

10

Middle Kingdom: Asiatics in Egypt

SIP: The Hyksos

AHAR5005

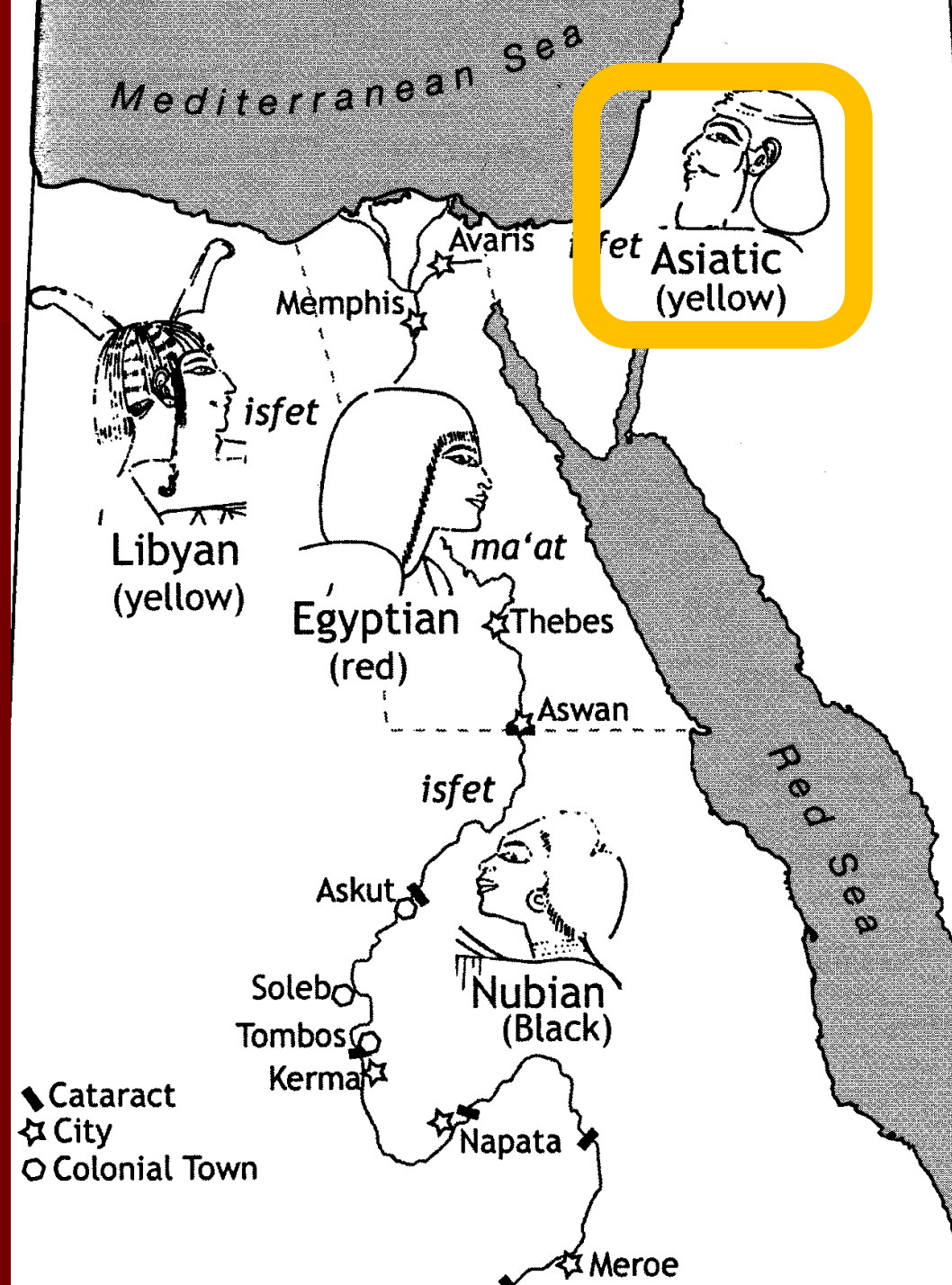
Connected Worlds

Dr. Katharina Zinn

Readings (in Lampeter Library)

- Kamrin, J. (1999). *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan*. London: Kegan Paul.

Ethnicity and culture





Asian enemy (topos) – cane of Tutankhamun



Instructions of Merire (Teaching, OK or FIP)

- *Speak thus concerning the barbarian: As for the wretched Asiatic, unpleasant is the place where he is (with) trouble from water, difficulty from many trees, and the roads thereof awkward by reason of mountains.*

He does not dwell in one place, being driven hither and yon through want, going about [the desert] on foot. He has been fighting since the time of Horus; he never conquers, yet he is not conquered, and he does not announce a day of fighting, like a thief whom a community has driven out.

But I lived, and while I existed the barbarians were as though in the walls of a fortress; [my troops] broke open [///]. I caused the Delta to smite them, I carried off their people, I took away their cattle, until the detestation of the Asiatics was against Egypt. Do not worry about him, for the Asiatic is a crocodile on his riverbank; he snatches a lonely serf, but he will never rob in the vicinity of a populous town.

Enemies from the East

- For a long time the Egyptians did not differentiate between the various peoples of the east → were all Asiatics, *aAm.w*, or sand-dwellers, *SAs.w*
- generally being seen as enemies

presence of various Asiatic people in Egypt

□ story of **Sinuhe**

- bedouin sheikh from the Sinai desert had once been to Egypt
- judging from the chronology of the story → during reign of Amenemhet I.

Tale of Sinuhe – localising the Asiatics

- *I went on at time of night, and when it dawned I reached Petni. I halted at the Island-of-Kemwer. An attack of thirst overtook me; I was parched, my throat burned, and I said: This is the taste of death. Then I lifted my heart, and gathered up my body. I heard the sound of the lowing of cattle, and espied men of the Setiu.*

- *Petni: Peten*

- Kemwer: lit. the Great Black, region of the Bitter Lakes*

- men of the Setiu: Asiatics (Lichtheim)*

Tale of Sinuhe

- *A sheikh among them, who was aforetime in Egypt, recognized me, and gave me water; he boiled for me milk. I went with him to his tribe, and they entreated me kindly. Land gave me to land. I set forth to Byblos, I pushed on to Kedme. I spent half a year there; then Enshi son of Amu, prince of Upper Retenu, took me and said to me: Thou farest well with me, for thou hearest the tongue of Egypt. This he said, for that he had become aware of my qualities, he had heard of my wisdom; Egyptian folk, who were there with him, had testified concerning me. And he said to me: "Wherefore art thou come hither? Hath aught befallen at the Residence?"*

presence of various Asiatic people in Egypt

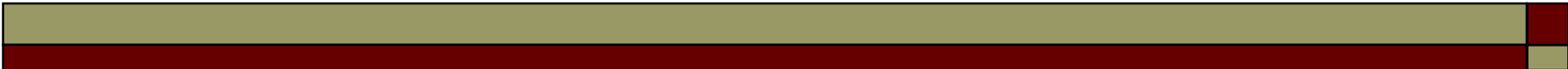
- well -known scene in tomb no. 3 at **Beni Hassan (Sesostris II)**
 - depicts the arrival of an Asiatic prince + followers (men, women, children + asses): brining the nomarch eye paint [kohl]





Tomb Khnumhotep II





Tomb Khnumhotep II – Beni Hassan

- early 12th Dynasty (1991-1783 BCE) = Middle Kingdom.
- high official of the ancient administrative area, the Oryx
- Titles: Overseer of the Eastern Desert (Year 19 of Amenemhet II until at least Year 6 of Senwosret II), Hereditary Prince, Count of Menat Khufu, Overseer of priests
- Tomb approached during ancient times via a path that was distinguishable by dark brown boulders on either side; the path extended from the open outer court down the hill to the edge of the cultivated land

presence of various Asiatic people in Egypt

- thought that Aamu coming to seek hospitality in Egypt, but not mentioned in texts accompanying scene
- newcomers not appearance of poverty-stricken nomads – they are travelling without herds → official visit and/or trade

Depiction of
“real”
Asiatics in
Beni Hasan
(Tomb
Khnumhotep
II)



Scene in Khnumhotep

- ❑ Aamu group led by the Aamu Sheykh, Absha
- ❑ Kathryn Bard interprets man as chief of the group of foreigners, spelled Abisha
- ❑ BUT: west end of the wall has another large-scale figure of Khnumhotep II only here he is facing right and using a bow to hunt in the desert which is on the edge of the Egyptian world, the boundary between order and chaos. It has been interpreted that in this scene Khnumhotep II is assuming the role of the king dominating over the chaotic power of the desert = topos

presence of various Asiatic people in Egypt

- great majority of Asiatics who settled in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom were humble, peaceful people
- in large numbers employed on domestic tasks in private houses, and they are also encountered in the services of temples
- earliest dated instance belongs to the reign of Sesotris III; the most important group of about fifty dates from the middle of the Thirteenth Dynasty
- no texts about circumstances in which they came → maybe prisoners of war? → captives who are represented in the funerary temple of Sesotris I.

Asiatics in Egyptian Household Services

- ❑ list of some 40 Asiatics employed in a Theban household (presence of North West Semitic people in Egypt prior to the Hyksos, 18th century B.C.E.)

Asiatic woman, Rehui-- called Kai-pu-nebi-- warper of cloth.

Asiatic woman, Aqaba-- called Res-seneb-wah-- warper of cloth.

Asiatic woman, Anath...-- called Iun-er-tan-- warper of cloth.

Asiatic woman, Haiimmi-- called ... -- weaver of linen.

Asiatic woman, Menahem-- [called...]- weaver of linen.

Asiatic woman, Sekratu-- [called Wer-dit-ni-Nub]- weaver of linen.

Asiatic woman, Immi-Sukru-- [called Seneb-[Sen]-User]- weaver of linen.

Asiatic woman, An[ath..]- [called] Nub-em-mer-Kis-- weaver of linen.

Asiatic woman, Baaltuya-- she is called Wah-Res-seneb-- work-staff Asiatic [male],

Su ...-- he is called Ankhu-seneb-- cook.

Asiatic [male], Seneb-Res-seneb--it is his name-- cook.

Asiatic [male], Qui ...-- he is called Res-seneb-- house-man.

Asiatic [male, A]pra-Reshpu --[...]-- brewer.

presence of various Asiatic people in Egypt

- probably government regulated the inflow of labour (as Egypt was state-controlled)
- known Middle Kingdom camps of Asiatics under the direction of Egyptian officials, not far from the royal residence
- known import of Asiatic products, men and livestock during the Twelfth Dynasty

presence of various Asiatic people in Egypt

- Asiatics are several times depicted on the monuments of Mentuhotep II
- → Deir el-Bahri. These reliefs have not retained any legends giving a clear indication of the ethnic group to which the different types of foreigner represented belong, but two of the mutilated inscriptions , which must have stood above such scenes , mention Asiatics; we thus have confirmation that they were depicted on the walls of the monument.

Amenemhet III (later 12th dyn.)



Amenemhet III (later 12th dyn.)



- statues = symbolic representation of "power" of Nile to feed the mass (fish = so abundant in the river that they are jumping out and into your hands)

John 21:1-11- Jesus and the Miraculous Catch of Fish

- 1 Afterward Jesus appeared again to his disciples, by the Sea of Galilee. It happened this way: 2 Simon Peter, Thomas (also known as Didymus[b]), Nathanael from Cana in Galilee, the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples were together. 3 “I’m going out to fish,” Simon Peter told them, and they said, “We’ll go with you.” So they went out and got into the boat, but that night they caught nothing.
- 4 Early in the morning, Jesus stood on the shore, but the disciples did not realize that it was Jesus. 5 He called out to them, “Friends, haven’t you any fish?” “No,” they answered. 6 He said, “Throw your net on the right side of the boat and you will find some.” When they did, they were unable to haul the net in because of the large number of fish.

Development at the end of the MK

- ❑ increasing threat to the Middle Kingdom → Asiatic groups to the northeast
- ❑ texts from the Middle Kingdom include Asiatic names suggesting their presence in Egypt during the 12th dynasty
- ❑ proposed that they probably entered the country as nomadic pastoralists in parts of the eastern Delta or as workers attempting to flee famines
- ❑ travelled to Egypt in caravans; knowledge of this comes primarily from scenes in elite tombs

Evidence for people from Syria-Palestine in Egypt

- Semitic script with Egyptian influences
- dated to somewhere between 1900 and 1800 B.C. (two or three centuries earlier than previously recognized uses of a nascent alphabet)
- first experiments with alphabet thus appeared to be the work of Semitic people living deep in Egypt, not in their homelands in the Syria-Palestine region
- carved in the cliffs of soft stone



A stick figure at Wadi el-Hol,
which scientists say may be the
precursor to the letter H.



SIP: THE HYKSOS

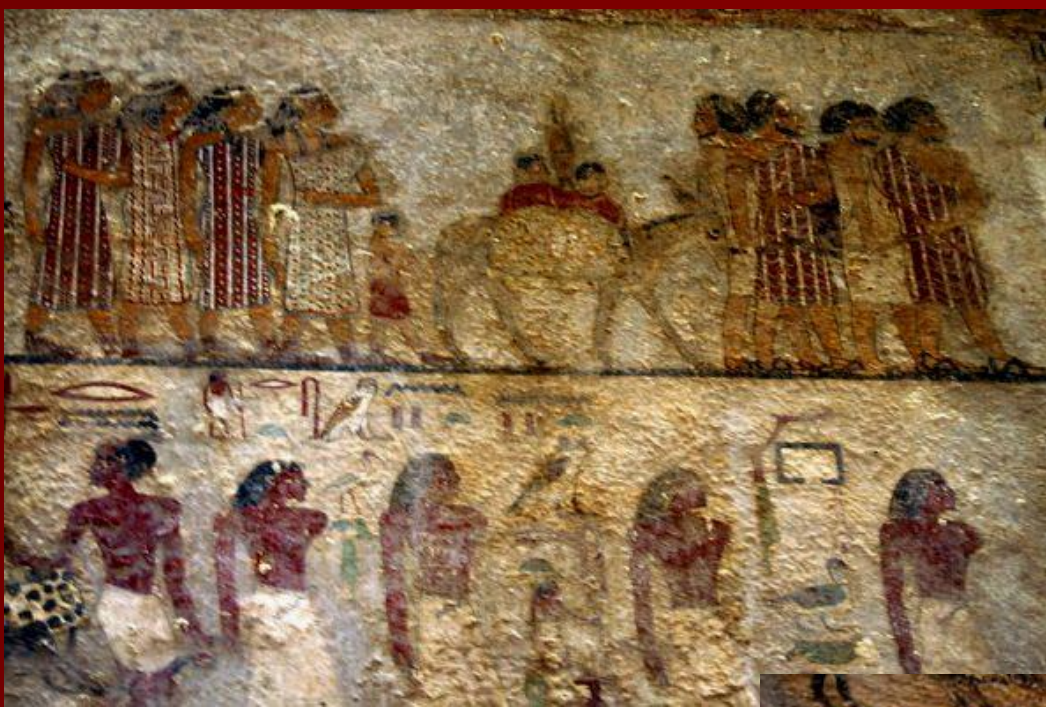
Readings (in Lampeter Library)

- ❑  Oren, E. (1997). *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*. Philadelphia: The Univ. Museum.
- ❑ → review of this book by Hoffmeier
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3822277>
- ❑ Bietak, M. (2013). Hyksos. In: *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Ed. by R.S. Bagnall, et. al. New York: Blackwell. Pp. 3356–3362. (on MOODLE)

Readings (in Lampeter Library)

- ❑ Bietak, M. (2013). Auaris. In: *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*. Ed. by R.S. Bagnall, et. al. New York: Blackwell. Pp. 985–994. (on MOODLE)
- ❑ Ryholt. K. (1997). *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.* Copenhagen
- ❑ MOODLE: Schneider, T. (2006). The Relative Chronology of the Middle Kingdom and the Hyksos Period (Dyns. 12-17). In: Hornung, E.: *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Leiden.
- ❑ Booth, Ch. (2005). *The Hyksos period in Egypt*. Princes Risborough, Shire 2005

Aamu coming into Egypt





Hyksos (15th – 16th dyn.)

- ❑ Semitic rulers / tribes
- ❑ Heka-chaset / Heka-chasut
Ḥq3-ḥ3st / Ḥq3-ḥ3swt
Greek Hykussos (Ύκουσσώς)
Ruler(s) of the foreign lands
- ❑ **Be careful → Often discussed in Bible Forums as being part or reason for exodus**

Hyksos (15th – 16th dyn.)

- ❑ Semitic rulers / tribes
- ❑ Heka-chaset / Heka-chasut
Ḥq3-ḥ3st / Ḥq3-ḥ3swt = “Rulers of foreign countries” → Greek Hykussos (Υκουσσώς)
- ❑ term used originally for foreign chieftains
- ❑ Adopted (Turin King List + monumental evidence) by rulers of the 15th Dynasty for official use + by contemporary vassal-dynasties on account of their Syro-Palestinian descent
- ❑ Originally ruled from Auaris (Avaris, modern Tell el-Dab’a – Delta), but extended towards south

Chronological considerations

- Instead of a “Second Intermediate Period” it would be better to speak of the
 1. **Hyksos period** and
 2. the Era of the Second Theban Petty State (leads into New Kingdom with the victory of the national Egyptian Thebans)

Some kings (Booth: Hyksos Period in Egypt, p.5)

Second Intermediate Period

1782–1570 BC

Thirteenth Dynasty

1782–1650 BC

Wegaf

Ameny Intef IV

Hor

Sobekhotep II (Amenemhat VI)

Khendjer

Sobekhotep III

Neferhotep I

Sobekhotep IV

Ay

Neferhotep II

Fourteenth Dynasty

Nehesy

Fifteenth Dynasty

1663–1570 BC

Shamuqenu

'Aper-'Anati

Sakir-Har

Khayan Sewoserenre

Apophis Awoserre/Aqenenre/Nebkheperhre

Khamudy Hotepibre

Sixteenth Dynasty

1663–1540 BC

Anather

Yakobaam

Seventeenth Dynasty

1663–1570 BC

Sekhemre Shedtawy Sobekemsaf II

Nubkheperre Intef VII

Sanakhtenre Tao I

Seqenenre Tao II

Kamose

Some kings

Fourteenth Dynasty

Nehesy

Fifteenth Dynasty

1663–1570 BC

Shamuqenu

'Aper-'Anati

Sakir-Har

Khayan Sewoserenre

Apophis Awoserre/Aqenenre/Nebkheperhre

Khamudy Hotepibre

Sixteenth Dynasty

1663–1540 BC

Anather

Yakobaam

Seventeenth Dynasty

1663–1570 BC

Sekhemre Shedtawy Sobekemsaf II

Nubkheperre Intef VII

Sanakhtenre Tao I

Seqenenre Tao II

Kamose

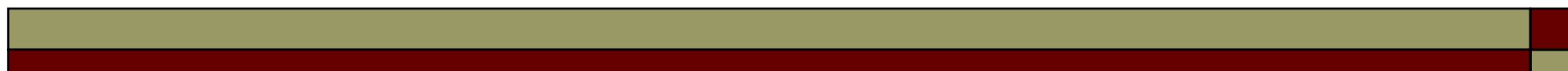
□ The Turin Papyrus gives the 15th Dynasty a reign of 108 years (ca. 1640–1532 BCE).

Historical view - JOSEPHUS (Ap. 1.14.82) → citing Manetho

- ❑ mistakenly defined Hyksos as Shepherd Kings
- ❑ Tutimaios: In his reign . . . unexpectedly, from the regions of the East, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land. By main force they easily seized it without striking a blow; and having overpowered the rulers of the land, they then burned our cities ruthlessly, razed to the ground the temples of the gods, and treated all the natives with cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others. Finally they appointed as king one of their number whose name was Salitis.

Historical view - JOSEPHUS (Ap. 1.14.82) → citing Manetho

- He had his seat in Memphis, levying tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and always leaving garrisons behind in the most advantageous positions. Above all he fortified the district to the east, foreseeing that the Assyrians . . . would one day covet and attack his kingdom. In the Saite nome he found a city very favourably situated on the east of the Bubastite branch of the Nile, and called Avaris after an ancient religious tradition. This place he rebuilt and fortified with massive walls, planting there a garrison of as many as 240,000 heavy-armed men to guard his frontier . . . Their race as a whole was called Hyksos, that is, “king-shepherds.” (Ap. 1.14.75–82, trans. Waddell 1956)



MB-PHASES	BC	EGYPT RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY		TOWN CENTER (Middle Kingdom) 'Erhet Rushdi	NEW CENTER MB-Population	EASTERN TOWN	NORTHEASTERN TOWN	PALACE DISTRICT 'Erhet Helni	GENERAL STRATIGRAPHY	
		Dyn.		R/I	F/I	A/I-IV	A/V	H/I-VI		
LBI	1410		AII	H I A T U S				Thera Pumice ^c Paintings ^d e/1	Amenophis II	DATUM LINE
	1440								C/2	
	1470	XVIII	H TIII						C/3	
	1500		TII TI						D/1	
MB III (MB II C)	1530		AI						Ahmose	± 1530 BC
	1560			DENUDED		D/2	D/2	e/2-f	D/2	
MB II (MB II B)	1590			DENUDED a PITS		a/2	D/3	D/3	g	
	1620					b/1	E/1	E/1	Khayan	
	1650					b/2	E/2	E/2	E/1	
	1680					b/3	E/3		E/2	
MB I/II (MB II A-B)	1710		KINGDOM OF AVARS NEHESI	DENUDED a STORAGE PITS		b/2	F		E/3	DATUM LINE
	1740					b/3	G/1-3		F	
MB I (MB II A)	1770	XIII		DENUDED a STORAGE PITS		EPIDEMIC ^c H I A T U S	G/1-3		G	
	1800		So			d/1	G/4		G/4	
	1830		AIIV			d/2	H		mont 13/14 Ashkelon	
	1860		AI			d/2a d/2b			H	
?	1890		AI	DENUDED a STORAGE PITS		H I A T U S			I	DATUM LINE
	1920		AI						K Sesostris III - year 5	
	1950		AI						L	
	1980		AI						M	
EB IV (MB I)	2000	XI				UNOCCUPIED			H I A T U S	± 1868 BC
						EXPANSION OF THE SETTLEMENT			N/1 N/2-3	

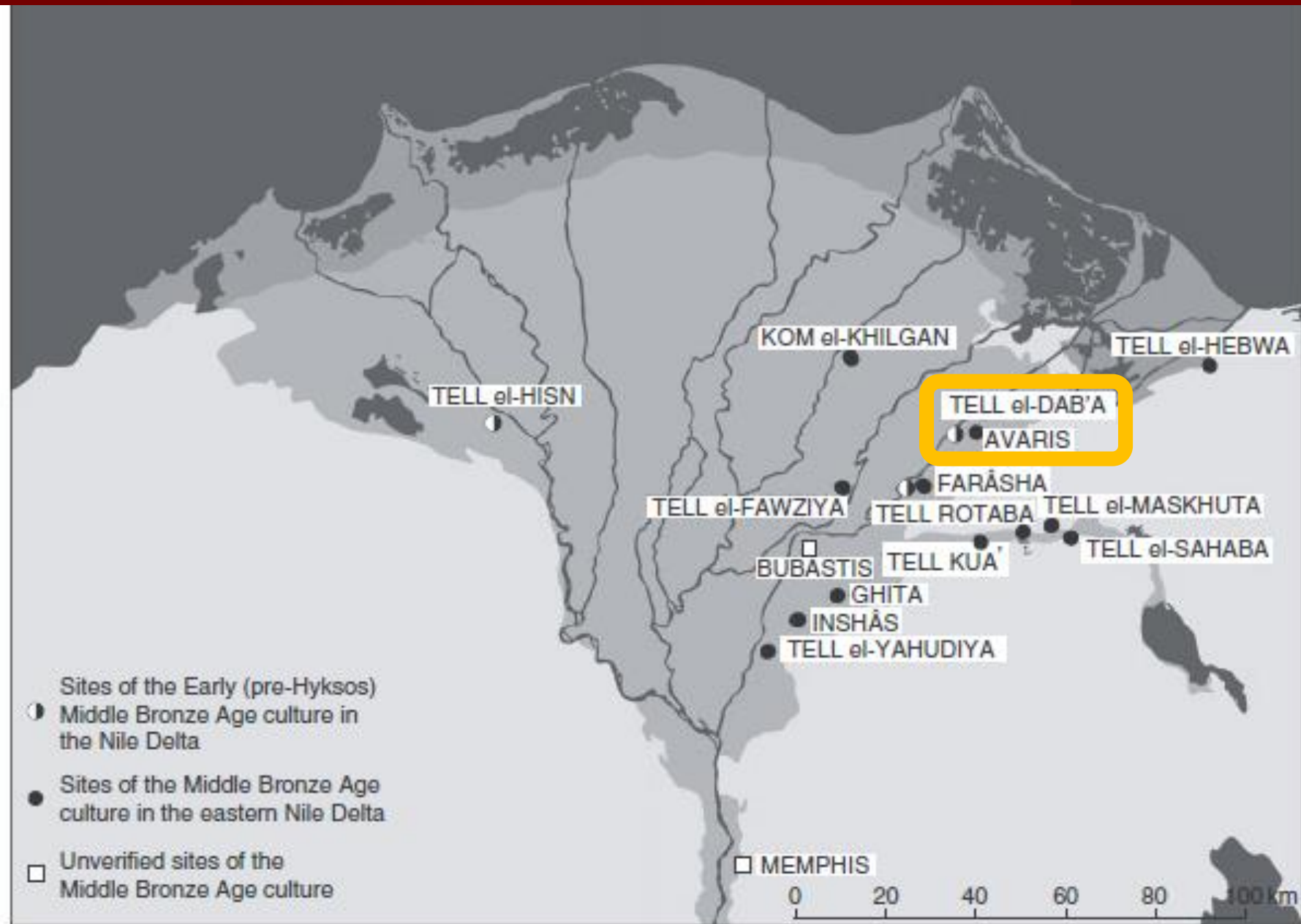
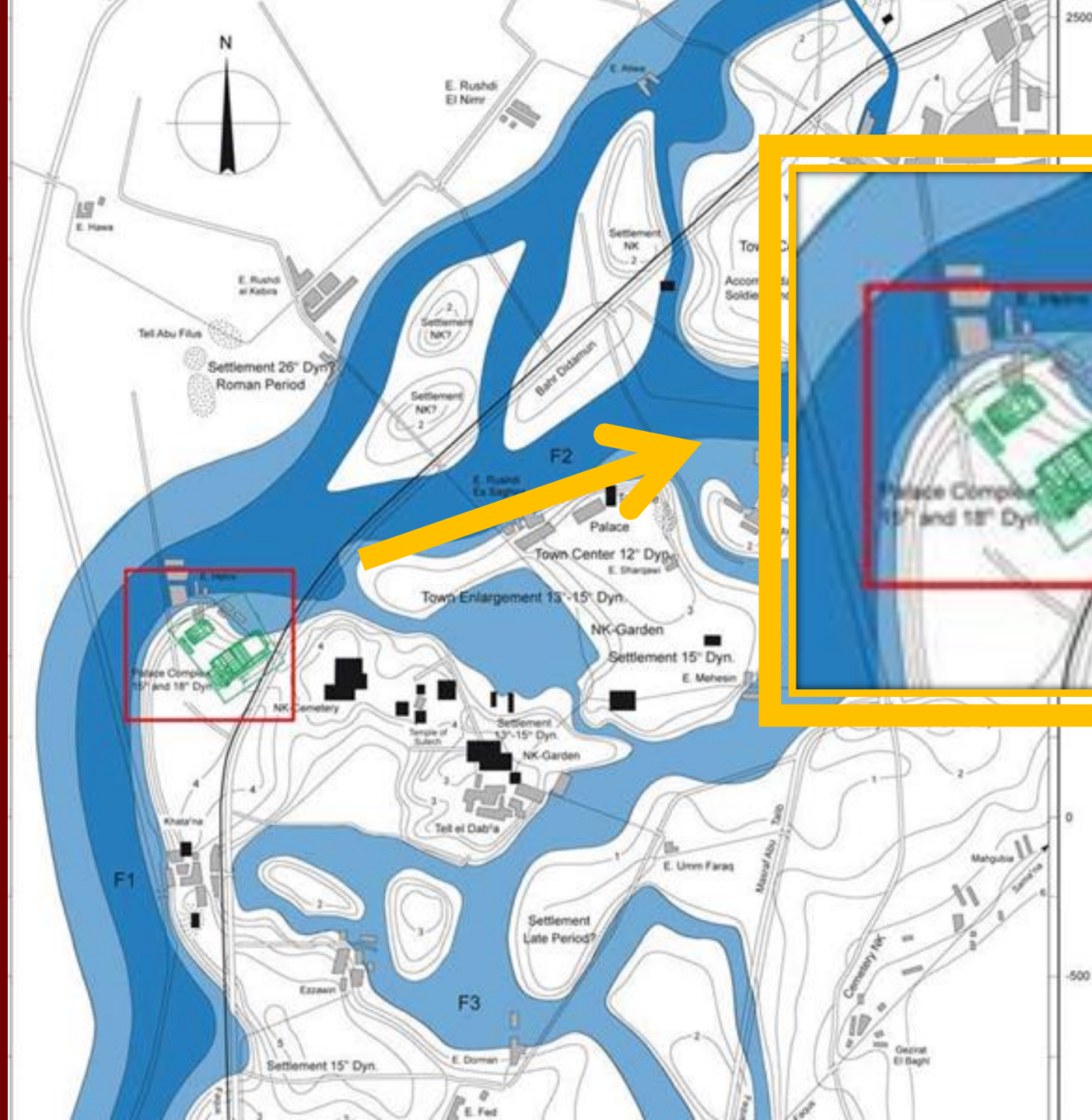


Figure 1 Sites of the Middle Bronze Age culture in the Nile Delta. By Nicola Math, Austrian Academy of Sciences, adapted after M. Bietak, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 3 (1980: 97–8). © Manfred Bietak.



Sobekhotep Khaankhre (about 1780 BC, 13. Dyn)

- Unknown burial place
- Attested:
 - Column fragment of unknown provenance UC 14411 (Petrie Museum London)
 - Chapel at Abydos



Yakareb

King of the Second Intermediate Period (reading of name uncertain) – maybe 14th dyn, but place uncertain

→ Name only known from two scarabs: crudely cut → possible that names are garbled / misread



Own culture (horse burial)



MUSHROOM HAIRDO

- ❑ mushroom-shaped hairstyle from the head of a large monumental statue of a Canaanite ruler
- ❑ found at the Hyksos capital of Avaris (Tell el-Daba) in Egypt's eastern Delta
- ❑ hairdo confirms Khebeded's identity as a proud Canaanite



Depictions of griffins in Auvaris



VIIIIC Part of a small griffin with hanging spirals on the wings and body (wall-painting fragment F15).



VIIID Detail of griffin behind a goddess at Xeste 3, Thera (after Doumas 1992, fig 128).

Depictions of griffins

- ❑ griffins are all executed in the same style
- ❑ the one from Thera dates to before 1623 BC (prior to the eruption of volcano)
- ❑ one from Avaris dates to c. 1600 BC
- ❑ griffin was only introduced into Egypt during the Hyksos period
- ❑ style of painting = same as at Aegean Thera
- ❑ continued on the Greek mainland after the eruption of the volcano at Thera, but disappeared from Egypt with the expulsion of the Hyksos

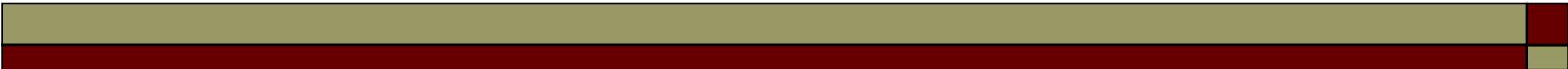
Hybridity: large collection of Middle Cypriot pottery,
made in Egypt (Egyptian clay), local technology
(wheel)



Warrior tomb Tell el-Dab'a

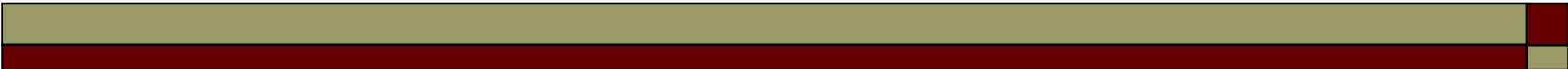


- orientated NW-SE with burial chamber (2,65 x 1,65 m) and single vault (mudbrick)
- Single skeleton in the entrance area together + cup and jar
- female servant buried in contracted position looking towards tomb chamber (placed at time of main burial) → human sacrifice.



BUT

- ❑ burials of the Hyksos kings have not been found
- ❑ native Egyptian rulers buried in rock cut tombs in their capital Thebes



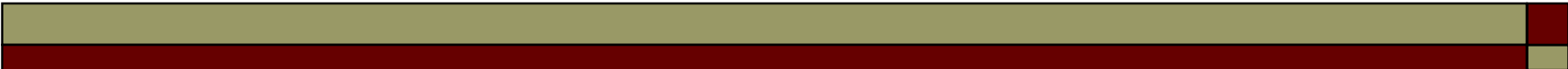
Further historical events

- ❑ last rulers of 17th dyn (Thebes) fought against the Hyksos kings
- ❑ King Seqenenre Tao = probably killed during a battle against them
- ❑ Hyksos defeated by Kamose and his successor, Ahmose

Sequenre II Tao

1. horizontal cut in t frontal bone, caused by an axe (blade 5 to 6 cm)
2. 31 mm, gaping to the extent of almost 10 millimetres: axe. (hole above right jaw, caused by dislocation malar bones)
3. blow with blunt object across nose (probably destroyed right eye)
4. edged tool cut through skin of left cheek
5. pointed weapon (spear or pike), driven into the left side of head (immediately below the ear)



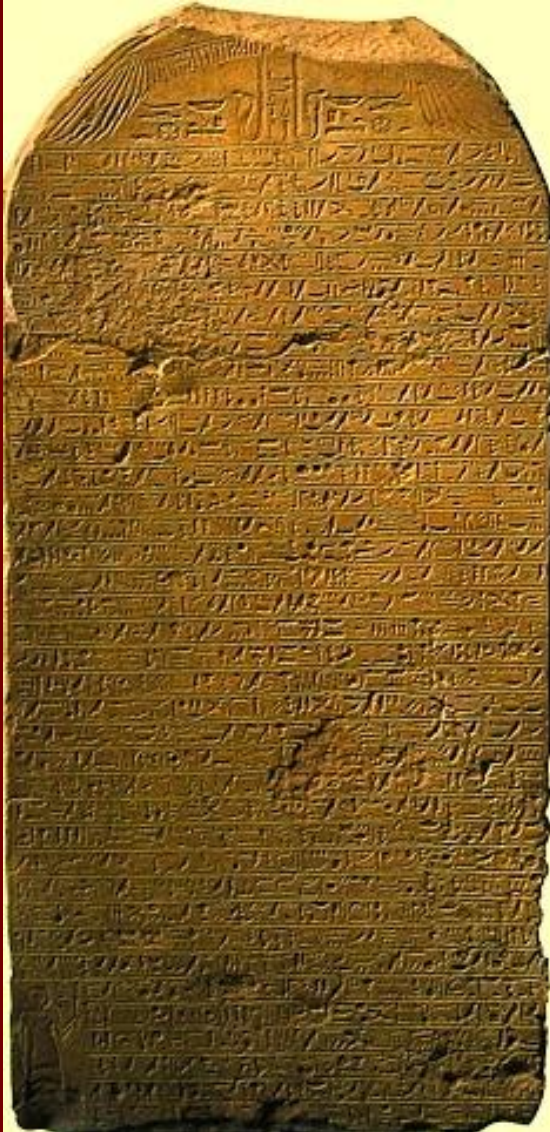


The Quarrel of Seqenenre and Apophis

(novel on Papyrus Sallier I British Museum EA10185, 19th dyn.)

- ❑ It so happened that the land of Kemet was in distress, for there was no Lord who was King of the (entire) region. There was King Seqenenre as ruler of the Southern City, but the distress was in the city of the Asiatics of King Apophis, Avaris. He had seized control over the entire country and its tributes, and likewise the North and all the good products of the Northern Land.
- ❑ Now King Apophis had made Seth the Lord and no longer served any of the gods that were in the entire country, except for Seth. He (even) built him a temple as (mark of) good and eternal servitude, next to the palace of King Apophis and in the morning he would appear to give offerings ///.../// daily to Seth. The courtiers carried in /// exactly as was done in the temple of Re-Harakhte.
- ❑ Now King Apophis wished to send an insulting letter to King Seqenenre, the prince of the Southern City.

Kamose Stelae (Cairo)



- Kamose's soldiers captured a courier bearing a message from the Hyksos king Awoserre Apopi at Avaris to his ally, the ruler of Kush, requesting the latter's urgent support against Kamose
- Kamose ordered to occupy and destroy the Bahariya Oasis in the western desert (controlled the north-south desert route)
- Kamose then sailed southward, back up the Nile to Thebes (victory celebration) after pushing the boundaries northward