

W11 (Week 4, Monday)

Enemies of civilisations – Egypt
The problem of being and becoming
Egyptian in pharaonic Egypt

HPAR4010

What makes civilisation?

Dr Katharina Zinn

Globalisation and (ancient) Egypt

- ❑ In time of perceived failure of democratization in the Arab world – looking at problem of democracy-building and equal interconnection with the world
- ❑ Discussion of concepts of (national) identity and culture
- ❑ In the course of searching for an “authentic” Egyptian identity, uncorrupted by Western influences, modern Egypt re-discovers ancient Egypt
 - Pharaonic
 - Graeco-Roman
 - Coptic
 - (early) Islamic
- ❑ Problem / advantage of taking global discourse into past

- 
-
- ❑ AE on crossroad between Asia, Africa and Mediterranean
 - ❑ Expressed in conceptualisation of the world:
 - (Hymn for the sun god Aten)

The lands of Khor (i.e. Syria-Palestine) and Kush (i.e. Nubia – modern Sudan) and the land of Egypt: you set every man in his place, you allot their needs, every one of them according to his diet, and his lifetime is counted out.

Tongues are separated in speech, and their characters as well: their skins are different, for you differentiate the foreigners.

Ethnocentric vs. global Egypt

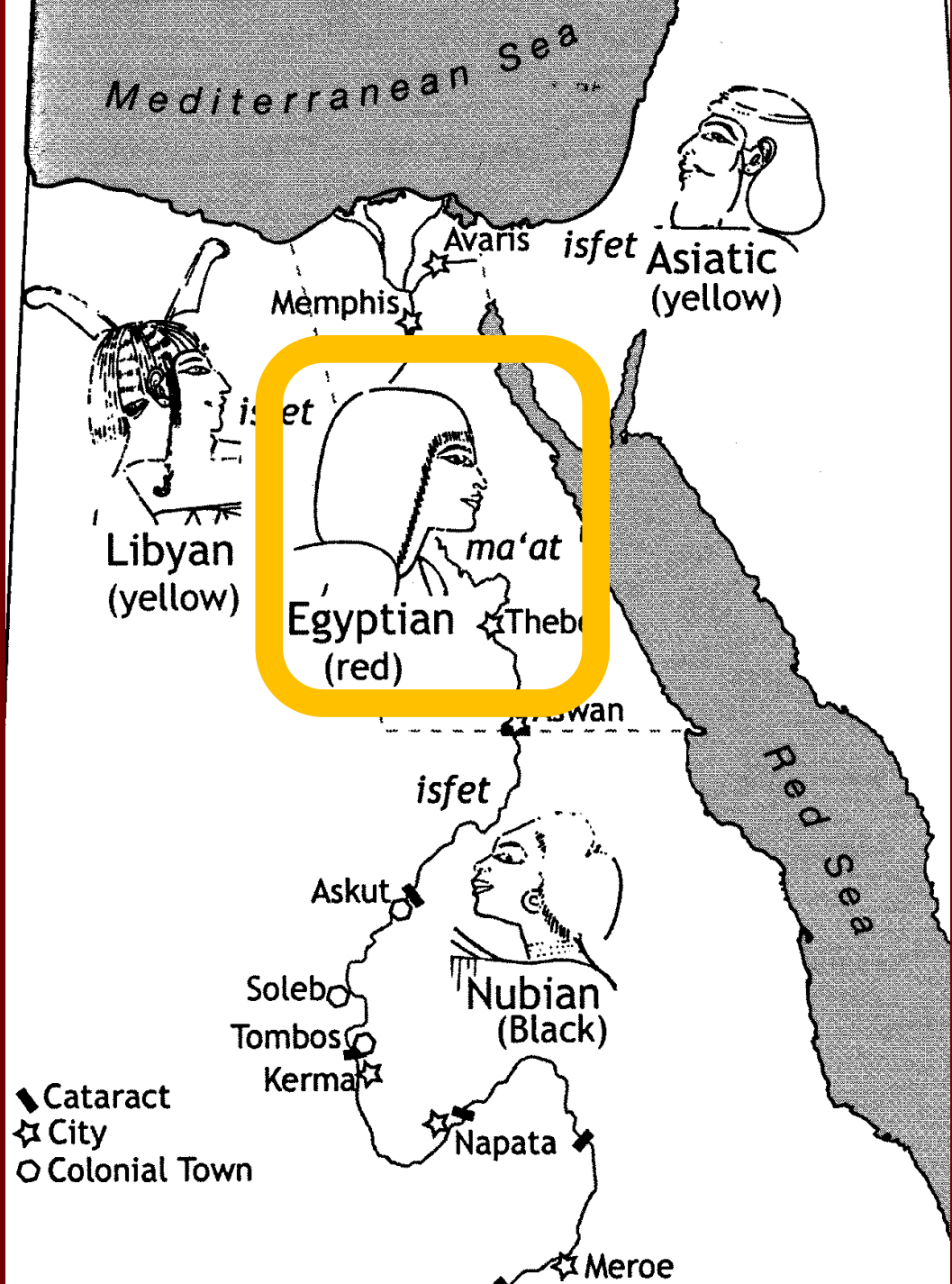
- ❑ AE on crossroad between Asia, Africa and Mediterranean
- ❑ Expressed in conceptualisation of the world:
- ❑ Reflected in
 - Language (linguistic markers)
 - ideas on ethnicity
 - ❑ The Egyptian VS
 - ❑ Three main groups of foreigners
- ❑ TOPOS in monumental discourse



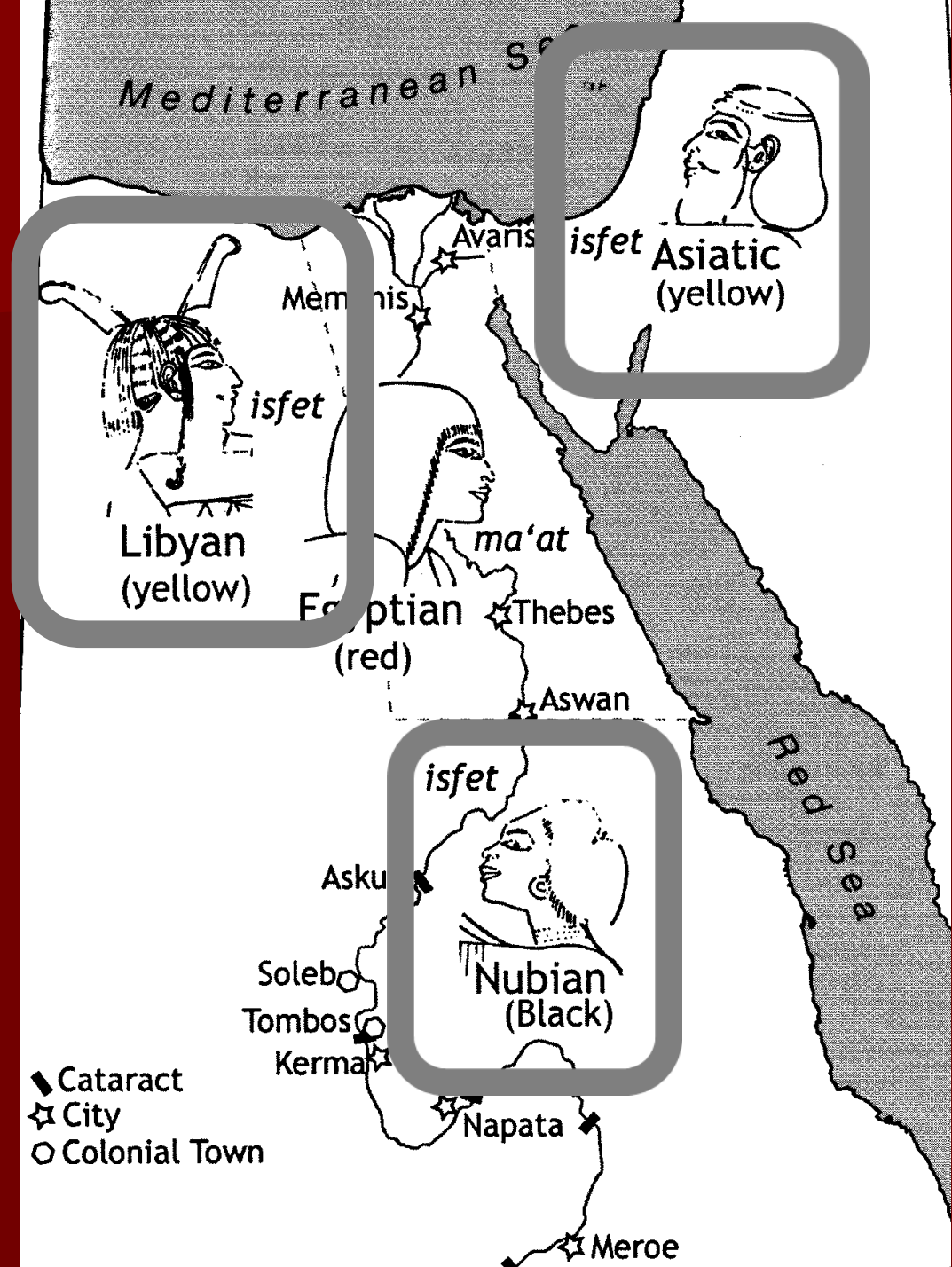
Ethnicity

- Ethnicity = issue of actual cultural difference, perceived via
 - Subjective judgement
 - Fundamental economic conditions
 - Negotiated through social interaction
- Egyptian evidence: ethnicity is negotiated in relation to other principles of social identification
 - Group identification (within ethnic group) $\Leftrightarrow$ social categorisation (group classified from the outside)
 - Ethnicity $\Leftrightarrow$ race

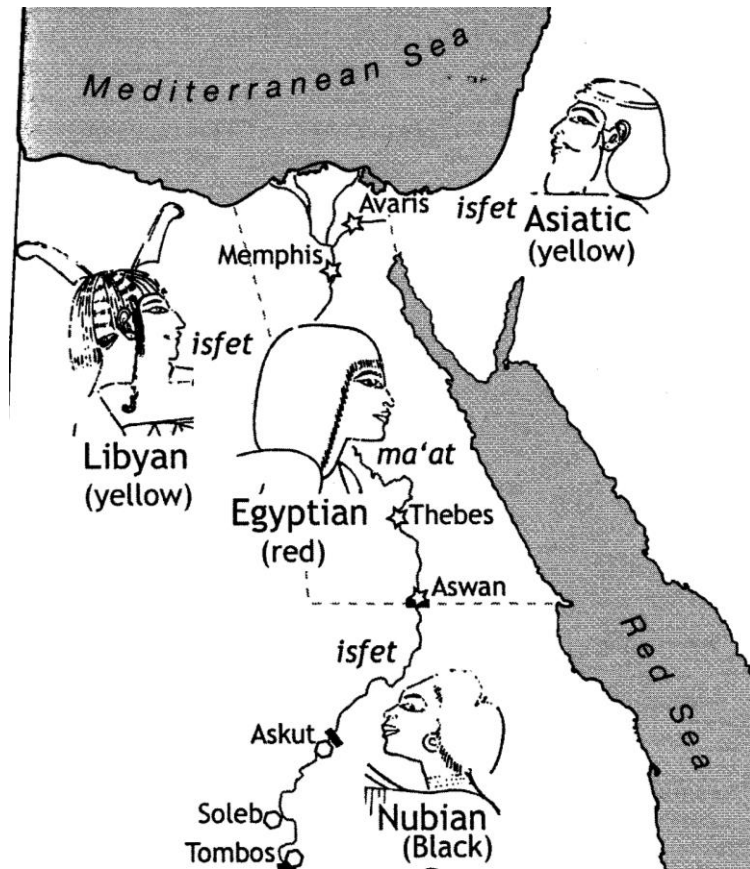
THE Egyptian part of Ma'at – the right order



THE
foreigner
part of Jsfet –
the area of
chaos



Ethnicity as negotiated in relation to different principles of social identification



Monumental discourse

Group identification (within ethnic group) $\Leftrightarrow$ social categorisation (group classified from the outside)

- Egyptian $\Leftrightarrow$ Non-Egyptian

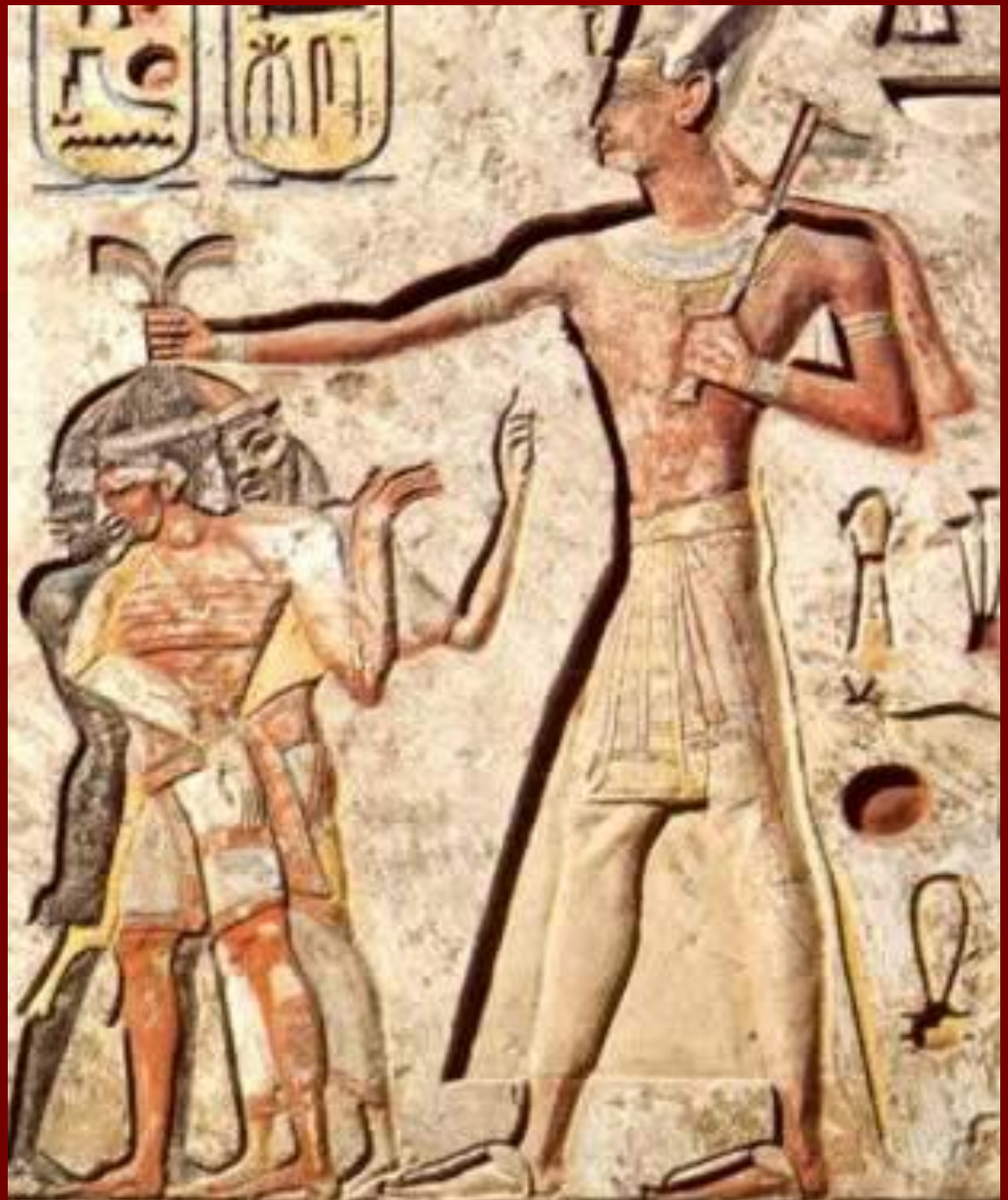
Ethnicity $\Leftrightarrow$ race

- Different races classified within the ethnicity of Non-Egyptian
- Nod to reality

Foreigners from mortuary temple Ramesses III at Medinet Habu



The topos:
The
wretched
foreigner
needs to
be smitten



Female pharaoh – female enemy



Attitudes towards foreigners in the monumental discourse

Leaning on /crushing Asian and Nubian enemies (topos) on the handle of the cane of Tutankhamun

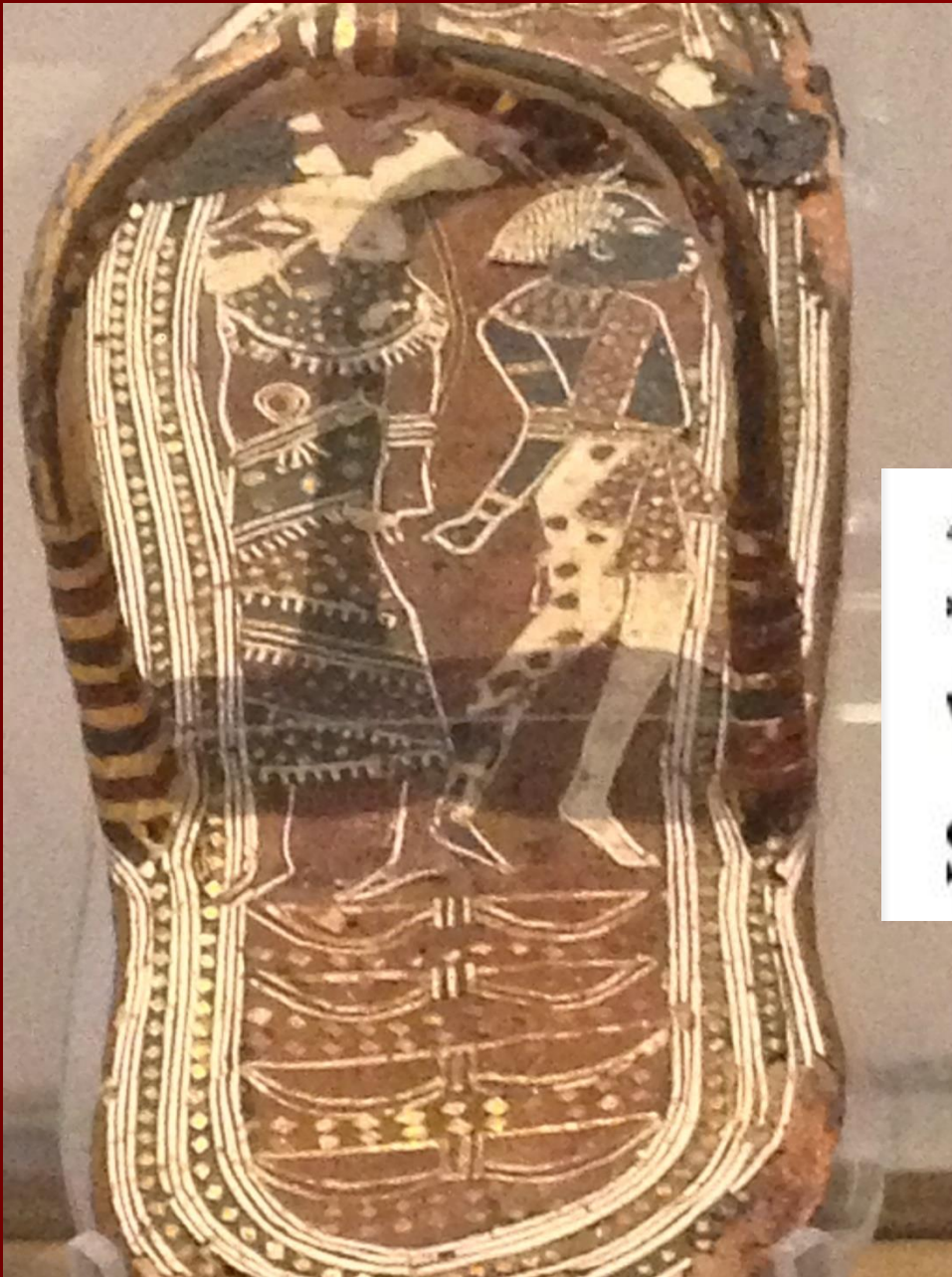


Trampling the enemy



The Nine Bows

Define the enemy



w^c f psdt pdwt ?

Subdue the Nine Bows

The Nine Bows

1. Hanuenbu (northernmost foreigners)
2. Shat (a Land in Nubia)
3. Tashema (Upper Egypt, the south land)
4. Sekhet-lamu (the people of the desert oases)
5. Ta-Mehu (Lower Egypt, the Delta)
6. Pedjet Shut (foreign barbarians)
7. Tehenu (Libyans)
8. Iuntyw Seti (natives of Nubia)
9. Mentiu Setet (Nomads of Asia)

□ Define the enemy



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9. Mentiu Setet (Nomads of Asia)
10. Khet Hesy (Hittites)

□ Define the enemy



w^c f psdt pdwt ?

Subdue the Nine Bows

Egyptian Expansion during the NK

- Creation of the empire
 - ➔ Not necessarily globalisation, but imperialist expansion
- Globalisation within – the process between acculturation and proud original identity
- Creation of a “global citizen”

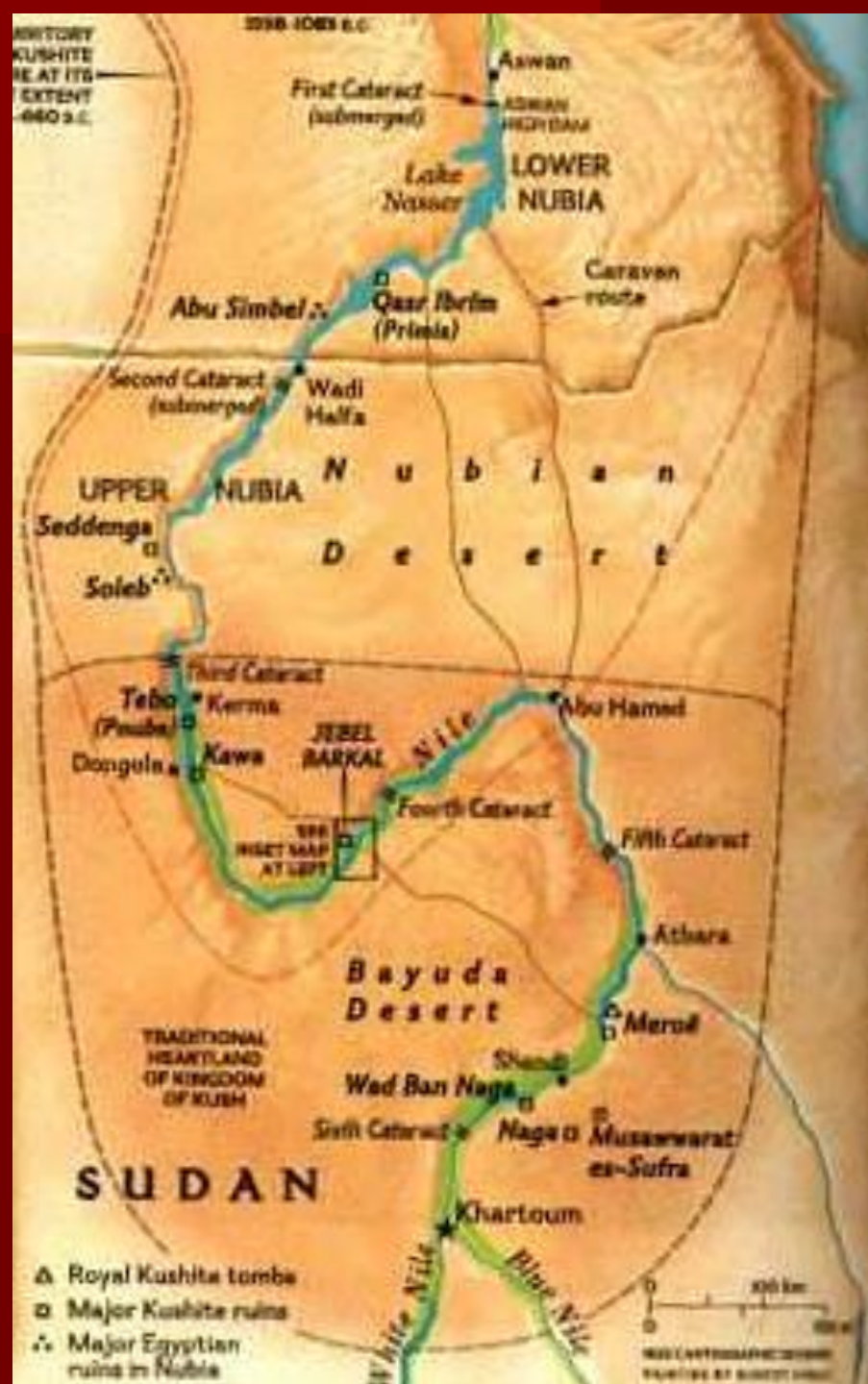


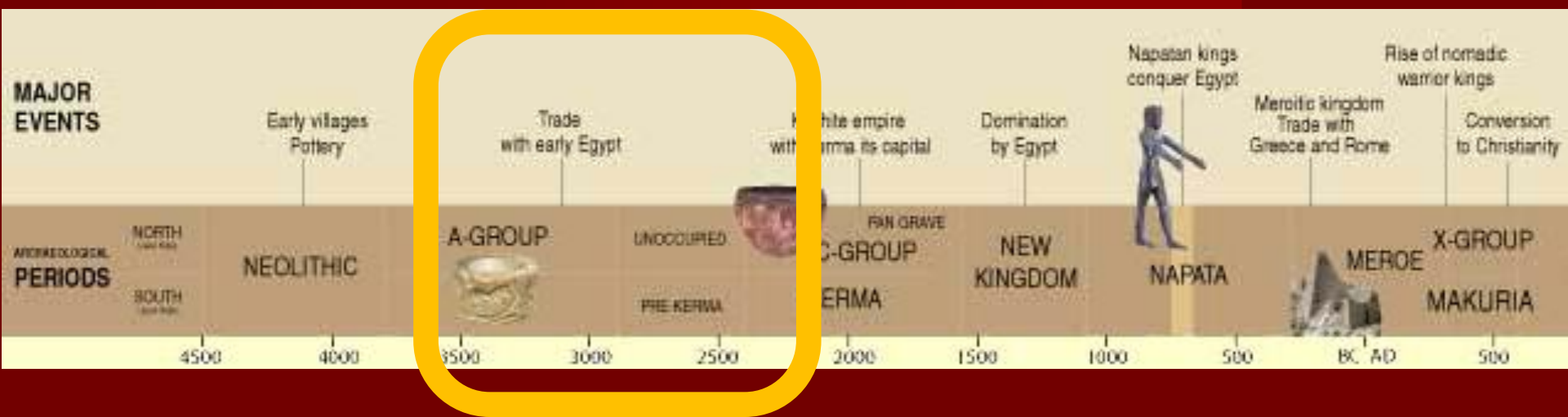
Realities (MIMESIS)



As seen in Rekhmire:







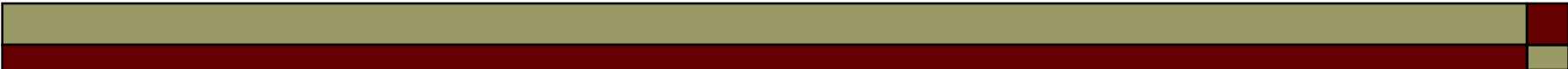
Nubian cultures

- ❑ Several cultures attested in Nubia in fourth to second millennia BC
- ❑ earliest of the Nubian cultures (the A-Group and C-Group) were located in northern Nubia
- ❑ until recently = thought that A-Group people were semi-nomadic herdsman; new research suggests a line of kings lived in Qustul in northern Nubia as early as, or perhaps even earlier than, the first pharaohs of Egypt → buried their dead in stone-lined pit graves, accompanied by pottery and cosmetic articles
- ❑ divided by their pottery styles



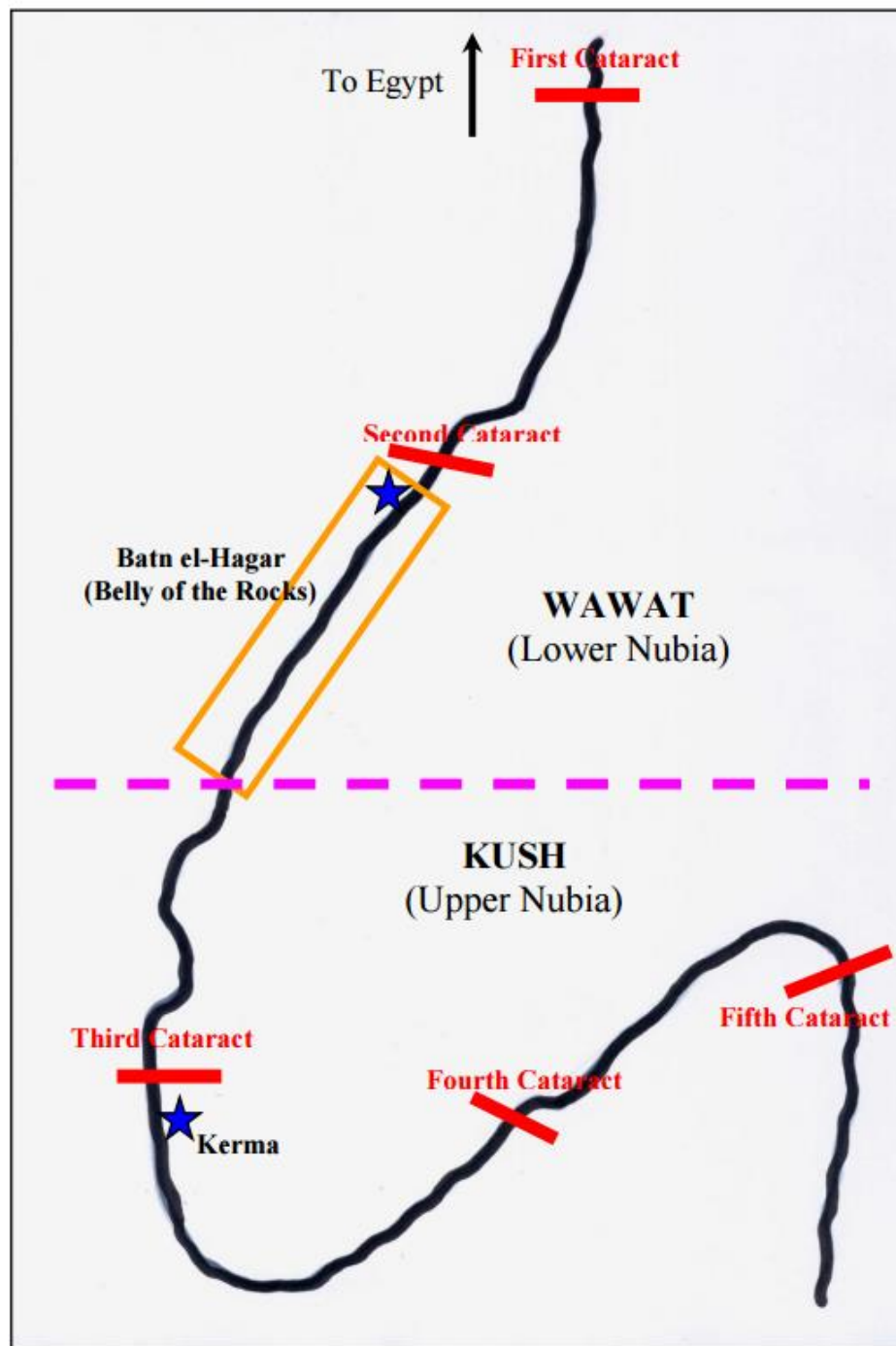
Phases of Kerma culture

Pre-Kerma	closely related to the A-Group	about 3500 - 2200 BC
Early Kerma		about 2100 BC
Middle Kerma	main centres are Sai and Kerma	about 2000 - 1700 BC
Classical Kerma	state formation; main centre: Kerma	1700 - 1550 BC
Kerma late	the culture disappears after the conquest of Nubia by the Egyptians	1550 - 1450 BC

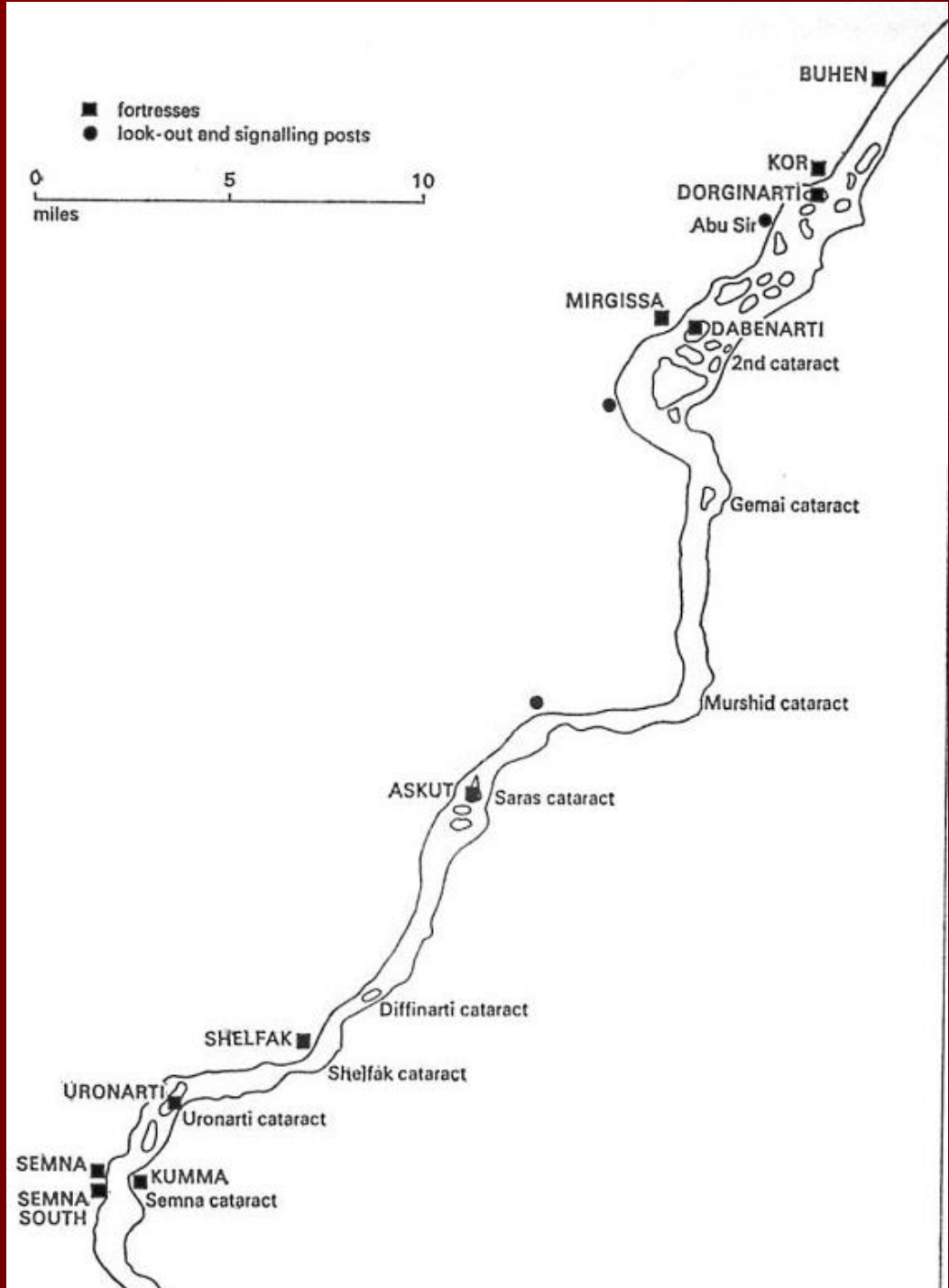


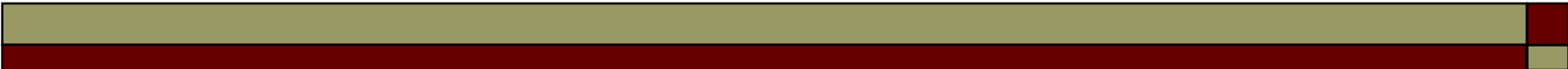
Kerma culture

- Particularly close trading contacts with Egypt – Middle and Classical Kerma phases



Egyptian colonies in Nubia around the Second Cataract



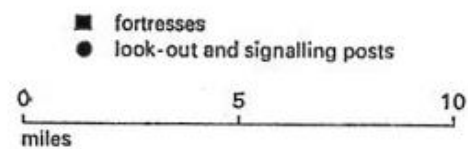


Middle Kingdom Fortresses

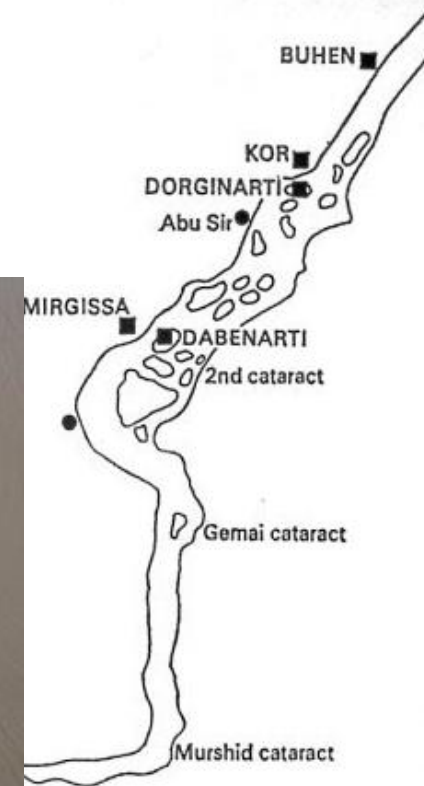
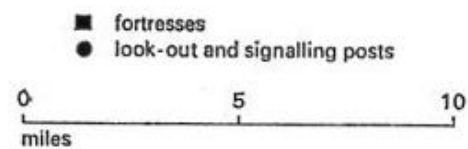
- ❑ kings of the early Middle Kingdom (2040-1750 BC)
- ❑ in particular Senwosret I (1965-1920 BC) → undertook a programme of expansion into Nubia
- ❑ entire area up to Second Cataract (near modern Wadi Halfa) = under Egyptian control
- ❑ Egyptian rule remained until at least to the end of the Twelfth Dynasty (about 1795 BC)
- ❑ Control was centred around a series of forts → placed at strategic locations along the Nile
- ❑ several purposes:
 - to protect and supervise trade on the Nile
 - to act as a very visible reminder of the Egyptian presence in the region
 - to monitor the tribes of the Western Desert and possible hostile incursions

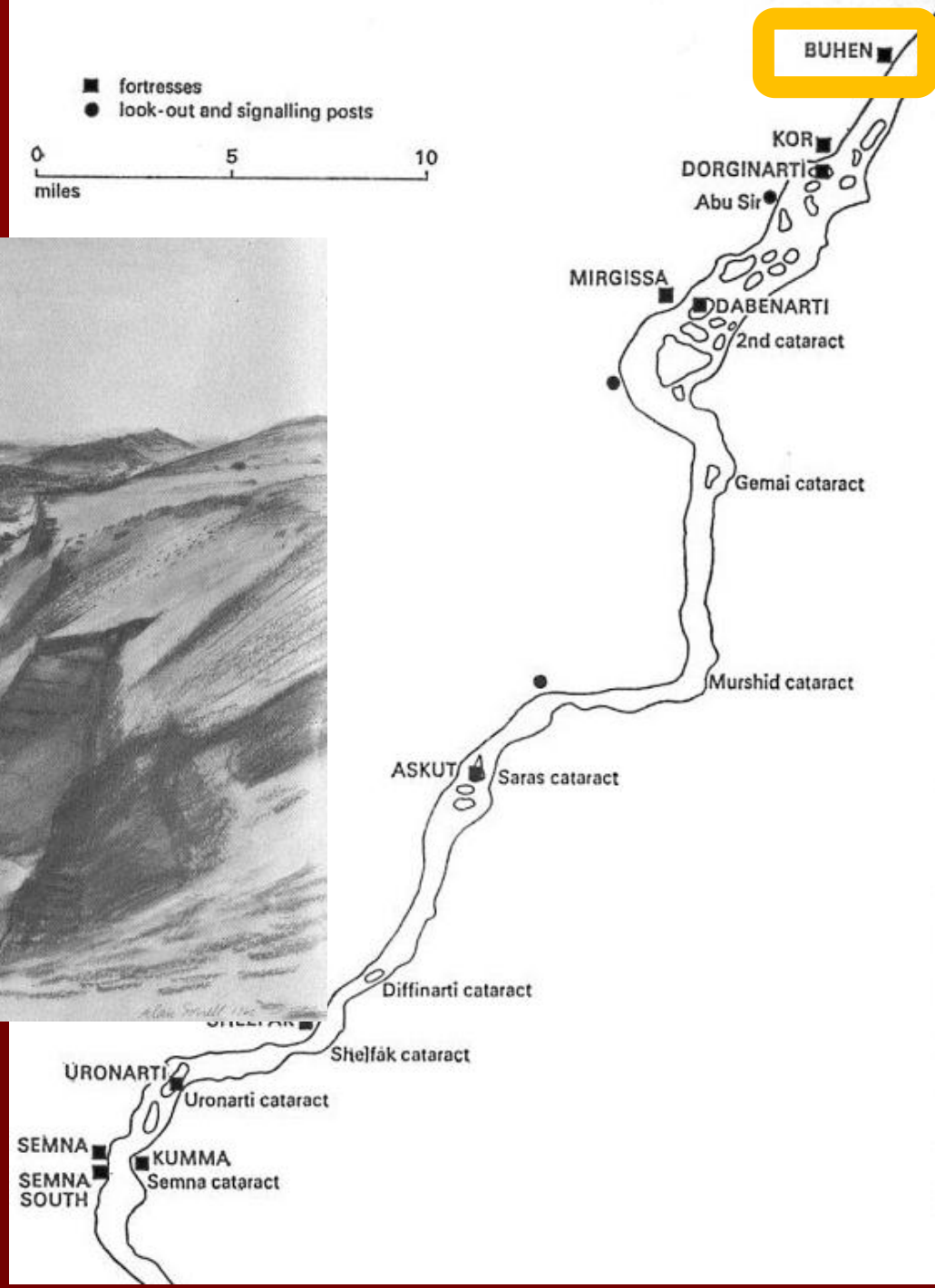
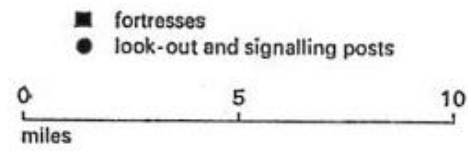
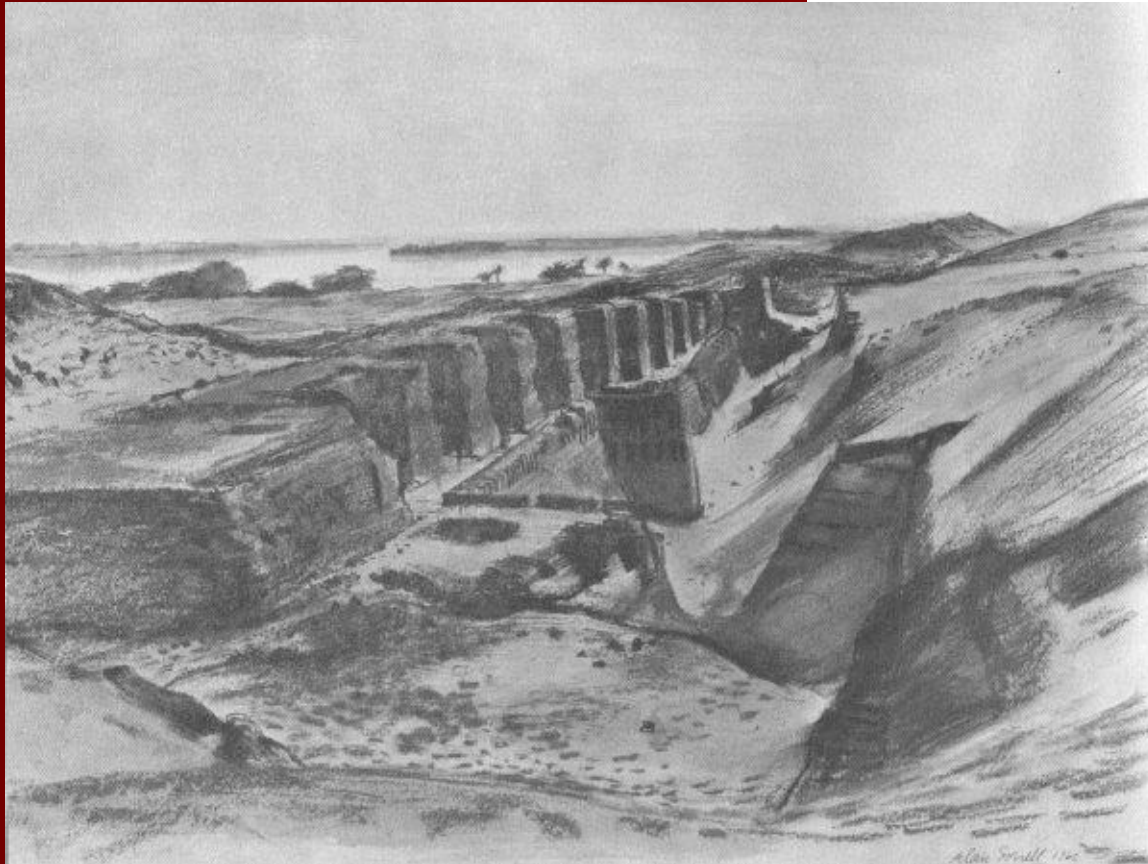
Middle Kingdom Fortresses

- near the Second Cataract, built at Buhen, Kor, Dorginarti, Mirgissa, Dabenarti, Askut, Shelfak, Uronarti, Semna, Semna South and Kumma
- mainly sited on West Bank of the Nile or on islands by cataracts.
- Fortresses founded by Senusret I and Senusret II, but majority built by Senusret III
- 7 located along the Second Cataract in strategic positions, all were built with thick mud-brick walls
- big enough to be self-sufficient and to house all the necessary personnel



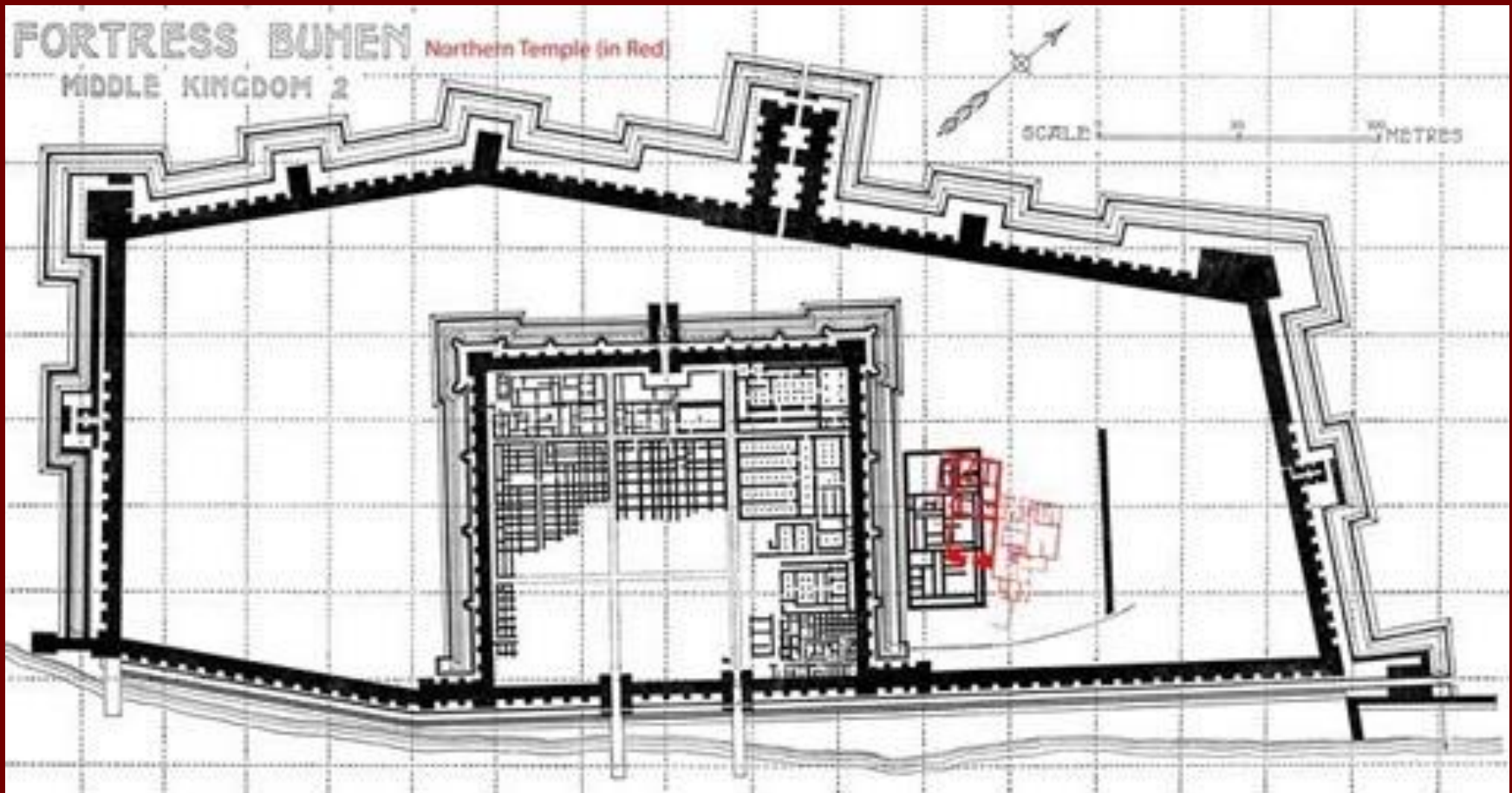






Plan of Buhen

During the later Middle Kingdom with the Northern Temple overlaid in Red (Emery/Smith/Millard A, 1979, Plate-3 and Plate-4)



Buhen : plan, crucibles (metal work), seal impressions

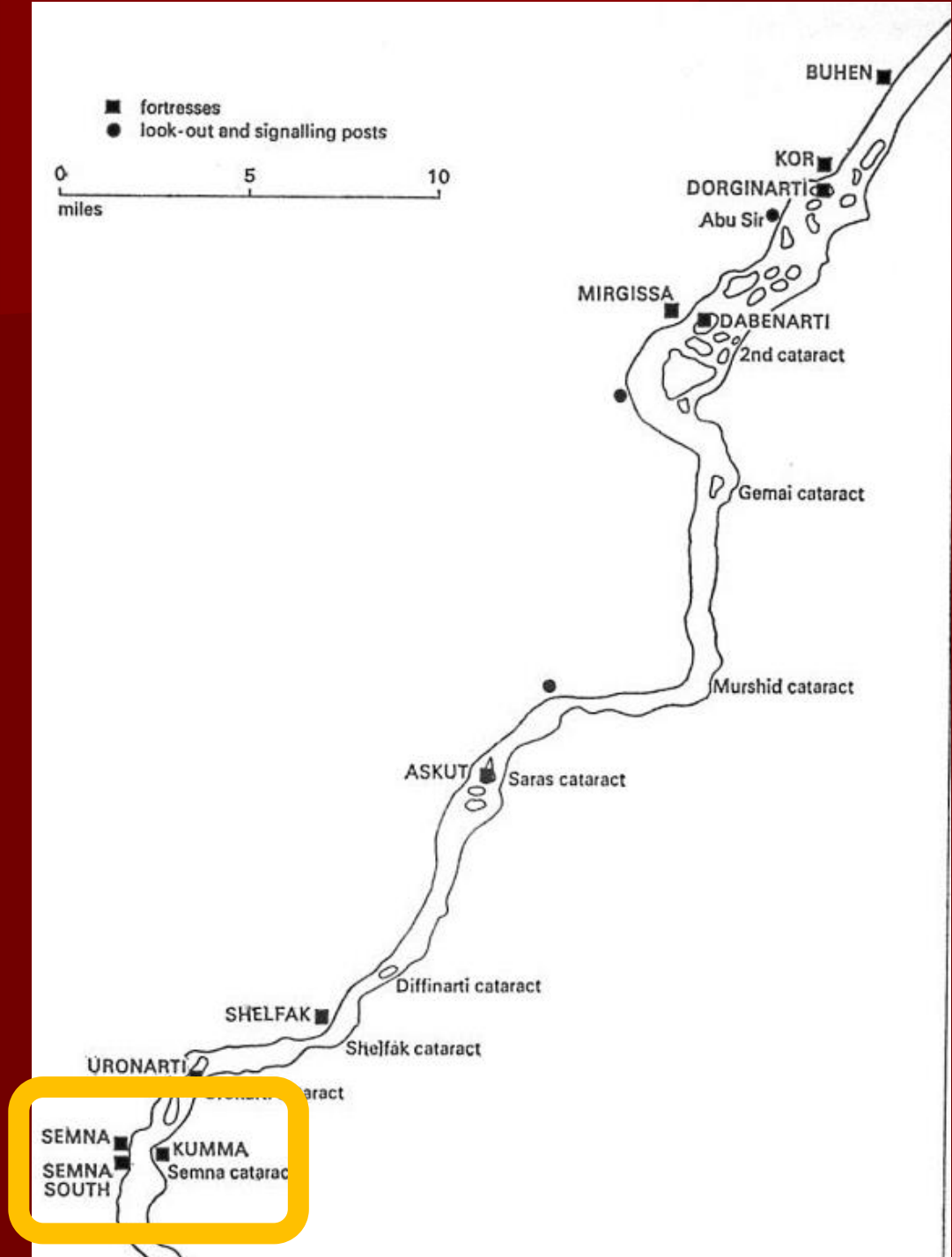


The name Buhen (bhn) is either Nubian or Egyptian,
attested since the Middle Kingdom.

Seal impression UC 2360 with parts of the word
Buhen; still visible: b + h.

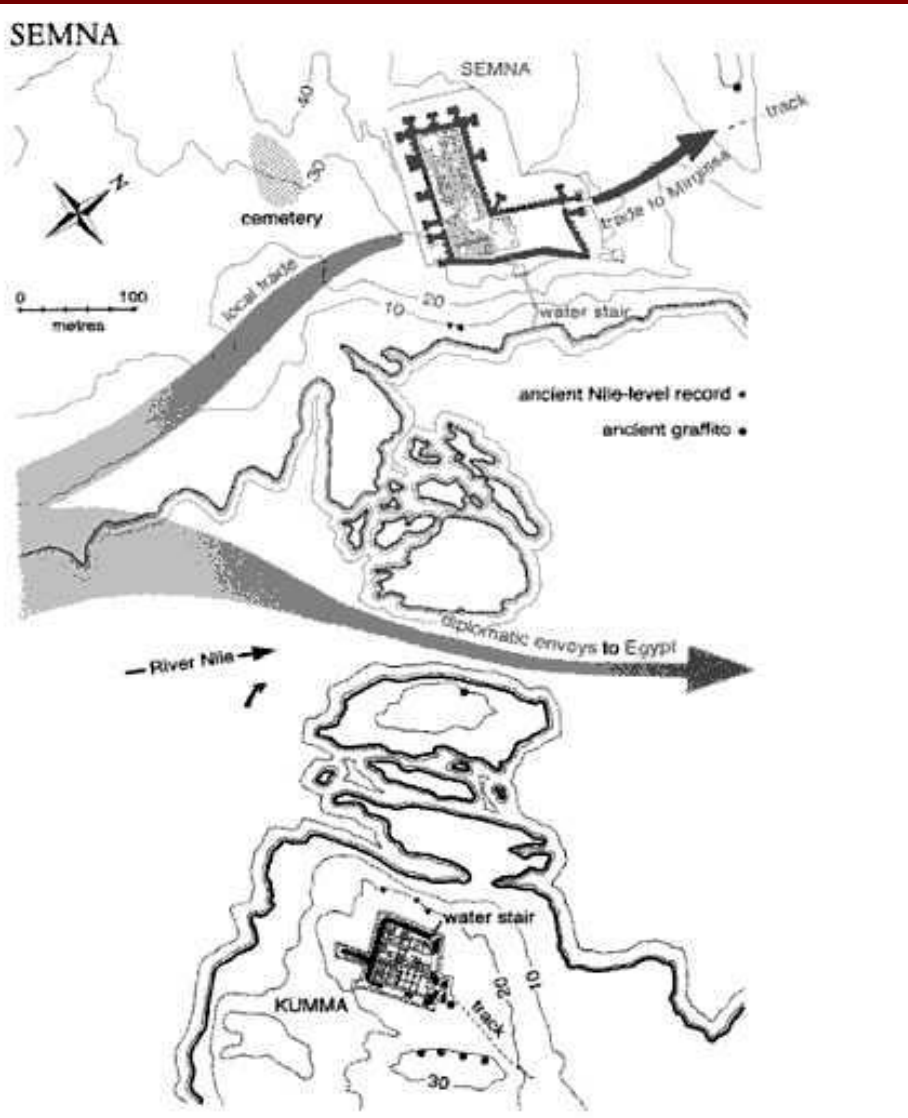


Egyptian colonies in Nubia around the Second Cataract



Forts of the Second cataract

"white water" at the
Second Cataract
circa 1954:



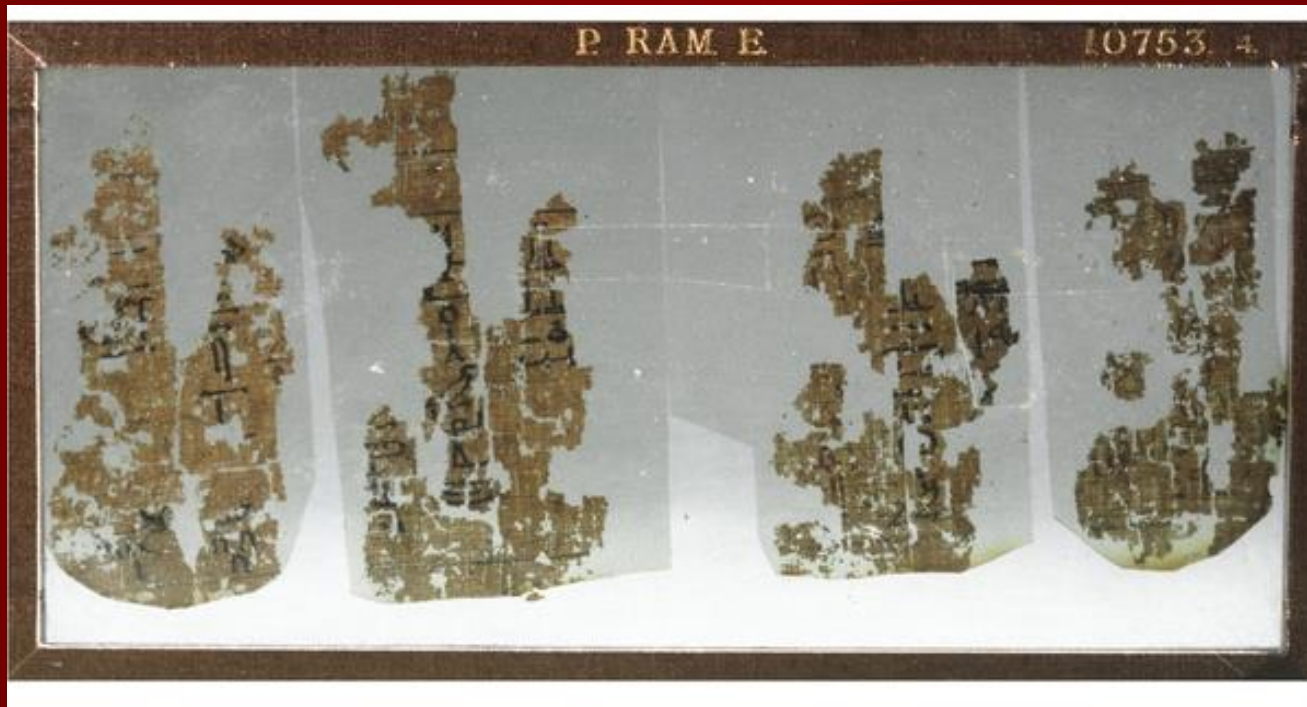
The Semna Stelae of Senusret III

– Stela from year 8 (ca. 1870 BCE)

- Year 8 stela at Semna documents his victories against the Nubians → made safe the southern frontier, preventing further incursions into Egypt
- *1 Southern boundary, made in the year 8, under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khekuer, who is given life forever*
- *2 and ever; in order to prevent that any Negro should cross it, by water or*
- *3 by land, with a ship, (or) any herds*
- *4 of the Nubians; except a Nubian who shall come to do trading in Iken,*
- *5 or with a commission. Every good thing shall be done with them, but without allowing*
- *6 a ship of the Nubians to pass Heh, going downstream, forever.*

Semna Dispatches

(Here: EA 10752;EA 10753 sheet 3)



- Papyrus dispatches: report slightest movements within the area, one lists 13 fortresses between Elephantine (Aswan) and Semna

Middle Kingdom Fortresses – Semna Dispatches

- ❑ found with other papyri in a Middle Kingdom tomb under the Ramesseum (the mortuary temple of Ramesses II at Thebes) in 1896
- ❑ detailed administrative records, originating mainly from the fort of Semna on the southern border
- ❑ record the arrival and departure of various groups of Nubians
- ❑ include the reports of various surveillance parties who were tracking in the desert
- ❑ texts show that the Egyptians carefully monitored the movement of people and controlled trading activities

80. *P. BM 10752, rt. 2-3*
(Dynasty 12: Amenemhat III)

Another dispatch brought to him, being the one brought from the dispute overseer Sobekwer, who is in Iken (Mirgissa fort), as one fortress sends a communication to another fortress.

It is a communication to you, l.p.h., to the effect that the two warriors and seventy(?) Medjay-people who had departed following that track in the fourth month of the second season, day 4, returned to report to me on the same day at evening time, bringing three Medjay-men, and four male and female infants(?), saying, "We found them on the south of the desert margin beneath the inscription of the summer season, and also three women(?)," so they said. I then questioned these Medjay-people, asking, "From where have you come?" They then replied, "It's from the well of the region of Ibhayet (southeast of the Second Cataract) that we have come."

[. . .] the [. . . in] the fourth month of the second season, [day . . .] came to report [to . . .]. He said concerning [. . .], "I departed upon the [track . . .] explained(?) [. . .] the [. . .] brought him [. . .] the frontier patrol. Then I returned [. . . ,] so he said]. I sent word about them to the fortresses that lie north.

[All business affairs of the King's] Establishment, l.p.h., are prosperous and flourishing, and all business affairs of yours, [l.p.h., are prosperous and flourishing]. It is good if you, l.p.h., take note.

Kerma culture

- Particularly close trading contacts with Egypt – Middle and Classical Kerma phases
- **Classical Kerma**
 - formed a state centred at Kerma
 - first excavated by Reisner
 - Found: large tombs and a palace like structure ('Deffufa')
 - name of one Kerma ruler known from inscription in Egyptian hieroglyphic, found at Buhen (Nedjeh, on stela Khartoum 18).
 - occupied in the Second Intermediate Period by the Kerma culture

Stela Khartoum 18

- 'autobiography' of an Egyptian serving the free native ruler of Kush
- Introduction:
- (1) An offering which the king gives to Osiris, Lord of Busiris, the Great God, Lord of Abydos and (2) to Horus, Lord of the foreign land, that they may give an invocation consisting of bread and beer, oxen and fowl, and all things (3) good and pure whereon a god lives which heaven creates, (4) earth makes and the Nile brings as his good offering to the ka (5) of the official Ka (the Bull = personal name). It is his daughter's son who makes his name to live, namely (6) the official Iahwoser



FIG. 1. Khartūm No. 18

Stela Khartoum 18

- 'autobiography' of an Egyptian serving the free native ruler of Kush
- Interesting 'biographical' part
- (6) ... He says: I was a valiant servant
(7) of the ruler of Kush; I washed
(8) (my) feet (9) in the waters of Kush in
the suite of (10) the ruler NDH
(Nedjekh), and I returned (10) safe
and sound (to my) family.

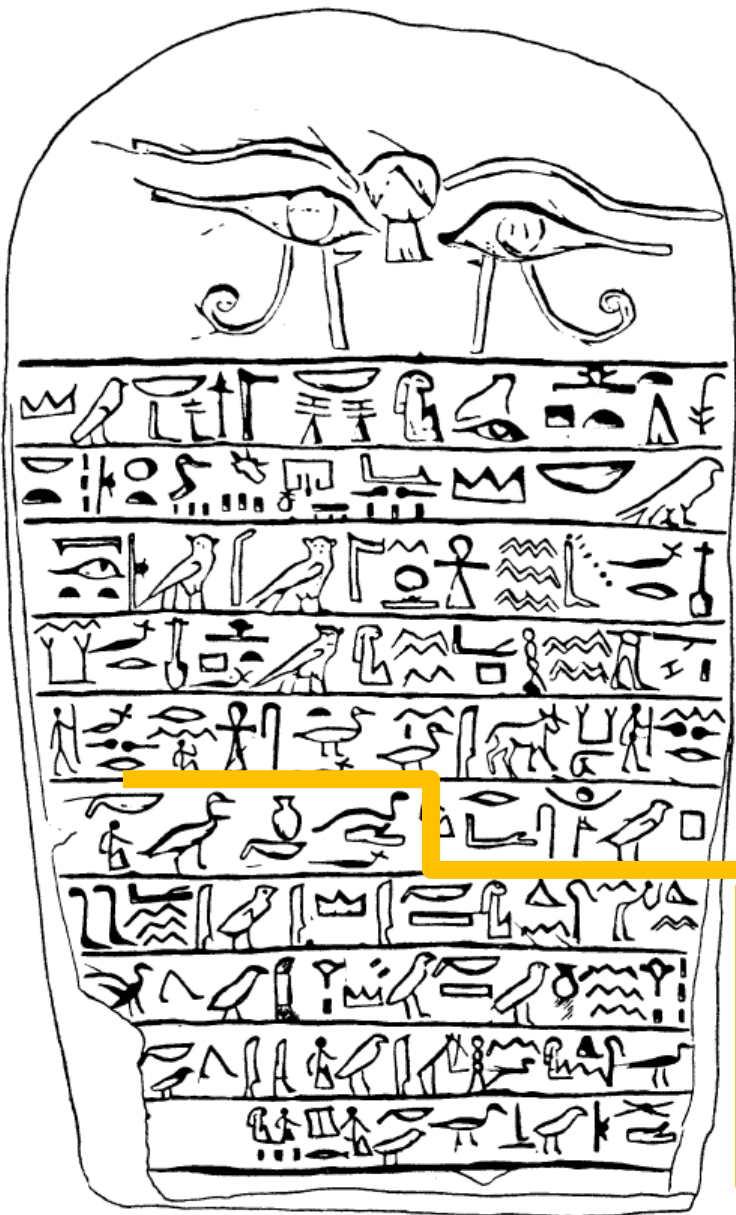


FIG. 1. Khartūm No. 18

Kerma culture

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 - ❑ occupied in the Second Intermediate Period by the Kerma culture
- ❑ in Egypt; tombs + settlement sites with Kerma pottery (Tell el Daba, Deir el-Ballas) → tombs never in large groups: belong to Kerma people buried in Egypt or Egyptians buried with imported Kerma pottery

Kerma recaptured northern Nubia from Egypt

- ❑ Consolidation of power by Kerma's rulers brought its army, which was built around archers, into conflict with Middle Kingdom Egypt by 1650 BC
- ❑ Known to the Egyptians as Kush (indigenous name of the kingdom?), territory controlled by Kerma expanded north of the Egyptian fortresses at the 2nd cataract.
- ❑ military support of the kings of Kush = by Hyksos, rulers of Canaanite origin who occupied the Nile delta → Conflict ended with the rise of the Egyptian New Kingdom whose early rulers brought Kush under Egyptian control by about 1500 BC

Nubians in Egypt

- evidence for Nubians in Egypt divided into written sources and archaeological record
- human remains from the latter would provide the most direct or primary sources
 - But not been analysed in numbers or methods suitable for demographic studies

Nubians in Egypt

- The classic Middle Egyptian phase of the Egyptian language provides evidence for Egyptian attitudes to the inhabitants of lands immediately south of Egypt
- two main words used
 - Nehesy (nHsy) for inhabitants of the river valley
 - Medjay (mDAy) for a group or groups from the deserts east of the Nubian Nile Valley
- indicates the view from Egypt, as mediated through language: it is possible that it represents a simplifying generalisation for a more complex linguistic and ethnic map of Nubia.

Nubians in Egypt

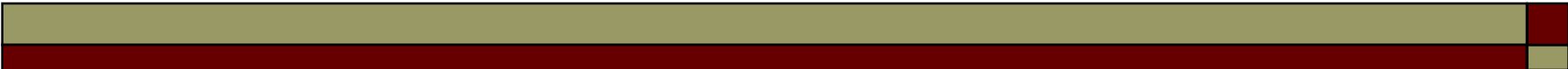
- evidence for Nubians living in Middle Kingdom Egypt is open to several interpretations
 - name Nehesy - 'Nubian' appears several times
 - does it refer to a Nubian, either born in Egypt or someone who changed their foreign name?
 - Was it just a 'fashion' to call somebody 'Nubian' or was the child darker-skinned than usual so that the parents decided to give him that name?
 - What does darker skin mean?
- led to the modern debate over race in ancient Egypt

seals of the 'eldest king's son' Nehesy



seals of the 'chief scribe of the treasurer' Nehesy





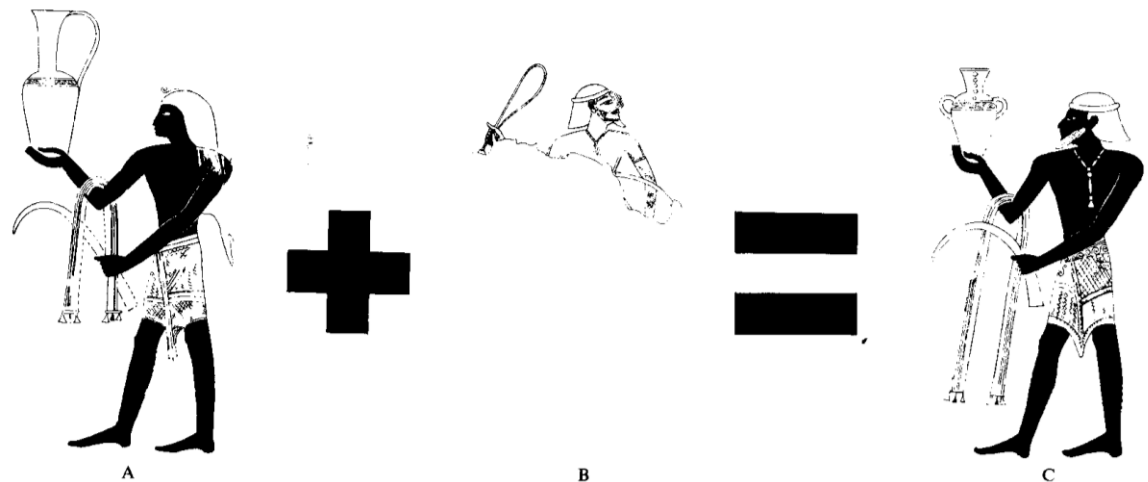
Nubians in Egypt

- ❑ Dark skinned people are sometimes depicted in Middle Kingdom art
- ❑ but very difficult to draw any conclusion: almost impossible to decide, whether Nubians or dark skin chosen for other reasons ('rebirth')
- ❑ Second Intermediate Period there is good evidence from material culture that inhabitants from Nubian eastern desert settled in Egypt (pan-graves)

Examples for hybridism: TT 86 Mencheperreseneb (Th III)



Registers I-II including display at left, from the tomb of Mencheperreseneb (T. 86). Thutmose III.

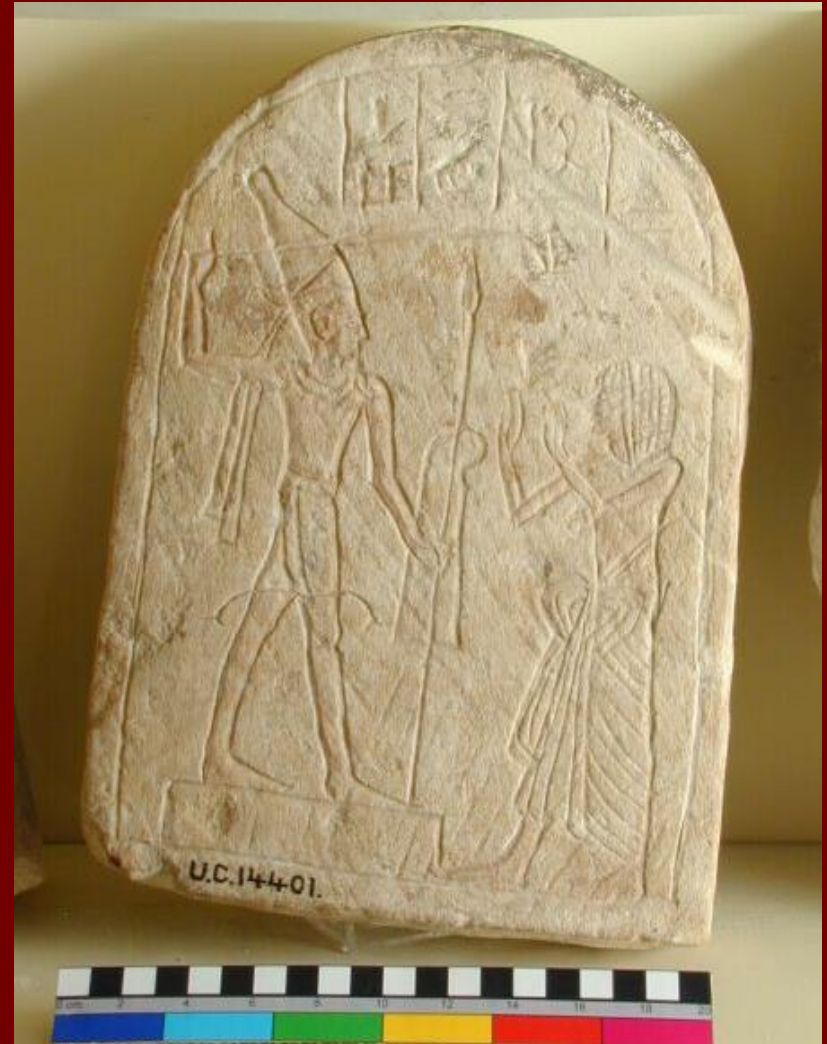


Hybridism. A clearly hybrid figure (right) is composed by combining the red skin colour and skirt of an Aegean (left) and the bearded head with head band of a typical Syrian (middle). Tomb of Mencheperreseneb (T. 86). Thutmose III.

New type of “foreigner” in AE



- Syrian (war) god Reshep / Reshpu (also known as Reshef)



Borrowing from the global sphere to become Egyptian

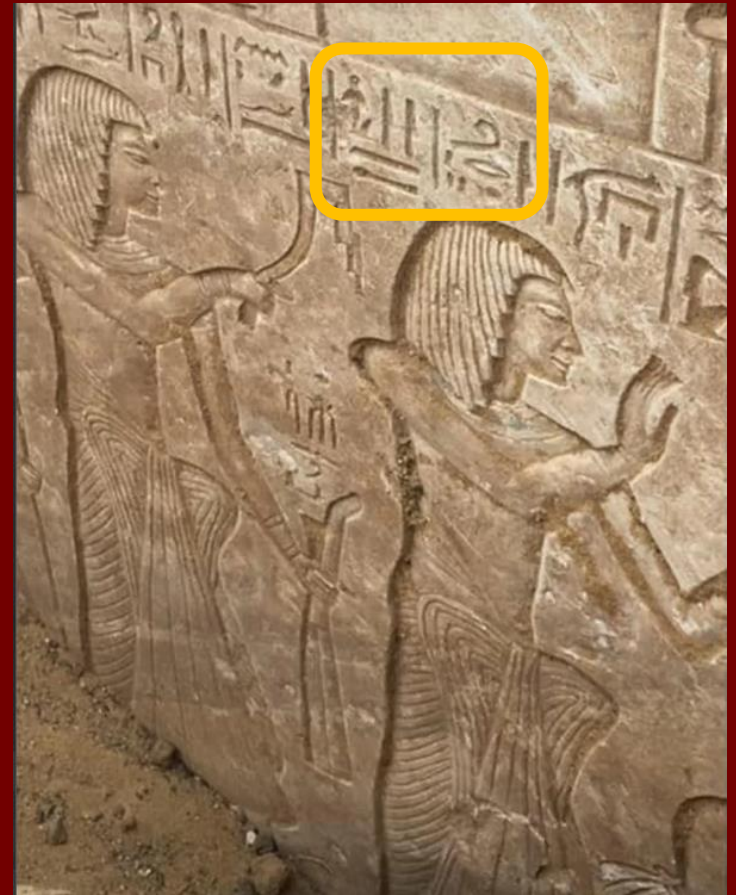
- ❑ Development of a god – Reshef
- ❑ Phoenician / Canaanite weather god, lightning, plague
- ❑ NK Egypt became the Egyptian war god : Reshep (translit. *rSpw*)
- ❑ Ramses III (Medinet Habu) about his army:... *The officers (znn) are mighty like Reshep, when they see ten thousand likewise. [////] /// /// like Montu.* (J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Part Four, § 40)
- ❑ popular protective deity who listened to pleas
- ❑ Receives royal iconography (Upper Egyptian crown)
 - but with gazelle head (desert) instead of a uraeus, in hand shield / spear / weapon

Development of a god: Egyptianisation and / or acculturation



Example of acculturation

Sakkara, tomb of Iwrhya, high army General, and High steward of the domain of Amun [and] High steward of the estates of Ramses II in the domain of Amun(NK, 19th dyn.)

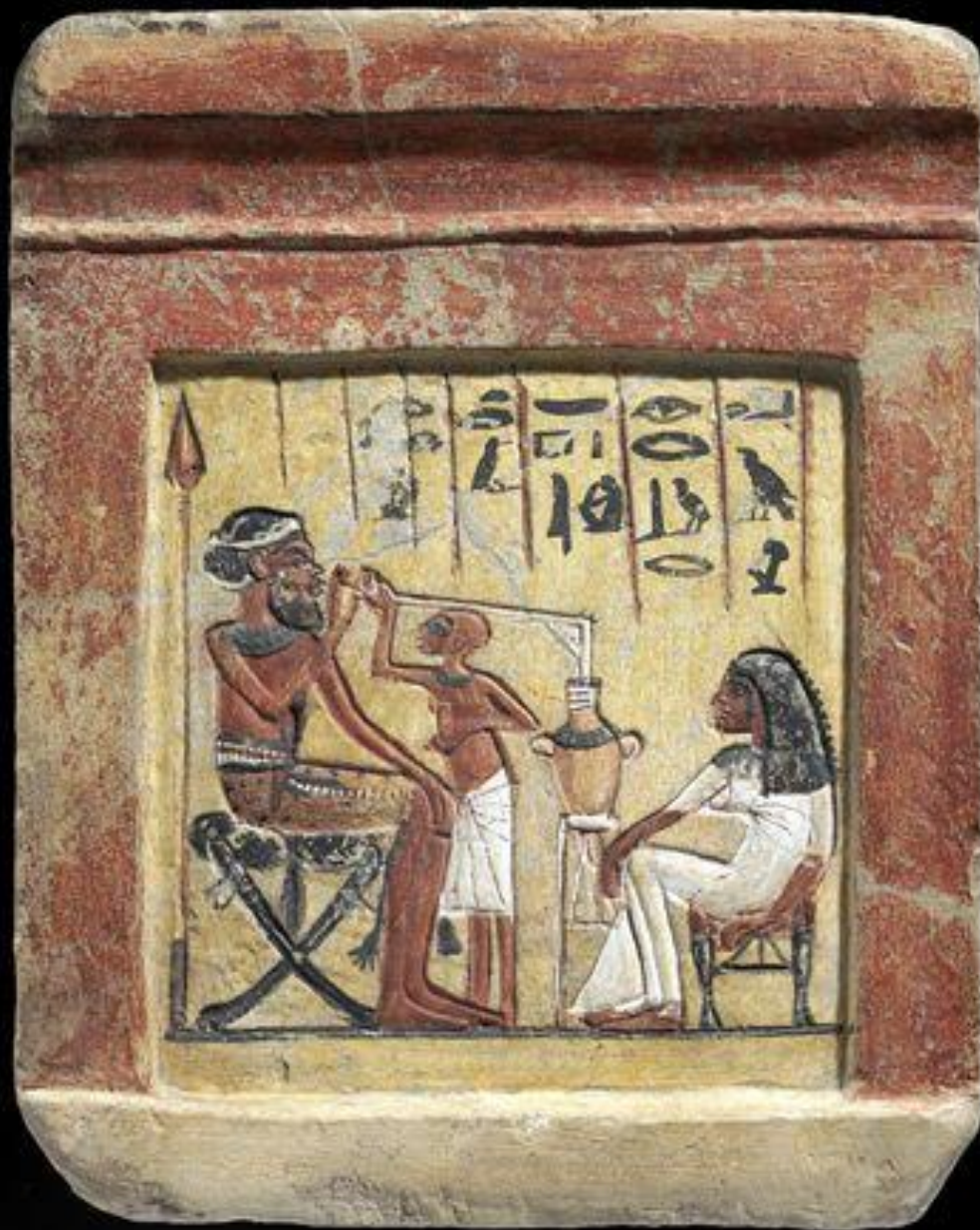


→ Becoming Egyptian as operational ethnicity

Mimesis – the “realistic” foreigner

Maiherperi, Child of the Nursery and royal Fan-bearer (KV36)





Mimesis – the “realistic” foreigner

Egyptian soldier drinking
beer with straw

→ Egyptian ethnicity
and proud Syrian
identity

→ the “global Egyptian”

Egyptian Museum Berlin

ÄM 14122

from Amarna, time Akhenaten

The de-global global world of the ancient Egyptians as seen in the representation of foreigners

TOPOS

- ❑ Stereotype
- ❑ Order (Egypt) vs. Chaos (foreign sphere)
- ❑ The wretched foe
- ❑ Ethnocentricity

MIMESIS

- ❑ Individual recognition
- ❑ Foreigners as important part of Egyptian society
- ❑ Educated at court (*k3p*)
- ❑ Global positioning

- ❑ Globalisation within (as cultural/ethnic problem)
 - ❑ Achieved by acculturation and proud upkeep of original / hereditary identity
 - ❑ Reaction to “global realities” by preservation of cultural specifics traditions
 - ❑ Tradition ⇔ Innovation to keep the complex society alive

The enemy within

- ❑ = individuals / groups who lived within Egypt, but were disloyal to the state, did not follow Ma'at and therefore were threatening its internal order and stability. These threats were often perceived to be working against the pharaoh and the principle of Maat (cosmic order/truth), in contrast to external foreign adversaries.
- ❑ Manifestations of the "Enemy Within"
- ❑ Disloyal Elites: This category included corrupt officials, ambitious ministers, or