copied from local eastern Delta documents or monuments.

Rather than being passive recipients of the title, the Hyksos may have consciously selected *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* in order to proclaim their foreign origins, and perhaps even Amorite affiliation, in a manner that would be familiar and recognizable to Egyptians. The Hyksos adapted to their Egyptian context, adopting a title considered appropriate from a local perspective. They also disseminated the title in very Egyptian styles of royal display, employing the term from monumental inscriptions to the smallest seals, indicating that they were operating within Egyptian conceptions of kingship and administration. In fact, the Hyksos may have chosen this particular title to memorialize their foreignness as part of yet distinct from Egyptian kingship, in an attempt to create a Middle Ground. Theories of identity such as the Middle

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<sup>813</sup> Personal communication, Thomas Schneider.

Ground have much to contribute to the discussion of the Second Intermediate Period, allowing a framework in which to better understand how the individuals engaged in extended periods of cultural contact adapted to new influences while maintaining their own traditions. This theoretical approach sheds light on how these individuals may have viewed themselves, and how that self-conception has impacted the material record which survives today.

Table 9 - Examples of *Hq3 H3s.wt* outside the Second Intermediate Period

No.	Object Type	Geographical Association	Time Period	Reign	Inscription	Find Context
1	Stela	Levantine	Old Kingdom, Dynasty 5	Djedkare Isesi	<i>hwi hq3.w h3s.t</i> <sup>814</sup>	Wadi Maghara, now destroyed
2	Tomb Autobiography	Nubian	Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6	Pepi I - Merenre	<i>hq3.w h3s.t n.w ir.t w3w3t</i> <sup>815</sup>	Abydos, Tomb of Weni (now Cairo 1435)
3	Tomb Autobiography	Nubian	Old Kingdom, Dynasty 6	Pepi II	<i>Tw in.n hq3.wy n h3s.wt ptn n hnw</i> <sup>816</sup>	Qubbet el Hawa, Tomb of Pepinakht Heqaib
4	Execration Text	Nubian	Old Kingdom		<i>hq3 h3s.t iztrs Wnis-<sup>c</sup>nh id Wmwt</i> <sup>817</sup>	
5	Execration Text	Nubian	Old Kingdom		<i>hm.t n hq3 h3s.t Kbiti</i> <sup>818</sup>	
6	Tomb Autobiography	Nubian (Medjay)	Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12	Senwosret I	<i>hq3 h3s.wt</i> <sup>819</sup>	Tomb of Sarenput I, Qubbet el Hawa
7	Vase fragment	Levantine	Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12		<i>hq3 h3s.t rw</i> <sup>820</sup>	Byblos, Tomb VII
8	Papyrus	Levantine	Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12		<i>stiw w3 r stm r shsf-<sup>c</sup> hq3.w h3s.wt</i> <sup>821</sup>	Berlin Museum, P. Berlin 3022 line 98
9	Tomb painting	Levantine	Middle Kingdom, Dynasty 12	Senwosret II	<i>hq3 h3s.wt 'Ibs</i> <sup>822</sup>	Tomb of Khnumhotep II, Beni Hasan

<sup>814</sup> Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai Vol. II*, 61, Pl. VIII n. 14.

<sup>815</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, I:109.

<sup>816</sup> Sethe, I:134.

<sup>817</sup> Abu Bakr and Osing, "Ächungstexte aus den Alten Reich," 112 n. 199.

<sup>818</sup> Abu Bakr and Osing, 112 n. 191.

<sup>819</sup> Gardiner, *Inscriptions from the Tomb of Si-Renpowet I*, 124.

<sup>820</sup> Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte: Quatre campagnes de fouilles à Gebeil*, 208.

<sup>821</sup> Koch, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*.

10	Obelisk	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>823</sup>	Karnak Obelisks of Thutmose III
11	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>824</sup>	Karnak, Annals of Thutmose III
12	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>825</sup>	Karnak, Akhmenu ex. 1
13	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>826</sup>	Medinet Habu ex. 1
14	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>827</sup>	Elkab Temple
15	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>828</sup>	Semna Temple
16	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>829</sup>	Heliopolis Temple
17	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>830</sup>	Medinet Habu ex. 2
18	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>831</sup>	Medinet Habu ex. 3

<sup>822</sup> Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 69, Pl. XXXI.

<sup>823</sup> Sethe, *URK. IV:8*, IV:8:599 n. 191.

<sup>824</sup> Sethe, IV:8:599 n. 191.

<sup>825</sup> Sethe, IV:8:599 n. 191.

<sup>826</sup> Sethe, IV:8:599 n. 191.

<sup>827</sup> Sethe, IV:8:599 n. 191.

<sup>828</sup> Sethe, IV:8:599 n. 191.

<sup>829</sup> Sethe, IV:8:599 n. 191.

<sup>830</sup> Sethe, IV:8:555, section E.

<sup>831</sup> Sethe, IV:8:555, section E.



19	Temple Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>832</sup>	Karnak, Akhmenu ex. 2
20	Obelisk	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Thutmose III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>833</sup>	Heliopolis obelisk of Thutmose III (left), now in New York
21	Stela	Levantine	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Amenhotep II	<i>Nn jth pd.tꜣf m mšꜥf m ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt wr.w n.w rṯnw</i> <sup>834</sup>	Amada
22	Pylon Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Amenhotep II	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>835</sup>	8th Pylon at Karnak
23	Statue Plinth	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 18	Amenhotep III	<i>ḥwi ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt pḥw sw</i> <sup>836</sup>	Fragmentary, found at Karnak
24	Pylon Inscription	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 19	Ramesses II	<i>tꜣ.w nb.w ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>837</sup>	1st Pylon at Ramesses II Abydos Temple
25	Temple Inscription	Nubian	New Kingdom, Dynasty 19	Ramesses II	<i>ḥqꜣ.w ḥꜣs.wt n.w tꜣ s.tiḥw</i> <sup>838</sup>	S. Side, Portico, Ramesses II Abydos Temple
26	Stela	General	New Kingdom, Dynasty 19		<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>839</sup>	Deir el Medina, titulary of the god Shed
27	Inscription	General	Late Pd., Dynasty 25		<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>840</sup>	Epithet of Montuemhat
28	Inscription	General	Late Pd., Dynasty 26		<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>841</sup>	Epithet of Padiharessne

<sup>832</sup> Sethe, IV:8:555, section E.

<sup>833</sup> Sethe, IV:8:592, section B n. 3.

<sup>834</sup> Sethe, IV:8:1290.

<sup>835</sup> Sethe, IV:8:1333.

<sup>836</sup> Sethe, IV:8:1744.

<sup>837</sup> Lefebvre, "Une Chapelle de Rameses II à Abydos," 219.

<sup>838</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, II:192.

<sup>839</sup> Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh*, 165.

<sup>840</sup> Leclant, *Montouemhat; quatrième prophète d'Amon, prince de la ville.*, 254.

29	Tomb Inscription	Persian	Persian Pd., Dynasty 31	Artaxerxes III	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>842</sup>	Tomb of Petosiris, Tuna el Gebel, titulary of Artaxerxes III
30	Inscription	General	Ptolemaic		<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>843</sup>	Titulary of Philip Arrhidaeus
31	Temple Inscription	General	Ptolemaic		<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>844</sup>	Epithet of Min at Dendera Temple
32	Inscription	General	Ptolemaic		<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>845</sup>	Titulary of General Nectanebo
33	Temple Inscription	General	Ptolemaic	Ptolemy XIII	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <sup>846</sup>	Great Pylon, Philae, titulary of Ptolemy XIII

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<sup>841</sup> Christophe, “Trois monuments inédits mentionnant le grand majordome de Nitocris, Padihorresnet.,” n. 81f.

<sup>842</sup> Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, 81, 28.

<sup>843</sup> Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d’Égypte IV*, 206; Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*, 9.

<sup>844</sup> Mariette, *Dendérah Vol. I: Description générale du grand temple de cette ville*, 23.

<sup>845</sup> Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit*, 24 n. 7.

<sup>846</sup> Junker, *Der große Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philä*, 72 Abb. 37.

Table 10 - Second Intermediate Period Examples of *Hq3 H3s.wt*

No.	Object Type	Geographical Association	Time Period	Reign	Inscription	Archaeological Context	Current Location
1	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Apr-anti	<i>hq3 h3s.wt</i> <i>ꜥpr-ꜥnti</i> <sup>847</sup>	Unprovenanced	Petrie Museum UC 11655
2	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Anat-Hr	<i>hq3 h3s.wt</i> <i>ꜥnt-hr</i> <sup>848</sup>	Tell Basta?	Anonymous Private Collection
3	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Anat-Hr	<i>hq3 h3s.wt</i> <i>ꜥnt-hr</i> <sup>849</sup>	Unprovenanced	Michaelides Collection
4	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>hq3 [h3s].wt</i> <i>Hꜣ3n</i> <sup>850</sup>	Unprovenanced	Petrie Museum UC 11656
5	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>hq3 h3s.wt</i> <i>Hꜣ3n</i> <sup>851</sup>	Giza	Cairo JdE 30458
6	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>hq3 h3s.wt</i> <i>Hꜣ3n</i> <sup>852</sup>	Ezbet Rushdi	
7	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>hq3 h3s.wt</i> <i>Hꜣ3n</i> <sup>853</sup>	Unprovenanced	New York, MMA 10.130.36

<sup>847</sup> Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders*, Pl. XXI 15.1 (called Ontha); Tufnell, *Studies*, #3464; Ryholt, *The Political Situation*, File 15/2; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, #318.

<sup>848</sup> Fraser, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs Belonging to George Fraser* #180; Newberry, *Scarabs* Pl. XXIII.11; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #349; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen* #165.

<sup>849</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #350.

<sup>850</sup> Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders* Pl. XXI 15.3; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1170; Tufnell, *Studies* #3121; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/6.11.

<sup>851</sup> Newberry, *Scarab-Shaped Seals* CG36027; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1171; Tufnell, *Studies* #3210; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/4.4.

<sup>852</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1172; Tufnell, *Studies* #3208; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/4.2.

<sup>853</sup> Newberry, *Scarabs* Pl. XXII.21; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1173; Tufnell, *Studies* #3211; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/6.7.

8	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	$\dot{h}q\dot{z} \dot{h}z\dot{s}.wt$ $\dot{H}y\dot{z}n^{854}$	Unprovenanced	Chicago, Oriental Institute E18465, Acc.# 3081
9	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	$\dot{h}q\dot{z} \dot{h}z\dot{s}.wt$ $\dot{H}y\dot{z}n^{855}$	Tell el Yehudiyeh	Anonymous Private Collection
10	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	$\dot{h}q\dot{z} \dot{h}z\dot{s}.wt$ $\dot{H}y\dot{z}n^{856}$	Unprovenanced	ex von Bissing Collection
11	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	$\dot{h}q\dot{z} [\dot{h}z\dot{s}].wt$ $[\dot{H}y\dot{z}n^{857}]$	Unprovenanced	ex Michaelides Collection
12	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	$\dot{h}q\dot{z} \dot{h}z\dot{s}.wt$ $\dot{H}y\dot{z}n^{858}$	Unprovenanced	ex Spicer Collection
13	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	$\dot{h}q\dot{z} \dot{h}z\dot{s}.wt$ $\dot{H}y\dot{z}n^{859}$	Unprovenanced	ex Petrie Collection
14	Cylinder Seal	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	$\dot{h}q\dot{z} \dot{h}z\dot{s}.wt$ $\dot{H}y\dot{z}n^{860}$	Unprovenanced	ex Blanchard Collection
15	Cylinder Seal	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	$\dot{h}q\dot{z} \dot{h}z\dot{s}.wt$ $\dot{H}y\dot{z}n^{861}$	Unprovenanced	ex Lanzone Collection

<sup>854</sup> Pier, "Historical Scarab Seals from the Art Institute Collection, Chicago" #1242; Allen, *The Art Institute of Chicago* #142; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1174; Tufnell, *Studies* #3215.

<sup>855</sup> Newberry, *Scarabs* Pl. XXII.22; Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 254; Tufnell, *Studies* #3209; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen* #141; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/4.3.

<sup>856</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1176; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/6.3; Newberry, *Scarabs* Pl. XXII.20.

<sup>857</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1177; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/6.6.

<sup>858</sup> Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 254 Fig. 151; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1178; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/6.10.

<sup>859</sup> Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 254 Fig. 151; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1179; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/6.9.

<sup>860</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1180; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/4.5.1.

<sup>861</sup> Petrie, *Historical Scarabs: A Series of Drawings from the Principal Collections, Arranged Chronologically*. #729; Petrie, *History of Egypt I*, 253; Newberry, *Scarabs* Pl. VII.7; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1181; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15.4.5.3.

16	Scarab in gold mount	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Ḥyꜣn</i> <sup>862</sup>	Gezer	Cast at Palestine Exploration Fund
17	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Smqn	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Smqn</i> <sup>863</sup>	Tell el Yehudiyeh?	Anonymous Private Collection
18	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Ḥyꜣn</i> <sup>864</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a, Area F/II - r/22, Locus 81	#9355
19	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>[Ḥ]yꜣn</i> <sup>865</sup>	Unprovenanced	Jerusalem, IMJ 76.31.4593
20	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Ḥyꜣn</i> <sup>866</sup>	Unprovenanced	Berlin 193/73
21	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Ḥyꜣn</i> <sup>867</sup>	Unprovenanced	Berlin 328/73
22	Scarab	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Ḥyꜣn</i> <sup>868</sup>	Unprovenanced	ex Nash Collection
23	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Ḥyꜣn</i> <sup>869</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area R/III, q/6-7, Locus 338	#9464
24	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Ḥyꜣn</i> <sup>870</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area R/III, r/7, Locus 66	#9452 R

<sup>862</sup> Macalister, *Excavation of Gezer II* Pl. CCIV B.16; Giveon, "A Sealing of Khyan from the Shephela of Southern Palestine," 204; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1181a; Tufnell, *Studies* #3214; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/4.1.

<sup>863</sup> Fraser, *A Catalogue of the Scarabs Belonging to George Fraser* #179; Newberry, *Scarabs* Pl. XXIII.10; Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals* #1453; Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen* #166; Tufnell, *Studies* #3463; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/1.

<sup>864</sup> Sartori, "Die Siegel aus Areal F/II" #9355; Bietak, "Le Hyksos Khayan" Fig. 15.

<sup>865</sup> Ben-Tor, *The Scarab*, 49 #6; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/6.5.

<sup>866</sup> Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/6.1.

<sup>867</sup> Ryholt File 15/6.2.

<sup>868</sup> Ryholt File 15/6.8.

<sup>869</sup> Reali, "The Seal Impressions from 'Ezbet Rushdi, Area R/III of Tell el-Dab'a: Preliminary Report'" #9464.

25	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Hyꜣn</i> <sup>871</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area R/III, q/6-7, Locus 338	#9446 N
26	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Hyꜣn</i> <sup>872</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area R/III, r/7, Locus 260	#9466
27	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Hyꜣn</i> <sup>873</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area R/III, r/7, Locus 260	#9453 M
28	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Hyꜣn</i> <sup>874</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area R/III, q/10, Locus 1335	#9664 N
29	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Hyꜣn</i> <sup>875</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area R/III, s/6, Locus 325	#9466 N
30	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period		<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> [...] <sup>876</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area F/II, r/23, Locus 81	#9373 M
31	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period		<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> [...] <sup>877</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area F/II, j/23, Locus 803	#9376 J
32	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Hyꜣn</i> <sup>878</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area F/II, r/23, Locus 81	#9374 C
33	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Hyꜣn</i> <sup>879</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area F/II, r/22, Locus 81	#9354

<sup>870</sup> Reali #9452 R.

<sup>871</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, "King Khyan and Avaris," 100–101, Fig. 5.

<sup>872</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, 100–101, Fig. 5.

<sup>873</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, 100–101, Fig. 5.

<sup>874</sup> Forstner-Müller and Reali, 104–5, fig. 8.

<sup>875</sup> Reali, "The Seal Impressions from 'Ezbet Rushdi, Area R/III of Tell el-Dab'a: Preliminary Report" #9466 N.

<sup>876</sup> Sartori, "Die Siegel aus Areal F/II" #9373 M.

<sup>877</sup> Sartori #9376 J.

<sup>878</sup> Sartori #9374 C.

<sup>879</sup> Sartori #9354.

34	Seal Impression	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Khyan	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Ḥyꜣn</i> <sup>880</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area F/II, Locus 81	#9396
35	Door Jamb	Levantine	Second Intermediate Period	Skr-Hr	<i>ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt</i> <i>Skr-hr</i> <sup>881</sup>	Tell el-Dab'a Area H/III (in later context)	Cairo TD 8316

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<sup>880</sup> Bietak, "Le Hyksos Khayan" Fig. 15 (top right); Sartori, "Die Siegel aus Areal F/II" #9396.

<sup>881</sup> Bietak and Hein, *Pharaonen und Fremde - Dynastien im Dunkel*, 150–52; Ryholt, *The Political Situation* File 15/3.

## CHAPTER 7 – THE ROLE OF THE HYKSOS IN MILITARY AND TECHNOLOGICAL EXCHANGE AND THEIR IMPACT ON EGYPT<sup>882</sup>

Shifting from the identity negotiation of the Hyksos themselves, I will now examine the impact of southwest Asian immigrants in general on Egypt. Here I investigate how the maintenance, adaptation, and blending of immigrant and Egyptian identities had a major influence on New Kingdom Egyptian society, especially in the context of the military and associated technologies. This case study also serves to precisely characterize *how* such identity accommodation processes worked in daily life, and to clarify how these negotiation processes can be recognized in the ancient sources. Finally, I will explore the role of the 15<sup>th</sup> Dynasty rulers on this process of cross-cultural exchange and negotiation.

Despite the breakdown of the central state, the Second Intermediate Period ranks among Egypt's most innovative eras. Intense international interaction and exchange resulted in the introduction of new ideas and traditions that would persist in Egypt for millennia. One of the most striking examples of this development is the influx of numerous foreign technologies imported from the Near East, including both domestic and luxury, but most especially martial, technologies. Prior to the Second Intermediate Period, both raw and finished products were traded internationally, resulting in new designs or exposure to previously unavailable material. However, it is only in this period that the actual technical processes, the means of manufacture, were also exchanged *en masse*, as well as the cultural significance embedded within them. The major catalyst in the transfer and transformation of these martial technologies and their

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<sup>882</sup> A version of this chapter was published as Candelora, "Hybrid Military Communities of Practice."



associated social meaning was the incorporation of immigrants within hybrid military communities of practice.

Scholarship treating the flood of foreign technology into Egypt largely focuses on demonstrating the first attested occurrence thereof in Egypt.<sup>883</sup> While valuable, these studies ignore the potential of such cultural exchange to illuminate the movement and integration of actual people in the ancient world, as well as the influence of this transmission on Egypt. The site of Tell el-Dab'a undoubtedly served as the main entry point for these new technologies. The site was home to a multi-ethnic population from the late 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty,<sup>884</sup> when several waves of Southwest Asian immigrants began relocating to Northeastern Egypt. These individuals served as crucial vectors for the transmission and development of these new technologies, exposing Egyptians on their own soil to such innovations and their accompanying social structures, which would forever alter the fabric of Egyptian society.

In order to better understand the on-the-ground interaction by which these new elements were incorporated into Egyptian culture, I apply a Communities of Practice approach. The process by which once-foreign practices and technology are negotiated, blended, and reified as part of Egyptian elite identities, I argue, is actually rooted in late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period immigration and the formation of new military communities. It was the interaction between these immigrants and their Egyptian neighbors that fostered the adaptation and reimagining of such innovations, as well as the development of new communal identities that had a significant impact on the Egyptian New Kingdom.

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<sup>883</sup> Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Technology and Innovation*, 10.

<sup>884</sup> See Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos* for overview; Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?" with references; Bader, "Traces of Foreign Settlers" for evidence of cultural mixing; Forstner-Müller, "Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a" for burials; see also Redmount, "Ethnicity, Pottery, and the Hyksos at Tell El-Maskhuta in the Egyptian Delta" for Asiatic population at Tell el Maskhuta.

## Communities of Practice

Communities of practice is a term first developed by anthropologist Jean Lave and educational theorist Etienne Wenger in a study of learning through participation. They argue that participatory learning is an inherent aspect of any social activity or engagement in social practice.<sup>885</sup> Each social engagement, and the learning embedded within it, then occurs within the context of a particular community which has its own unique practice. The members of these communities of practice are united by mutual engagement in a joint enterprise, as well as a shared repertoire.<sup>886</sup>

Communities of practice work towards a common goal, e.g., producing a certain type of craft, winning a sports match, or auditing a large corporation. Mutual accountability is key to the pursuit of this joint enterprise, as community members rely upon one another to fulfill their individual tasks.<sup>887</sup> Mutual accountability is especially intense in the military, as the community members are either training for or involved in combat situations. Communities of practice can be extended to include the artisans that produce the weapons and armor that the soldiers use, as the soldiers and those that manufacture their arms are united in a single shared enterprise.<sup>888</sup> For the purposes of this paper, the infantry, the chariot corps and other specialized branches of the soldiery, as well as military craftsmen, metal smiths, and even horse trainers all constitute a constellation of communities of practice united by their joint enterprise.

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<sup>885</sup> Lave and Wenger, *Situated Learning*, 29–35.

<sup>886</sup> Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, 73.

<sup>887</sup> Wenger, 81.

<sup>888</sup> Wenger, 127.

Wenger defines mutual engagement as “people engaged in actions whose meaning they negotiate with one another,”<sup>889</sup> and emphasizes the crucial role which diversity plays within such interactions. Communities of practice bring together diverse individuals, often of varying age and gender and each with their own experiences and approach that may influence their practice. In the case of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period military communities, diversity is heightened due to the inclusion of members of different cultural backgrounds: native Egyptians, Southwest Asian immigrants, likely immigrants from other neighboring regions, as well as individuals from hybrid backgrounds.<sup>890</sup> During the negotiation process outlined by Wenger, individual identities are mutually transformed, resulting in the constitution of a new identity for the group as a whole. That communal identity then constantly changes, adapting to incorporate the influences of new comers to the group.<sup>891</sup>

The members of these communities also share a common repertoire of both material and non-material elements. The physical aspects include finished products, tools, artifacts, etc., while the more cerebral features consist of shared discourse and jargon, styles, stories, values, concepts, and ways of doing.<sup>892</sup> These various elements of the shared repertoire then embody not only the practice itself and its cultural history, but also the identity of the community to which they belong.

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<sup>889</sup> Wenger, 73.

<sup>890</sup> Bader, “Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine”; Bietak, “The Many Ethnicities of Avaris.”

<sup>891</sup> Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, 75–76.

<sup>892</sup> Wenger, 73, 125–26; Lave and Wenger, *Situated Learning*, 95, 109.

### *Military Communities of Practice*

The notion of mutual engagement in a joint enterprise is heightened to its most extreme degree in military communities of practice, in which participants are reliant upon one another for their very lives and personal safety. Members are not only engaged in trying to survive a battle, but are also united by patriotism or loyalty to a leader or homeland. In fact, a report on modern militaries<sup>893</sup> suggests that when these armed forces shift from being invasion defense forces to expeditionary forces, more emphasis is placed on the communal values and identity that will be fought for abroad.<sup>894</sup> This is precisely the shift that is underway at the start of the New Kingdom. These military communities of practice also forge strongly shared identities through living and training together, learning specific jargon, or even by being required to wear uniforms and receive standardized haircuts. Hints of this can be seen in some ancient evidence, including tomb paintings in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Userhat (TT56), showing the drilling of new recruits (Figure 13), as well as recruits receiving their regulation haircuts (Figure 14). Indeed, the military in the modern world is still a “highly assimilative context,”<sup>895</sup> and “participation in military operations thus means gaining access to both formal and informal parts of various military communities of practice, as soldiers are quartered in a common camp area in which they eat, sleep, work and spend their ‘free time’ together.”<sup>896</sup> Combined, these aspects of the military

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<sup>893</sup> While a direct parallel should not be drawn between ancient and modern militaries, there is something to be gained through such a comparison. The unique general characteristics of a military context remain similar across cultures or time, and a study of the ancient evidence can be further illuminated through a critical evaluation of the modern. See for example the comparative work done by Ellen Morris on imperialism Morris, *Ancient Egyptian Imperialism*; Morris, “Prevention Through Deterrence along Egypt’s Northeastern Border: Or the Politics of a Weaponized Desert.”

<sup>894</sup> Sookermany, “Learning in Doing - Skills Acquisition in [Post-] Modernised Military Communities of Practice,” 625.

<sup>895</sup> Ben Shalom and Horenczyk, “Cultural Identity and Adaptation in an Assimilative Setting,” 461; Sookermany, “Learning in Doing - Skills Acquisition in [Post-] Modernised Military Communities of Practice,” 624.

contribute to individual soldiers' development of a stout affiliation to the unit, as well as a new martial identity reflecting the attitudes and values of their military community of practice.<sup>897</sup>



*Figure 13 - New recruits drilling, TT56, Tomb of Userhat, photo by author*

A study on the British military interviewed multiple soldiers who stated that the most important quality of military life was “the sense of belonging that the military personnel have to their team.”<sup>898</sup> One individual said that this bond was heightened by intense combat situations, which as they said, “is a good thing because you have got to trust each other with your life at the

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<sup>896</sup> Sookermany, “Learning in Doing - Skills Acquisition in [Post-] Modernised Military Communities of Practice,” 621.

<sup>897</sup> Sookermany, 623.

end of the day.”<sup>899</sup> Merely by participating in their daily practice, these communities form robust military identities that trend towards a “cultural ethos” on a large scale.<sup>900</sup> These same ideas are reflected in studies of individuals from the former Soviet Union serving in the Israel Defense Forces, reinforcing the uniqueness of the military context and its tendency to produce strong communal identities.<sup>901</sup>

The military is one of the most common ways that immigrants enter the host society,<sup>902</sup> consequently incorporating them into this assimilative context that promotes a shared identity.



*Figure 14 - New recruits receiving standard haircuts, TT56, Tomb of Userhat, photo by author*

Immigrants are often sought out by armed forces in need of extra man power, whether due to heavy losses sustained in war or because native-born citizens are unwilling to perform military

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<sup>898</sup> Hale, “The Role of Practice in the Development of Military Masculinities,” 709.

<sup>899</sup> Hale, 713.

<sup>900</sup> Hale, 710.

<sup>901</sup> Eisikovits, “Intercultural Learning among Russian Immigrant Recruits in the Israeli Army,” 293; Ben Shalom and Horenczyk, “Cultural Identity and Adaptation in an Assimilative Setting,” 461–64.

<sup>902</sup> Ben Shalom and Horenczyk, “Cultural Identity and Adaptation in an Assimilative Setting,” 464.

service.<sup>903</sup> Immigrants themselves are incentivized to join the military, as this service is usually accompanied by “citizenship and such fundamental social benefits as education, vocational training and upward mobility.”<sup>904</sup> In the context of ancient Egypt, foreign soldiers were often given land, perhaps servants, and social mobility in exchange for their military service.<sup>905</sup>

Studies particularly focused on immigrants serving in modern militaries, such as the armed forces of Great Britain, The United States, Israel, and Norway, all found these military communities of practice to be unique contexts of mutual acculturation, in which the communal reliance and shared identity of the members heightened cross-cultural awareness and the adoption of “foreign” words, foods, religions, and even values into the host culture. Many of these studies actually focus on assessing the psychological effects of dealing with acculturation, and applied a framework proposed by Berry. First, Berry crucially recognizes that an immigrant can adapt to their host society while simultaneously preserving their own heritage culture, and the extent to which an individual chooses to do either of these can vary independently. In fact, many immigrants develop strategies to judge this “acculturative balance” by considering whether it is of value to maintain their culture of origin, blend more with the host culture, or find a middle ground.<sup>906</sup> Berry then outlines four general acculturation strategies and identifies “integration,” basically a balance between old and new cultural traditions, as the most beneficial to immigrant psychological health.<sup>907</sup> Most of the military studies concluded that the immigrant soldiers had

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<sup>903</sup> Ford, “‘Mindful of the Traditions of His Race:’ Dual Identity and Foreign-Born Soldiers in the First World War American Army,” 36.

<sup>904</sup> Ben Shalom and Horenczyk, “Cultural Identity and Adaptation in an Assimilative Setting,” 464 and references therein.

<sup>905</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 31–33.

<sup>906</sup> Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,” 9; Phinney et al., “Ethnic Identity, Immigration, and Well-Being: An Interactional Perspective,” 495.

pursued integration strategies, helped to adapt by the highly cohesive context of the military, yet also actively maintaining elements of their culture of origin. These blended immigrant identities then exposed their entire military community to their cultural traditions, making the military a unique context of mutual acculturation.

For example, the United States Army drafted over 500,000 immigrants in World War I, yet purposefully promoted dual identities for these men. They were kept in “smaller ethnic-specific platoons” while serving within larger native-born companies, and all were encouraged to “show off” their specific skills or capabilities to one another.<sup>908</sup> In more contemporary studies of the United States military, research has shown that cross-cultural awareness, learning, and even comfort with other ethnicities is heightened through military service.<sup>909</sup> Latino and Anglo veterans had more friendships with one another after their service, and there was even an “increased Anglo awareness of Cesar Chavez,” suggesting that the draft military allowed both parties to engage in cross-cultural learning in “a forum that may not have been commonly available elsewhere in society.”<sup>910</sup> Similar cross-cultural friendships developed amongst Israelis and immigrants from the former Soviet Union in the Israel Defense Forces. Even in this loaded context, in which national identity is arguably most intense, immigrants were encouraged to establish a multiculturalism and preserve their heritage.<sup>911</sup>

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<sup>907</sup> Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,” 9, 29.

<sup>908</sup> Ford, “‘Mindful of the Traditions of His Race:’ Dual Identity and Foreign-Born Soldiers in the First World War American Army,” 35–40.

<sup>909</sup> Leal, “The Multicultural Military: Military Service and the Acculturation of Latinos and Anglos,” 206.

<sup>910</sup> Leal, 220.

<sup>911</sup> Eisikovits, “Intercultural Learning among Russian Immigrant Recruits in the Israeli Army,” 299–301; Ben Shalom and Horenczyk, “Cultural Identity and Adaptation in an Assimilative Setting,” 475–76.



One particular study on Russian soldiers in the Nineteenth century Iranian military especially mirrors the situation that begins at Tell el-Dab'a. In this case, ethnically mixed regiments were formed which exchanged and adapted elements of one another's cultures—Russians dyed their hair with henna, took local wives, and many converted to Islam, while Iranians took up portions of the Cossack uniform, culturally specific weapons, terminology, and battle tactics.<sup>912</sup> Indeed, Russians returning home were even recorded employing forms of guerilla warfare typical of small scale Iranian tribal societies.<sup>913</sup> Essentially, informal situated learning had occurred among these soldiers in a community of practice, resulting in bidirectional transmission and new negotiated identities—both for the individuals and their broader societies (Iran for example adopted Russian tactics and regimentation).<sup>914</sup> This process emulates the military communities of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, incorporating both Southwest Asian immigrant specialists and Egyptian soldiers and having similar transformative effects on Egyptian identity.

### Specialist Foreign Labor

As in the modern examples discussed above, multitudes of immigrants (whether they had relocated to Egypt willingly or not) were incorporated into the Egyptian military and its constellation of communities of practice. For instance, the Egyptian use of foreign mercenaries can be documented at least as early as the Old Kingdom, and was a continuous practice

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<sup>912</sup> Cronin, "Deserters, Converts, Cossacks and Revolutionaries: Russians in Iranian Military Service 1800-1920," 149-58.

<sup>913</sup> Cronin, 160.

<sup>914</sup> Cronin, 150.

throughout the remainder of pharaonic history.<sup>915</sup> Specialist foreign craftsmen related to military production also moved to Egypt, as evidenced by the Thirteenth Dynasty metalworking workshop uncovered at Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>916</sup> This workshop seems to have produced not only standard tools, but also particular forms of Southwest Asian weapons that were cast in bivalve molds, a technique which was also a new import to Egypt,<sup>917</sup> brought by these immigrant craftsmen.

On the less voluntary end of the relocation scale, Moorey outlines three categories of expatriate labor which derive from the foreign prisoners captured on campaign and forcibly relocated to their new host country.<sup>918</sup> Two of these are particularly relevant to this discussion, namely the specialist craftsmen attached to the military while on campaign, and actual soldiers captured and incorporated into their captor's forces.<sup>919</sup> The first is represented in the text of Seti I's Libyan Campaign at Karnak, where he boasted that he intended "to fill every workshop"<sup>920</sup> with prisoners of war. Their specific relocation into workshop contexts indicates that some were skilled military craftspeople who had been serving the enemy forces on campaign. Indeed, Morris notes that "virtually every known ruler from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties claims to have offered the gods—and especially Amun—this type of simultaneously pious and warlike gift."<sup>921</sup> Furthermore, the six earliest (dating from the reign of Hatshepsut through

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<sup>915</sup> Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?"; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 26–33 with references.

<sup>916</sup> Philip, *Tell el-Dab'a XV*, 204.

<sup>917</sup> Philip, 196.

<sup>918</sup> See also discussion in Morris, "Mitanni Enslaved."

<sup>919</sup> Moorey, "The Mobility of Artisans and Opportunities for Technology Transfer between Western Asia and Egypt in the Late Bronze Age," 6–9.

<sup>920</sup> Kitchen, "Nineteenth Dynasty Inscriptions," 31.

Thutmose IV) tomb depictions of chariot production workshops are labeled as being located in Karnak temple. This is likely due to the fact that Karnak was the recipient of many spoils of war, including the foreign wood required to build the chariots,<sup>922</sup> but also Southwest Asian craftsmen, captured as prisoners of war, who had the specialized knowledge required to construct them. In fact, Morris observes that many of these chariot workshop scenes, which also show the fashioning of composite bows and arrows, display foreign craftsmen at work.<sup>923</sup>

Moorey's final category of foreign captive labor is that of captured soldiers or mercenaries. A clear example of the 're-appropriation' of enemy forces can be found in the poetical version of the Battle of Qadesh. The author writes, "So now his Majesty issued supplies to his infantry and chariotry, (and the) Sherden-warriors that his Majesty had captured, when he brought them in by the triumph of this strong arm; they being kitted-out with all their weapons, and the plan of campaign given to them."<sup>924</sup> It is evident from this text that Ramesses II had taken foreign Sherden soldiers as prisoners of war, subsequently incorporating them into his own forces to the extent that they were armed and entrusted with the battle plan. Yet the individuals who were most pertinent to this discussion are the *maryannu*, who also fall into Moorey's final category.

The *maryannu*, or charioteers, were an elite group of specialized warriors trained specifically in chariot warfare and strategy, and likely included archers and drivers.<sup>925</sup> The

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<sup>921</sup> Morris, "Mitanni Enslaved," 368.

<sup>922</sup> Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im Alten Ägypten*, 170.

<sup>923</sup> For example the tomb of Menkheperresoneb TT86, see Morris 2014: 368, 367-71 for general discussion of the types of labor these prisoners performed

<sup>924</sup> Kitchen, "Nineteenth Dynasty Inscriptions," 33.

<sup>925</sup> See Shaw 2001, 2012 for broad discussion; see Raulwing 2013: 257 Fig. 2 for a list of attestations of the term in Egyptian sources)

capture of these *maryannu* is documented throughout the military texts and booty lists of the New Kingdom, but are most evident during the Thutmocide Period. One of the earliest examples comes from the Autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana, during Thutmose I's campaign to Retjenu. The text states, "I brought a chariot, its horse, and him who was on it as a living captive. When they were presented to his majesty, I was rewarded with gold once again."<sup>926</sup> While the term *maryannu* is not expressly used, it is clear that Ahmose had captured a live charioteer. He also emphasized the fact that the captive was taken alive, perhaps indicating the future potential of this Southwest Asian individual as a member of the Egyptian military. In the Annals of Thutmose III, the Battle of Megiddo booty list records the capture of 43 *maryannu*. Significantly, the *maryannu* are carefully tallied, and usually listed first (perhaps emphasizing their importance), in categories distinct from other groups of prisoners of war.<sup>927</sup> On the Memphis and Karnak Stelae of Amenhotep II, a total of 646 *maryannu* were recorded as captured during his Levantine campaigns. Again, there is significant emphasis placed on the fact that they were taken alive, and were considered a distinct category of skilled captive (Figure 15). In fact, in one case the stelae report the capturing of "550 Maryannu and 240 of their wives,"<sup>928</sup> which may have created added incentive for these Southwest Asian charioteers to resettle in Egypt and serve the Egyptian crown.

These *maryannu* warriors were elites in their own right, wealthy men of Syro-Palestine who had the means to own and keep up a chariot, a team of horses, and sundry equipment. These men were therefore treated differently than common infantrymen when captured, as befitted both

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<sup>926</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2006, 14.

<sup>927</sup> Lichtheim, 33–34.

<sup>928</sup> Hoffmeier, "Eighteenth Dynasty Inscriptions," 20–23.

their specialized skills and their social status. While most of the textual sources recording the seizure of *maryannu* date to the New Kingdom, the continuous capture and integration of foreigners into military contexts served to constantly refresh the hybrid nature of these communities of practice which were originally formed by the mostly voluntary immigration of Southwest Asian individuals in the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.



Figure 15 - A captured maryannu, Qadesh battle reliefs, Ramesses II Abydos Temple, photo by author

This association between particularly Southwest Asian warriors and chariotry skill continued well beyond the early Eighteenth Dynasty, as did the connection between Southwest Asian craftsmen and specific trades. Indeed, it seems in many cases that individuals of Southwest Asian origin may have intentionally emphasized their backgrounds as a strategy to not only legitimize, but advertise, the extent of their skills.

### Maintenance and Advertisement of Foreign Identity

Further in keeping with the notion of communities of practice and integration is the idea that the maintenance and advertisement of foreign identity could be seen as beneficial to these

immigrants and their descendants. If in-demand skills and knowledge are known to have west-Asian origins, then it stands to reason that emphasizing such descent—whether recent or many generations removed—would be in the best interest of individuals in certain professions. For instance, Egyptians seemed to have prized wine imported from Syro-Palestine, and when they could not access these imported wines, they frequented vineyards overseen by those of Southwest Asian descent. These same immigrant vintners were even sent to Nubia to help establish vineyards near the new urban centers.<sup>929</sup> A more martial case is the well-known stele now in Berlin (ÄM 14122) depicting an elite man with a foreign name, who was clearly and intentionally shown simultaneously as an Asiatic and a soldier, with his dagger prominently displayed on his belt and his spear behind him. Perhaps this individual was one of the resettled *maryannu*, now doing quite well for himself in service to the Egyptian king. Indeed, although garbed as an Egyptian, his wife also bears a foreign name, a further correlation to the practice of relocating these elite mercenaries and their wives to Egypt together.

Another example would be the connection between Southwest Asians and seafaring skills, especially boat building. In the records of Thutmose III regarding the port of Memphis, the “chief craftsman of the king,” or royal boat builder, bore the foreign name Humasha. His son Iuna (also a foreign name) continued the family trade in a slightly different context—he was the “chief craftsman of boats of all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt.”<sup>930</sup> Christopher Eyre argues that the particular foreign names of these two craftsmen indicate that “their family originated in Syria, whether its founder came to Egypt as a captive or a free immigrant.”<sup>931</sup> Whether the initial

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<sup>929</sup> Morris, “Mitanni Enslaved,” 371.

<sup>930</sup> Glanville, “Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Thutmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056, Part II,” 39–41.

<sup>931</sup> Eyre, “Work and the Organisation of Work in the New Kingdom,” 194.

move was voluntary or not, this family of skilled Southwest Asian craftsmen continued to pass on their trade from father to son, simultaneously maintaining that “foreign” identity and (implicitly or explicitly) advertising their particularly appropriate origins through conscious naming practices. The choice of Syrian names would have highlighted to all that these men hailed from a longstanding skilled tradition of boat building. Examples of this type of advertisement can even be found for craftsmen whose family had been in Egypt for multiple generations. Dedia, the chief draughtsman of Amun, was commissioned in the Nineteenth Dynasty to restore several monuments in Western Thebes. In his tomb, he carefully recorded that he was the seventh generation in his family to hold this title, making certain to link the origins of the post to an ancestor with the Southwest Asian name Pt-Baal.<sup>932</sup>

The General’s Charioteer Iotefamun demonstrates the longevity of the association between Southwest Asian origins and chariotry skill. His burial was discovered during the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s early 1920’s excavations in western Thebes, specifically in a reused tomb in South Asasif. While at least the inner coffin (MMA 26.3.2a, b) and mummy board (MMA 26.3.3) were also reused, the outer coffin (MMA 26.3.1a, b) is typical of the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. Hayes identifies Iotefamun by saying he was, “to judge from his full and bushy beard, an Asiatic,”<sup>933</sup> presumably referring to the mummy itself. Within the coffin was also placed a ritually “killed” charioteer’s whip (MMA 22.3.15), clearly marking him as a charioteer by trade. Interestingly, while Iotefamun himself had a beard, his reused coffin set did not. Perhaps he was just working with what he could find to reuse in a period of relative economic decline, but it is also possible he was exploiting multiple aspects of his identity to get the best of

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<sup>932</sup> Eyre, 194–95; see also Lowie, “A Remarkable Family of Draughtsmen-Painters from Early Nineteenth-Dynasty Thebes.”

<sup>933</sup> Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 407.

both of his worlds: appearing stereotypically Egyptian on his coffin in order to pursue a traditional Egyptian afterlife, yet displaying a beard in life to advantageously project a possible Southwest Asian heritage for his profession. While a beard in and of itself of course does not mean that Iotefamun had any Southwest Asian ancestry, at the very least this choice of facial hair allowed him to outwardly mark himself as belonging to that identity group and their martial traditions.

Like the burial of Iotefamun demonstrates, the presence in Egypt of Southwest Asians with specialized knowledge continued throughout the New Kingdom. In the eastern Delta specifically, there is not only consistent archaeological evidence of a Southwest Asian population, but of a continuous tradition of the employment of foreign craftsmen.<sup>934</sup> At the Thutmoside harbor of Peru-nefer, now associated with the site of Tell el-Dab'a, remains were found of a palatial complex that included workshops for weapons and military production.<sup>935</sup> Among the Southwest Asian population remaining in the Delta after the Hyksos expulsion, Bietak lists not only craftsmen, but also metal workers, vintners, grooms, soldiers, charioteers, sailors and shipbuilders.<sup>936</sup> Still, the presence of Southwest Asian craftsmen extended through the Ramesside Period in the same region at Piramesse/Qantir. Excavations at the Ramesside capital and military base have uncovered two quasi-industrial, state run workshops for the production of metal objects and chariots.<sup>937</sup> The bronze workshop of a late 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty stratum spans an area of approximately 30,000 square meters, including large melting channels

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<sup>934</sup> Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?," 170.

<sup>935</sup> Bietak, 165.

<sup>936</sup> Bietak, 170.

<sup>937</sup> Pusch and Tasiaux, "Metallverarbeitende Werkstätten der frühen Ramessidenzeit in Qantir-Piramesse/Nord"; Pusch and Herold, "Qantir/Pi-Ramesses."



and furnaces, as well as enormous amounts of bronze by-product, and fragments of crucibles, tuyeres, and casting molds.<sup>938</sup>

In the stratum just above this industrial foundry, excavators uncovered a chariot complex containing an exercise court, multi-functional workshops for chariot production and repair, as well as a massive stable.<sup>939</sup> Most interestingly, within the chariot complex workshops, excavators discovered stone molds for the production of “metal applications for shield rims, such as those carried by Hittite troops in the Battle of Qadesh.”<sup>940</sup> Using this evidence, excavators argue that Hittite craftsmen and soldiers were in residence at Piramesse following the peace treaty of Ramesses II and Hattusili III.<sup>941</sup> It is significant that the continued presence of Southwest Asian warriors and craftsmen in the Delta is still closely associated with both chariots and metal molds (see below), even into the Ramesside Period. Potentially, some of these Ramesside Southwest Asian craftsmen may be the descendants<sup>942</sup> of those from the Second Intermediate Period or early New Kingdom production centers at Avaris and Peru-nefer, having helped to maintain a Southwest Asian crafting tradition and a conduit for technological transmission in the Eastern Delta.

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<sup>938</sup> Pusch and Tasiaux, “Metallverarbeitende Werkstätten der frühen Ramessidenzeit in Qantir-Piramesse/Nord”; Pusch and Herold, “Qantir/Pi-Ramesses,” 789; Rehren and Pusch, “Alloying and Resource Management in New Kingdom Egypt,” 215.

<sup>939</sup> The stables are actually located in a slightly separate area of the site, but belong to the same stratum. Pusch and Herold, “Qantir/Pi-Ramesses,” 788.

<sup>940</sup> Pusch and Herold, 788.

<sup>941</sup> Pusch and Herold, “Qantir/Pi-Ramesses.”

<sup>942</sup> While this is admittedly a hypothetical conclusion, the Stela of Irtysen, as well as the Satire of the Trades and the hereditary succession of Deir el Medina positions, indicate that specialized knowledge of craftsmen and scribes may have been passed down from father to son. See Badawy, “The Stela of Irtysen”; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2006, 185–91. Further, in archaeological studies of apprenticeship, young sons are often instructed in family trades by their fathers; see for example Wendrich, *Archaeology and Apprenticeship* who discusses apprenticeship as preserved in the archaeological and ethnographic record all over the world..

## Material Elements of the Shared Repertoire

It is through the elements of the shared repertoire, from artifacts to language, that archaeologists and historians can begin to access these ancient communities of practice, as well as the integration of newcomers within them. The shared repertoire of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period military communities of practice are represented by numerous artifact forms related to military endeavors and associated crafts with clear Southwest Asian origins. For example, as discussed briefly above, metal working debris and several steatite bivalve mold fragments were found at Tell el-Dab'a in the area of the Thirteenth Dynasty "palace." Philip notes that both bivalve molds, and the products which bivalve casting must be used to produce, appear first in this context at Tell el-Dab'a, and only in Upper Egyptian contexts in the New Kingdom (Philip 2006: 196; Scheel 1987: 259). He suggests that this collection of metalworking evidence may be indicative of an institutional workshop, staffed with at least some Southwest Asian smiths, associated with the palace itself.<sup>943</sup> The majority of the Southwest Asian style weapons cast in these molds were discovered in "warrior burials" in areas F/1, A/II and A/IV, some of which even included associated equid burials.<sup>944</sup> At this period just at the turn of the Second Intermediate Period, a large proportion of the men at the site were buried with whole assemblages of these stylistically foreign weapon types, including ribbed daggers, fenestrated axes, socketed spear heads, a sickle sword or khepesh, and a duckbill axe.<sup>945</sup> Consequently,

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<sup>943</sup> Philip, *Tell el-Dab'a XV*, 197, 204.

<sup>944</sup> Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos*; Bader, "Contacts between Egypt and Syria-Palestine"; Forstner-Müller, *Tell el-Dab'a XVI: Die Gräber des Areals A/II von Tell el-Dab'a*; Forstner-Müller, "Tombs and Burial Customs at Tell El-Dab'a."

<sup>945</sup> Philip, *Tell el-Dab'a XV*, 31–82.

excavators suggest that many of these immigrants may have served as soldiers or sea-faring sailors, or specifically as caravaners or armed guards attached to the Sinai mining expeditions.<sup>946</sup> Thus, both the weapon forms and the process of bivalve casting were new imports, brought to Tell el-Dab'a by Southwest Asian immigrant craftsmen and at least initially utilized by immigrant military specialists.

Apparently, the situated learning done by local Egyptians in these mixed communities influenced broader Egyptian practice. Bivalve casting technology continued in use in Egypt beyond its initial introduction at Tell el-Dab'a, appearing in New Kingdom contexts in Upper



Figure 16 - Bivalve metal mold, TT100, Tomb of Rekhmire, photo by author

Egypt.<sup>947</sup> The sole depiction of the use of a bivalve mold comes from the Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tomb of Rekhmire (TT100), in a scene in which a team of metalworkers are both heating and pouring metal into an enormous bivalve mold for the production of metal doors for Karnak temple

(Figure 16).<sup>948</sup> His access to this new technology acted as a manufacturer of social value for Rekhmire, hence the incorporation of this scene in his tomb. In archaeological contexts, Eighteenth Dynasty examples of bivalve

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<sup>946</sup> Bietak, "The Predecessors of the Hyksos," 285–87.

<sup>947</sup> Philip, *Tell el-Dab'a XV*, 196; Scheel, "Studien zum Metallhandwerk im Alten Ägypten III," 259.

<sup>948</sup> Scheel, "Studien zum Metallhandwerk im Alten Ägypten III," 259; Scheel, *Egyptian Metalworking and Tools*, 24–25.

molds were uncovered during the Metropolitan Museum of Art's early 1900's expedition to Western Thebes. In the region of Deir el Bahri, the Lansing expedition discovered half of a limestone bivalve mold for casting a miniature goddess amulet, as well as an openwork pendant. They also excavated half of a gabbro mold for a "knob shaped rod object," complete with a preserved pouring channel and peg holes.<sup>949</sup> Furthermore, some of the Southwest Asian style weapons first seen at Tell el-Dab'a also caught on more widely in the Egyptian military. The Khepesh, or sickle sword, especially becomes symbolically Egyptian weapon, used by the king in smiting scenes—for example on the western end of the North exterior wall of the Hypostyle hall at Karnak, Seti I is shown smiting a Libyan chief from his chariot with a Khepesh. It also becomes a standard-issue weapon in the Ramesside period, and is shown being distributed to troops from the armory at the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu,<sup>950</sup> more than half a millennium after it entered the shared repertoire of the late Middle Kingdom hybrid military communities of practice.

Immigrant specialists also introduced the horse and chariot to Egypt in associated constellations of military practice and craft. Shaw posits that while Egyptian craftsmen were equipped with the skills and techniques required to produce the chariot by the Middle Kingdom, major elements were lacking: most importantly, the specialized knowledge needed to assemble a functioning chariot, and crucially, the horse.<sup>951</sup> To this list must be added skilled personnel to care for, breed, and train the horses, as well as warriors proficient in the use of the finished products—including knowledge of chariotry tactics and composite bow mastery on a moving

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<sup>949</sup> Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 218.

<sup>950</sup> Murnane, *United with Eternity*, 13–14, Fig. 9.

<sup>951</sup> Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Technology and Innovation*, 99–101.

platform. Furthermore, the chariot was one small part of an integrated technological system, and required the import of several other related technologies into Egypt. The introduction of the horse mandated the importation of new bits and harnesses. The transmission of the chariot was also accompanied by the introduction of composite bow technology, as well as related leather arm guards and new types of quivers that could be mounted to the chariot. Finally, the deadliness of the new bows inspired new scale armor and smaller, more mobile shields.<sup>952</sup> All of these elements, previously unknown in Egypt, initially required the expertise of immigrant specialists to both produce and use. As discussed above, the ongoing capture and integration of Southwest Asian *maryannu* into the Egyptian chariot corps acted to constantly refresh the hybrid negotiated identities of these military communities of practice. The chariot, another manufacturer of social value, was also consciously depicted in the tomb scenes of elite Egyptians as part of inter-elite competition and a display of status.<sup>953</sup> Consequently, the chariot is perhaps the most pervasive and publicized material element of these communities' shared repertoires, yet along with it came non-physical aspects, embedded traditions and even military values which had enormous influence on New Kingdom society and kingship.

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<sup>952</sup> Shaw, "Egyptians, Hyksos, and Military Hardware: Causes, Effects, or Catalysts?," 66–68; for a broad discussion of chariot technology and construction, see Veldmeijer and Ikram, *Chasing Chariots*; Veldmeijer and Ikram, *Chariots in Ancient Egypt. The Tano Chariot, A Case Study*.

<sup>953</sup> Morris, "Mitanni Enslaved," 373.

## Non-Material Elements of the Shared Repertoire

### *Loan Words*

Several categories of evidence represent the non-material elements of these mixed military communities' shared repertoires. Most often discussed are the Semitic loan words that manifest in Late Egyptian. Terms relating to the military, the chariot, horse, weapons, etc. account for approximately 18% of the corpus of Semitic loan words in Late Egyptian.<sup>954</sup> While much time has been devoted to debating the etymology of these loan words, or to the unique nature of their source texts,<sup>955</sup> such as the Ramesside *Poem to the King's Chariot*, less has been done to understand the social context of their transmission. Redford for example explains this profusion of loan words as the result of a simple "need for terms for new techniques, manufactures, and material."<sup>956</sup> Thomas Schneider elucidates the social environment of these loan words by differentiating between "Militärsprache" and "Soldatensprache." The first category represents the standardized institutional language of the military, while the second, "soldier's slang" is relegated more to the colloquial language or sociolect of the soldiers themselves. While he notes that foreign terms fall more frequently into the Militärsprache category,<sup>957</sup> many such terms would also occur within the daily use of soldiers—for example weapons terminology.

Although much more needs to be done to study the sociolinguistic aspects of New Kingdom language exchange, the clustering of foreign terms around military items could be

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<sup>954</sup> Winand, "Identifying Semitic Loanwords in Late Egyptian," 488; see also Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, 462–70; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, 236.

<sup>955</sup> See discussion in Winand, "Identifying Semitic Loanwords in Late Egyptian," 485–86.

<sup>956</sup> Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, 236.

<sup>957</sup> Schneider, "Fremdwörter in der ägyptischen Militärsprache des Neuen Reiches," 182–84.

suggestive of two related communities of practice, one involving military craftsmen responsible for the production of the chariot and its technical package, and the other featuring general military specialists such as soldiers, mercenaries, and prisoners of war. In both cases, knowledge transfer between the Southwest Asian and Egyptian members would have included technical jargon and specialized vocabulary that persisted in the Egyptian language. Winand notes that cultural words, which “express entities that are new to the culture of the recipient language,” i.e. these specialized military terms, “have the highest degree of borrowability.”<sup>958</sup> General studies of communities of practice have noted how specialized terminology, “jargon and shortcuts to communication” are a crucial element of the shared repertoire that is “imported, adopted, and adapted” by the community.<sup>959</sup> Lave and Wenger describe how language is central to how people learn and that members can pick up language simply by participating in these communities of practice.<sup>960</sup>

Much work has been done on the transfer of jargon within particularly craft and technologically oriented community of practice contexts, typically featuring apprenticeship relationships. Wendrich states that “each craft has its own specialized vocabulary” that distinguishes materials, techniques, products, etc., which are learned via situated learning during apprenticeships.<sup>961</sup> Bender Jørgensen nuances this further, arguing that specialized craft knowledge requires an immense amount of vocabulary to provide for minute distinctions in

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<sup>958</sup> Whether these terms should be considered proper loan words in that they were permanently incorporated into the Egyptian language, simply cultural terms adopted alongside new entities like the chariot, or as Winand argues examples of code-switching to mark elements as foreign (Winand 2017: 508), are important distinctions that require further investigation. See Winand, “Identifying Semitic Loanwords in Late Egyptian,” 488, 507.

<sup>959</sup> Wenger, *Communities of Practice*, 125–26.

<sup>960</sup> Lave and Wenger, *Situated Learning*, 85.

<sup>961</sup> Wendrich, “Recognizing Knowledge Transfer in the Archaeological Record,” 13.

related parts of technical systems or production techniques. For example, he cites that textile experts and weavers have numerous words for “fibers, yarns, weaves, tools, and such features as drape, handle, flexibility, and surface texture.”<sup>962</sup>

In keeping with the jargon expectations provided by Bender Jørgensen, Hoch identifies more than thirty foreign words from New Kingdom sources specifically for the chariot and various equipment, parts, and associated weapons, as well as more for the horse.<sup>963</sup> These chariot-related words are likely indicative of situated learning in workshops producing the chariot technical package under the instruction—at least initially—of Southwest Asian craftsmen. The foreign terms were engrained in these communities as part of their shared repertoire, learned by the community members in their original linguistic forms. Eventually it is feasible that trained Egyptians may have taken over these workshops (but see above), especially as Thebans gained the technology, but the technical jargon remained etymologically foreign.<sup>964</sup>

The broader foreign military words found in Late Egyptian sources included weapons terminology, defensive architecture, military occupations and specific troop categories, as well as action terms.<sup>965</sup> It is possible that some of these were used within hybrid communities of military specialists, including soldiers, foreign mercenaries, and prisoners of war,<sup>966</sup> in keeping with

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<sup>962</sup> Bender Jørgensen, “Writing Craftsmanship? Vocabularies and Notation Systems in the Transmission of Craft Knowledge,” 243.

<sup>963</sup> Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, 462–70. This mirrors evidence found in textual sources at the Hittite capital at Hattusha, where a series of cuneiform tablets inscribed with a horse training manual (now in Berlin, VAT6693) was found. The text is riddled with foreign loan words in an Indic dialect, which Beckman attributes to the Mitanni origin of the supposed author of the text, a Mitanni horse training expert named Kikkuli. The loan words are technical terms relating to specific training, similarly to the technical nature of the Semitic chariot and horse terms in Late Egyptian; Beckman, “Catalog #96: Horse Training Manual,” 158.

<sup>964</sup> No conclusions can yet be drawn on the question of how such terms were perceived (as native or still foreign) by Egyptian speakers after their integration into Late Egyptian.

<sup>965</sup> Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, 462–70.



Cooney's conception of a diffuse network of knowledge transfer among specialists, not requiring direct apprenticeship.<sup>967</sup> Several studies of modern military communities demonstrate this jargon acquisition through daily practice, or sometimes, in the case of ethnically mixed regiments, the gaining of non-specialized terms in another language.<sup>968</sup> Such situated language learning occurs purely through living and training together, as well as through live operations in the field.<sup>969</sup> Since it is also understood that situated learning is firmly rooted in a social context,<sup>970</sup> and the learning process actively constructs the character of the apprentice,<sup>971</sup> the existence of these military communities also explains the broader shifts seen in the New Kingdom military.

### *Taking Battlefield Trophies and Receiving Gold of Valor*

Along with the loan words, foreign military values and practices were introduced, mixed with local versions, and transformed in these communities of practice, eventually manifesting in the late Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom. Egyptian terms and phrases appeared in tomb autobiographies and military texts at the turn of the New Kingdom, used in new contexts to describe captives taken in battle, or the severing of enemy hands as trophies.<sup>972</sup> These texts,

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<sup>966</sup> Although these words come mainly from scribal and royal sources, rather than daily writings such as letters, receipts, etc. written by these community members – such sources would of course more directly reflect the linguistic reality within such military communities.

<sup>967</sup> Cooney, "Apprenticeship and Figured Ostraca from the Ancient Egyptian Village of Deir El-Medina," 147.

<sup>968</sup> Sookermy, "Learning in Doing - Skills Acquisition in [Post-] Modernised Military Communities of Practice," 617–19; Leal, "The Multicultural Military: Military Service and the Acculturation of Latinos and Anglos," 218–20; Eisikovits, "Intercultural Learning among Russian Immigrant Recruits in the Israeli Army," 299–301; Ben Shalom and Horenczyk, "Cultural Identity and Adaptation in an Assimilative Setting," 475–76; Ford, "'Mindful of the Traditions of His Race': Dual Identity and Foreign-Born Soldiers in the First World War American Army," 35; Hale, "The Role of Practice in the Development of Military Masculinities," 717.

<sup>969</sup> Lave and Wenger, *Situated Learning*, 109.

<sup>970</sup> Wendrich, "Recognizing Knowledge Transfer in the Archaeological Record," 4.

<sup>971</sup> Høgseth, "Knowledge Transfer: The Craftmen's Abstraction," 65.

such as the autobiographies of Ahmose Son of Ibana, Ahmose Pennekhbet, and Amenemheb, as well as the Annals of Thutmose III and other sources, describe the capture of living prisoners on the battlefield and their presentation to the king. The severed hands of slain enemies were also brought to the king, and the monarch would then redistribute the captives or provide gold as a reward. Lorton observes that there is no evidence for this kind of martial reward system in Egypt prior to these texts, and proposes that the system was introduced during the Hyksos period. As further support for this argument, he demonstrates that a similar system was recorded in the Mari letters. In these texts, booty and spoils, including captives, “legally reverted to the king” and while some was kept, much was later redistributed to the soldiers.<sup>973</sup> The Mari letters thus preserve evidence of a martial reward system in place amongst the Middle Bronze Age kingdoms across Mesopotamia and Levant, a category to which the Hyksos and their domain also belonged.<sup>974</sup> The Southwest Asian military specialists in these Delta communities of practice likely brought this system with them, as well as the values it espoused. Such a system heavily promoted, and literally rewarded, individual military prowess and acts of bravery on the battlefield, values which quickly became fundamental to New Kingdom Egyptian identity (see Chapter 8 for further discussion).

### Impact on the New Kingdom Military and Conceptions of Kingship

Alba and Nee have written about the process through which minority ethnic cultural traits become part of the mainstream host culture. They distinguish between two separate but related

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<sup>972</sup> Lorton, “Terminology Related to the Laws of Warfare in Dyn. XVIII,” 67–68; Candelora, “Trophy or Punishment.”

<sup>973</sup> Lorton, “Terminology Related to the Laws of Warfare in Dyn. XVIII,” 57 especially note 16.

<sup>974</sup> Candelora, “The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground”; Candelora, “Trophy or Punishment.”

processes, the first of which is that the influence of the minority group serves to expand “the range of what is considered normative behavior within the mainstream.”<sup>975</sup> The second process involves the cultural trait’s gradual loss of connection to the minority group. Over time, the trait ceases to be ethnically labeled, and members of the majority group take it on, weakening the “empirical connection” between the trait and the original minority group.<sup>976</sup> When these processes are considered in combination with communities of practice, which encourage the incorporation of new members, traits, and the corresponding negotiation of group identity, it clarifies how many of the elements discussed above became so fundamental to the mainstream cultural repertoire of New Kingdom Egypt. Lave and Wenger even stress the connection of “sociocultural transformations with the changing relations between newcomers and old-timers in the context of a changing shared practice.”<sup>977</sup> The hybrid military communities of practice of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period served to mutually transform various traditions into a blended military identity, which gradually spread from within these localized communal contexts to Egyptian society as a whole.

This negotiated military identity manifested in the New Kingdom in numerous associated sociocultural transformations. Within the military itself, the reward system became fundamental to the expression of valor by elites, who were literally eternalized either receiving gold necklace rewards in tomb reliefs, such as in Horemheb’s tomb at Saqqara, or bedecked in them in statue form like Maya in Berlin (ÄM 19286). Even the severing of enemy hands became a standard Egyptian military practice, famously depicted on temple walls half a millennium after the

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<sup>975</sup> Alba and Nee, “Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration,” 834.

<sup>976</sup> Alba and Nee, 834.

<sup>977</sup> Lave and Wenger, *Situated Learning*, 49.

practice first appears in Egypt. In fact, on the rear wall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, decorated with scenes from the Battle of Qadesh, is an image of soldiers in the midst of the act itself (Figure 17). In the scene, a Sherden mercenary is shown fighting alongside an Egyptian



*Figure 17 - Sherden mercenary severing the hand of a Hittite soldier, Ramesses II Abydos temple, photo by author*

soldier, identifiable respectively via the Egyptian style haircut and the typical Sherden horned-helmet and round shield. The Egyptian soldier to the right appears just about to sever the hand from a still-living Hittite, while the Sherden warrior simultaneously removes the hand of a slain enemy.<sup>978</sup> Even this Ramesside foreign mercenary had clearly been initiated into this (by this point) longstanding *Egyptian* military tradition, through training and fighting with fellow soldiers in a military community of practice.

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<sup>978</sup> Abdalla, “The Amputated Hands in Ancient Egypt.”

Also reflecting the new military identity of the New Kingdom, the language itself accommodated new foreign vocabulary. Further, scribes composed previously unattested types of literature that focused on the more martial aspects of society, including texts such as the *Qadesh Battle Poem*, *Poem to the King's Chariot*, the *Tale of the Taking of Joppa*, and satirical works like Papyrus Anastasi I. In fact, the heroic bravery exhibited by Thutmose III at Megiddo, or Ramesses II in the *Qadesh Battle Poem* are striking examples of the stark change in the very understanding and iconography of Egyptian kingship in the New Kingdom. The fact that these New Kingdom kings felt the need to legitimize themselves in this way is a remarkable divergence from what was previously considered necessary in images of kingship. In the Old Kingdom, kings featured in martial stock scenes such as the smiting of enemies, but there was no clear indication that they led their troops into battle. Many scholars have credited the Seventeenth Dynasty kings with the emergence of this warrior ethos, but Spalinger argues that the “local war leaders” of the First Intermediate Period were the real model for Twelfth Dynasty kings to lead their soldiers on campaign in Nubia, the true context in which this kingly warrior ideology crystallized.<sup>979</sup> Yet the celebration of specific and particularly brave martial exploits of the king is only attested in the New Kingdom, and has more in common with the champion-duel scene in the *Story of Sinuhe* (a tradition that was clearly rooted in the tale's Levantine context), than earlier Egyptian records of the king in battle.

Not only did the textual representation of kingship shift toward their martial feats, but the associated royal iconography also underwent a major shift. Another hallmark of the New Kingdom was that royal princes by default underwent extensive martial training, and served as high-ranking military officers.<sup>980</sup> This is most famously depicted on a stela of Amenhotep II,

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<sup>979</sup> Spalinger, “The Armies of Re,” 109–10.



now in the Luxor Museum, which shows the king astride his chariot shooting arrows through a copper oxhide ingot (Figure 18). This unique iconography demonstrates not just his military



*Figure 18 - Stele of Amenhotep II, Luxor Museum, courtesy of J. Galczynski*

proWess, but his technical knowledge of the capacity of the chariot and composite bow. Indeed, prior to this period one would be hard-pressed to find an image of an Egyptian king using a bow, but as the composite bow is inextricably linked to the chariot package,<sup>981</sup> it got incorporated in the iconography as well. Alongside the traditional Egyptian smiting scene, the “image of a warrior king fighting alone in a chariot quickly became the visual and literary trope of the New Kingdom,”<sup>982</sup> and these scenes covered temple facades across the New Kingdom monumental landscape.<sup>983</sup> Yet another stock scene of these temple facades is the ritual presentation of a

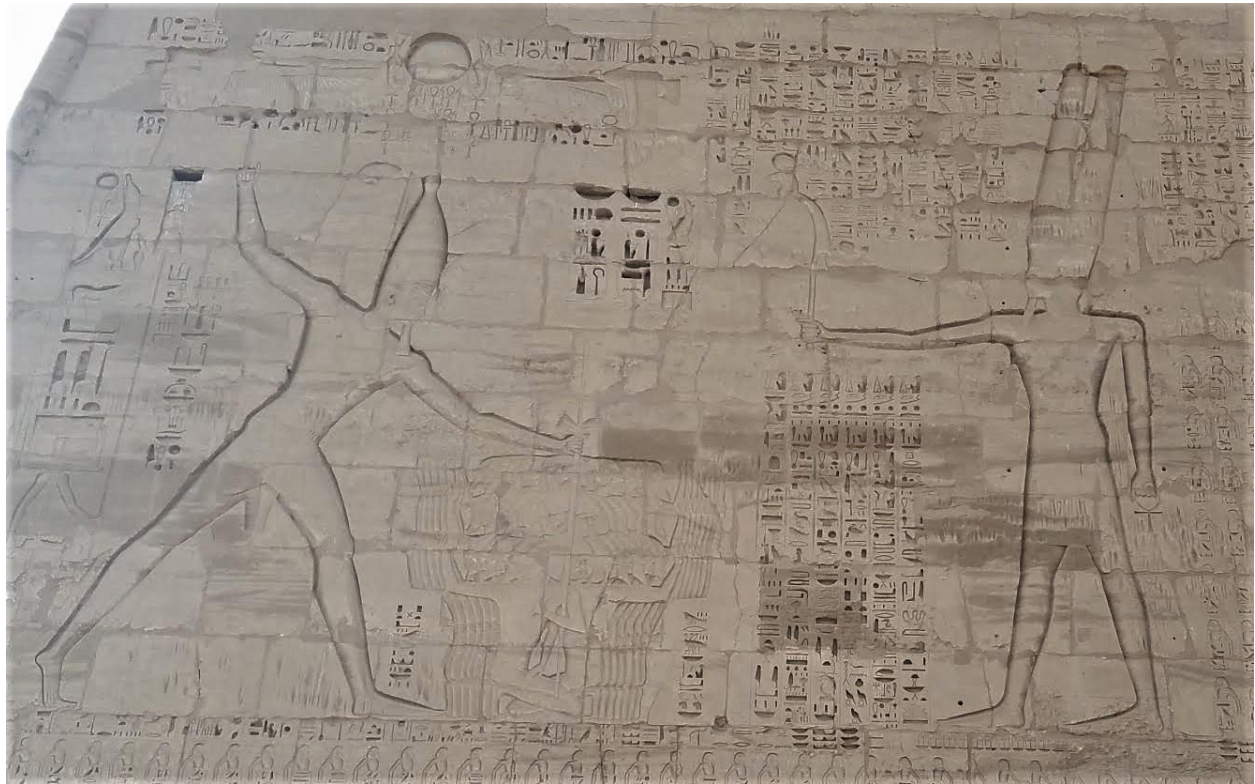
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<sup>980</sup> Spalinger, 110–11.

<sup>981</sup> Shaw, “Egyptians, Hyksos, and Military Hardware: Causes, Effects, or Catalysts?,” 66–68.

<sup>982</sup> Spalinger, “The Armies of Re,” 100.

weapon from a deity, usually the head of the pantheon Amun, to the king in celebration of his military victories. This vignette appears on the first pylon at Medinet Habu (Figure 19), and the weapon at the center of the scene is not a traditional Egyptian mace or axe, but a khepesh.



*Figure 19 - First Pylon at Medinet Habu, photo by author*

Originally a Southwest Asian weapon, the khepesh also became so central to the core of New Kingdom Egyptian militarism that it is the weapon of choice for these ritual scenes, and kings like Tutankhamun are referred to as “Lord of the Khepesh.” In fact, the inscription on Tutankhamun’s bow case encompassed all of these new martial values:

The Good God, courageous one, son of Amun, champion, lord of the khepesh, protector of his troops, victorious ka-bull among the multitude, who breaks a coalition, being firm

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<sup>983</sup> Sabbahy, “Depictional Study of Chariot Use in New Kingdom Egypt”; Sacco, “Art and Imperial Ideology: Remarks on the Depiction of Royal Chariots on Wall Reliefs in New Kingdom Egypt and the Neo-Assyrian Empire.”

on his chariot like the Lord of Thebes, strong fighter, who knows the place of his hand, who shoots with a bow, victorious one, strong authority.<sup>984</sup>

## Conclusions

New Kingdom imperialism and the military iconography and technology it inspired have long been considered an Egyptian cooption of foreign culture. Yet in reality, Egyptians had to join immigrants in communities of practice, which then negotiated between Egyptian and Southwest Asian traditions to produce the marked social transformations of the New Kingdom. Indeed, it is striking that so many examples of this influence can be found in the Ramesside Period in particular, as these kings themselves hailed from the same hybrid military communities of the Eastern Delta. The inscription on Tutankhamun's bow case encapsulated what it meant to be an ideal Egyptian king, an ideal which was the result of the new negotiated martial identities and values developed originally in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period blended military communities. The members of such communities mutually transformed their collective self-representation—and even that of the Egyptian king himself—through daily practice alongside Southwest Asian immigrant group members.

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<sup>984</sup> Galán, "Bullfight Scenes in Ancient Egyptian Tombs," 95.



## CHAPTER 8 – MILITARY REWARDS AS MIDDLE GROUND

### MISUNDERSTANDING<sup>985</sup>

The following analysis of the Tell el-Dab'a hand cache serves as an extension of the previous discussion in the form of an in-depth case study demonstrating the identity accommodation processes explored above. The Communities of Practice approach, especially in military contexts, will be combined with the Middle Ground “misunderstanding” to potentially explain the origins of an Egyptian New Kingdom military practice and the means by which it was transmitted from abroad.

The military reward system in which captured enemies or corporeal trophies are presented to the king in return for the gold of valor is a hallmark of New Kingdom imperial campaigns. Temple reliefs, especially during the Ramesside Period, often feature not only battle scenes, but the presentation of such prisoners alongside piles of severed hands and phalli before the seated pharaoh. This reward system became fundamental to the expression of status by elites, who memorialized themselves for eternity receiving the ‘gold of valor’ in autobiographies, tomb reliefs, and statuary.<sup>986</sup> As outlined above (see Chapter 7), the specific practice of severing enemy hands also apparently became standard operating procedure for the New Kingdom military, as represented in both private records, royal annals and stelae, and the famous depictions of these piles of hands on the walls of temples like Medinet Habu. Yet the only potential archaeological evidence for this practice was unearthed at the Hyksos capital of Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a) in contexts dating from the late Second Intermediate Period, and does not match

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<sup>985</sup> A version of this chapter is published as Candelora, “Trophy or Punishment.”

<sup>986</sup> Candelora, “Hybrid Military Communities of Practice.”

many of the elements standard in later records. Furthermore, little to no solid evidence exists to suggest that the practice was native to Egypt prior to the turn of the New Kingdom. Thus, a new interpretation of the Tell el-Dab'a hands not only seems appropriate, but may shed new light on the origins of this New Kingdom military practice.

### Severed Hands in Egyptian Sources

The battlefield practice of severing an enemy's hand seems to appear fully realized in Egypt in the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties.<sup>987</sup> In this early period, the only preserved sources are the private tomb autobiographies of soldiers who served during the reigns of Ahmose to Thutmose III. Starting with Thutmose III, the records of this custom shift completely to royal evidence, including both relief and textual accounts. Unsurprisingly, the quantity of these royal records increases during reigns known for their campaigning, such as Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, and these accounts reach their height in the Ramesside Period, especially under Ramesses II and III. There are several distinct scene types which appear in the royal sources that relate to the practice of severing hands: the counting of piles of severed hands post-battle, the display of hands as trophies, the physical act of cutting off a hand, and the depiction of living enemies who are missing hands.

The first category is perhaps the most well-known, and features military scribes counting piles of severed hands before the king. The hands are often tallied in conjunction with the spoils and live captives, as part of the general booty taken during the battle. Various examples of this

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<sup>987</sup> For more comprehensive studies, see Matic, *Body and Frames of War in New Kingdom Egypt Violent Treatment of Enemies and Prisoners*; Abdalla, "The Amputated Hands in Ancient Egypt"; Janzen, "The Iconography of Humiliation: The Depiction and Treatment of Bound Foreigners in New Kingdom Egypt."

type of scene occur both textually and visually at Medinet Habu (Figure 20), as well as in the text of the Annals of Thutmose III at Karnak and the Semna Inscription of Amenhotep III.<sup>988</sup>



*Figure 20 - Military scribes counting severed hands while on campaign, Medinet Habu, photo by author*

The second scene type involves the display of hands as war trophies. For example, in his Memphis and Karnak stelae, Amenhotep II boasts that he hung “twenty hands at the foreheads of his horses” in the aftermath of a confrontation with the city of Khasbu.<sup>989</sup> On talatat from Thebes, dating originally to the reign of Akhenaten but re-carved by Tutankhamun, two fragmentary scenes show soldiers bearing spears with severed hands impaled on their tips.<sup>990</sup> Finally, in the Qadesh battle scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak, Egyptian soldiers are depicted carrying rings strung with severed hands (Figure 21).

The final two categories of scenes are all visual in nature, and date primarily to the Ramesside Period. The first is the physical act of cutting off a hand in battle, and can be seen mostly in

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<sup>988</sup> Abdalla, “The Amputated Hands in Ancient Egypt,” 27–29. It is interesting to note that in these scenes at Medinet Habu, the hand counts are labeled using a Semitic loan word *kp* (palm) instead of the Egyptian *drt*, perhaps emphasizing an association between this practice and West Asia. Nadia Ben-Marzouk, personal communication; Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, 318 no. 457.

<sup>989</sup> Hoffmeier, “Eighteenth Dynasty Inscriptions,” 21.

<sup>990</sup> Johnson, *An Asiatic Battle Scene of Tutankhamun from Thebes*, 159-162. See fig. 3 no. 29 and fig. 4 no 35.

Qadesh battle reliefs from the constructions of Ramesses II at Abydos (Figure 17), Karnak, and the Ramesseum. In fact, Abdalla makes the observation that all of these scenes showing the severing of a hand in action also show the enemy/victim still alive. He catalogs the

Figure 21

The final two categories of scenes are all visual in nature, and date primarily to the Ramesside Period. The first is the physical act of cutting off a hand in battle, and can be seen mostly in Qadesh battle reliefs from the constructions of Ramesses II at Abydos (Figure 17), Karnak, and the Ramesseum.<sup>991</sup> In fact, Abdalla makes the observation that all of these scenes showing the severing of a hand in action also show the enemy/victim still alive. He catalogs the



Figure 21 - Severed hands on rings, Qadesh battle scenes of Ramesses II at Karnak, after Wresinski, Atlas II, tf 70

depictions of living enemies missing hands, which again are mostly found in the Qadesh scenes (Figure 22) and at Medinet Habu, with the possible exception of a silver ring of Amenhotep II.<sup>992</sup>

<sup>991</sup> Abdalla, "The Amputated Hands in Ancient Egypt," 28–29.

<sup>992</sup> Abdalla, 26–34.

However, the oldest Egyptian accounts of the military practice of severing hands in exchange for a reward are unique in that they are the only three private records of this custom.

As discussed in Chapter 7, the earliest clear records of this practice occur in a private tomb autobiography in Upper Egypt, specifically belonging to a soldier who fought for Ahmose in the war to expel the Hyksos.<sup>993</sup> The autobiography of Ahmose, son of Ibana at El Kab documents five different episodes in which the soldier presented the king with severed hands and was rewarded with the gold of valor or other rewards. Two instances of soldiers presenting such hands occurred during the siege of Avaris, one during the siege of Sharuhen, and another in the



*Figure 22 - Hittite soldier missing right hand, Ramesseum Qadesh battle reliefs, photo by author*

course of Ahmose's Nubian campaign, while the fifth fell during the Nubian campaign of Amenhotep I.<sup>994</sup> Similar events are recorded in the tomb autobiographies of Ahmose Pennekhbet

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<sup>993</sup> In fact, the first artistic evidence for the pile of hands motif may have been discovered recently in the fragments of the pyramid temple of Ahmose at Abydos. S. Harvey, personal communication.

and Amenemheb, also military men from Upper Egypt in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Lorton studies the specific terms and phrases used in these texts to describe the capturing of live prisoners or the taking of a hand, and determines that while Egyptian in origin, they are being used in new contexts to refer to what seems to be a novel practice.<sup>995</sup> Additionally, Lorton notes that the entire martial reward system seems to have no precedent in Egypt before this time, and suggests that system was introduced during the Hyksos period. He provides parallels for such a martial system in the Mari Letters, in which booty and captives legally reverted to the king, who then redistributed them.<sup>996</sup> However, it is important to note that there is no evidence from the Mari Letters to suggest that the severing of hands was part of this reward system.<sup>997</sup> Indeed I suggest that the origins of this practice lie within another social sphere entirely.

In 2011, the excavations at Tell el-Dab'a led by Bietak uncovered archaeological evidence for the practice of severing the hands of multiple individuals, and scholars immediately associated these remains with the military reward system documented in the Elkab autobiographies. Yet there are several elements of the Tell el-Dab'a context that do not match how the practice is described and depicted in later sources.

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<sup>994</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2006, 12–13. It is interesting to note that the practice of presenting the king with severed hands tails off within this autobiography itself. The last instance falls during the reign of Amenhotep I, even though Ahmose son of Ibana continues to campaign in both the Levant and Nubia with Thutmose I. It is also notable that much more emphasis is placed on the heroic battlefield deeds of king in these later reigns.

<sup>995</sup> Lorton, “Terminology Related to the Laws of Warfare in Dyn. XVIII,” 67–68.

<sup>996</sup> Lorton, 57, especially note 16.

<sup>997</sup> See discussion in Candelora, “Hybrid Military Communities of Practice.”



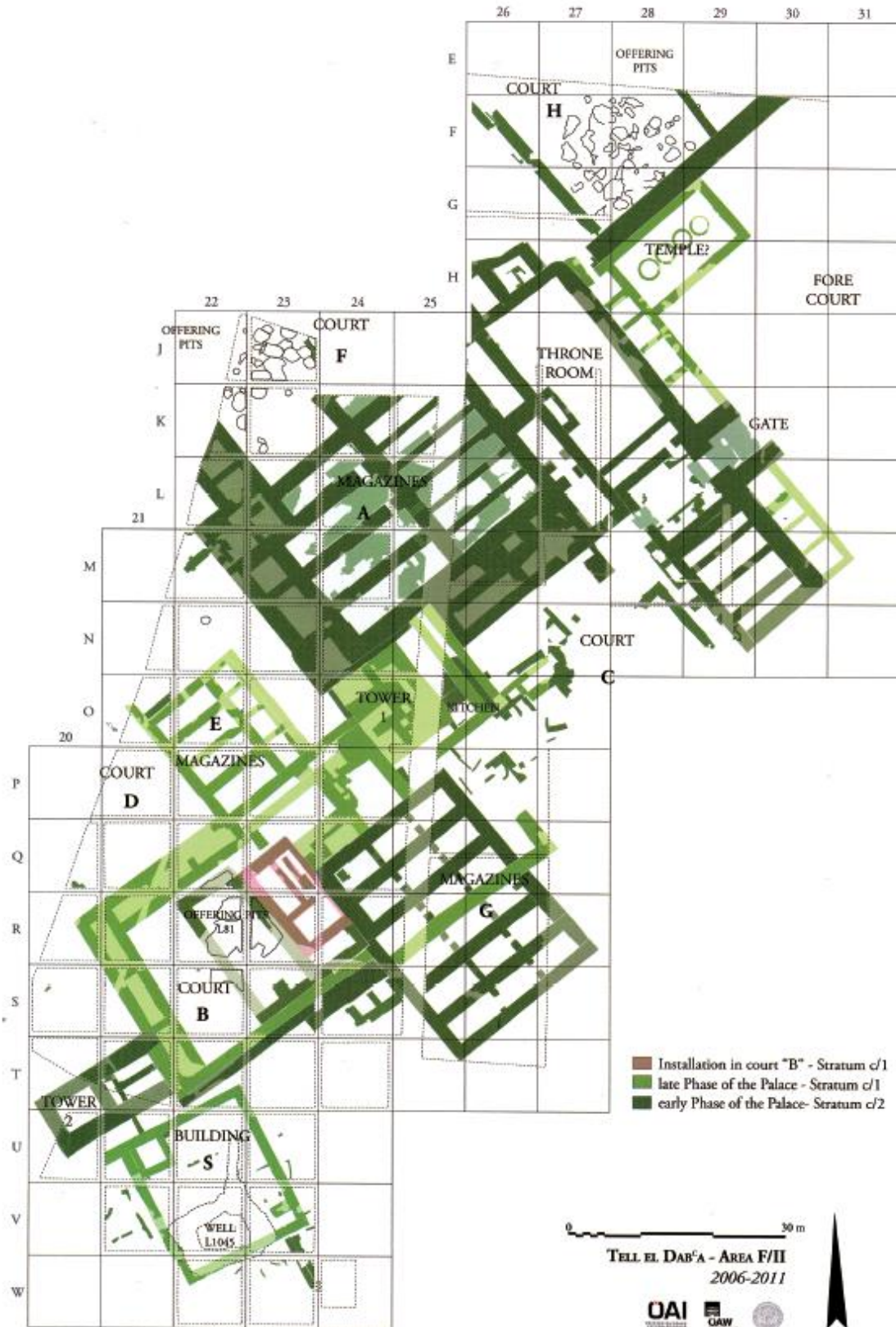


Figure 23 - Northern section of Area F/II Palace, stratum c/2-1, courtesy of S. Prell and the Hyksos Enigma Project

## The Archaeological Context of the Hand Cache

The 2011 excavations in Area F/II at Tell el-Dab'a revealed four pits containing a total of sixteen severed right hands. This area was dominated in the Second Intermediate Period by a Near Eastern style palace likely belonging to the Hyksos (Figure 23). It was constructed in an aggregate method, alternating buildings with courtyards, and contains many architectural elements with strong parallels in Near Eastern palaces at Middle Bronze Age sites like Mari and Ebla. The fragment of the cuneiform letter to the Old Babylonian dynasty was recovered in the fill from a well in a structure just to the south of this palace.<sup>998</sup>

The northern part of the palace is best represented in Strata c-2 and c-1, which according to the excavators correspond respectively to the early Hyksos period and the reign of Khayan and after. A large entrance gate was found, featuring two towers flanking the outermost entrance into a small court, followed by a second smaller gate or doorway into a large courtyard (Courtyard C), which then gave access to the rest of the palace.<sup>999</sup> Adjoining the gate court to the Northwest is a badly damaged broad room with a mudbrick platform constructed in the center of the rear wall. The excavators suggest that this platform indicates the room had a “representational function” and have categorized it as a throne room.<sup>1000</sup> In stratum c-2, the open area to the Northeast of the gate served as a storage area with silos. It seems that in this stratum (c-2), the first two pits, each containing a single hand, were cut into this forecourt just outside the front enclosure wall of the palace, essentially just to the outside of the throne room. Later, in phase c-1, a broad room construction with four columns and smaller annexed chambers was built in this

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<sup>998</sup> Bietak, Math, and Müller, “Report on the Excavations of a Hyksos Palace,” 19–32.

<sup>999</sup> Bietak, Math, and Müller, 26–29.

<sup>1000</sup> Bietak, Math, and Müller, 29.



forecourt to the North of the throne room, covering the two initial pits. To the North of this four columned-building, another two pits were found containing a total of fourteen severed right hands (Figure 24, Figure 25).<sup>1001</sup>



Figure 24 - Location of the hand-pits within the F/II palace, courtesy of S. Prell and the Hyksos Enigma Project



While no forensic or bioarchaeological report has yet been published on this unique find, a few tentative statements can be made from excavation photographs. All sixteen hands were



*Figure 25 - Severed Hands from Area F/11 pits, courtesy of S. Prell and the Hyksos Enigma Project*

<sup>1001</sup> Bietak, Math, and Müller, 30–32; Bietak, “The Archaeology of the ‘Gold of Valour,’” 42–43.

removed from the body at the distal ulna and radius, and it appears from the photographs that little evidence for these long bones remains. However, the metacarpal bones as well as the phalanges have not only survived, but remain articulated, indicating that the hands were buried while some flesh was preserved.<sup>1002</sup> Further, there is no sign of the obvious trauma expected if the hands were severed in one or several massive strokes of a sharp, heavy weapon, such as visible cut marks. This is the most likely means of removal, with the strike aimed between the distal radius and ulna and the proximal row of carpals (the lunate and the scaphoid), because this would involve severing mainly muscle and connective tissue rather than cutting through the long bones of the forearm. Depending on the strength of the blow and the weight of the weapon, such a blow could have removed the very distal ends of the radius and ulna and would almost certainly have caused damage to the proximal row of carpals, perhaps even crushing or breaking them, thus making them more susceptible to decay. It is extremely unlikely that removal of the hand would have left no mark whatsoever on the bones, however, the poor preservation of the skeletal remains suggests that any cutmarks were likely obliterated or obscured by taphonomic processes.<sup>1003</sup>

### Interpretation of the Tell el-Dab'a Hands

Manfred Bietak has interpreted these unique remains in the context of the New Kingdom military reliefs and texts discussed above. He suggests that the location of the first two pits may

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<sup>1002</sup> While this does not completely rule out the possibility that these hands were removed from corpses immediately or after some decomposition, the presence of the distal phalanges in particular would suggest a primary context. Roselyn A. Campbell, personal communication.

<sup>1003</sup> Roselyn A. Campbell, personal communication. See also Andrushko, Schwitalla, and Walker, "Trophy-Taking and Dismemberment as Warfare Strategies in Prehistoric Central California," 84–88, Fig. 1 for a discussion of taphonomy and cut marks in the context of severing hands.

indicate a ceremony in front of the throne room in which “Hyksos soldiers” were rewarded for presenting hands (to the king presumably), which were then buried on the spot. In the later phase, the palace was expanded to include the four columned-building, requiring a new location for this ceremony. Bietak argues that a sand-filled pit adjoining the northwestern wall of this new construction may have served as the foundation for a stone podium on which this ceremony could be administered. Again, the hands themselves were then buried nearby in the second two pits.<sup>1004</sup>

By the standards of these later artistic and textual records, the Tell el-Dab’a hands are at odds with the Egyptian sources on military practice for several reasons. First, the Tell el-Dab’a evidence is unprecedented for the relatively low total number of hands involved. Indeed, the Medinet Habu scenes discussed above depicting the counting of such corporeal trophies before Ramesses III tally much larger numbers. The first post-battle scenes from the Libyan campaigns logged around 12,500 hands per pile, of which there were three, while the second Libyan scene registered 3,000 hands total.<sup>1005</sup> While the veracity of the numbers recorded in the military scenes has been long debated, a stark difference is still apparent between these campaign examples and the Tell el-Dab’a pits, which only contain sixteen such trophies.

Furthermore, as Bietak notes, the Tell el-Dab’a hands represent the first known archaeological evidence for the practice of severing hands because no ancient Egyptian battlefields have been adequately investigated.<sup>1006</sup> Within the narrative battle scenes, the presentation of severed hands to the king, and the scribal recording thereof, generally takes place

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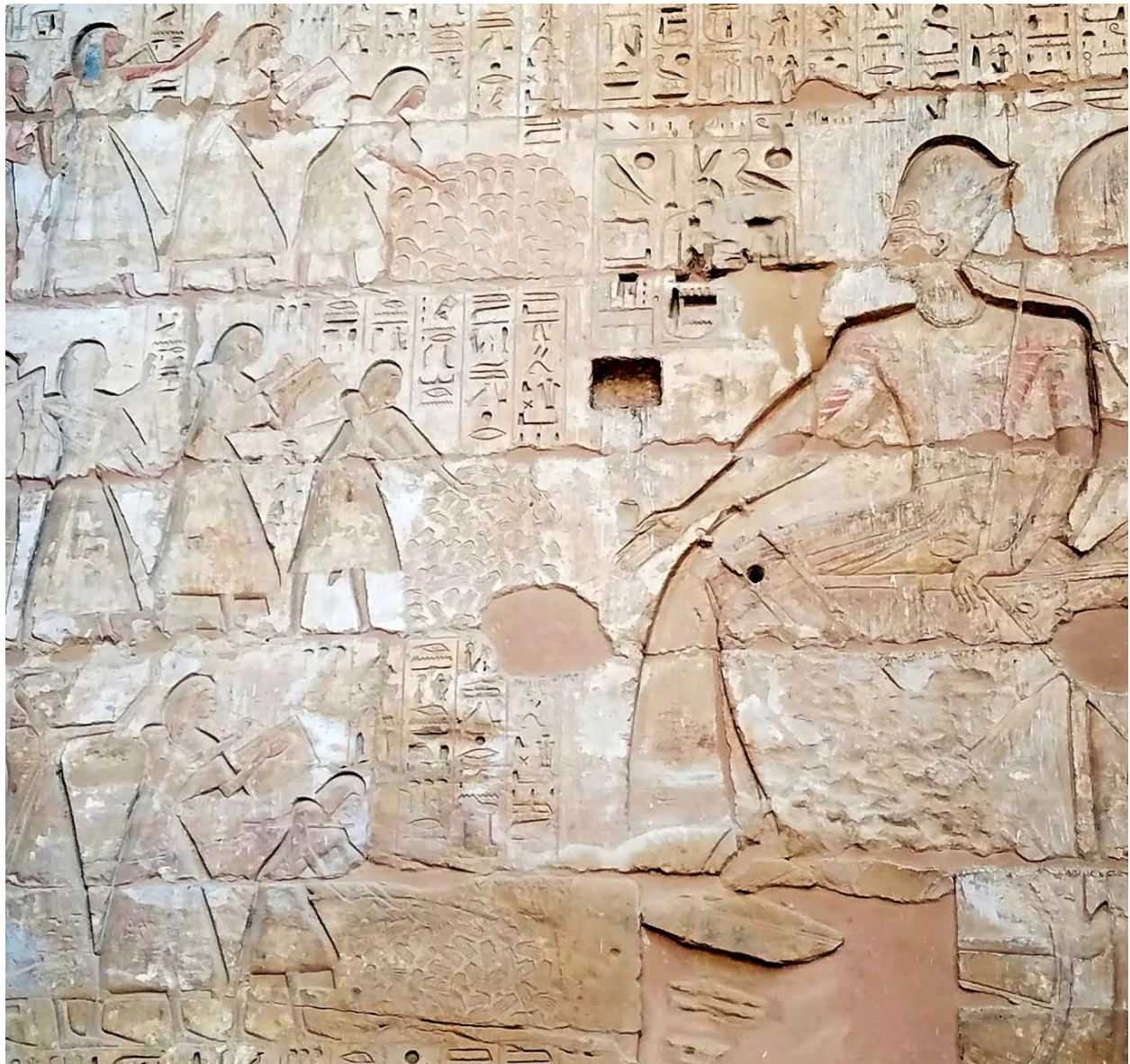
<sup>1004</sup> Bietak, “The Archaeology of the ‘Gold of Valour,’” 43; Matić, *Body and Frames of War in New Kingdom Egypt Violent Treatment of Enemies and Prisoners* also discusses this context in detail.

<sup>1005</sup> Edgerton and Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III: The Texts in Medinet Habu Volumes I and II*, 14–15.

<sup>1006</sup> Bietak, “The Archaeology of the ‘Gold of Valour,’” 42.



in the aftermath of the battle while still on campaign. At Medinet Habu, Ramesses III has two scenes in which he presides over the counting of such trophies from a portable rostrum of sorts, erected in front of an Egyptian fortress. In both scenes, one for the Libyan campaigns<sup>1007</sup> and one dedicated to the Sea Peoples,<sup>1008</sup> Ramesses not only observes the recording of hands and phalli,



*Figure 26 - Ramesses III being presented severed hands while on his chariot, Medinet Habu, photo by author*

<sup>1007</sup> Nelson, *Medinet Habu Volume I: Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III*, Pl. 22.

<sup>1008</sup> Nelson, Pl. 42.

but receives prisoners and makes rousing speeches. In fact, a third example is so informal in its depiction of this trope scene that Ramesses III lounges facing backwards on his chariot,<sup>1009</sup> ostensibly because there was no available infrastructure in the region from which to conduct this ceremony (**Error! Reference source not found.**). In his dissertation monograph on New Kingdom military violence, Uroš Matic demonstrates that the Egyptians never seem to have brought these corporeal trophies back to Egypt, nor do they appear before temples or palaces.<sup>1010</sup> Thus, the location of the Tell el-Dab'a hands in pits near the throne room, a context which bears more in common with foundation deposits, is extremely unusual and would suggest an alternate account of these hands is still needed. However, this location nevertheless requires an explanation directly related to the conception and duties of kingship.

It should be noted that there is one possible example of an enemy with a severed hand dating from the Old Kingdom. A smiting scene of Niuserre is depicted on a rock-cut stele from the Wadi Maghara in the Sinai, in which the captive seems to have an amputated right hand.<sup>1011</sup> Unfortunately the piece is now destroyed, so we must work from line drawings. Yet E. S. Hall notes that several elements of the scene are badly fragmented,<sup>1012</sup> and the right arm of the king and a portion of the left arm of the captive are also missing from the scene. Furthermore, similar Old Kingdom smiting scenes are common in the Sinai, whether as graffiti or more official inscriptions, and while numerous Old Kingdom parallels are similar in graphic content and

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<sup>1009</sup> Nelson, Pl. 23.

<sup>1010</sup> U. Matic, personal communication; see discussion in Matic, *Body and Frames of War in New Kingdom Egypt Violent Treatment of Enemies and Prisoners*.

<sup>1011</sup> Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai Vol. I*, Pl. VI no. 10.

<sup>1012</sup> Hall, "The Pharaoh Smites His Enemies, A Comparative Study," 10, fig. 17; See also Abdalla, "The Amputated Hands in Ancient Egypt," 25.

composition, none feature a captive missing a hand.<sup>1013</sup> In fact, the smiting scenes of Snofru<sup>1014</sup> and Djedkare Isesi<sup>1015</sup> show the king and captive in almost precisely the same positions, with the captive's right arm raised protectively, and both clearly depict the captive's right hand. When considered in combination with the lack of other visual or textual references to the severing of enemy hands until the late Second Intermediate Period/early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, it seems very unlikely that this early stele is an example of this practice.

Beyond this example, I know of no evidence for the severing of enemy hands as a native Egyptian practice prior to the late Second Intermediate Period. Bietak also notes that although the mutilation of enemies is known from the Predynastic Period, the particular practice of removing a hand is not recorded. He goes on to state that there is no evidence of a Nubian origin to the custom, nor is there evidence from northern Canaan, and thus argues that for now it "must be assumed to have been an Egyptian custom, adopted by the Hyksos."<sup>1016</sup> I also know of no sources to suggest that this is a Nubian practice, and so few sources dealing with Libyan customs survive in general that they unsurprisingly do not prove the practice's link to the west. While it is true that there are few to no signs of this hand-severing custom in Egypt before the New Kingdom, the assertion that there is nothing to suggest a Near Eastern origin should be reevaluated. Evidence for the amputation of hands can in fact be found in the Near East—though not within the military sphere, but in legal sources.

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<sup>1013</sup> Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai Vol. I* see plates I-VIII, numbers 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, & 16.

<sup>1014</sup> Gardiner and Peet Pl. II no. 5.

<sup>1015</sup> Gardiner and Peet Pl. VIII no. 14.

<sup>1016</sup> Bietak, "The Archaeology of the 'Gold of Valour,'" 43.

## The Near Eastern Connection

Archaeological evidence for the severing of hands is scarce in the ancient Near East. While the practice is pervasive among the textual and artistic sources from the Neo-Assyrian Empire in the Iron Age, earlier signs of the custom are rare. These Neo-Assyrian examples occur in the context of conquest, often among numerous other gruesome and violent methods of intimidating the enemy or abusing their corpses,<sup>1017</sup> almost as though earlier New Kingdom imperial practices had been adapted and escalated. From earlier periods, the only archaeological evidence of severed hands that I am aware of comes from a Middle Bronze Age II tomb at Jericho. Tomb J19 is a typical shaft tomb with six successive phases of deposition and nineteen total inhumations. The most striking aspect of the tomb is that each individual has had a forearm or both complete arms removed or severed.<sup>1018</sup> Although the excavator suggests this anomaly is related to either the stealing of valuable ornaments or a superstitious family,<sup>1019</sup> other explanations are possible. Instead of a traditional Middle Bronze Age family tomb, perhaps this unique occurrence represents the burials of enemies, wounded veterans, or even punished criminals. Regardless, this case diverges from the context at Tell el-Dab'a on two major points: the hands are removed much higher on the arm than the distal ulna, and the tomb contains the bodies without the hands, rather than the hands themselves. Thus, the search must be focused on locating the severed hands themselves, rather than the bodies missing them.

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<sup>1017</sup> Richardson, "Death and Dismemberment in Mesopotamia: Discorporation between the Body and the Body Politic," 196–200 and references therein; Janzen, "The Iconography of Humiliation: The Depiction and Treatment of Bound Foreigners in New Kingdom Egypt," 263–302.

<sup>1018</sup> A Cretan parallel exists for the removal of the entire lower arm. A tomb at the site of Armenoi features a 25-year-old male with multiple cut marks and a right hand severed at the mid forearm. However, it should be noted that the forearm sustained several blows, so the severing may have been unintentional. See Georganas, "'Warrior Graves' vs. Warrior Graves in the Bronze Age Aegean," 213; Molloy, "Martial Minoans," 120.

<sup>1019</sup> Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho Volume 2*, 372–75.



The Old Babylonian law code of Hammurabi features at least three laws which result in the punishment of cutting off a hand. Law 218 is limited to extremely specific circumstances, decreeing that a surgeon who causes the death or blinding of a patient will lose the offending hand.<sup>1020</sup> Law 226, while still specific, could likely have been applied in more general situations. The law deals with the punishment meted out to a barber who shaves off the hairlock of a slave without the slave owner's permission.<sup>1021</sup> Given that the hairlock is fundamentally the outward symbol marking the individual as a slave, this law describes the sentence that could be given to anyone who aids a slave in an escape attempt. The third law, number 195, is easily the most broadly applicable, stating, "If a child should strike his father, they shall cut off his hand."<sup>1022</sup> In the patrimonial language of the Middle Bronze Age Kingdoms such as the one in Babylon, this sentiment could have been directed at anyone who subverted a superior in the power hierarchy.

The Middle Bronze Age polities centered at cities like Babylon, Mari, Hazor, and Yamhad shared several important elements, the chief of which is a system of kinship which underlaid all aspects of social organization. Analyses of the Mari Archives demonstrates that most citizens of these kingdoms identified themselves most strongly with their tribal or familial affiliation, rather than the place in which they lived.<sup>1023</sup> Indeed, Fleming observes that this "ideology of kinship suffuses" even the political system recorded within the Mari Archives, establishing that the administration and governance of these polities also operated within this patrimonial framework.<sup>1024</sup> Kinship terminology was used extensively within the administrative

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<sup>1020</sup> Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 123.

<sup>1021</sup> Roth, 124.

<sup>1022</sup> Roth, 120., 120.

<sup>1023</sup> Fleming, *Democracy's Ancient Ancestors*, 24., 24.

documents from Middle Bronze Ebla and Mari, and these terms often extended into naming practices as well.<sup>1025</sup> Within this type of patrimonial system, in which most facets of life are dictated by kinship relationships, hierarchical or political superiors are often referred to as “father.”<sup>1026</sup> Therefore, Old Babylonian Law 195 could apply to any act of subordination, including treason or rebellion against the king—considered the “father” of every citizen.

This kinship ideology also permeated the diplomatic exchanges between kingdoms, as the rulers claimed not only bonds of brotherhood, but real or fictitious ancestral links to Amorite groups. These rulers were in continual contact with one another, entered into and broke alliances frequently, and also shared several other material and non material aspects of elite culture.<sup>1027</sup>

Most important to this discussion is the apparent sharing of legal traditions and practices, including the king’s role therein, between these Middle Bronze polities. It is clear from the preambles to many Mesopotamian law codes, including the Old Babylonian version as well as its Sumerian predecessors, that the king acted as judge in legal matters.<sup>1028</sup> The proceedings of a legal case are preserved in a fragmented Middle Bronze Age cuneiform text from Hazor,<sup>1029</sup> which document this tradition in practice. In this case, the king clearly presides over a lawsuit over land ownership in both the cities of Hazor and Gilead. The text records that the king

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<sup>1024</sup> Fleming, 31; see also extensive discussion about the functioning of patrimonial society in Schloen, *The House of the Father As Fact and Symbol*.

<sup>1025</sup> Michalowski, “Thoughts About Ibrum”; Fleming, *Democracy’s Ancient Ancestors*; Bonechi, “Lexique et idéologie royale à l’époque protosyrienne.”

<sup>1026</sup> Schloen, *The House of the Father As Fact and Symbol*.

<sup>1027</sup> See Schwartz, “An Amorite Global Village”; Burke, “Entanglement, the Amorite Koine, and Amorite Cultures in the Levant.”

<sup>1028</sup> Whether this is meant as the figurative ideal or literally is hard to say. See translations in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*.

<sup>1029</sup> The text is Hazor 5, in Horowitz and Oshima, *Cuneiform in Canaan*, 69–72.

rendered judgement in favor of the defendant, and that future challenges to this ruling would be subject to a fine. Unfortunately, the location in which this hearing occurred is not preserved, but the formal entrance of the concerned parties before the king indicates an official setting, potentially the throne room or somewhere more public.

Another shared aspect of legal traditions within these Middle Bronze kingdoms is the written law code. Beyond the similarity in the formula and content of the laws themselves, there seems to have been a custom of the written recording of such law collections. In addition to the well known Law Code Stela of Hammurabi, several other physical copies of these law codes have been found. The Laws of Eshnunna are preserved in three separate tablets, two from Tell Harmal and one from Tell Haddad.<sup>1030</sup> In 2010, two fragments of cuneiform law codes were discovered at the site of Hazor in northern Israel.<sup>1031</sup> The laws are composed in the Old Babylonian standard script, dating them securely to the Middle Bronze Age, and the tablets themselves are fashioned of local clay. They also follow the same compositional formula as other contemporary law collections, and may even contain a reference to facial mutilation.<sup>1032</sup>

Tell el-Dab'a, though certainly with its own regional variations and hybrid identity, can be characterized as one of these Middle Bronze Age polities through many of the same elements discussed above.<sup>1033</sup> The rulers bear Amorite names, and are in contact with their fellow elites as demonstrated by the discovery of the cuneiform letter fragment in the area F/II palace.<sup>1034</sup> The

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<sup>1030</sup> Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 57–70.

<sup>1031</sup> Horowitz, Oshima, and Vukosavović, “Hazor 18: Fragments of a Cuneiform Law Collection from Hazor.”

<sup>1032</sup> Line 2 on the obverse of Fragment A mentions the nose, and possible reconstructions based on other law codes include “If a man bit the nose of another man and thus has cut it off,” see Horowitz, Oshima, and Vukosavović, 164–66.

<sup>1033</sup> Candelora, “The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground.”

<sup>1034</sup> Bietak, “Le Hyksos Khayan.”

city shares many of the material markers of elite Middle Bronze culture, such as warrior burials, Near Eastern style temples and palaces, and hints of religious blending.<sup>1035</sup> Furthermore, administrative titles from the site indicate that kinship ties played as large a roll in the eastern Delta as in the court of Mari.<sup>1036</sup> Consequently, it is logical to assume that the elites at Tell el-Dab'a subscribed to the same legal traditions as their brother kingdoms in the Near East, and Hazor provides a much closer geographical link in this network with physical evidence thereof.

When all of the above is considered together, I argue that it is possible to explain the Tell el-Dab'a hand pits as the result of inflicted criminal punishment after a ruling by the king or other such father-like leader. The most likely reason for this punishment would have been some form of insubordination or even rebellion against the king himself, perhaps even a small, but thwarted, coup. This interpretation thus accounts for all of the unusual elements of these contexts discussed above. The relatively small number of hands, sixteen in total, is more representative of insubordination or a coup than the count of defeated enemies in the aftermath of a full-scale battle. Further, it would also explain the unique location of these pits just outside a possible throne room; within the legal traditions of these Middle Bronze kingdoms, the king himself would have issued judgement, likely from this very spot. Even the second set of pits was found in close proximity to the new four-columned building, with a sand-filled pit to the North that Bietak interprets as “the foundation of a stone-built podium.”<sup>1037</sup> Either the broad hall or the podium would have been official locations, perhaps even more public than the throne room, appropriate for the king's rendering of judgment.

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<sup>1035</sup> For a brief overview see Bietak, *Avaris, the Capital of the Hyksos*; For the identification of these elements as an Amorite phenomenon, see Burke, “Amorites in the Eastern Delta.”

<sup>1036</sup> Candelora, “The Eastern Delta as a Middle Ground.”

<sup>1037</sup> Bietak, “The Archaeology of the ‘Gold of Valour,’” 43.

## Pertinent Egyptian Legal Traditions

Given my proposal that this custom is more judicial in nature, functioning as a criminal punishment, it is important to consider the treatment of prisoners and criminals in ancient Egypt. First, in the majority of the preserved Egyptian evidence, trials are performed in front of judicial bodies or courts such as the *hw.t-wr* or *knb.t*,<sup>1038</sup> rather than before the king himself. Further, bodily mutilation was often included in the punishment meted out for various crimes, yet the evidence only began to appear in the New Kingdom. Loktionov argues that facial mutilation in particular “almost certainly began earlier, considering how firmly established it was by New Kingdom times,”<sup>1039</sup> citing the tenuous possibility that the Old Kingdom “reserve heads” represent the practice. Yet he notes that there are few judicial sources from earlier periods with which to compare.<sup>1040</sup> The most common forms of criminal mutilation in the New Kingdom are the removal of the convict’s nose and ears, which may potentially be linked to breaches of trust. Loktionov observes that this mutilation was invoked in trial oaths and royal decrees endowing temples, in the latter case as punishment for officials who abused their office for personal gain. It was also meted out to judges accused of collusion in the harem conspiracy trials of Ramesses III.<sup>1041</sup> However, the existing records are absent of any evidence for the severing of hands as a form of criminal punishment at any point in ancient Egyptian history.

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<sup>1038</sup> See Lorton, “The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt.”

<sup>1039</sup> Loktionov, “May My Nose and Ears Be Cut off: Practical and ‘Supra-Practical’ Aspects of Mutilation in the Egyptian New Kingdom,” 266.

<sup>1040</sup> Loktionov, 266. See note 15.

<sup>1041</sup> Loktionov, 269–75; Lorton, “The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt,” 25.

As discussed above, two of the three Old Babylonian laws resulting in the loss of a hand can be applied to broad social situations that also occurred in Egypt. The first crime is that of giving aid to an escaped slave, while the second would deal with rebellion against a superior or the king. However, in Egypt these crimes were punished in very different ways. In pre-New Kingdom Egypt, giving aid to escaped prisoners or individuals fleeing their labor obligations earned a punishment centered on the loss of the convict's eternal afterlife. In this case the criminal was stripped of his titles and name, his family was conscripted to a labor camp, and he was exiled from Egypt, robbing him of any traditional afterlife.<sup>1042</sup> In crimes of rebellion against the king before the New Kingdom, the punishment seems to have been execution in some form, and the denial of burial rights. In the rare instances where such treasonous acts against the king are even recorded, the corpses of the convicted are thrown into the river while the means of execution are often omitted, placing the stress of the penalty on the deprivation of an afterlife.<sup>1043</sup> Considering all of the above judicial evidence, it seems unlikely that the Egyptian practice of severing hands on the battlefield may have developed out of emic traditions of criminal punishment. Instead, the New Kingdom custom can be interpreted as punishment for rebellion against the ruler, in this case the Egyptian king.

### Hand Trophies and the Middle Ground

The pits of hands from Second Intermediate Period contexts at Tell el-Dab'a are unique even within the Egyptian military tradition of severing enemy hands. This uniqueness is best explained by situating these contexts within another social sphere, that of the law. The proximity

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<sup>1042</sup> Lorton, "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt," 17–23.

<sup>1043</sup> Lorton, 14 no. 8.

of these hands to a Hyksos throne room, and the participation of the Hyksos in broader elite Middle Bronze Age practices suggest that the Tell el-Dab'a hands may represent the vestiges of a criminal trial conducted by the king from the throne room or nearby broad hall.

While this is a plausible reinterpretation of the Tell el-Dab'a hand pits themselves, it does not explain how this practice was adapted into the Egyptian military and manifested in the particular customs of the New Kingdom. In fact, in an early Eighteenth Dynasty context at the same site, another pit was discovered containing three skulls and three severed hands, already demonstrating changes in the application of this custom within a brief timespan.<sup>1044</sup> I argue that the complex process by which a Near Eastern legal tradition could have been negotiated into an Egyptian military practice can be identified as what White terms a Middle Ground 'misunderstanding'<sup>1045</sup> resulting from the integration of Southwest Asian immigrants into the Egyptian military, as discussed in the last chapter. At its most basic, this process would have involved Egyptian soldiers noticing that their Southwest Asian compatriots had a) a military reward system, and b) presented severed criminal/enemy hands in a formal judicial context. Two potential outcomes ensued: in their attempts to understand the Southwest Asian cultural system from their own worldview, the Egyptians assumed the two traditions were related and they were conflated over time. Another likely possibility is that the hybrid military communities linked the two practices as a logical way to provide proof of kills in battle.

This kind of joint, and often intentional, misunderstanding of distinct practices has been identified in the Middle Ground of the colonial Americas, involving the conflation of Native

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<sup>1044</sup> Matic, "Execration of Nubians in Avaris?," 91–95 the context and description of the find, while the rest of the article provides an excellent deconstruction of the interpretation of this pit as an execration ritual.

<sup>1045</sup> See especially White, "Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings"; White, *The Middle Ground*, 52–53 for a discussion of this term.

American war practices and European judicial traditions. Corporeal Trophy taking, including scalping, severing hands and fingers, etc., had a long indigenous history in the Americas.

Individual tribes had their own practices and rituals associated with these trophies, which were involved in everything from coming of age ceremonies, warrior status display, tribal rivalries, and medicinal treatments. They were also given as gifts of friendship between tribes or sometimes to European colonists.<sup>1046</sup>

In the colonies, these practices met European criminal punishment. During the period of the “Bloody Code” in Britain, between the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, over two hundred offenses resulted in the criminal’s execution and subsequent dissection. Admission was charged to see the dissected body, and for-sale souvenirs were also often manufactured from the individual’s skin, which had been tanned into leather and formed into objects like wallets, tobacco pouches, or strops for razors.<sup>1047</sup> Eventually, this practice was conflated in the colonies with Native American trophy taking and gifting rituals. This can be seen in the language used to describe these trophies. Colonists initially responded to indigenous gifts of enemy scalps with their own “rewards” or “gifts.” However, they soon shifted to the word “bounty,” “a term applied to militia enlistment bonuses and compensation for reducing local wolf and wild cat populations.”<sup>1048</sup> These animal bounty offers required proof of the head or scalp of the animal for the reward, and designated different amounts based on age or sex. When bounties started to be offered for Native American scalps (and severed heads), “legislators conformed to these precedents,” showing that the origins of the practice to them was rooted in agrarian and judicial

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<sup>1046</sup> Harrison, *Dark Trophies*, 39–40; Chacon and Dye, “Dye 2007 Introduction to Human Trophy Taking,” 7, 22–26; Ball, “Grim Commerce,” 84; Axtell and Sturtevant, “The Unkindest Cut, or Who Invented Scalping,” 462.

<sup>1047</sup> Harrison, *Dark Trophies*, 36–37.

<sup>1048</sup> Ball, “Grim Commerce,” 74–77; Harrison, *Dark Trophies*, 40; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 39–43.



arenas, and not scalping as trophy taking – simultaneously de-humanizing indigenous groups.<sup>1049</sup> Yet colonists soon began to partake in the scalp bounties themselves, and by the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century, scalping had been “creolized” in a “frontier culture common to many groups.”<sup>1050</sup> Harrison writes “What is particularly distinctive about settler culture in North America . . . is the way that collecting practices such as these, concerned with commemorating crime and punishment, were recontextualized within the cycles of atrocity and mutual reprisal in border warfare.”<sup>1051</sup>

While this example is of course from a completely different place, time, and social context, it is a strong example of the type of ‘creative misunderstanding’ which caused European colonists to interpret indigenous practices through their own judicial traditions, resulting in a new cultural practice. I argue that a similar ‘misunderstanding’ occurred between Southwest Asian immigrants and Egyptians in the late Middle Bronze Age, resulting in the adoption of a criminal punishment as a means of proof of kills in a military reward system—again an entirely new custom developed within the middle ground of the Eastern Delta.

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<sup>1049</sup> Ball, “Grim Commerce,” 74.

<sup>1050</sup> Harrison, *Dark Trophies*, 40–41; Ball, “Grim Commerce,” 110–12; Grenier, *The First Way of War*, 43.

<sup>1051</sup> Harrison, *Dark Trophies*, 45.

## CHAPTER 9 – CONCLUSION

The Hyksos have long been understood and represented as the villains in the story of the Second Intermediate Period. The ancient Egyptian sources would have us believe that the Theban “Hero Kings” took up a righteous crusade to liberate their beloved Egypt from these despotic foreigners. Despite the constantly increasing corpus of archaeological evidence that nuances or negates this narrative, one track of scholarship seems to be entrenched deeply within this account, identifying themselves and empathizing with the figures of Taa, Kamose, and Ahmose, and uncritically accepting the vileness of the Hyksos. Not only has this implicit and *a priori* bias resulted in scholarship concluding that the Hyksos were greedy and cruel overlords, irrational, illiterate, and literal blocks to social and technological progress, but it has structured the research questions the field has even thought to pursue, as well as prematurely ruling certain conclusions impossible. The contributions of the Hyksos to Egyptian society, military, and conceptions of kingship are often re-spun as Egyptian responses to the shock of “foreign” rule. Indeed, the basic historical narrative of their rule, building on Manetho’s account, begins with an invasion and ends with their expulsion from Egypt. This narrative is still often the one presented in textbooks and popular sources, and occasionally uncritically replicated in some scholarship. Despite excavations at Tell el-Dab’a invalidating the occurrence of an invasion, the Hyksos are haunted by this despotic barbarian mythos and the notion of their invasion persists.

Instead, it is crucial that scholarship advances by learning from past approaches, putting aside the biased Egypto-centric view and rebuilding a Hyksos narrative that is more in line with the evidence. The Hyksos period has much to tell us about how immigration and identity worked

in the ancient world, and even what it meant to be Egyptian, and it should no longer be sidelined in Egyptological research as both unimportant and foreign.

Furthermore, the application of new critical theoretical approaches has allowed me to work with the scant but varied types of evidence available on their own merits. Questions of immigration and identity have been central to this project, and theories drawn from the fields of anthropology, sociology, psychology, education, and literature have allowed for the reanalysis of the evidence beyond the tyranny of the text.

It is also important to remember that “The Hyksos” of Dynasty 15 were only six individuals, and therefore any study of their presence in or impact on Egypt by necessity must focus on the contributions of their Southwest Asian subjects as well. Most of the evidence which can yield insights specifically into the six Hyksos are the royal monuments at Tell el-Dab’a and scattered around the Eastern Mediterranean. Therefore, any broader conclusions about Southwest Asian influences on Egyptian culture and society, or the discussion of identity through funerary practice, ceramics, foodways, etc., are in fact based on the Southwest Asian immigrant population of the Eastern Delta, and not the Hyksos. Therefore, just as Van Seters<sup>1052</sup> warned about labeling various material culture elements as “Hyksos \_\_\_\_\_ (fortifications, ceramics, etc.),” so we should be wary of denying the broader and pluriform immigrant population their role in history and society. Considering that many of these immigrants and their families remained visible in the region for generations, through much of the New Kingdom at least, it stands to reason that they would exert some amount of influence on Egyptian culture.

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<sup>1052</sup> Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation*.

The process of redefining the Hyksos first required a critical reexamination of the current state of knowledge, as well as the implications of these foundations on our understanding of the Hyksos. Chapter 2 focused on dissecting the entangled chronological debate which surrounds the Second Intermediate Period, the Hyksos, and Tell el-Dab'a, allowing me to draw new conclusions concerning the political landscape at the time. A significant amount of new evidence has been discovered in the last ten years, as well as new radiocarbon results which convincingly suggest a much higher chronology than the traditional Egyptian historical chronology. I conclude that the most likely Hyksos chronology fits most closely with the High Chronology supported by the new radiocarbon dates. Consequently, this chronology indicates an overlap of the Hyksos reign with both the late 13<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> dynasties, as well as an Abydos dynasty and the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, ruling from the Delta and Thebes/Abydos respectively. These conclusions have several implications: the Hyksos were diplomatically sharing the rule of Egyptian territory (with no evidence for skirmishes until quite late in the period) with several polities, and therefore that the political landscape of the Second Intermediate Period was not a unique Theban vs. Delta dichotomy, but one featuring multiple polities in keeping with other intermediate periods. It is also possible to infer that the Hyksos were much more globally connected than previously assumed, as the most likely understanding of the Aegean-style wall paintings in Area H now dates them to the later Hyksos Period (a solution which also fits well with the MBII/III Levantine evidence for Aegean-style palatial paintings),

In Chapter 3, I explored the most commonly discussed aspect of Hyksos identity in Egyptological literature, the origins of the “Hyksos race.” I argue that most of the main misconceptions about the Hyksos can be traced back to Manetho, especially given early scholars’ interest in Classical and Biblical sources, and that new scientific methods are resurrecting similar

questions of Hyksos origins. Given the development of the Egyptological discipline in the context of European colonialism, I demonstrated how these imperialist, orientalist narratives subconsciously preserved the misunderstandings originally presented by Manetho.<sup>1053</sup> I argue that the scholarly emphasis placed on the vilification of the Hyksos is fixed in the researchers' imposition of an orientalist understanding on the ancient sources, where Egypt is the West and the vile Asiatic is the East. The maintenance of these mis-beliefs is aided by the primacy afforded to the texts over archaeology<sup>1054</sup> and imperialist tendencies still present in the discipline,<sup>1055</sup> which continue to structure both research design and conclusions.

In Chapter 4, I reexamined the corpus of textual sources relating to the Hyksos by applying literary theories of Deconstruction and intertextuality, as well as anthropological theories of monumentality and social memory. The interpretation of these sources is based on a straightforward and uncritical reading of the texts which unconsciously replicates Theban-, or more specifically Kamose-, generated anti-Hyksos sentiment. Even the rhetoric of a Hyksos invasion, despite having been thoroughly disproven, is not questioned in the scholarship so much as labeled "propaganda" and ignored. Yet upon closer inspection these texts display a fascinating tension between propagandistic vilification and small details that hint at Hyksos legitimacy. Employing Deconstruction Theory, I analyzed details of word use, modifiers, and epithets pertaining to the Hyksos in conjunction with close analyses of the type of texts these details appear in, the motivation for their commission, the commissioner, means of dissemination, and intended audience.<sup>1056</sup> Upon closer examination, most of the details in these texts which have

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<sup>1053</sup> Said, *Orientalism*; Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*

<sup>1054</sup> Wendrich, "Egyptian Archaeology: From Text to Context."

<sup>1055</sup> Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*

long been read as evidence for Hyksos despotism can either be traced directly to the sentiments of Kamose himself, or are not couched negatively (but rather as a statement of fact). Indeed, all of the dissatisfaction with Hyksos rule in this corpus can be traced back to Kamose specifically, and even within his Karnak Stelae other Egyptians are perfectly happy with the status quo of Hyksos rule. Small details including the choice of titulary and use of cartouches indicate that in these biased, propagandistic southern texts, the Hyksos were considered legitimate rulers who were more powerful than Thebes.

This is corroborated by other etic texts that show no reservations in considering the Hyksos to be valid Egyptian kings, such as a genealogy of a 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty Memphite priest.<sup>1057</sup> In his tomb autobiography, this priest traces his family lineage back through the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty while listing the kings they served, and 2-3 Hyksos kings are listed including Apepi; therefore, this individual considered the Hyksos to be completely legitimate pharaohs, as they are undifferentiated from the rest of the kings in the text. I argue that texts like this autobiography, my northern reinterpretation of the *Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre*, and the overwhelmingly Theban nature of the negative etic texts strongly imply a regional division in the cultural memory of the Hyksos. The southern picture has been strongly biased by the Karnak texts, which seem to have been coopted and repeated as the original stelae were being reused as building material in the Thutmosid and Ramesside Periods. The northern image, on the other hand, shows a *longue durée* in which the Hyksos were remembered as legitimate (and not memorably despotic) rulers of Egypt.

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<sup>1056</sup> Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the late Egyptian stories*; Small, *Methods in the Mediterranean*.

<sup>1057</sup> von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*.

Chapter 5 reframes the Eastern Delta as a borderland characterized by Middle Ground accommodation processes. While Egyptology has largely neglected the concept of regionality,<sup>1058</sup> the Eastern Delta is a stereotypical example of a liminal zone that often does not conform to Egyptian norms, and has always been home to non-Egyptian populations, consequently requiring its own unique methods of rule.<sup>1059</sup> I present several bodies of evidence, including monumental architecture and ceramics, to first demonstrate that the Hyksos did in fact not strive for quick and complete Egyptianization. Instead, I argue that they adapted aspects of Egyptian culture while maintaining and advertising elements of their Southwest Asian background to strategically bolster their rule within this Delta borderland, as well as to foster lucrative diplomatic trade relationships abroad. I highlighted this process by suggesting that the Hyksos utilized administrative titles and practices to skillfully adjust the preexisting Egyptian administrative system to fit their own kinship-based ruling structure. Essentially, I propose that the Hyksos strategically left the surface of their administration to appear Egyptian, while accommodating a style of governance common to Middle Bronze Age kingdoms in the Levant and Near East.

Chapter 6 then builds on the arguments constructed in the previous chapter, focusing specifically on the *ḥqꜣ ḥꜣs.wt* title.<sup>1060</sup> In it, I disprove the longstanding assumption that the Egyptians bestowed this title on the Hyksos by tracking the usage of the term throughout pharaonic history. Not only do Egyptian sources never refer to the Hyksos using this title, but the

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<sup>1058</sup> See Jeffreys, “Regionality, Cultural and Cultic Landscapes.” and Wendrich, “Identity and Personhood.” for a discussion of regionality in ancient Egypt

<sup>1059</sup> Jeffreys, “Regionality, Cultural and Cultic Landscapes”; Schneider, “Foreigners in Egypt”; Bietak, “From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go?”

<sup>1060</sup> Candelora, “Defining the Hyksos.”

only examples which are contemporary with the Hyksos occur on objects which they commissioned or were produced for them. I argue that the Hyksos actually adopted the title for themselves as a means to mark their royal status using an Egyptian title which would be recognizable to their Egyptian subjects and Egyptian diplomatic partners, yet carefully selected a title that still emphasized their foreign identities. Pairing this particular title, with its sense of foreignness, with their personal Semitic names heightened this effect, suggesting a strong Middle Ground accommodation between Egyptian and Southwest Asian aspects of Hyksos identity.

The following case study, presented in Chapter 7, centered on the importation of numerous military practices, technologies, and crafts from the Near East into Egypt during the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. This is a unique instance of ancient technological transfer, a rare example where the actual technical processes, the means of manufacture rather than solely the raw or finished commodities, were also transmitted between cultures. Furthermore, this period also saw the introduction of Levantine and broader Near Eastern military ideas, including the concept of a professional standing army, rewards for valor on the battlefield, and a slew of military related Semitic loan words.<sup>1061</sup> In this unique case, the question is: what made the Second Intermediate Period an exceptional social situation prime for the transmission of specialized knowledge? The answer must be sought in the unparalleled mobility of people and artisans, and the role of Hyksos and Southwest Asian immigrants in the adoption of new technologies into Egypt.

Moorey argued that this technological innovation occurred after the expulsion of the Hyksos in an effort to prevent the abomination of foreign rule from reoccurring,<sup>1062</sup> and Shaw

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<sup>1061</sup> Moorey, "The Mobility of Artisans and Opportunities for Technology Transfer between Western Asia and Egypt in the Late Bronze Age."



proposed that the Hyksos were a barrier to such transmission and exchange.<sup>1063</sup> While Shaw is correct in that the Hyksos rulers were likely not attempting to share advanced military technology with their Theban enemies during the war, the evidence for interaction discussed above sheds new light on the issue. The horse and chariot are examples of technologies that Shaw believes the Hyksos blocked from the rest of Egypt. However, the earliest references to the horse and chariot occur in the Kamose Stelae,<sup>1064</sup> the Ahmose mortuary complex at Abydos,<sup>1065</sup> and in the Autobiography of Ahmose son of Ibana,<sup>1066</sup> indicating that there was some exchange before or during the war. Furthermore, the pathological analysis of the skeleton of Senebkay provides conclusive evidence that he frequently rode horses in life, indicating that the horse was introduced to Egypt even earlier in the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>1067</sup> Instead, I argue that prior to the war with Dynasty 17, the Hyksos rulers acted as a conduit, drawing new Near Eastern technologies into Egypt through their capital at Tell el-Dab'a, and that it was their—and their immigrant subjects'—influence that so altered the New Kingdom conception of the military.

I propose that the actual catalyst for these social and military changes is the integration of these immigrants into hybrid military communities of practice.<sup>1068</sup> This theoretical approach, adopted from education and sociology, allows me to identify several diverse bodies of evidence which indicate such transmission simply through daily interaction and practice. Essentially, the

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<sup>1062</sup> Moorey.

<sup>1063</sup> Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Technology and Innovation*.

<sup>1064</sup> Helck, *Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit*.

<sup>1065</sup> Harvey, "The Cults of King Ahmose at Abydos."

<sup>1066</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 2006.

<sup>1067</sup> Wegner, "A Royal Necropolis at South Abydos."

<sup>1068</sup> Candelora, "Hybrid Military Communities of Practice."

incorporation of Southwest Asians into the Egyptian military meant that Egyptians learned from them—not just the production of new technologies such as metal casting techniques and the chariot, but also the specialized knowledge, practices, terminology, and values which are entangled with them. Indeed, the very concept of the New Kingdom hero king firing a bow from his chariot was developed during this period through interactions with immigrants.

In a case study (Chapter 8) which expands on the military evidence, I present a reinterpretation of the cache of severed hands found in Area F/II at Tell el-Dab'a.<sup>1069</sup> I review the evidence for the New Kingdom military reward system in which soldiers presented military scribes with severed hands or phalli in return for a reward, typically the “gold of valor,” as well as the variety of temple reliefs which show severed hands in various military contexts. After a close discussion of the archaeological context of the Tell el-Dab'a cache, I demonstrate how these hands do not fit with the New Kingdom evidence. Instead, I argue that these hands, seemingly the only archaeological evidence of the practice, reflect an inflicted criminal punishment after a judicial ruling by the Hyksos king. I suggest that the origins of the practice can be found in Middle Bronze Age law codes, such as that of Hammurabi, in which a child who struck their father would lose a hand. In the patrimonial language common at the time, this law could then apply to anyone who had disobeyed or subverted a social/military superior. This somewhat garbled transmission of a judicial punishment to military reward can be explained by combining the mixed military communities of practice from the last chapter with a central tenant of the Middle Ground: the misunderstanding.

In summation, this project has striven to redefine the Hyksos, their negotiated identity, and their interaction with and impact on Egypt. Through a holistic study of a variety of limited

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<sup>1069</sup> Candelora, “Trophy or Punishment.”

bodies of evidence, I have demonstrated that the Hyksos were creatively strategic about the display of various aspects of their identities. To become fully Egyptian was never the goal; instead they actively maintained and advertised elements of their origins in order to support their ties to kinship and trade networks in southwest Asia. These kings were cosmopolitan diplomats who corresponded with much of the Near East and Eastern Mediterranean, and whose capital city was a titan of trade. They adopted and adapted elements of traditional Egyptian kingship, including the titulary, religion, temple building, and sponsorship of the sciences. Yet in most of these cases they negotiated the Egyptian traditions with a Southwest Asian spin, creating a rule uniquely suited to their eastern Delta borderland. Further investigation of the social memory of these kings has even demonstrated that they were considered legitimate kings of Egypt and the most powerful of contemporary Second Intermediate Period rulers. Finally, the Hyksos and the Southwest Asian immigrants of the period had a massive impact on Egyptian society, culture, and conceptions of kingship. The archetype of New Kingdom Egypt, considered the apex of ancient Egyptian society, would not have been possible without the influence of these Southwest Asian immigrants or the rule of the Hyksos.

# TEXTUAL TRANSLATIONS

## Rhind Mathematical Papyrus



Figure 27 - Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, Verso, center top, section #87 - © The Trustees of the British Museum

### Right Column



*Rnp.t-sp 11 3bd sn.w šm.w ʿk.tw ʾwnw*

Regnal year 11, 2<sup>nd</sup> month of Shemu, Heliopolis is being entered

### Center Column



*3bd 1 3h.t sw 23 tw*

1<sup>st</sup> month of Akhet, day 23,



*p3 -n- rsy r T3rw*

the one of the south strikes against Tjaru (Sile)



*sw 25 sdm.tw r dd*

day 25, it is heard that


  
k T3rw

Tjaru (Sile) had been entered.


Left Column

  
rnp.t-sp 11 3bd 1 3h.t msw.t Sth

Regnal Year 11, 1<sup>st</sup> month of Akhet, birth(day) of Seth

  
rdi.tw hrw3f in hm n ntr pn

By the majesty of this god he cried out.

  
Msw.t Is.t irt p.t hy.t

Birth(day) of Isis, the sky made rain.

The Carnarvon Tablet/First Stele of Kamose

Line 1



*Rnp.t 3 Hr ḥ-Hr-Ns.wtḥ Nb.ty Wḥm-Mn.w Hr-Nbw Shr-T3.wy nsw bi.ty [Wḏ]-Ḥpr-[Rḥ s3 rḥ]  
K3ms di ḥnh mry Ḥmn-rḥ nb nsw t3.wy mi rḥ d.t nhḥ*

Year 3, Horus “Appearing on his Thrones,” Nebty “Repeating Monuments,” Horus of Gold “Making Content the Two Lands,” King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Wadj]khepper[re, Son of Re] Kamose, given life, beloved of Amun-re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, like Re for ever and ever.

Line 2



*Nsw nḥt m ḥnw W3s.t K3ms di ḥnh d.t m nsw mnḥ in [rḥ rdi sw m n] sw dsḥ sw3d.n nḥ nḥt r wn  
m3ḥ iw mdw n ḥmḥ m ḥḥ n d3d3.t šms.w nty m ḥtḥ*

The mighty king within Thebes, Kamose, given life for ever, was as beneficent king, and Re caused him to be king himself (bestowed the kingship upon him). He caused his might to prosper in reality. Then his Majesty spoke in his palace to the council of retainers who were with him.

Line 3



*šzꜣi sw r ih pꜣyꜣi nht wr m Hw.t-Wꜣr.t kii m Kši ḥms.kwꜣi mꜣ smꜣ.kwꜣi m ꜣm sty.w s nb hr fdꜣꜣf  
m tꜣ Km.t psš tꜣ ḥnꜣꜣi*

To what end do I know my strength when one chief is in Avaris and another is in Kush? I sit here united with an Asiatic and a Nubian, each man under (holding) his slice/portion of this Egypt, who share the land with me.

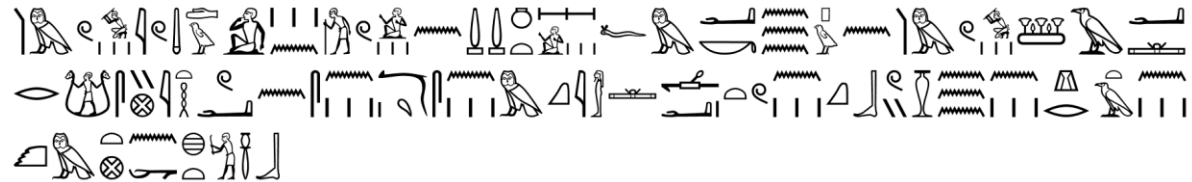
Line 4



*Nn sni sw šzꜣ r Hw.t-Pth mw n Km.t mk sw hr Ḥmn.w n ḥnn.n s fkw m bꜣk.w sty.w (ꜣm.w)  
ꜣwꜣi r ḥn ḥnꜣꜣf sdꜣi htꜣf ibꜣi r nḥm Km.t ḥt*

I do not pass him as far as Memphis, the water of Egypt. Look, he holds Heliopolis, and no man rests, being wasted by the taxes of the Setyu (Asiatics). I will grapple with him, I will break his belly (flesh). My wish is to deliver Egypt and to smite

Line 5



*ꜣm.w iw mdw.n šms.w n dꜣdꜣ.tꜣf mk mw pw n ꜣm.w šzꜣ r Qis ith.w.nꜣsn nsꜣsn m qi wꜣ twꜣnn  
ꜣb.wꜣnn hr tꜣꜣnn Km.t nht ꜣbw*

the Asiatics. Then spoke the retainers of his council: “Look, it is as far as the waters of Cusae that the Asiatics \_\_\_\_\_ (advance?), they have pulled out their tongues all together. We are calm under (in possession of) our Egypt. Elephantine is strong

Line 6



*ḥr iby ḥnꜥnn šꜣꜥ r k̄is skꜣ.tw nꜥnn nꜥꜥ n ꜣḥ.tꜣsn mnmn.tꜣnn m idḥ.w bd.t hꜣb r rr.wtꜣnn n dp*

The heart(land) is with us as far as Cusae. The best of their fields are cultivated for us. Our cattle are in the marshes, emmer is sent for our swine. Our cattle are not taken away, (crocodiles do not) . . .

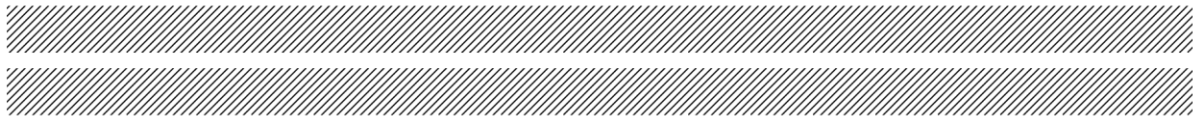
Line 7



*ḥrꜣs sw ḥr tꜣ n ꜥꜣm.w, twꜣnn ḥr Km.t kꜣ iy . . . ḥr mni . . . ir [rꜣnn] kꜣ irꜣnn rꜣf wn.inꜣsn mr ḥr ib n ḥmꜣf ir pꜣꜣtn šḥr.w*

on account of it. He holds the land of the Asiatics, we hold Egypt (the black land). Then comes . . . moors(?) . . . acts (against us), then we act against him. Now they were displeasing in the heart of his Majesty. As far as your plans

Line 8

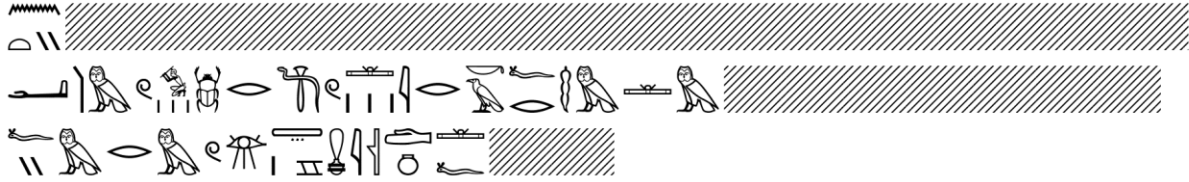


*nꜣ n ꜥꜣm.w*

these Asiatics



Line 9



*nty . . . . . ʿzm.w hpr w3d ir k3f r ndm m . . . . [fy] m rmw t3 mi qdn.w3f*

who . . . . . Asiatics transform into good fortune (?) pleasantness . . . . . weeping. The entire land . . . . .

Line 10



*[. . . .h]nw W3s.t K3ms mky m Km.t hd.n3i n nht r s3s3 ʿzm.w m h3w Imn mti sh3r.w m3ʿ3i qn*

. . . . within Thebes, Kamose, who protects Egypt. I sailed downstream in strength to overthrow the Asiatics by the command of Amun, precise of counsels, my army strong

Line 11



*r-h3.t3i mi hh n 3h.t pd.wt n.t m3d3.yw m-hrt t3r.wt3nn r h3y sty.w r dr s.wt3sn i3b.tit imm.tit hr 3d iry*

in front of me like a blast of fire. Troops of Medjay atop our enclosures(?) to spy Setyu and to destroy their places. East and West bearing (under) their fat

Line 12



*mšꜥꜣi hr dfꜣ.w m hꜣw.t m s.t nb.t sb.nꜣi pd.t nht.t n.t mꜥdꜣ.yw iwꜣi m wrš.yt wꜣh.yt r ꜥꜥny n hꜣd*

and my army abounding in things (supplies) everywhere. I sent forth a strong troop of Medjay, I was as a sentry [ . . ] waiting in order to confine (???)

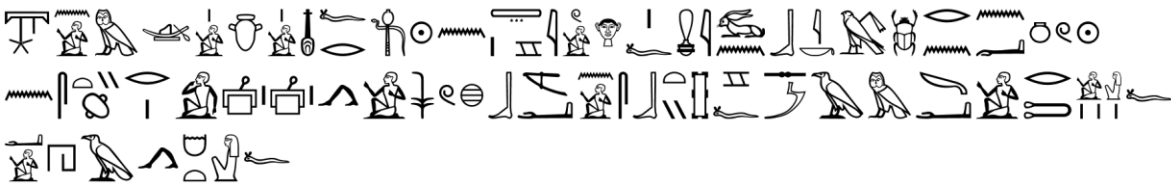
Line 13



*Tti pꜣ sꜣ Ppi m hꜣnw Nfrwsy nn rdꜣi whꜣf šnꜥ.nꜣi ꜥꜣm.w [bꜥtn?] n Km.t irꜣf mi . . . . bꜣw ꜥꜣm.w*

Teti the son of Pepi inside Neferusi. I did not allow him to escape. I repelled the Asiatics (???) in Egypt and he made like . . . . the power of the Asiatics. I spent

Line 14



*šꜣꜣ m dp.tꜣi ib.i nfr hꜣd n tꜣ iwꜣi hrꜣf mi wn bik hꜣpr.n nw n sty rꜥ sꜣsꜣꜣi sw hb.nꜣi sb.tyꜣf smꜣꜣi rmtꜣf rdꜣi hꜣ hꜣm.tꜣf*

I spent the night in my ship, my heart in beauty (happy). The day dawned on the land, I was on him as if (I) was a hawk. When the time of perfuming the mouth (?) arrived, I overthrew him, I destroyed his wall, I slew his people, I caused his wife to go down

Line 15



*r mry.t mš<sup>c</sup>i mi wn mzi.w hr ḥzkt=sn hr mr.wt mnmn.t ʿd bi.t ḥr psšḥ. wt=sn ib=sn 3w p3 w n Nfr[wsy]*

to the riverbank. My army were like lions with their plunder, bearing slaves, cattle, fat, honey, dividing their things, their hearts wide. The region of Nefer[usy]

Line 16



*m-h3 nn=sn wrr.t ʿny.ti b3=sn p3 . . . Pr Š3k m ḥḥw spr=i r=f ḥtri.w=sn wʿr.t r ḥn p3 phr.w*

came down (?). It was not a great thing for us to confine its soul (?). The . . .[region? of] Per-Shaq was seeking (?), when I arrived at it their horses fled inside. The patrol . . .

Line 17



*[sh3y.w hr in.w ḥ.wt=sn sw] (???)*

## Second Stele of Kamose

\*The first transcribed line appears from right to left, as it does on the original stele. The second is reversed, written from left to right so the transliteration could be aligned with the hieroglyphs.

### Line 1

  
*smi hs m hnw dmi=k tw=k tf.ti r gs mš=k r=k hns m ir=k wi m wr iw=k m hqz r dbh*


A vile report is inside your town, you are forced away along with your army! Your mouth/speech is narrowed (mean) when you make me a chief and yourself a ruler (of Upper Egypt); in order to demand

### Line 2

  
*n=k t3 nm.t hr.t=k n=s m3 s3=k bin mš=ai m s3=k nn iwr hm.wt Hw.t-Wr.t nn=sn ib.w=sn*

for yourself the theft because of which you shall fall. Your back sees misfortune, since my army is behind you. The women of Avaris will not conceive, for their hearts will not open

### Line 3

  
*m hnw ht=sn sdm.t(w) hmhm.t n.t p3y=i mš=i iw=i mn.kw r Pr-Dd-Qn ib=i 3w di=i m3*


inside their bodies when the battle cry of my army is heard. I was moored at *Pr-Dd-Qn*, my heart glad as I caused

Line 4

  
*Ippi st hwr.t wr n Rtn.w hsi ꜥ.wy hm.wt n qnw.w m ibꜥf n(i) hprꜥsn nꜥf spr.kwꜥi r Inyt-*

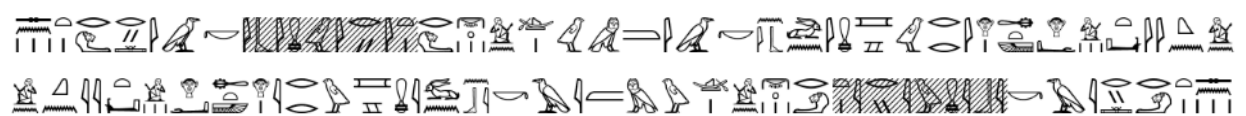
Apepi to see a miserable moment, the chief of Retjenu, weak of arms, who plans brave things in his heart which do not happen to him. I had arrived to Inyt- (*N.t-Hnt*)

Line 5

  
*N.t-Hnt twꜥi dꜣ.kwꜥi nꜥsn r wꜥd st ir.nꜥi pꜣ ꜥꜥw sꜥb wꜥ m-sꜣ wꜥ dꜥi hꜣ.t hr hmw nꜣyꜥi*


(*N.t-Hnt*), I crossed over to address them. I had the fleet marshalled (standing) one after one, placing prow to steering oar, my

Line 6

  
*n qnyt hr ꜥh.t hr irr.w mi wnn bik imwꜥi n nbw r hꜣ.t iry iw mi bik iry r hꜣ.tꜥsn*

elite force flying over the river like a falcon, my ship of gold at the front of them, I like a falcon at their front.

Line 7

  
*dꜥi pꜣ mk qn hr hꜣ r ꜥd tꜣ dꜣ.t m sꜣꜥf mi wnn dr.t hr htt hr dꜥ.wt*

I caused the mighty mk-ship to be patrolling the desert edge, the fleet behind it as if it were a kite, preying upon the territory of

Line 8



*Hw.t-W<sup>r</sup>.t gmḥ ḥr.n-ḏ ḥm.wtḥ ḥr tp ḥw.tḥ ḥr nwz m ššdq=sn r mry.t nn=sn šwh=sn mz*

Avaris. I caught a glimpse of his women on top of his palace peering out of their loopholes at the riverbank, their bodies do not move when they see

Line 9



*=sn wḏ nwz=sn m šr.wt ḥry ḥr inb.w=sn mḏ ḫ.w inḥ.w m ḥn.w bzb.w=sn m dd ḥn*

me. They look with their noses on their walls like the young of mice/lizards<sup>1070</sup> from their burrows, (as I am) saying

Line 10



*pw mk wḏ ḫ.kw=ḏ m<sup>r</sup> sp m ʿ=ḏ mnḥ sp=ḏ wzh Imn qn nn wzh=ḏ tw nn dḏ=ḏ*

“It is an attack. Look, I have come, I am successful and the future<sup>1071</sup> is in my grasp and my cause is successful. As Amun the mighty endures, I will not tolerate you nor cause that (allow) you

Line 11




*dgs=k zh.t iw nn wḏ ḥr=k whm ḫb=k ḥr=ḥ ʿzm ḥsi mk swri=ḏ m ḥrp n kzm.w=k*

you tread the fields without my being upon you. Your heart fails (burns?), vile Asiatic, Look, I drink the wine of your vineyards

<sup>1070</sup> Specific identification of this term *inḥ.w* is not possible, see Bohms, *Säugetiere in der altägyptischen Literatur*, 416 n. 18.

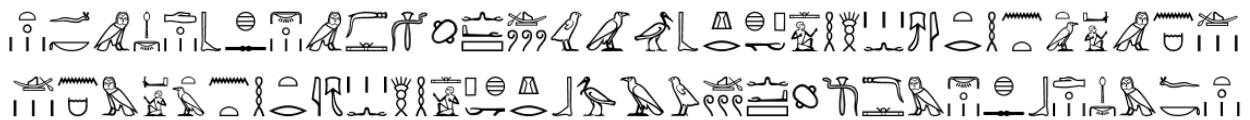
<sup>1071</sup> Opinions differ as to the meaning of *sp* – Smith and Smith 1972 define it as “the future,” while Habachi 1972 translates this line as “I am successful and the remainder (of the country) is in my possession” (pg. 36).

Line 12


  
*m ṯh nꜛi ʿzm.w n ḥꜣqꜛi ḥbꜛi s.tꜣk ḥms.t šꜛꜛi mnwꜣk grm.nꜛi ḥm.wtꜣk r wn ḏw.t*


which the Asiatics whom I captured press for me. I hack up your dwelling place, I cut down your trees, I have carried off your women to the ship's holds

Line 13


  
*nḥmꜛi tꜣ nt ḥtri n wꜣḥꜛi pḥ ḥr bꜣ.w 300 n ʿš wꜣḏ mḥ m nbw ḥsbd ḥḏ mfkꜣ.t*

I seize the chariotry, I have not left a plank of the 300<sup>1072</sup> ships of fresh cedar, filled with gold, lapis-lazuli, silver, turquoise,

Line 14


  
*ḥsmn minb nn ḥn.t s.t ḥr.w bꜣq snṯr ʿḏ bi.t itwrn ssndm spny ḥt*

bronze, axes without number, besides moringa oil, incense, fat, honey, *itwrn*-wood, *ssndm*-wood, *spny*-wood,


Line 15


  
*ꜣsn nb šps.i in.w nb nfr n Rṯn.w if.nꜛi st r ꜣw n wꜣḥꜛi nk.t Ḥw.t-Wꜛr.t n šwꜣs ʿzm ꜣk*

all their costly wood and all the fine products of Retjenu. I carried them off completely, I did not leave any scrap of Avaris, it being empty. Oh ruined Asiatic

<sup>1072</sup> Might simply indicate the plural instead of 3 specifically, reading “the hundreds of ships”

Line 16

  
*whm ibk irf ʿzm hsi wn hr dd ink nb nn sn.nw šz̄ r Hmnw r Pr-Hw.t-Hr hr hrp r Hw.t-Wʿr.t*  
*m*


your heart fails (burns?), vile Asiatic, who said, “ I am lord without equal from Hermopolis to Per-Hathor bringing taxes<sup>1073</sup> to Avaris on the

Line 17

  
*Irr.w 2 w3h̄i st m wʿs nn rmt̄ im hbz.n̄i ni.wt̄sn wbd̄i s.wt̄sn ir m iz.wt d̄sr.t*

Two Rivers. I leave it in desolation, without people therein. I laid waste to their towns, I burnt their places (homes) to be made as red mounds

Line 18

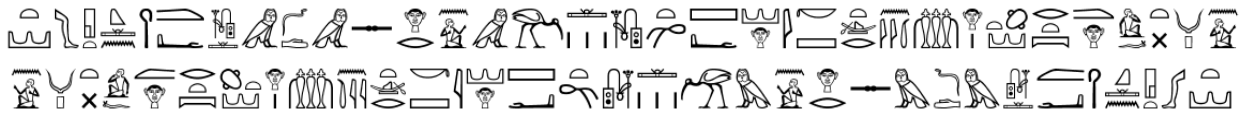
  
*n d.t hr p3 hd̄.t ir̄sn m hnw t3 Km.t diw s.t hr sdm iz̄š̄ n ʿzm.w btz.n̄sn Km.t hn.wt̄sn kf̄*

for eternity because of the damage which they have done in the interior of this Egypt, who allowed themselves to hear (hearken) to the call of the Asiatics, they who betrayed Egypt, their mistress. I captured

<sup>1073</sup> The reading of the *r hrp* sign group is extremely confusing. If it is read as *r hrp*, it could be an unusual writing of Dendera, another site name to be included in this list. Most instead take it as a misspelling of *hrp*; for example Smith and Smith (1976, 61) read it as “control/authority”, in the sense that Apepi’s intent is to keep control of Avaris. Habachi (1972, 38) translates it as “tribute,” saying that Pr-Hathor brings tribute/taxes to Avaris.



Line 19



(kf<sup>c</sup>).n<sup>ai</sup> wpw.tsf m hr.t wh<sup>3</sup>.t hr hn.tyt r Kšī hr š<sup>c</sup>.t sh<sup>3</sup>.w gm.n<sup>ai</sup> hr<sup>2</sup>s m dd m sh<sup>3</sup> m<sup>c</sup> hq<sup>3</sup>  
Hw.t-W<sup>c</sup>r.t

his messenger beyond the oasis going south to Kush with a written letter. I found on it the sayings in writing by the hand of the ruler of Avaris

Line 20



ʿ3-Wsr-R<sup>c</sup> s3-r<sup>c</sup> Ippi hr nd-hr.t n.t s3<sup>ai</sup> hq<sup>3</sup> n Kšī hr m h<sup>c</sup>ak m hq<sup>3</sup> nn rdt rh<sup>ai</sup> in iw

Aauserre Apepi giving greeting to my son, the ruler of Kush. Why have you arisen as ruler without causing me to know?

Line 21



gmh<sup>ak</sup> ir.(w)t n Km.t r<sup>ai</sup> hq<sup>3</sup> nty m hnw<sup>2</sup>s K3-Msw nht di ʿnh hr thm (w)i hr itn<sup>ai</sup> n ph<sup>ai</sup> sw mi qi  
n irt

Have you seen the actions of Egypt against me? The ruler who is in it, Kamose the mighty given life, is penetrating into my territory, without me attacking him in the same way as he acted

Line 22



(irt).n<sup>af</sup> nb.t r<sup>ak</sup> stp<sup>af</sup> p3 t3.wy r i3d<sup>2</sup>s t3y<sup>ai</sup> t3 hn<sup>c</sup> p3y<sup>ak</sup> hb.n<sup>af</sup> st mi hd m 3(ʿ)

also against you. He chose the two lands to persecute them, my land and yours. He has destroyed them. Come, sail downstream! (Do not be afraid)<sup>1074</sup>

<sup>1074</sup> This word, ʿ3, is a hapax, appearing only in this text. The meaning is unclear, but the bad bird determinative suggests a negative connotation. From context Habachi has argued that it may mean something like “do not be

Line 23



(3)<sup>c</sup> mk sw ʿ3 m ʿi nn nty ʿhʿ.n-k hr t3 Km.t mk nn di-i n-f w3.t r sprt-k k3 psš

Look, he is here in my arms (grasp). There is no one who will await you in this Egypt. Look, I will not allow him to go far until you have arrived. Then we will divide


Line 24



(psš) ʿn n3 n dmi.w n t3 Km.t wn Hnt-ḥn-nfr hr ršwt W3d-Hpr-R ʿnht di ʿnh d3ir sp.w

the towns of this Egypt and *Hnt-ḥn-nfr*<sup>1075</sup> will rejoice. Wadjkhepperre the mighty given life, who controls events (saying)

Line 25



di.n-i ḥ3s.wt ḥ3.t t3 hr.i irr.w m mi.t.t n gm.n.tw w3.t n.t msnb (w)i n b3g.n-i hr mšʿ n itt

“I have placed the foreign lands and the foremost of the land under me, likewise the rivers without anyone finding a way to assail me, for I am not weak with my army.

afraid” (1972: 39-40, note j), while Smith and Smith link it to the verb root *ʿt*, and translate it as “do not blench” (1976: 65 note x). Reford opts for “do not hold back” (1997: 15).

<sup>1075</sup> Some fill in the lacuna with *t3.wy* instead, making the translation closer to “and our two lands will rejoice” (see Habachi 1972, 40 note o)

Line 26



*hr mh snd.nsf n-i iw-i m hd n h3t-n n spr-i r-f m3.nsf hh-i hb.nsf š3 r Kši*

The northern one has not seized (anything), he was afraid of me while I was sailing northward, we having not (yet) fought. Before (without) I reached him, he saw my flame and he sent a message as far as Kush

Line 27



*r wh3 nh-f kf.n-i si hr w3.t n di-i spr-s h.n di-i it.tw-s n.f nn.ti w3h si hr izb.tt*

to seek his support. I captured it on the road and did not allow it to arrive. Then I caused that it be sent back to him in return, and left it in the east

Line 28



*r Tp-ihw k nht-i m ib-f hb h.w-f sdd-i n-f wpw.t-f n3 irt.n-i r p3 w n Inpwtt wn m*

of Atfih. My strength entered into his heart and overwhelmed his limbs when I caused his messenger to tell him that which I had done to the district of Cynopolis, which had been in

Line 29



*h.wt-f sb.n-i pd.t nht n.tt hrt.ty r hb dsds iw-i m s3k3 r tm rdi wn rk.w*

his possession. I sent forth a strong troop which had gone overland to destroy Bahariya Oasis while I was in Sako to prevent there being any enemies

Line 30



*ḥzꜣi hnt.nꜣi m wsr-ib ib ʒw sk rkwꜣi nb nty ḥr tʒ wʒ.t hy pʒ hnt nfr n pʒ*

behind me. I sailed southward in a state of bravery and joyfulness, and I destroyed any enemy that was on the way. How good was the journey southward of the

Line 31



*ḥqʒ ḥnh wdʒ snb ḥr mšꜥf r ḥʒ.tʒf nn nhwʒsn n šn s ʔriʒf n rm ibʒsn mnmnꜣi r sʒ.twt-niʒ.t tri*

ruler, life, prosperity, health! with his army before him. They suffered no losses, no man inquired about his companion, their hearts did not weep. I moved slowly into the district of Thebes in the season

Line 32



*ʒḥ.t iw ḥr nb ḥd tʒ m r-sfy mr.yt ʿbʿb.ti Wʒs.t m ḥb ḥmw.wt ʔꜥ.w iw r mʒ.*

of inundation. Every face was bright, the land was rich (in game), the river bank was excited and Thebes was in festival. Women and men came out to see

Line 33

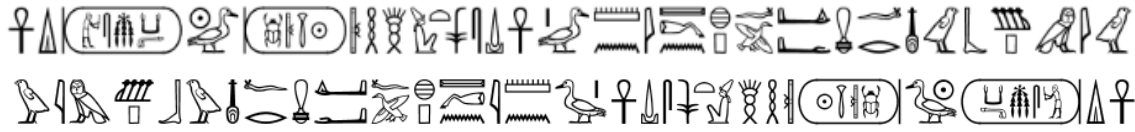


*nꜣi s.t nb.t ḥpt sn.nwʒs nn ḥr ḥr rmy.t snṯr n ʔmn r ḥnw pr sp sn r bw ḏd*

me, every woman embracing her companion and no face was in tears. I burnt incense for Amun in the interior of the temple (sanctuary)<sup>1076</sup> at the place where it is said

<sup>1076</sup> Understandings of the *sp sn* differ. Habachi follows Baer's proposal that it indicates the *pr* sign should be doubled, with the first acting as a determinative of *ḥnw-pr*, holy of holies (1972, 43 note i), as does Reford (1997, 15). Smith and Smith repeat the entire clause (1976, 61).

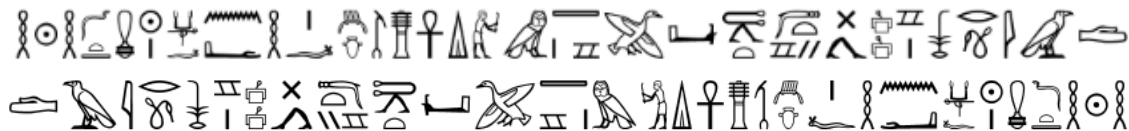
Line 34



*im šsp bw nfr mi ddšf p3 hpš n s3 'Imn ḥnh wḏ3 snb nsw w3ḥ W3ḏ-Hpr-Re s3-r' K3ms nḥt di ḥnh*

“Receive good things,” as he gives the khepesh to the son of Amun, life, prosperity, health, the enduring king, Wadjkhepperre, son of Re Kamose the mighty, given life.

Line 35



*d3ir rs.j s3s3 mh.t it p3 t3 m nḥt di ḥnh dd w3s 3w ibšf ḥn' k3šf mi r' d.t nḥh*

who subdued the South and overthrew the North, who seized this land in strength, given life, stability and dominion, his heart is glad with his ka like Re forever and ever.

Line 36



*wḏ ḥmšf n ir.i-p't ḥ3.ty-ḥr.i-sšt3 n pr-nsw ḥr.i-tp n t3 r dršf ḥtm-bi.ti sb3-t3.wy ḥ3.ty im.i-r smr.w*

His majesty commanded the prince and count/governor, the overseer of the secrets of the palace, head of the entire land, seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, teacher of the two lands, foremost one (army commander?), overseer of the courtiers

Line 37



*Im.i-r ḥtm.t wsr-Nš3 iw m ir.tw ir.t n nb.t ḥmš i m nḥt ḥr wḏ ḥtp stšf m Ip.t-s.t m*

overseer of the Treasury, the brave one, Neshi. “Let all the doings of my majesty in valor be recorded on a stela, its place will remain in Karnak in

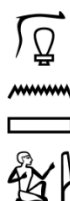
Line 38



*W3s.t nhḥ ḥnꜥ d.t dd.inꜥ ḥft ḥmꜥf irrꜥi ḥft wḏw.t . . . nb.t . . . ḥs.t n.t ḥr nsw*

Thebes forever and ever.” Then he said before his majesty, “I will act [in accordance with all that is commanded] as one favored by the king.”

Label above figure



*ʿIm.i-r ḥtm.t Nši*

Overseer of seal bearers, Neshi

Ahmoose Karnak Stele (lines 24-26)

24)



*Imi hnw.w n nb.t t3 hn.t idb.w h3.w-nb.wt q3.wt rn hr h3s.t nb.t ir.t shr š3.t hm.t nsw sn.t*

Give praise to the lady of the land, mistress of the Aegean shores, noble of name in every foreign land, who made the plan for the many, queen and sister

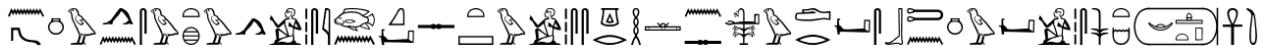
25)



*ity š.w.s. s3.t nsw mw.t nsw šps.t rh.t hw.t nwt Km.t šw3.n3s mnf3.t3s nbnb.n3s sy*

of the sovereign l.p.h., King's Daughter and King's Mother, noblewoman, learned woman, who takes care of Egypt. She recruited (gathered) its infantry, she secured it,

26)



*nw.n3s wthw.w3s inq3s tšw.w3s sgrh.n3s Šmšw dr3s bt3nw.w3s hm.t nsw Tšh-htp šnh.ti*

she took care of its refugees, she gathered its deserters, she calmed (silenced) Upper Egypt, she drove out its rebels, Queen Ahhotep, may she live!

Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut (lines 37-40)



37) *dr wn ʿzm.w m-qbs n t3-mh.w Hw.t Wʿr.t šm3.w m-qbs3sn*

from the time when the Asiatics were in the midst of the Delta in Avaris, with nomads in their midst,

38) *hr šhn iry.t hq3.n3sn m-b3h nn Rʿ nn ir3f m hq ntr nfr.yt hr hm.t mn.kw3i*

toppling what had been made. They ruled without (being before) Re, and he did not act according to divine decree down to (my) majesty.<sup>1077</sup> I am established

39) *hr ns.wt Rʿ sr n twi r hnty-rnp.wt m hpr s3tn 3i.kw3i m Hr wʿ.tit*

on the thrones of Re, having been foretold from ages of years as one who came into being to take power. I am come as Horus, the sole uraeus

40) *hr n nsr 3hy r hft.w 3 shr.n3i b.wt ntr.w 3n.n t3 3bw.wt3sn*

spitting fire at my enemies. I have driven off those detested by the gods, and the earth removed their footprints.

<sup>1077</sup> Allen, “The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut.”, takes this phrase to mean “uraeus incarnation.”

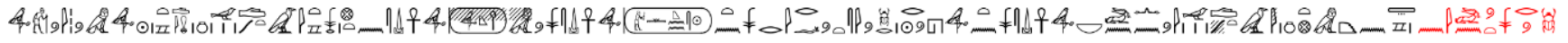


## The Quarrel of Apepi and Seqenenre

### COLUMN 1

#### Line 1




  
*hpr.w sw.wt wn in t3 n Km.t nw isd.t iw nn wn nb c.w.s. nsw hrw. Hpr.w is.tw rf ir nsw Sknn-Rc c.w.s. sw m hq3 c.w.s. n niw.t rsi.t*
  
*isd.t nw dmi.t Rc imaw Tw wr*

Then it happened that the land of Egypt was in a state of pestilence/ in misery<sup>1078</sup>, while there was not a (legitimate) lord, l.p.h., as king at that time. It also happened that as for King Seqenenre, l.p.h., he was as ruler/sovereign (l.p.h.) in the southern city (Thebes). Pestilence/misery<sup>1079</sup> was in the city of Re on account of them (the Hyksos), while the great one/chief




#### Line 2






*Ippy c.w.s. Hw.t-Wr.(t) iw hrp.w n3f p3 t3 r-dr3f hry b3k.w3sn mh m mi.t.t hry hr.wt nb.t nfr.w nw t3 mrhii. hc.n nsw Ippy c.w.s.*

Apepi, l.p.h., was in Hutwaret (Avaris), while the entire land was controlled for him, under (bearing) their taxes, the north in likeness under (bearing) every good thing of the Ta-Merhy (Delta). Then King Apepi, l.p.h.,

<sup>1078</sup> Gardiner argues that the  is a corruption of  (I use this translation). Conversely, one could use the  as the genitive plural, although *km.t* is feminine and singular.

<sup>1079</sup> I take this as another corruption of .

Line 3



ḥr irt nꜣf Swth m nb iwꜣf tm. [t bꜣk.w] n ntr nb nty m pꜣ tꜣ r-dꜣꜣf [m wpw.t n Swth iwꜣf ḥr] qd ḥw.t-ntr m bꜣk.w nfr nhḥ r-gs<sup>1080</sup> pr [n nsu Ippy] ʿ.w.s.

He made Seth as lord, and he did not work for any god which was in the entire land at the behest of Seth<sup>1081</sup>, and he built a temple of fine workmanship for eternity beside the house of King Apepi, l.p.h.

Line 4



[iwꜣf] ḥꜣw [tn] hr.w r rdit mꜣꜣ . . . [m mn.t] n Swth iw nꜣ wr.w .. ʿ.w.s. ḥry mhꜣi.w mi i irt ḥw.t-ntr n Pꜣ-Rꜣ-Hr-ꜣḥty ḥr ʿqꜣꜣf sp sn.w is.tw [rf ir]

and he appeared [every] day in order to give offerings/sacrifices . . . daily? for Seth, while the officials [of the palace] l.p.h.<sup>1082</sup> were under (bearing) garlands like that which is done in the temple of Pre-Horakhty as is twice<sup>1083</sup> correct. Now while

<sup>1080</sup> The actual hieratic reads *gs-r*, but Gardiner suggests that it should be read as *r-gs*.

<sup>1081</sup> As the papyrus is broken at this point, I restore it as , rather than Gardiner and Manassa who restore , but simply interpret the phrase as *ḥr-wpw Swth* “except Seth”

<sup>1082</sup> I would insert something like “of the palace” here because whatever is in the space must require the epithet l.p.h.

<sup>1083</sup> In the sense of very or exactly correct

Line 5



[nsw Ippy] ʕ.w.s. iw ibʕf r [hʕb.t mdw.t thʕ n] nsw Sknn-Rʕ [ʕ.w.s. pʕ wr n niw.t rsi.t hr ir m-ht hr.w qni.w hr sʕ nn] wn in [nsw r]<sup>1084</sup>

King Apepi, l.p.h., wanted to [send words which transgressed] (an offensive message) to King Seqenenre, [l.p.h., the great one/chief of the southern city (Thebes)]. Now many days had passed after this, then King]

Line 6



[Ippy ʕ.w.s. hr] dit ʕš[.tw n] . . . . . [nw pʕyʕ pt] . . . . . [s.t hʕb] . . . . . smi n [mdw.t]

[Apepi, l.p.h.] caused to be summoned. . . [commanders? of his palace?] . . . . . [send] . . . . . a complaint of [words]<sup>1085</sup>

<sup>1084</sup> The hieratic on this section of Column 1 and below (lines 5-10) have been badly damaged and are quite faded. The missing hieratic was reconstructed by both Gardiner *Late Egyptian Stories* and Manassa *Imagining the Past*; perhaps with the right light an direct access to the papyrus more can be seen, but I will only work with what I could see from the British Museum photographs of the papyrus.

<sup>1085</sup> Because of the damage mentioned in the above footnote, lines 6-10 of Column 1 have been completely omitted, as they are completely fragmented.

COLUMN 2

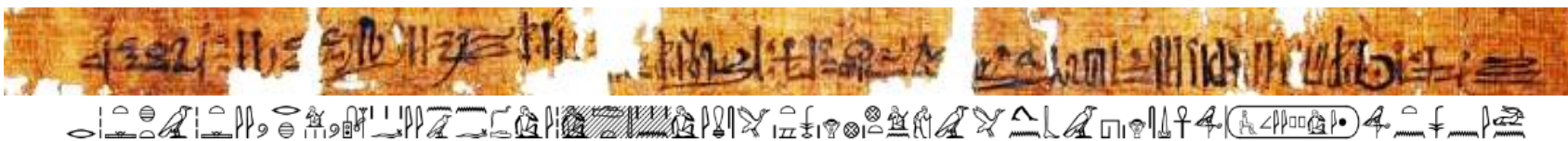
Line 1



ḥnꜥf m nby. Nn hnwꜥ [f sw] n nṯr nb.t nty m pꜣ [tꜣ r-dꜣꜣf] wp.w ṯmn-Rꜥ nsw nṯr.w. [Hr i]r m-ḥt hr.w qni.w hr sꜣ nn

with him as protector. He does not submit [himself] to any god which is in the [entire land] except<sup>1086</sup> Amun-Re, king of the gods. [Now] many days passed after this

Line 2



Wn in nsw ṯppy ꜥ.w.s. ḥr hꜣb n pꜣ wr n niw.t ḥr<sup>1087</sup> rsi.t pꜣ smi [n mdw.t] i dd nꜣf nꜣyꜣf sꜣ.w rh.wyt ih.t r

Then King Apepi, l.p.h., sent (a message) to the great one/chief of the southern city (concerning) the utterances of words which his learned scribes said/told to him.

<sup>1086</sup> In this case, seen previously in Column 1, there is no evidence of or room for missing signs. As such, I would identify this as *wpw* “except”, shown by Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* Vol. I p. 113 to occasionally be written with a ‘t.’

<sup>1087</sup> This ☉ is either extraneous, or placed one word too early. If it came just before the *pꜣ smi*, it would supply the missing sense of “concerning/about.” Regardless, this extraneous *hr* appears between *niwt* and *rsit* throughout the rest of the text.



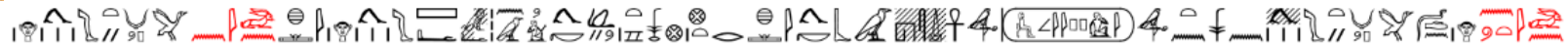
Line 3



*Hr ir p3 wpw.ty n nsw Ippy ̣.w.s. hr [spr r] p3 wr n niw.t hr rsi.t.      Wn in.tw [hr it3]yɣf m-b3h<sup>1088</sup> p3 wr n niw.t hr rsi.t r*

Then the messenger of King Apepi, l.p.h., [arrived at/reached] the great one/chief of the southern city. Then he was [taken] before the great one/chief of the southern city.

Line 4



*Wn in.tw hr dd n p3 wpw.ty n nsw Ippy ̣.w.s. [h3]b=k ih r niw.t rsi.t phw=k wi n3 mṣ̌.w hr ih.      Wn in p3 wpw.ty hr*

Then one (Seqenenre) said to the messenger of King Apepi, l.p.h.: “Why were you sent to the southern city? Why have you reached me (with) these travels?” Then the messenger

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<sup>1088</sup> should be read as *m-b3h*

Line 5



*dd* [nɛf m] nsw Ippy ʿ.w.s. r [hɜb nɜk r *dd im tw rwi*].tw hr tɜ hn.w dbi.w nty [m pɜ wbn] mw n niw.t pɜ wn [bn st dit]


said [to him]: “As King Apepi, l.p.h., to send to you saying, “Cause to flee<sup>1089</sup> from the swamp the hippopotami in the eastern waters of the city, because they do not allow

Line 6



[iw.tw] n.i tɜ qd.t m hr.w m gr[h.t] [iw hr.w msdr ? ɛf]. Wn in pɜ wr n niw.t hr rsi.t [hr sgɜ]y m iɜd.t [ɜ.t] iwɛf hpr.w i[w bw] rhɛf

that sleep come to me, in daytime or in nighttime, while their voices (noises) are in his? (my) ear<sup>1090</sup>!” Then the great one/chief of the southern city was dumbfounded for a great time, while it happened that he did not know

<sup>1089</sup> The  is a long spelling of *im*, the imperative of *rdi*. The meaning of *im tw rwi* is more like “expel.”

<sup>1090</sup> This section of papyrus is too broken to read. It has been restored by Gardiner as shown above, but ideally the text would simply read , “my ear.”

Line 7



ꜥn [smi n p3] wpw.ty n nsw ꜥppy ꜥ.w.s.      [Wn in] p3 [wr n] niw.t rsi.t [hr] dd nꜥf is.tw [i] ir p3yꜥk nb ꜥ.w.s. hr [sdm mdw.t] hr

how to return [an utterance (respond) to the] messenger of King Apepi, l.p.h. Then [the great one/chief of] the southern city said to him: “Did your lord, l.p.h., indeed [hear the words] concerning

Line 8



. . . . . [p3 wbn mw] n niw.t rsi.t [m p3y. Wn in p3 wpw.ty . . . . wr n3 mdw.t] i h3bꜥf [nꜥi h]rꜥsn<sup>1091</sup>

. . . (hippopotami?) . . . [in the eastern waters] of the southern city? [Then the messenger . . . the words?] concerning which he sent me.

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<sup>1091</sup> This is mostly likely a spurious second ‘r’ in *hr.sn*, which is attested again in Column 3, line 2

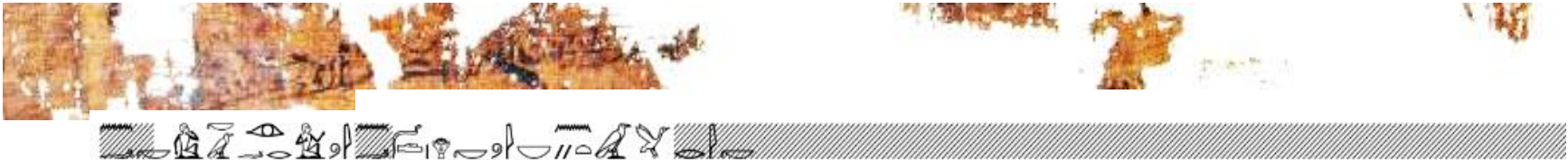
Line 9



[Wn *in p3 wr n niw.t hr rsi.t hr dit iri.tw hr.t*] *n p3 [wpw.ty n nsw 'Ippy ˆ.w.s. m h.t] nfr iw f šꜥy*

[Then the great one/chief of the southern city caused one to make (issue) provisions] to the [messenger of King Apepi, l.p.h., of] good [things], meat and cake<sup>1092</sup>

Line 10



. . . . . [*k ir*] *p3 nty nb iwz k hr dd.nsf iwzi irtf k3z k [nꜥf]*

. . . . . As for anything? which you say to him, I will do it. You say [to him] . . . . .

Line 11



. . . . . [wn *in p3 wpw.ty n nsw 'Ippy ˆ.w.s. hr f3yꜥ r mšꜥ r p3 nty*

. . . . . [Then the messenger of King] Apepi, l.p.h., he hastened to journey to that which is where

<sup>1092</sup> Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* Vol. IV p. 137. identifies as “cake” or possibly “date cake,” while Manassa *Imagining the Past* p. 168 refers to it as “biscuits.”



COLUMN 3

Line 1



*p3yꜛf nb ꜥ.w.s. im.                    ꜥꜥ.n p3 wr n niw.t rsi.t hr dit ꜥš n3yꜛf wr.w ꜥ3y.w m mi.t.t wꜥ.w nb h3.wty s3(.wt) iwꜛf hr*

his lord l.p.h. was. Then the leader of the southern city (Thebes) caused to be summoned his great officials, likewise every soldier (and) commander, and he

Line 2



*whm? nꜥsn smi nb.t mdw.t i h3b nꜥf nsw ꜥꜥꜥꜥ ꜥ.w.s. hr rꜥsn                    ꜥꜥ.nꜥsn gr.w m r wꜥ<sup>1093</sup> m i3d.t*

repeated to them a report (of) all the words on account of which King Apepi l.p.h sent to him. Then they were in a state of silence as one for a great time,

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<sup>1093</sup> *m r wꜥ* is translated in Late Egyptian as “unanimously” or “in one voice.” See Lesko Vol. I p. 198.

Line 3



ⲉⲓ<sup>1094</sup>,     *nn rh=sn hr wšb n=f m nfr m r pw bin.     Wn in nsw Ippy ʿ.w.s. hr h3b n*

(they) not knowing how to respond to him, whether good or bad. Then King Apepi, l.p.h., sent . . .

---

<sup>1094</sup> The  $\text{⊙}$  at the very start of the line is reconstructed by Gardiner (LES). These form part of the determinatives of *i3d.t* from the previous line, in this case meaning “time”

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