

Week 2 Monday
E5

Egyptian Empires in the Levant

HPHP4013

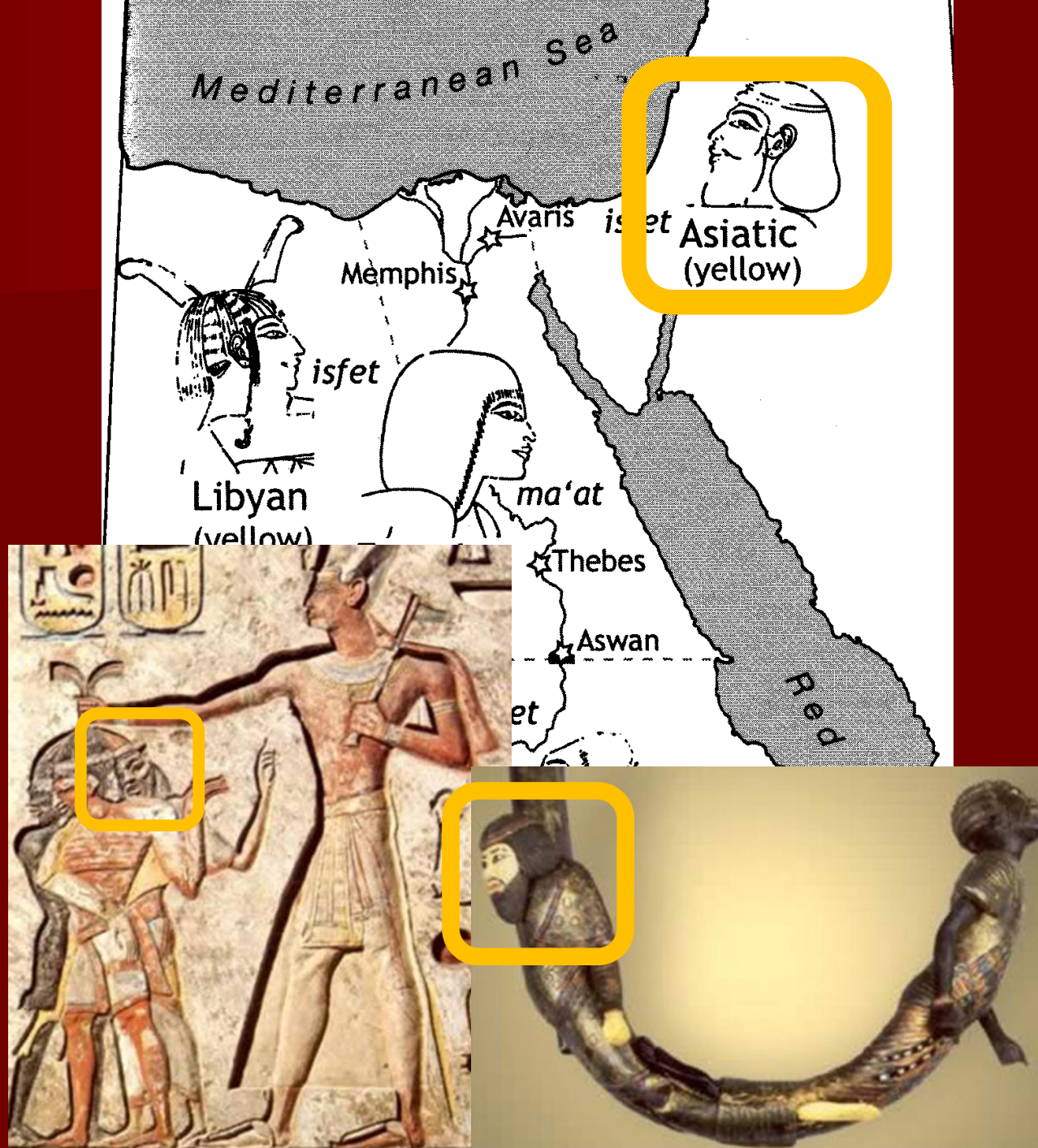
From Egypt to the Near East: Phenomena of the
Mediterranean

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Ethnicity and culture: overlapping with the Levant

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



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.

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)** – **Khnumhotep II**
 - depicts the arrival of an Asiatic prince + followers (men, women, children + asses): brining the nomarch eye paint [kohl]



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



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

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)



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



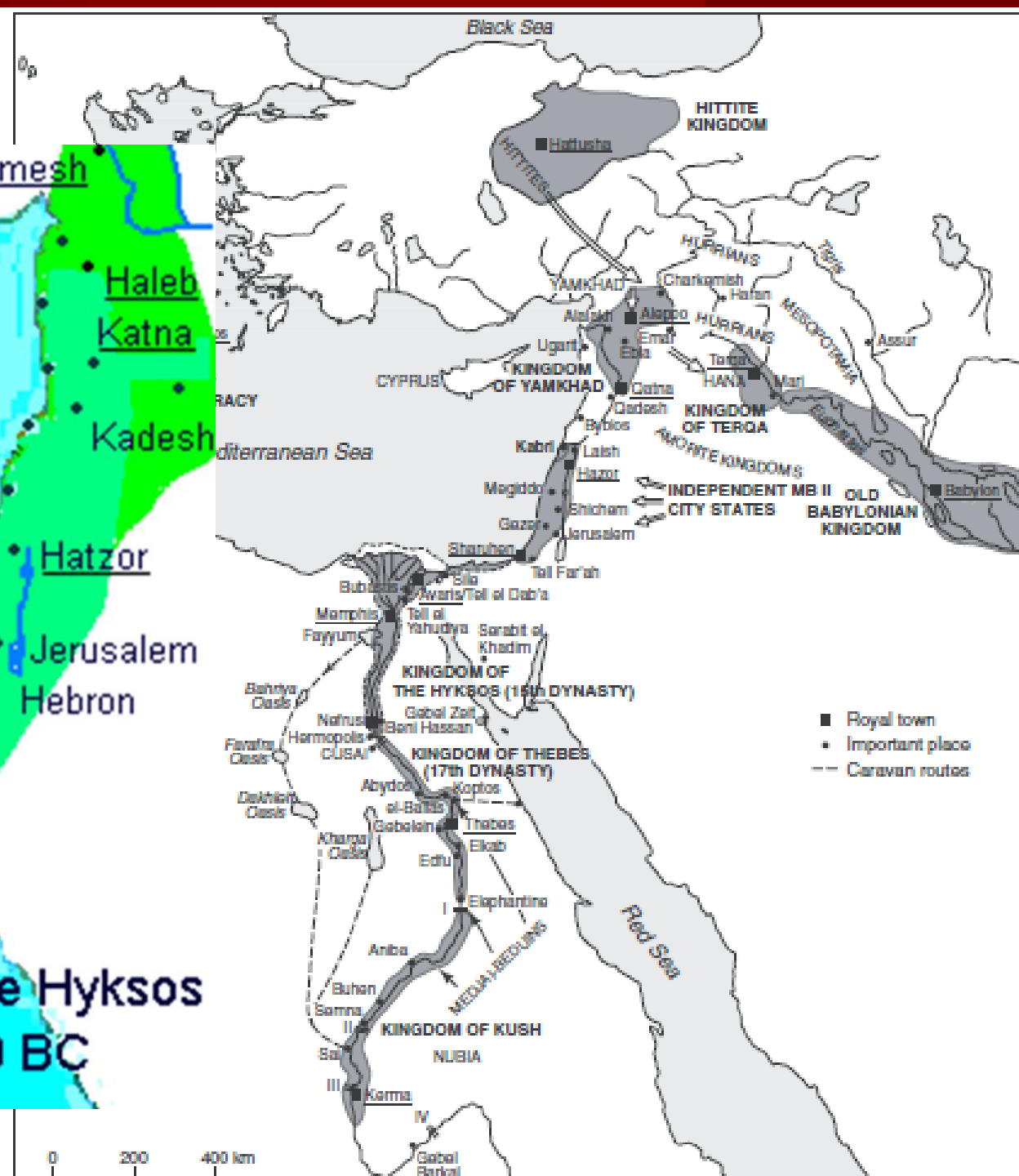
SIP: THE HYKSOS

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)

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
- ❑ **Be careful → Often discussed in Bible Forums as being part or reason for exodus**



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.

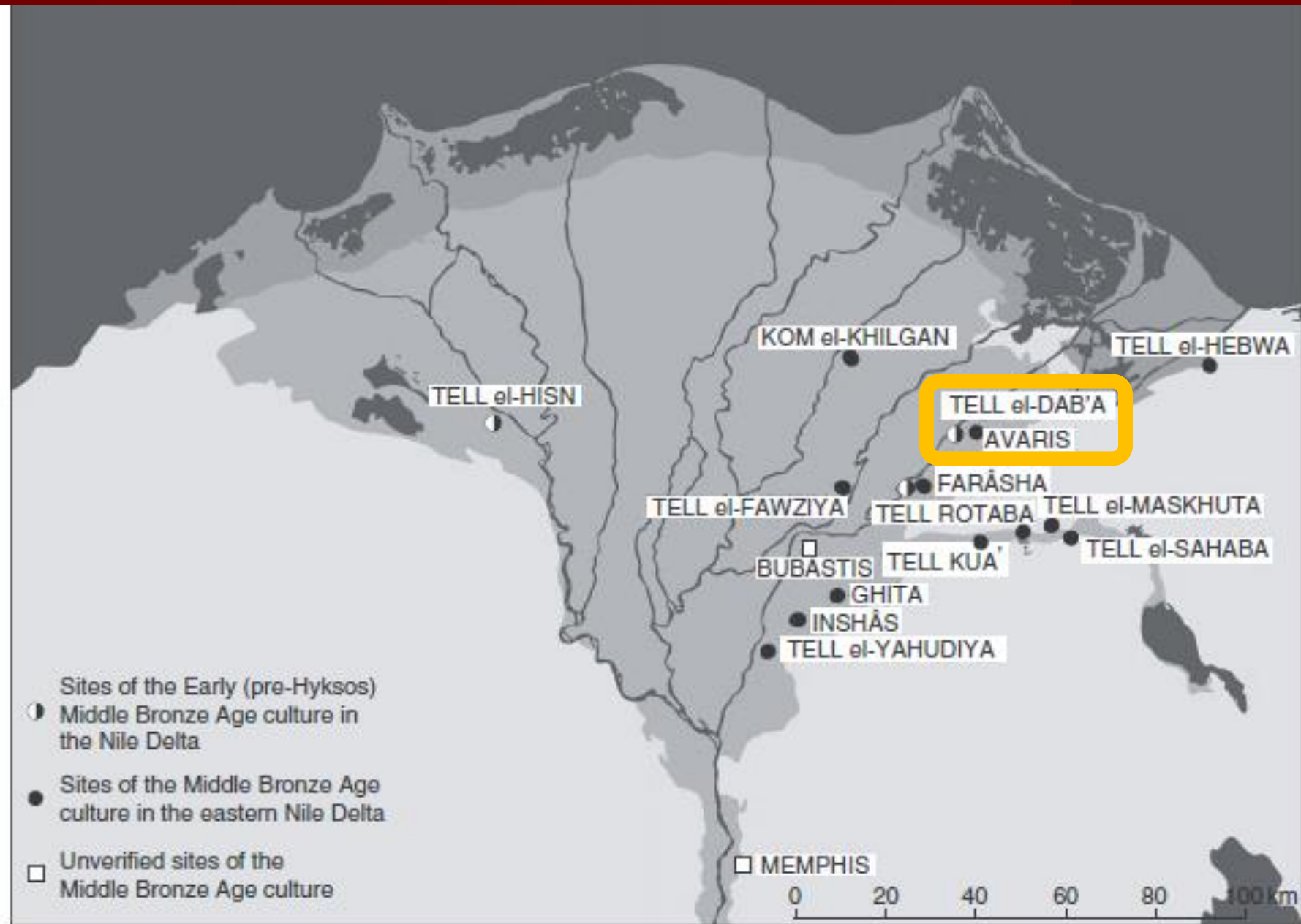


Figure 1 Sites of the Middle Bronze Age culture in the Nile Delta. By Nicola Math, Austrian Academy of Sciences, adapted after M. Bietak, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* 3 (1980: 97–8). © Manfred Bietak.

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



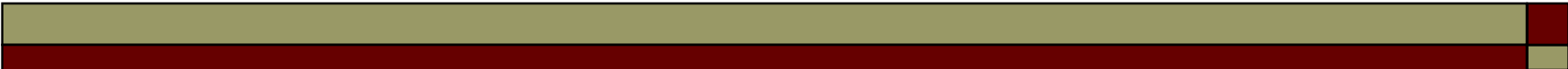
Depictions of griffins in Auvaris



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).

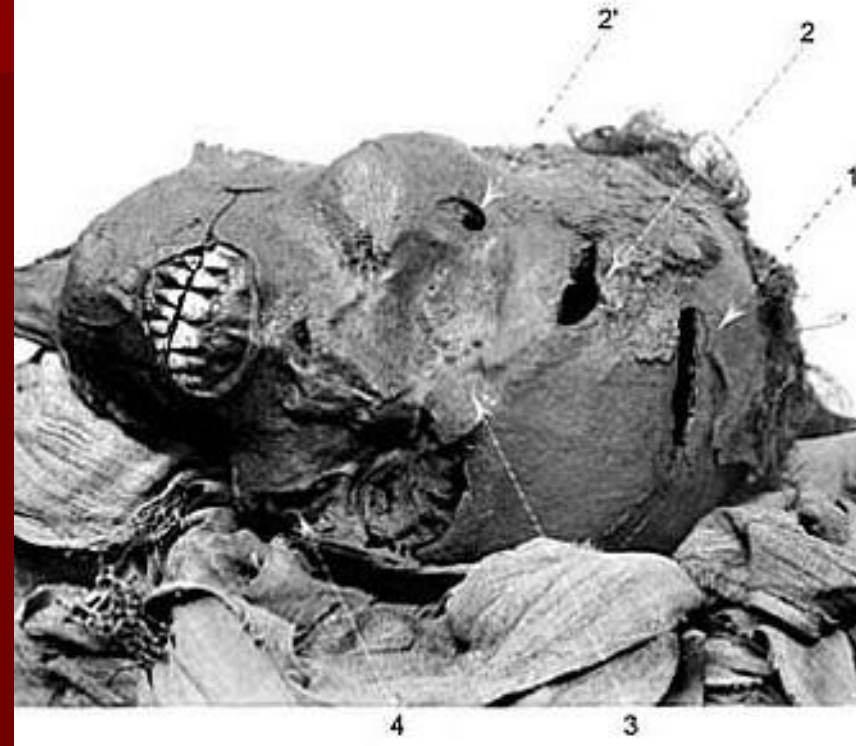


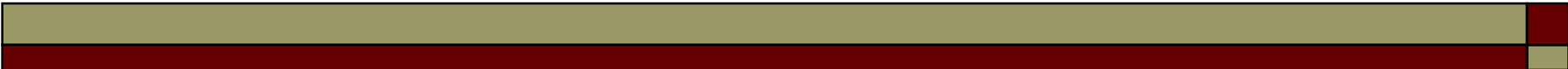
Further historical events

- ❑ 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

Seqenenre II Tao

1. horizontal cut in the 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)



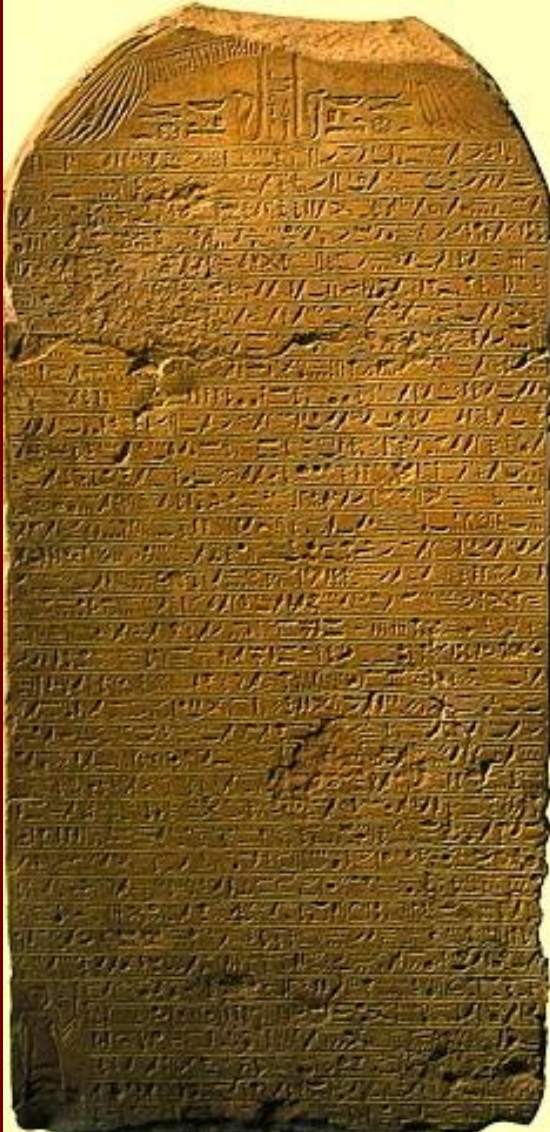


The Quarrel of Seqenenre and Apophis

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

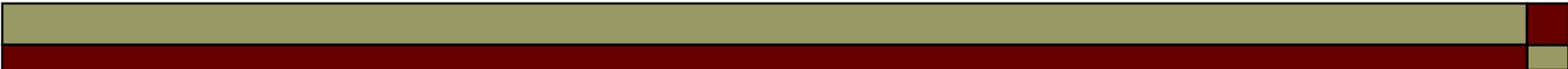
- ❑ It so happened that the land of Kemet was in distress, for there was no Lord who was King of the (entire) region. There was King Seqenenre as ruler of the Southern City, but the distress was in the city of the Asiatics of King Apophis, Avaris. He had seized control over the entire country and its 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

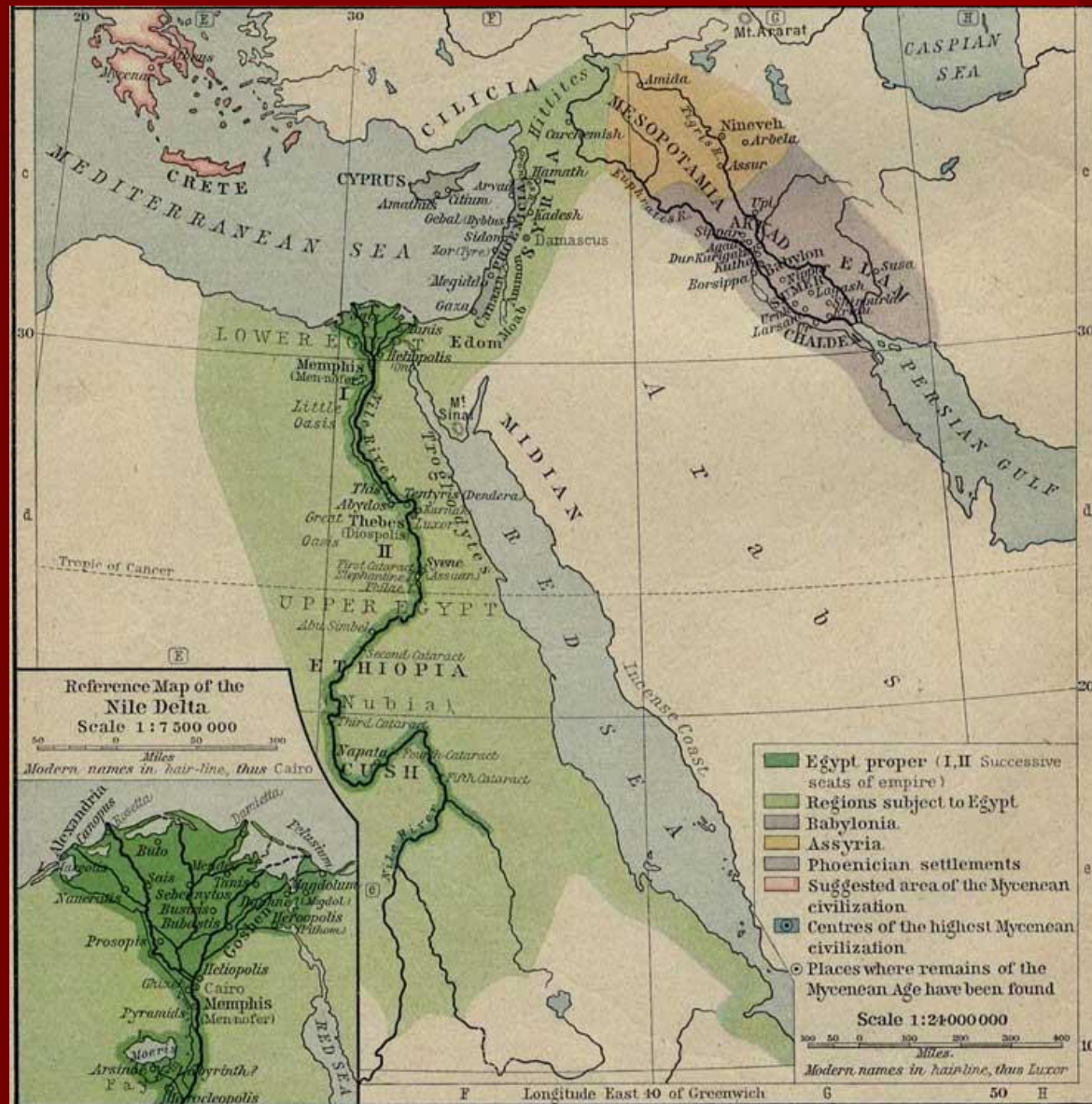
The Egyptian Empire in the New Kingdom



Additional Reading

- ❑ Morris, E.F. (2005). *Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. Leiden: Brill.
- ❑ Wilkinson, R. (2000). *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- ❑ Higginbotham, C. R. (2000). *Egyptianization and elite emulation in Ramesside Palestine : governance and accommodation on the imperial periphery*. Leiden: Brill.
- ❑ Kitchen, K. A. (1982). *Pharaoh triumphant : the life and times of Ramesses II King of Egypt*. Warminster: Aris.
- ❑ Trigger, B.G. , B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor, A.B. Lloyd (1983) *Ancient Egypt: A social history*. Cambridge: CUP. 204-242.

Egyptian Expansion during the NK

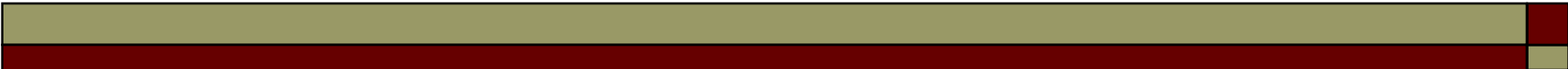


The tomb of Ahmose, Son of Ibana at El Kab



The warrior hero: serving under the rules of Seqen-En-Re Taa II, Kamose, Ahmose I and Thutmosis I.

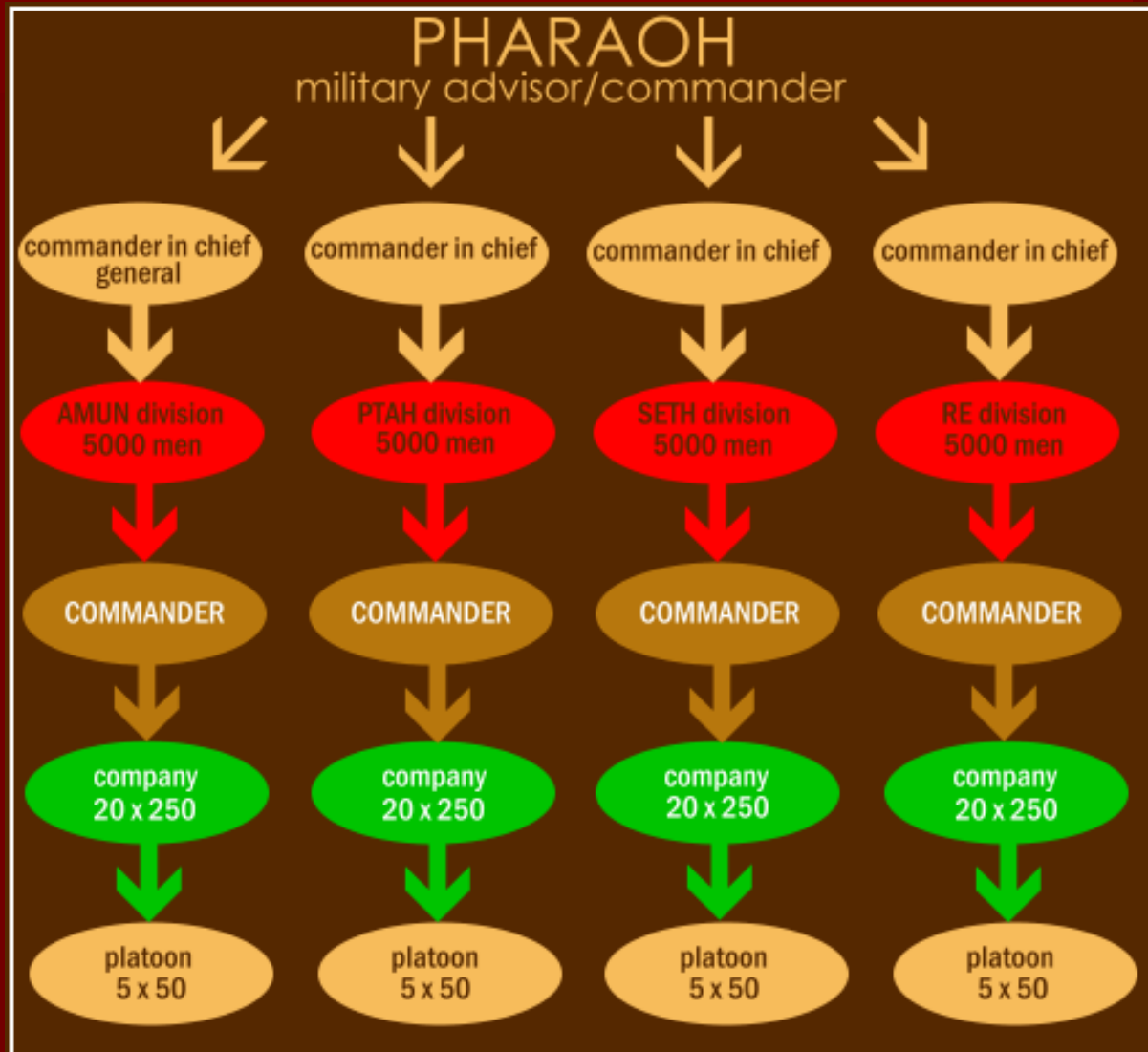
- *I followed the sovereign on foot when he rode about on his chariot. When the town of Avaris was besieged, I fought bravely on foot in his majesty's presence. Thereupon I was appointed to the ship khaemmennefer ("Rising in Memphis"). Then there was fighting on the water in "P'a-djedku" of Avaris. I made a seizure and carried off a hand. When it was reported to the royal herald the gold of valour was given to me.*
- *Now when his majesty had slain the nomads of Asia, he sailed south to Khent-hen-nefer, to destroy the Nubian Bowmen. His majesty made a great slaughter among them, and I brought spoil from there: two living men and three hands. Then I was rewarded with gold once again, and two female slaves were given to me. His majesty journeyed north, his heart rejoicing in valour and victory. He had conquered southerners, northerners. (Urk IV 5,4 – 14)*

- 
-
- Furthermore, he says:: *"I have also been in the favor of the God's wife, the great royal wife "Maat-ka-Ra" (Hatshepsut), the blessed one; I was the tutor of her great daughter, the king's daughter, Neferu-Ra, the blessed one, when she had been an infant."*
 - (quoted after Dorman, 1988, Grimm, Schoske, 1999).

Historical background

- Egyptian empire → enhanced militarism even among educated Eg. society
 - Well equipped armies
 - New: standing army with long-serving soldiers
 - New economic background of new sector of administration: recruiting in young age → training camps, regular campaigns, veterans get grants of land, all depending on administration
 - New sense of soldier identity, separated from normal live
 - Image of military leadership, some pharaohs from soldier background (Horemhab, Ramses I, Sethos I)
- Army as institutionalised armed force

Structure of the army



Ahmosé I (MMA 2006.270)

- fought Hyksos in Auaris (against Apepi Awoserre) → this marked the beginning of the New Kingdom and its expansion politics



Chariot



TT ? (Nebamun) Inspecting the fields



Thutmose III: king and commander of the army

Statue Luxor Museum

Called military genius: 17 raids in 20 years



Campaigns to Syria



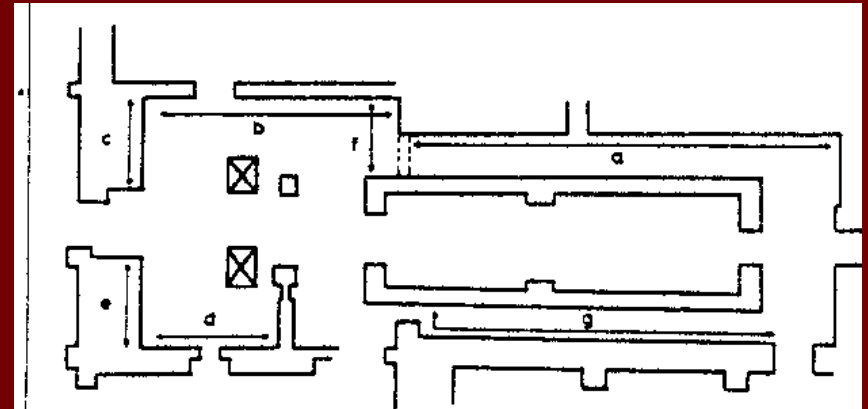
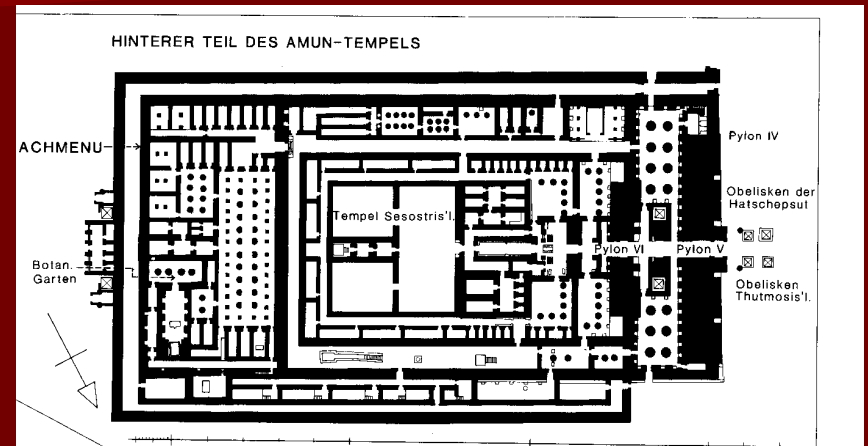
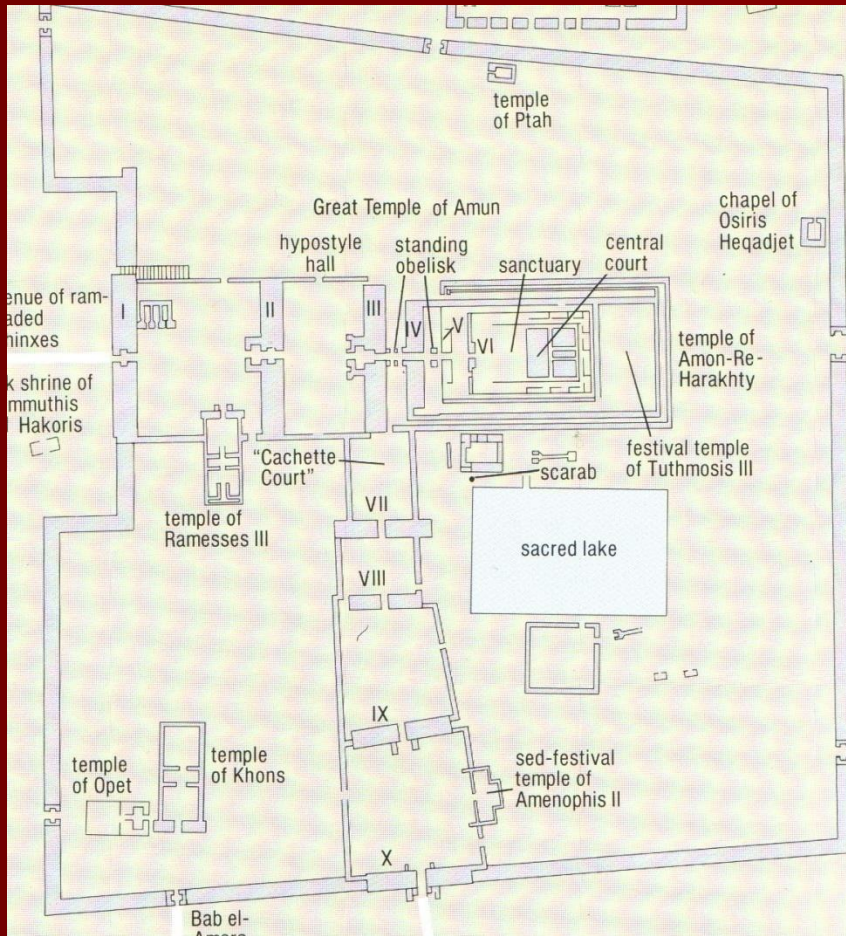
Account of the Battle of Megiddo

- 340 living prisoners; 83 hands; 2,041 mares; 191 foals; 6 stallions; a chariot, wrought with gold, its pole of gold, belonging to that foe; a beautiful chariot, wrought with gold, belonging to the chief of Megiddo; 892 chariots of his wretched army; total, 924 chariots; a beautiful suit of bronze armor, belonging to that foe; a beautiful suit of bronze armor, belonging to the chief of Megiddo; 200 suits of armor, belonging to his wretched army; 502 bows; 7 poles of mry wood, wrought with silver, belonging to the tent of that foe. Behold, the army of his majesty took 1,929 large cattle, 2,000 small cattle, 20,500 white small cattle

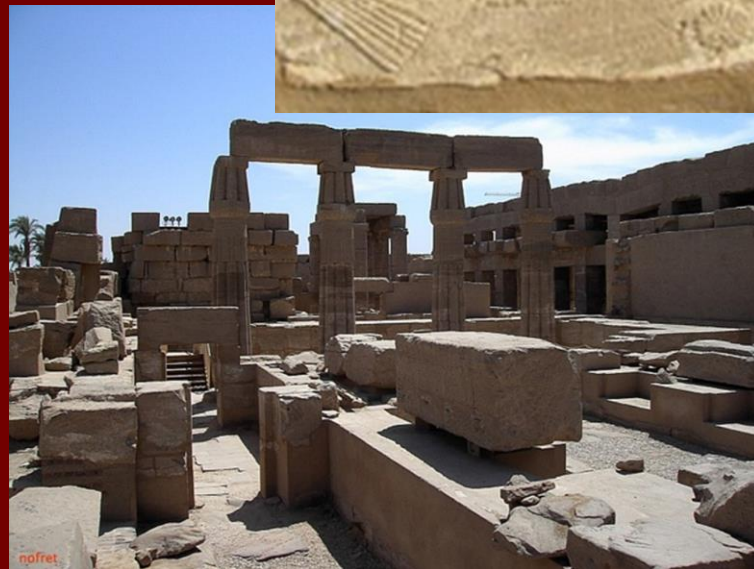
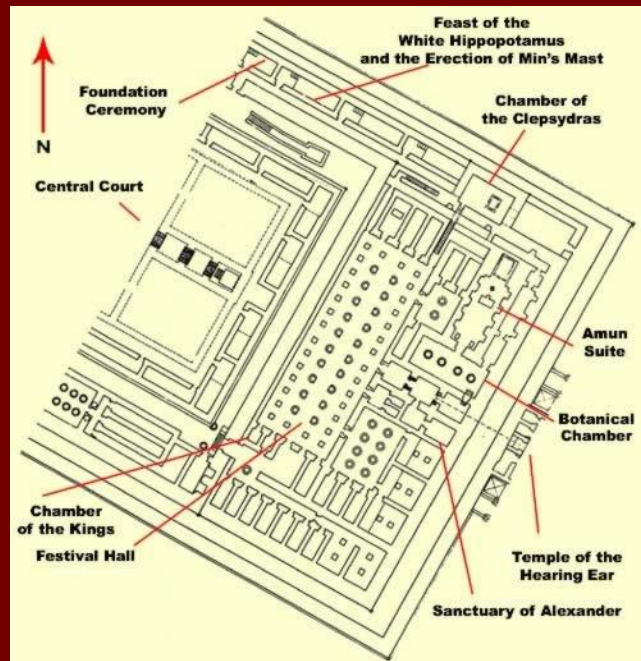
Account of the Battle of Megiddo

- → described in Urkunden IV (Karnak)
- Now, all that his majesty did to this city, to that wretched foe and his wretched army, was recorded on each day by its the day's name. Then it was recorded upon a roll of leather in the temple of Amon this day.

Karnak: Hall of Annals (record of Battle of Megiddo)

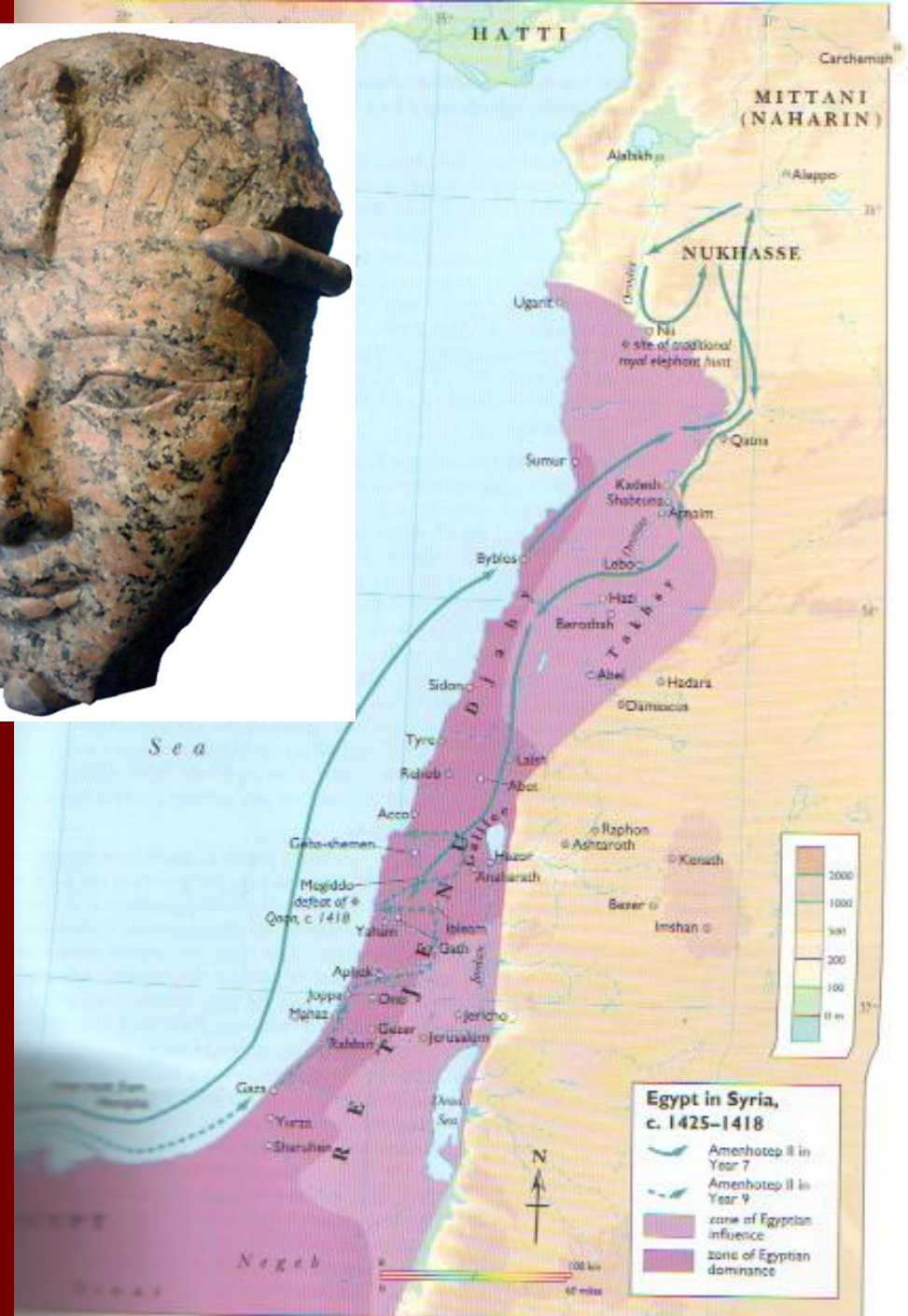


The **Akhmenu** = structure (Thutmose III) at eastern end of the Karnak sometimes referred to as "Festival Hall of Thutmose III" consists of Festival Hall and Botanical Garden



Egypt in Syria under AII

- first campaign: third regnal year: pharaoh was attacked by the host of Qatna while crossing the Orontes river
- → king well known for physical prowess (killed singlehandedly 7 rebel Princes at Kadesh): bodies were hung on city walls throughout the country (Thebes, Nubia, Napata) as example of the consequence of rising against Pharaoh



Thutmose IV

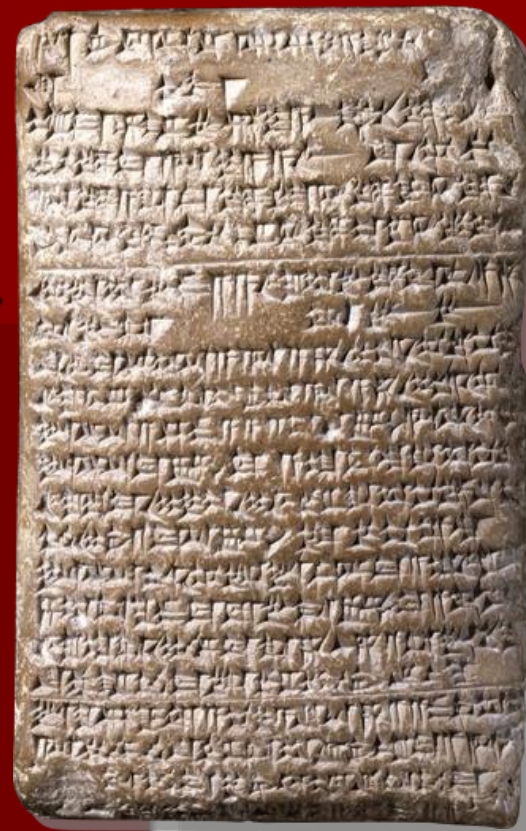
Louvre, Paris

- More diplomacy than military campaigns:
- Peace with Mitanni, Mitanni princess as wife
- Campaigns to Syria (record in Amarna Letters), married Syrian princess
- Campaigns against Mitanni vassals and rebellious city states



The Amarna Letters

- Ancient diplomatic archive discovered at Amarna in 1887 - Bureau of Correspondence of Pharaoh
- 382 tablets known, including some scribal training texts (Mesopotamian myths/epics, Akkadian wordlists, etc.)
- Most received from elsewhere; some written in Egypt
- Written in cuneiform script
- Vast majority in bastardized "Babylonian" Akkadian, Some in the Assyrian dialect of Akkadian; others in Hurrian and Hittite



William L. Moran, The Amarna Letters, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992

- Amarna corpus of 380+ letters: several from Egyptian vassals to notify the Pharaoh that they have followed his instructions → (EA 378) :
- *To the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun from the sky: Message of Yapahu, the ruler of Gazru, your servant, the dirt at your feet. I indeed prostrate myself at the feet of the king, my lord, my god, my Sun...7 times and 7 times, on the stomach and on the back. I am indeed guarding the place of the king, my lord, the Sun of the sky, where I am, and all the things the king, my lord, has written me, I am indeed carrying out--everything! Who am I, a dog, and what is my house... and what is anything I have, that the orders of the king, my lord, the Sun from the sky, should not obey constantly?*

International correspondence (“Great Powers”)

Two chief groups of letters

International correspondence
 (“Great Powers”)

Correspondence from vassals

Letters from rulers of powerful
 nations

Mainly concerned with
 “brotherhood” through royal gift
 exchange, diplomatic marriages,
 and lists of marriage gifts



Egypt's neighbors:

Aegean and Anatolian
places at Kawm al-Hitan
(Amenhotep III)

Direct contacts with
Mycenæan and Minoan
cultures

Mycenaeans found
at Amarna in large numbers

Aegean soldiers in Egyptian
military



Egypt's neighbors: Asia

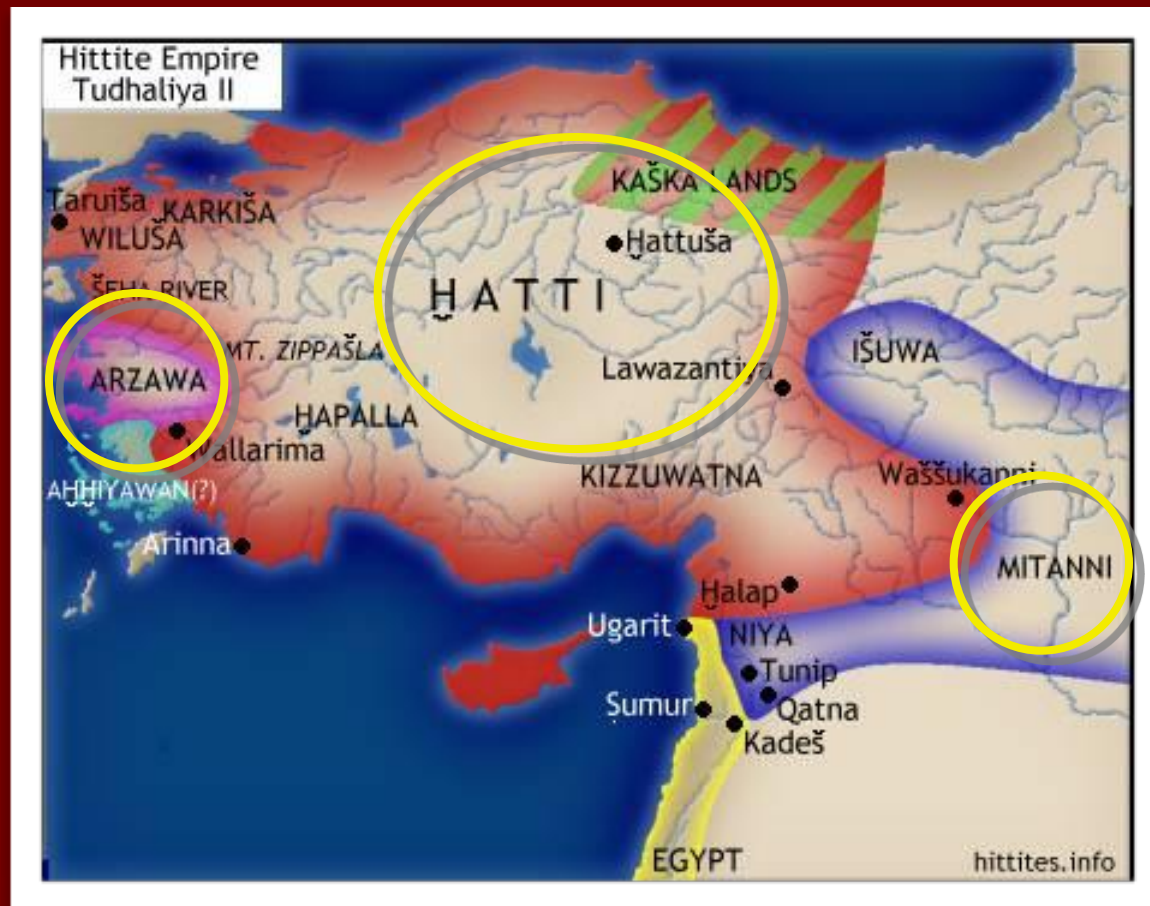
Anatolia (Hittite empire)
and Cyprus

Mesopotamia (Mittanian
empire, Assyria,
Babylonia)

The Levant (Palestine,
Lebanon, Syria)



Amenhotep III's Foreign Policy



Amenhotep III's foreign policy: diplomatic marriages

- Regnal Year 10: Gilukhepa, daughter of king Šuttarna of Mittani, arrives in Egypt, along with 317 servant women
- 20 years later, Amenhotep bargains for her niece, Tadukhepa, the daughter of king Tušratta
- Also married two Babylonian princesses and a daughter of the king of Arzawa (western Anatolia, Lydia, bordered with the Hittites)
- Kings often nervous about sending their daughters

Amarna Letter EA 1

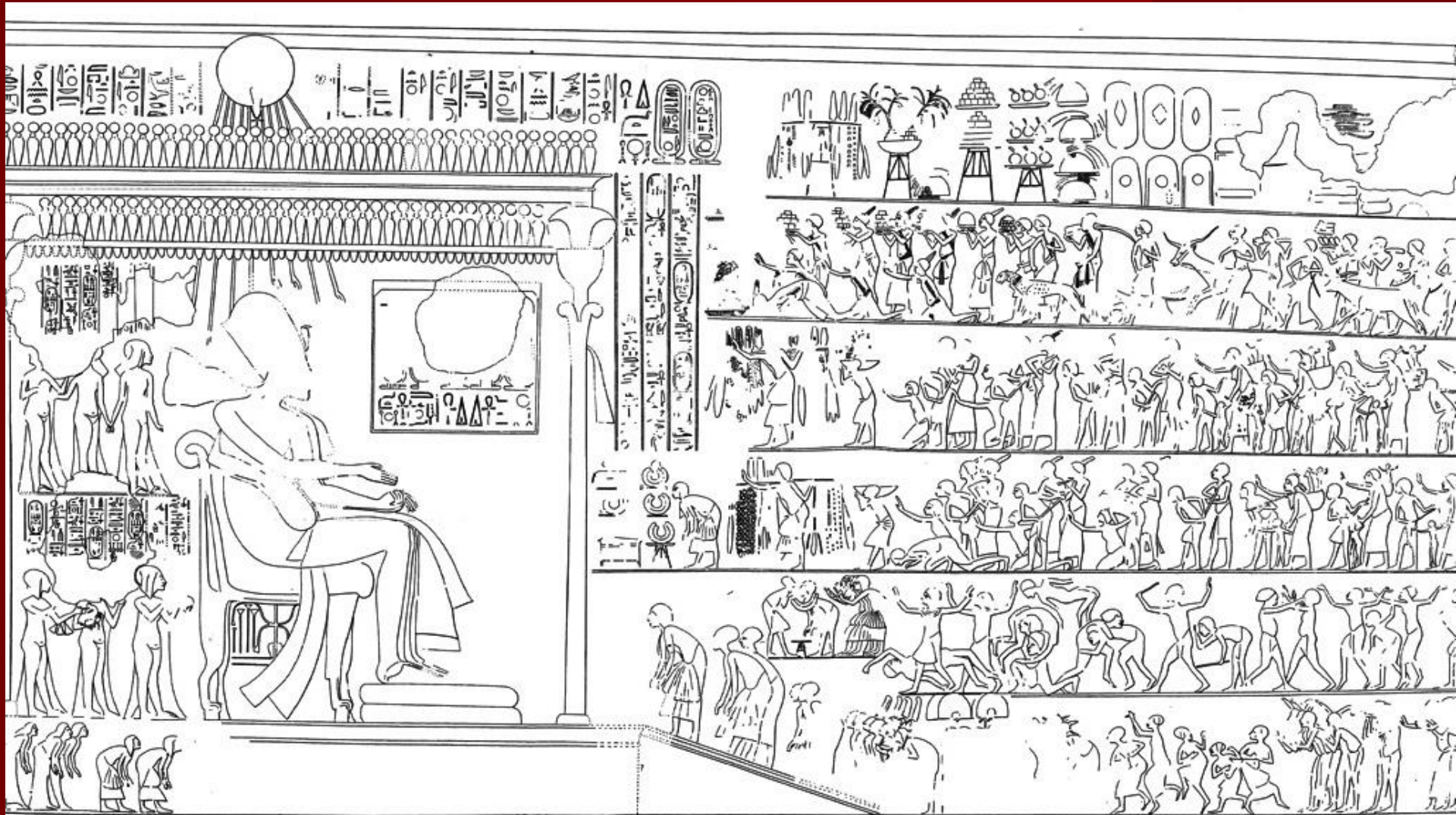
- *Letter of Kadašman-Enlil I, king of Babylon:*
- Here you are asking for my daughter in marriage, but my sister whom my father gave you was (already) there with you, and nobody has seen her (so as to know) if now she is alive or if she is dead.

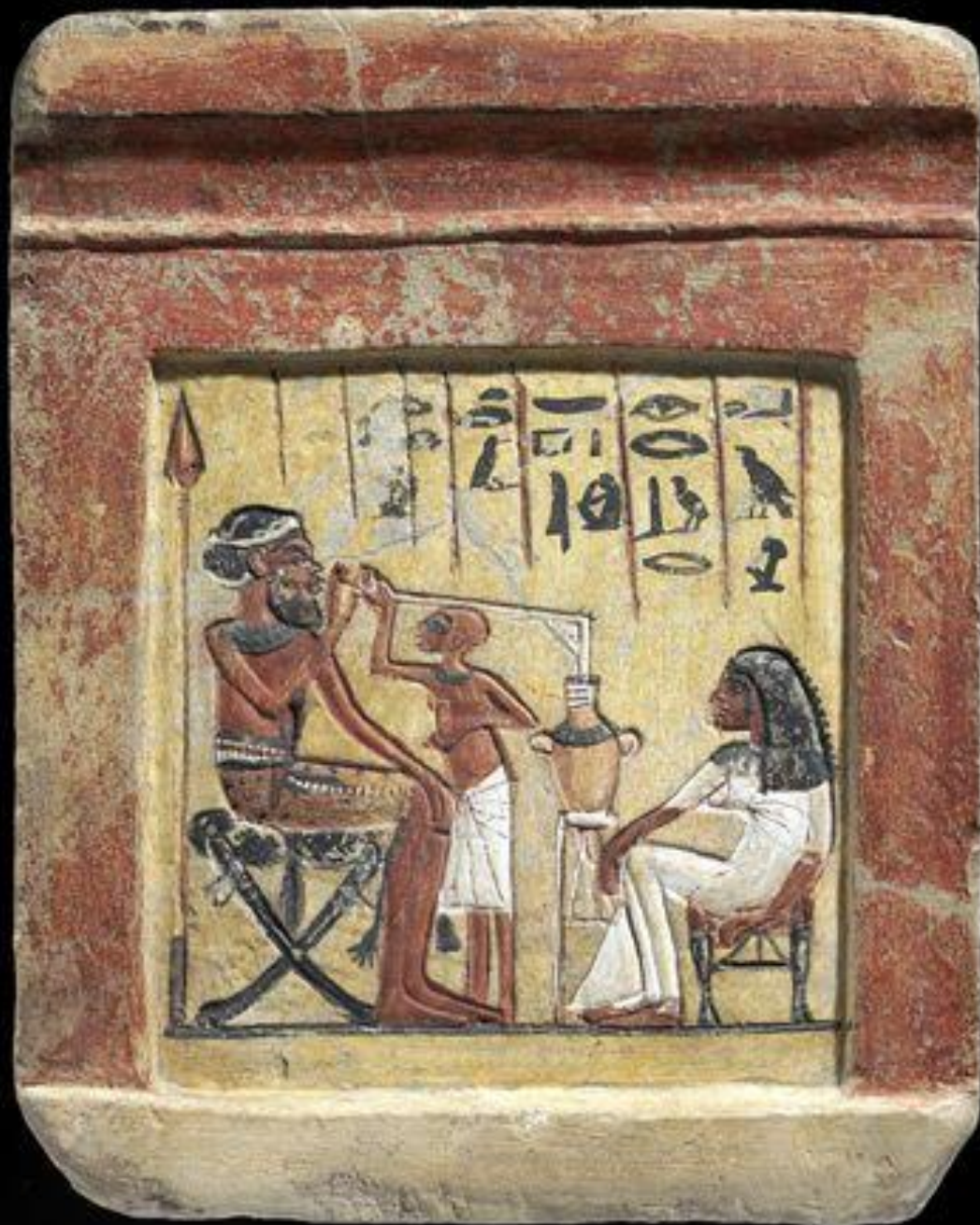
The Great Syrian War

- Regnal Year 12 of Akhenaten, Hittite king Šuppilulimaš invaded Mitanni, sacking Waššukanni and driving king Tušratta into exile
- Mitannian vassals in northern Syria now under Hittite control
- Hittites avoid any direct conflict with Egypt



Tomb of Mery-Re II





Egyptian
soldier drinking
beer with straw

Egyptian
Museum Berlin
ÄM 14122

from Amarna, time
Akhenaten

New type of “foreigner” in Egypt

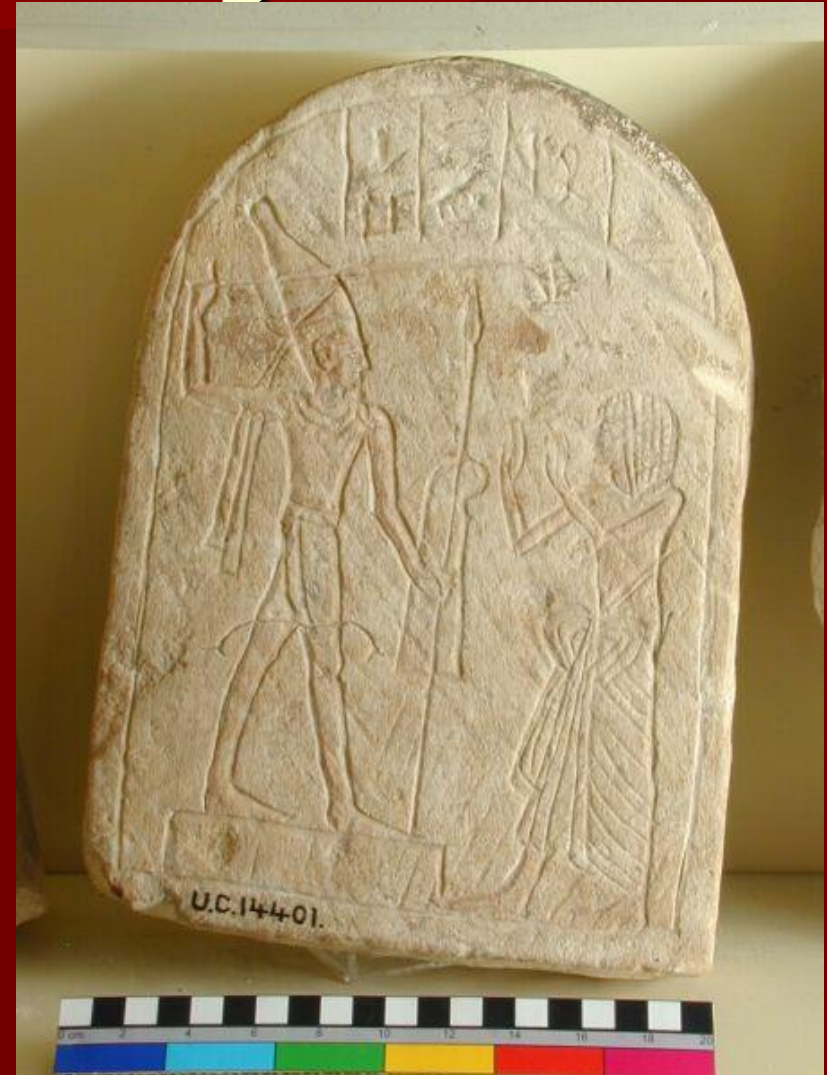


- Stela UCL 14392
- 19th dyn. (cartouche Merenptah)
- showing in the middle Ptah
- behind him **Asiatic goddess** Astarte with titles: 'lady of the sky, lady of all gods'

New type of foreigner



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



Development of a god: Egyptianization



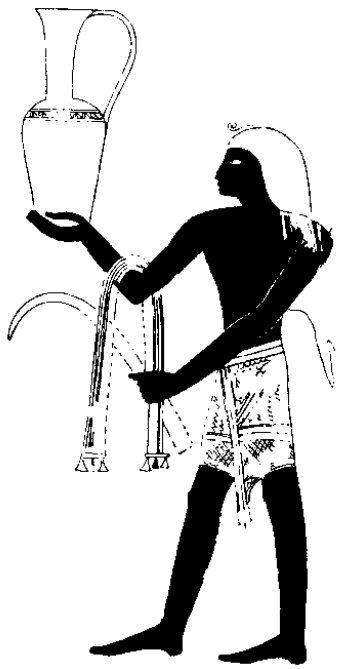
Evidence for international contacts

- ❑ Archaeological remains in foreign precincts or foreigners in Egypt – indicates contact
- ❑ Textual evidence (firmer ground)
- ❑ Artistic influences on foreign artisans (very elusive) and other way round
- ❑ NK (mostly 18. dyn.): additional source!

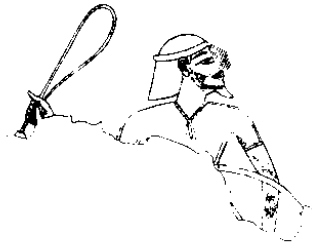
Tombs of nobles in Thebes – frescoes of foreign emissaries: men and woman, carrying tributes, gifts, items → most interest in Aegeans

TT63 Treasurer Sobekhotep: Foreign Tribute (BM 1869,1025.5)

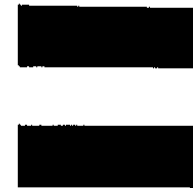




A



B

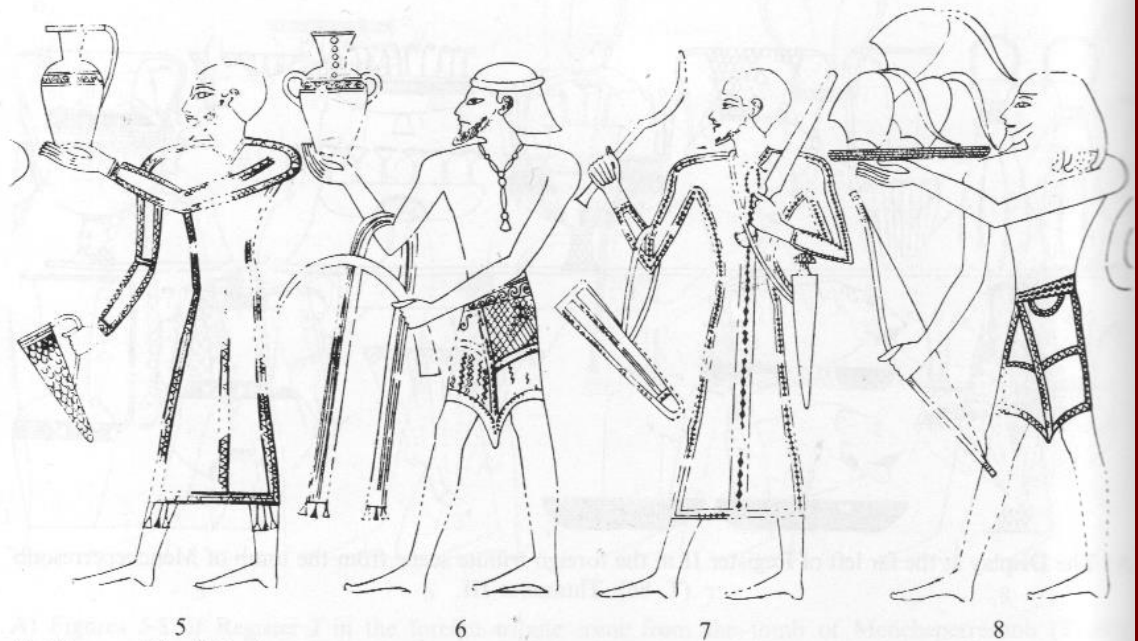


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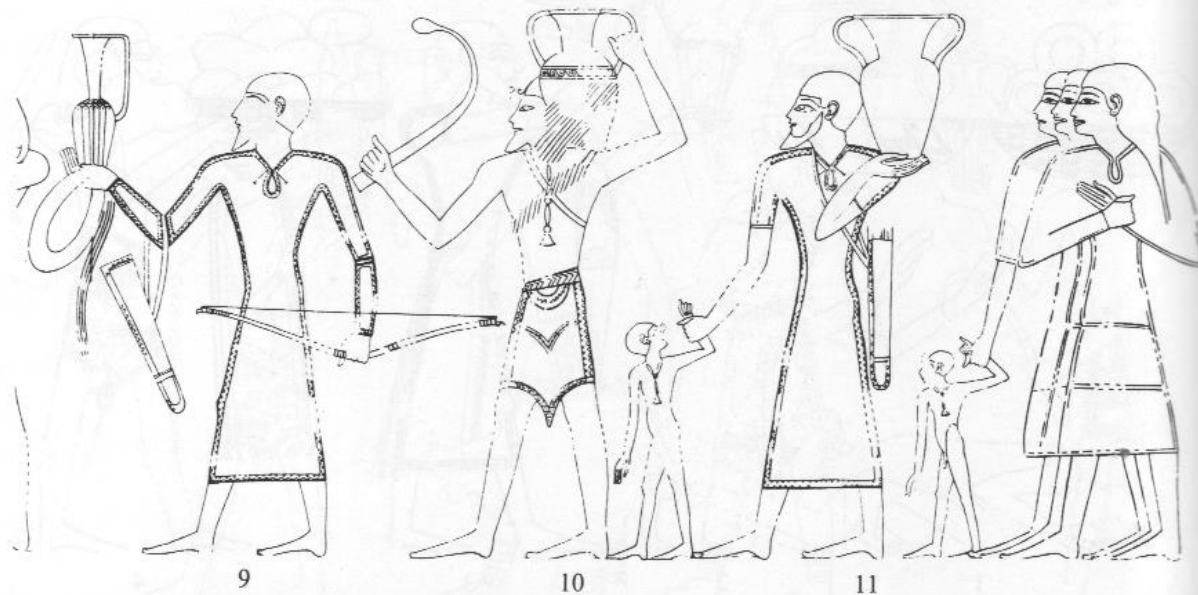
Hybridism. A clearly hybrid figure (right) is composed by combining the red skin colour and skirt of an Aegean (left) and the bearded head with head band of a typical Syrian (middle). Tomb of Mencheperresonb (T. 86). Thutmose III.

Register II: Hybrid types

- Figure 6: skin colour, kilt = Aegean; but bearded + Syrians head
- Figure 8: pseudo-Aegean skirt, curled locks, but beard
- Figure 10: seems Aegean forehead, but Syrian beard, Libyan cross belt + pendant necklace; made up skirt (pointed, decorated border, V-shaped hem)



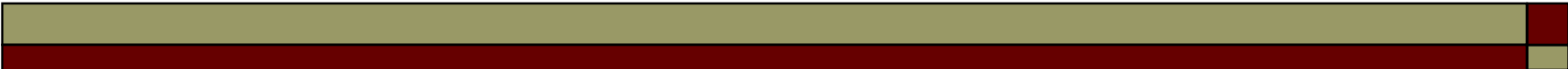
A) Figures 5-8 of Register II in the foreign tribute scene from the tomb of Mencheperresonb (T. 86). Thutmose III.



B) Figures 9-11 and women of Register II in the foreign tribute scene from the tomb of Mencheperresonb (T. 86). Thutmose III.

Cretan envoy (TT39 Puimre, 18. Dyn.) → Keftiu?





Aegeans

- ❑ Only men are portrayed: Dark brown-red skin colour (same as Eg. men)
- ❑ Clean shaven
- ❑ Some “Keftiu” are bearded, but mistaken Syrian or hybrid
- ❑ Profile very close to Eg. one, but with variations
- ❑ Curly hair with locks of varying length (very distinctive) with spiral curls at forehead
- ❑ Clothing: loincloth with belt or richly embroidered kilt falling to a point between leg (close resemblance to Minoan reliefs)

Syrians / Hittites

- Painted in yellow (irrespective of sex)



B) Types of Syrian long dress as portrayed in Egyptian New Kingdom representational art. Types B-D according to Pritchard's division.

**Karnak,
Hypostyle Hall
(exterior),
Kadesh battle,
Seti I
→ architecture
and art as
propaganda**



Ramses II, Turin

- Seated black granite statue
- Elegant , going back to TIII style, but a little bit “too cold”
- Seems to be static, no inventiveness as in battle reliefs



The new capital: Pi-Ramesse (House of Ramses)

- ❑ Ramesses II moved capital from southern Egypt into the Delta, probably both to escape the influence of the powerful priests at Thebes, and to be nearer to the coasts ancient Mediterranean in order to protect Egypt's borders

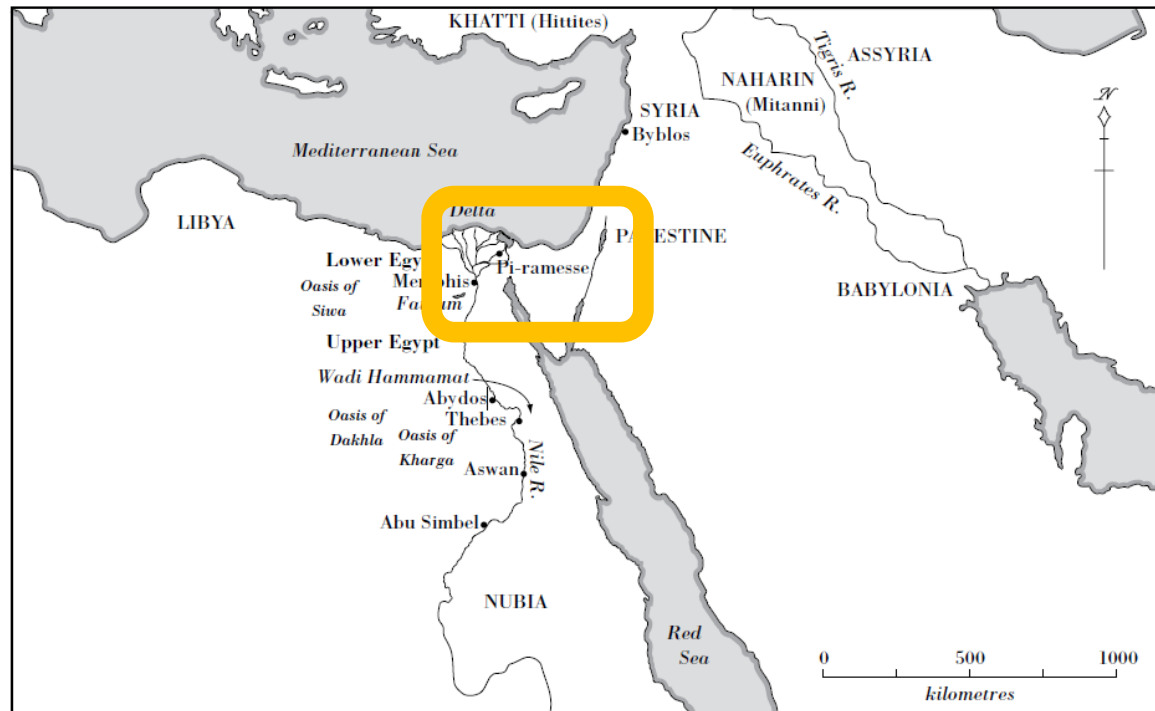


FIGURE 1.1 Map of Egypt in the Ramesside period

**(Stela Hildesheim
0374)**

Award of the Gold of Honour to a soldier

NEW KINGDOM: 19TH
DYNASTY: RAMESSES
II / USERMAATRE-
SETEPENRE

From Tell Horbeit,
Quantir



Clay mummy- like coffins Lachish

Egyptian officials
and soldiers
stationed in
Canaan →
Egyptian style
burial practice
(BM ME 1980-12-
14,4297)

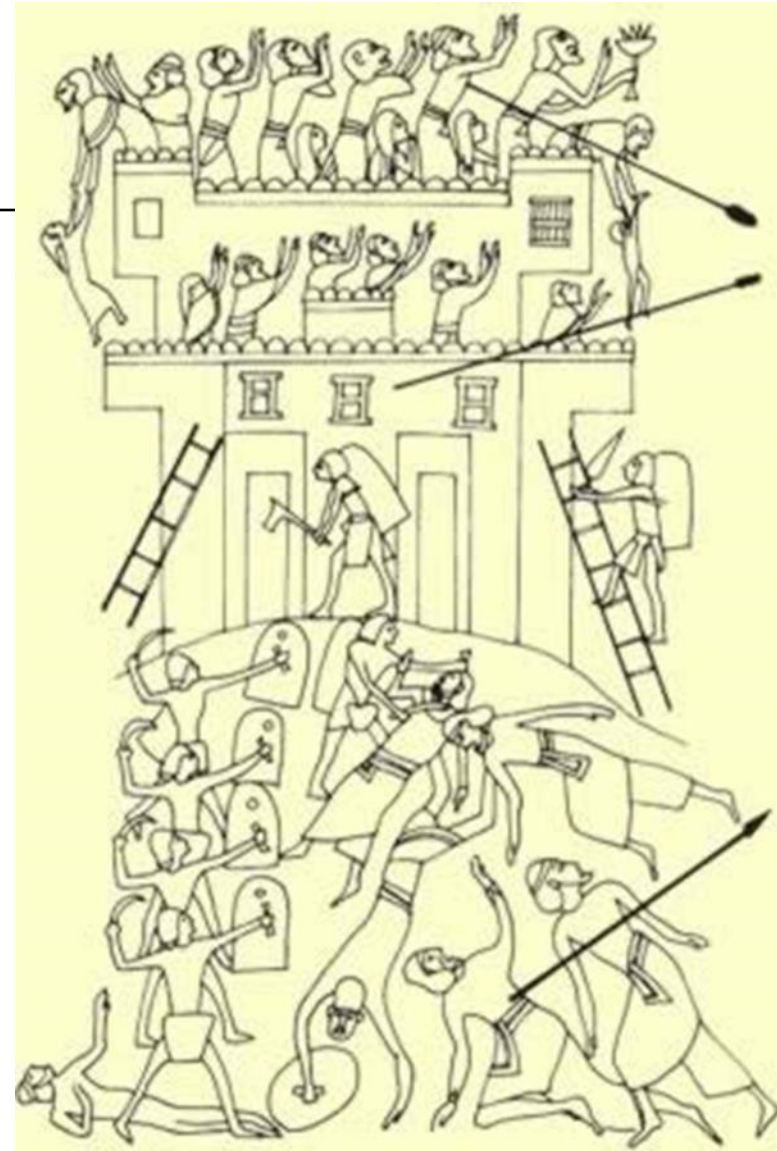


Ramesses II – Interconnection with the outside world

- numerous campaigns to return previously held territories back from Nubian and Hittite hands and to secure Egypt's borders
- responsible for suppressing some Nubian revolts, a campaign in Libya, enjoyed more than a few outright victories over the enemies of Egypt
- Battle of Kadesh
- Egyptian army is estimated to have totaled about 100,000 men

Ramesses II

- Battle against Sea Peoples:
Shardana, Lukka, Shekelesh
- Syrian Campaigns
 - First: Canaan, Palestine,
captured Amurru



Ramesses II

- Second: Battle of Kadesh (year 5)
 - Accounts at several temples, earliest = Abydos: Karnak and Ramesseum = 2 versions, Abu Simbel = condensed one



Battle of Kadesh (Karnak version)



Interesting:

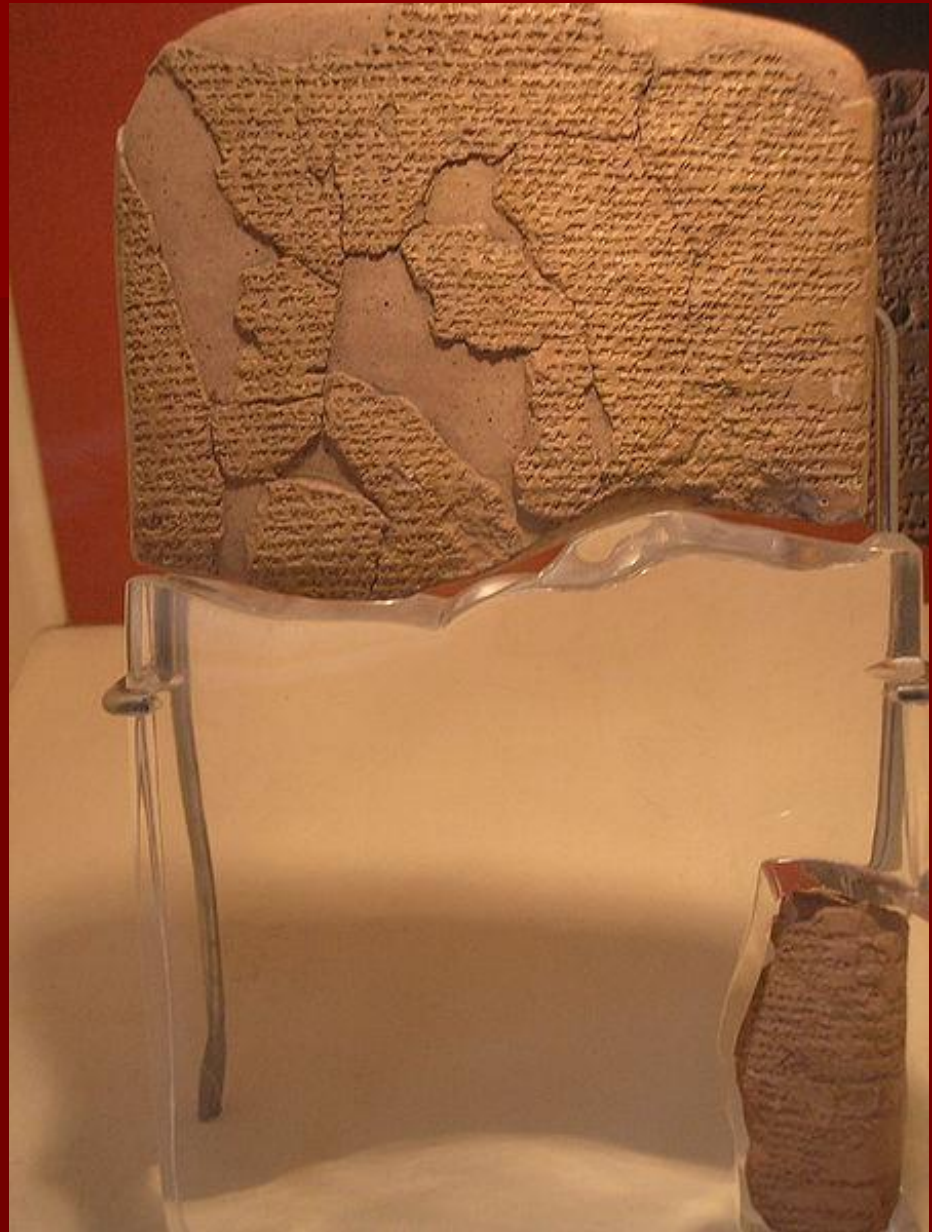
- ❑ In the battle of Kadesh – “merceneries” on Egyptian site
 - Lived and died in the Nile valley!, owned land
 - Nubians
 - Asiatic Apiru
 - Sherdana (Middle Egypt)
 - Teheru (at first on Hittite site, later on Egyptian!)

Peace treaty with the Hittites

- ❑ deposed Hittite king, Mursili III fled to Egypt, after the failure of his plots to oust his uncle from the throne, Hattusili III demanded his nephew back to Hatti, Ramses refused → crisis
- ❑ Finally 21st regal year (1258 BC): agreement with the new Hittite king at Kadesh, Hattusili III, to end the conflict → document is the earliest known peace treaty in world history
- ❑ Treaty recorded in two versions (dual-language recording): hieroglyphs (Karnak, Ramesseum, Abu Simbel), Akkadian (cuneiform script), texts differ, even most is identical (Hittite version claims that the Egyptians came suing for peace, while the Egyptian version claims the reverse)
- ❑ Peace kept: King of Mira tried to involve Ramesses in a hostile act against the Hittites, Egyptian refused - Hittite did the same

Ramses II

Tablet of treaty
between Hattusili III
of Hatti and
Ramesses II of
Egypt, at the
Istanbul
Archaeology
Museum



Merenptah

- Campaign to Libya, year 5: fighting coalition of Meshwesh and Sea People after settlement invasion (Libyans brought their families)
 - Lacking pictorial evidence, but any narrative and literary texts (longest in Karnak) → Long list of captives and slains (6000 + 2400 Sea People in total)

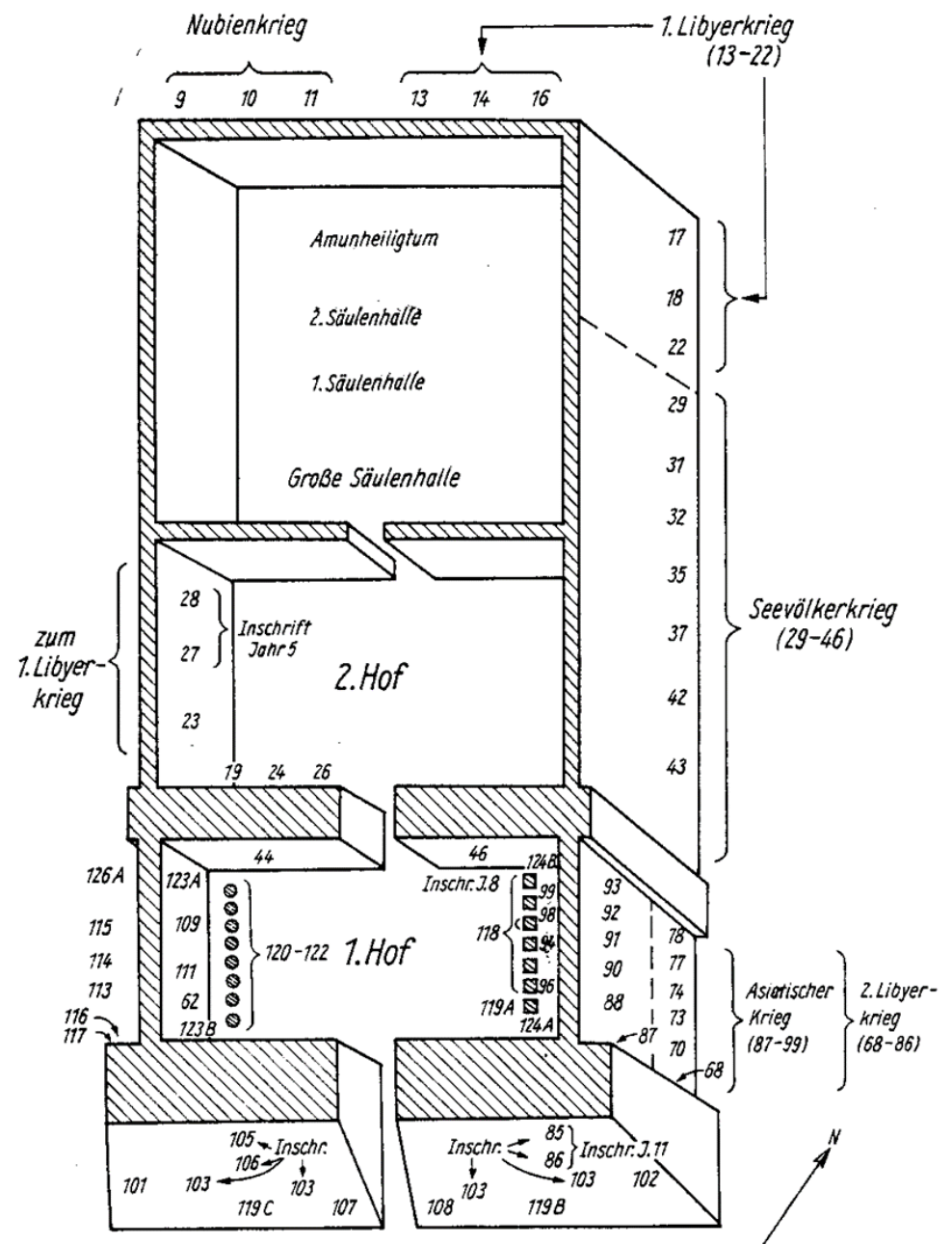
Israel Stele

Hymn of victory over
the Libyans

Key northern Delta
cities closed their gates
→ Merenptah took
thread serious



Medinet Habu



R III, Medinet Habu Sea Battle



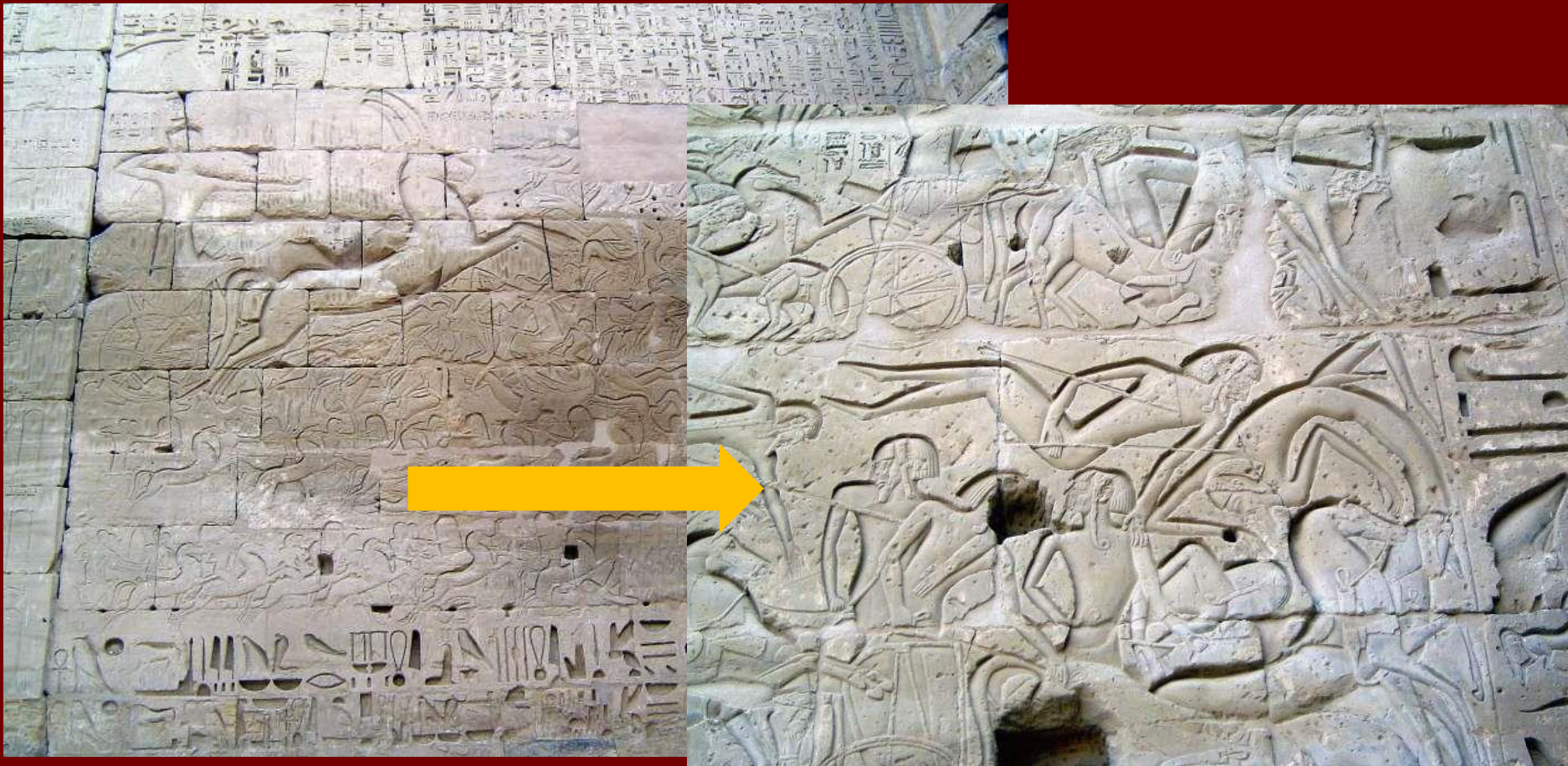
Land Battle



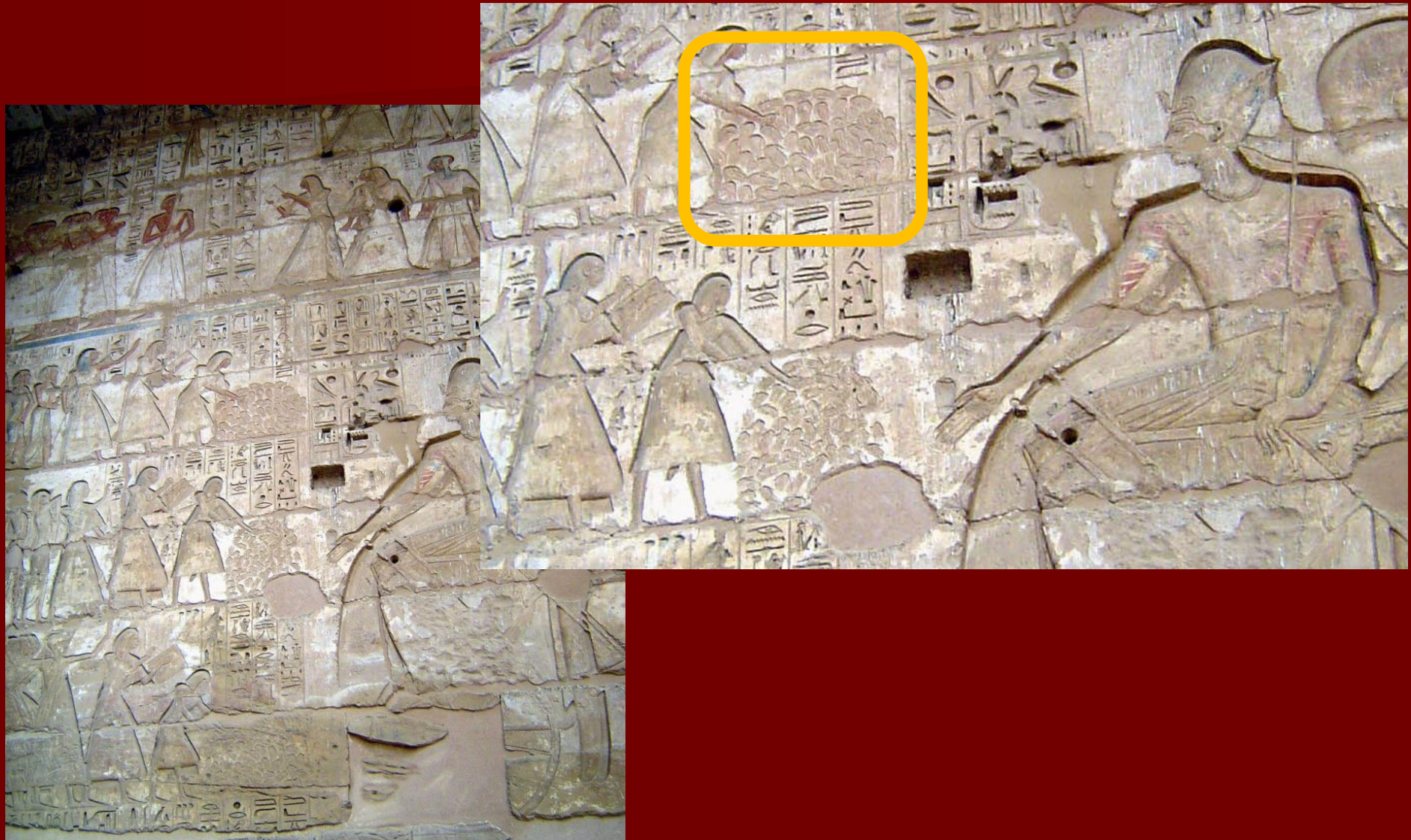
Medinet Habu: victorious battle

**Back of first pylon: king
drives through battle**

Close up: bodies



Trophies: severed body parts to count the besieged enemies



Trophies: severed body parts to count the besieged enemies



16 severed hands found



Found in Auvaris

- Autobiography Ahmose, son of Ibana:

"Then I fought hand to hand. I brought away a hand. It was reported to the royal herald." → was given "the gold of valor", "gold in double measure,"

- who started this gruesome tradition? → Cutting off the right hand of an enemy was a practice undertaken by both the Hyksos and the Egyptians, here seems Hyksos, but no records of the practice found in Hyksos' likely homeland of northern Canaan; very likely picked up from Egyptian tradition
- = earliest evidence of practice, but smiting of enemies already seen on Narmer palette