

ASIATICS AND LEVANTINE(-INFLUENCED) PRODUCTS IN NUBIA: EVIDENCE FROM THE MIDDLE KINGDOM TO THE EARLY SECOND INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

Anna-Latifa Mourad*

Abstract: The Second Intermediate Period is exemplified by the division of Egypt into several dynasties. As current research proposes, those who held administrative control in the north were of Near Eastern origin, their power likely stemming from commercial ventures initiated in the preceding Middle Kingdom when dynamic trade networks spanned the region. The resulting cultural encounters were complex and multifaceted, with various groups and ideas crossing borders. Yet, shifts in power from the Twelfth Dynasty to the Second Intermediate Period would have feasibly affected such encounters. The evidence examined here focusses on Levantine elements in Nubia: the presence of people of Near Eastern ancestry and products of Levantine influence that crossed the southern borders of Egypt. It concludes with observations on shifts in the nature of these encounters, and how such shifts could be connected to other political and cultural developments associated with the fall of the Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period.

Keywords: Hyksos Period; Middle Kingdom; Second Intermediate Period; Nubia; Asiatics; intercultural contacts

The period spanning the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period witnessed heightened interactions between the Egyptians and their neighbours. Various groups from the Near East and Nubia travelled into Egypt for diplomatic, commercial, vocational and, as some would argue, hostile pursuits. Egyptian rulers also embarked on several military and commercial campaigns to the

south and north-east, safeguarding Egyptian economic interests while satisfying ideological responsibilities.¹ Middle Kingdom interests in the Levant were largely commercial in nature, with little evidence for direct administrative control. In the south, however, the Egyptians built a series of forts and garrisons along the Nile, benefitting from Nubia's rich natural resources and strategic location. The resulting cultural encounters were complex and multifaceted, leading to dynamic trade networks that bridged Africa, Asia and the Aegean. Eventually, groups of Near Eastern origin increased in population and power in Egypt, their dominance likely manifesting in the rise of independent dynasties in the Delta, including that of the Hyksos. The concurrent decline in pharaonic power, however, led to the central administration's loss of Egyptian strongholds in the south, with local Nubian populations ultimately garnering a force that threatened Seventeenth Dynasty rulers in Egypt. While such relations between the Egyptians and these foreigners continue to receive scholarly attention, little research has surfaced on the encounters between the Levantine and the Nubian: what was the nature of these cultures' interactions, and how were they affected by Egypt's progression into the Second Intermediate Period?

Previous research has postulated that the rulers of the Fifteenth Dynasty and those in Kerma were in contact. Evidence for direct contact, however, has been questioned, with some even arguing against Second Intermediate Period trade links between the Hyksos-controlled areas of Egypt and Nubia.² Yet, excavations in both regions continue

* Austrian Academy of Sciences, ERC Advanced Grant „The Hyksos Enigma“. I am grateful to Naguib Kanawati for several conversations regarding this topic, as well as Manfred Bietak for his helpful comments on this paper and its bibliographic material.

¹ For more, see TRIGGER 1976; ADAMS 1977; BOURRIAU 1991; S. SMITH 1995, 51–67; LACOVARA 1997; KEMP 2006; FLAMMINI 2008; HAFSAAS-TSAKOS 2010; MOURAD 2015. See also LISZKA and KRAEMER 2016; KRAEMER and LISZKA 2016.

² RYHOLT 1997, 140–141; BOURRIAU 1991, 129–130; BEN-TOR, ALLEN and ALLEN 1997, 58–59; MINOR 2012, 52–53, 72, 155. For a discussion on the presence of Nubians at Tell el-Dab'a, see HEIN 2001, 199–212; FUSCALDO 2002; ASTON and BADER 2009, 63–65; ASTON and BIETAK 2017. See also MATIĆ 2014.

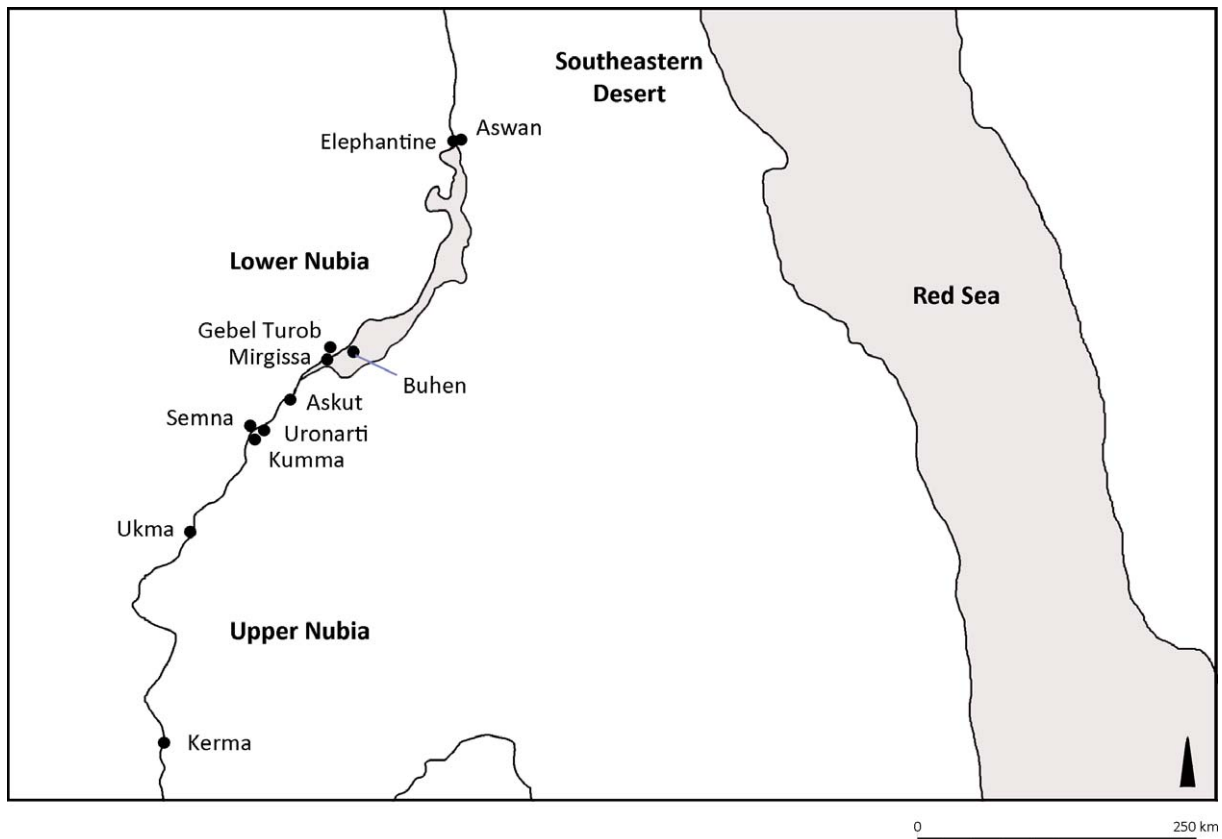


Fig. 1 Sites examined in the text

to reveal data that, at the very least, supports an active trade network that incorporated Nubia, the Delta and the Levant,³ hinting at the possibility of direct and/or indirect intercultural encounters between the respective entities of each region. Indeed, such encounters could have plausibly developed into the late Second Intermediate Period ties suggested by historical sources⁴ as well as archaeological evidence in the Oases.⁵ The following paper offers further preliminary discussion on the matter, focussing on evidence for the presence and/or knowledge of Levantine elements in Nubia from the Twelfth Dynasty to the early Second Intermediate Period.

The evidence is organised topographically (Fig. 1) and includes material of clear provenance and context. It comprises artefacts of Levantine(-influenced) shape or with Levantine artistic designs, and texts with toponyms or appellatives

linked to the Near East, here left untranslated for emphasis. Additional examples of uncertain context, such as scarabs, are presented as indicators of possible contact. The presented collection is not intended to be exhaustive, but is rather a selected group of finds that sufficiently offers observations on the nature and shifts in encounters with Near Eastern elements and entities to the south of Egypt. Scarab seal typology follows Ben-Tor's classifications,⁶ whereas the typology of Tell el-Yahudiyah ware is reliant on the recent work by Aston and Bietak.⁷ The Egyptian chronological outline of the late Middle Kingdom to early Second Intermediate Period adheres to Ryholt's chronology, with northern Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasties and southern Sixteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties.⁸ As for Levantine chronology, synchronisations of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) follow Bietak's low chronology, with the MBIIA period

³ See, for instance, S. SMITH 2004, 215; ASTON and BADER 2009, 63–64; TÖRÖK 2009, 107–108; ASTON 2012; FORSTNER-MÜLLER and ROSE 2012a; 2012b, 53, 58; DIRMINTI 2014; ASTON and BIETAK 2017.

⁴ For the Second Stela of Kamose, see GARDINER 1916, 95–110; HABACHI 1972.

⁵ See O'CONNOR 1974, 32; KENDALL 1997, 30; D. DARNELL 2002; J.C. DARNELL 2002a; YURCO 2004; COLIN 2005.

⁶ BEN-TOR 1997; 2007.

⁷ ASTON and BIETAK 2012.

⁸ RYHOLT 1997.

correlating with the Twelfth and the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the MBIIA-B to the third quarter of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and the MBIIB to the end of the Thirteenth and the first half of the Fifteenth Dynasty (Fig. 2).⁹

EGYPTIAN DYNASTY	BC*	LEVANT*
12 A I S I A II S II S III A III A IV SOBEK.	1980	EBIV/MBI
	1950	
	1920	
	1890	
	1860	MBIIA
	1830	
	1800	
13 14 (?)	1770	MBIIA-B
	1740	
	1710	MBIIB
	1680	
15	1650	MBIIB
	1620	
	1590	
18	1560	MBIIC
	1530	

Fig. 2 Chronological correlations between Egypt and the Levant. After BIETAK 2010, fig. 7.

* Following Bietak's low chronology

Encountering Levantine elements at Egypt's southern 'border'

Aswan

Strategically positioned to the north of the First Cataract is the First Upper Egyptian nome, Aswan. The site's granite quarries yielded a large concentration of inscriptions that signal their heavy exploitation throughout pharaonic history.¹⁰ Many can be dated to Dynasty 12, the graffiti written by either quarrymen, expedition members or passers-by to regions further south.¹¹ While longer inscriptions are rare, Middle Kingdom graffiti typically feature the names of visiting officials, their titles, and a list of household members.¹² Two such inscriptions are pertinent for this study.

The first was commissioned by Sobekwer who is represented as a standing individual with few delineating features. It reads:¹³

- (1) (2) (3) (4) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) (10) (11) (12) ...

(1) *hṭp di nsw.t 'Bb.tt Hnm.w ḥnk.t di=sn pr.t-ḥrw t ḥnk(.t) k3.w 3pd.w n k3* (2) *n(.y) ir.y [sš(r)?] Sbk-wr m3^c-ḥrw nb im3ḥ* (3) *msi n I-ti m3^c.t-ḥrw nb.t im3ḥ* (4) *sn=f Nḥ.t-[...]w-* (5) *imn.y m3^c-ḥrw iri n I-ti m3^c(.t)-ḥrw* (6) *ir.y ḥ.t n(.y) ḥ.t ḥnk.t Nb-swmn.w m3^c-ḥrw ḥn(.w) n(.y) niw(.t)(?)*¹⁴ (7) *Imny m3^c-ḥrw sn=f ḥn(.w) n(.y) niw(.t)(?) Imny* (8) *msi n I-ti m3^c(.t)-ḥrw it=f (i)m3ḥ.y(?) Rn=f-ḥn-nḥn m3^c-ḥrw* (9) *iri n Kkw m3^c.t-ḥrw mw.t=f nb.t pr(.w) I-ty m3^c.t-ḥrw iri.t n ḥm.t m3^c(.t)-ḥrw* (10) *mw.t*

⁹ The terminology employs the traditional tripartite division of the MBA. BIETAK 1984; 1989; 1991. The low chronology has recently been questioned following the radiocarbon dating of samples from Egypt and the Levant, as published in HÖFLMAYER *et al.* 2016; HÖFLMAYER and COHEN 2017; HÖFLMAYER 2017. The proposed new chronology has, however, been contested in BIETAK 2016; BEN-TOR 2017.

¹⁰ DE MORGAN *et al.* 1894; ENGELBACH 1923; PEDEN 2001, 37–39; KLEMM and KLEMM 2008; KELANY *et al.* 2009.

¹¹ PEDEN 2001, 37–39.

¹² PEDEN 2001, 38.

¹³ The transcription is after DE MORGAN *et al.* 1894, 38 [166]. The transliteration and translation are by the author.

¹⁴ For this reading, see WARD 1982, 74 [604]; SCHNEIDER 2003a, 24.

*n(.y) ʕm.t iri.t n Pnt [...] mʕ.t-ḥrw sn.t=f
Kkw mʕ.t ḥrw iri.t n I-ti mʕ(.t)-ḥrw* ⁽¹⁾ *sn=f
im.y-rʕ ḥn.wty n(.y) ḥnḫ.t Imny mʕ.t-ḥrw iri
n [...]pw-n-pr-ḥd* ⁽¹²⁾ *I-y mʕ.t-ḥrw...*

⁽¹⁾ An offering which the king gives and Satet, Khnum and Anukis: may they give an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef and fowl for the *ka* ⁽²⁾ of the keeper of [linen?],¹⁵ Sobekwer, justified, possessor of reverence, ⁽³⁾ born to I-ti, justified, possessor of reverence; ⁽⁴⁾ his brother ⁽⁵⁾ Nekhet[...] uimeny, justified, born to I-ti, justified; ⁽⁶⁾ hall-keeper of the kitchen,¹⁶ Nebsumenu, justified; citizen (?), ⁽⁷⁾ Imeny, justified, his brother, citizen (?), Imeny, ⁽⁸⁾ born to I-ti, justified; his father, the honoured one (?), Renefankhnekhen, justified, ⁽⁹⁾ born to Keku, justified; his mother, lady of the house, I-ti, justified, born to ʕm.t, justified; ⁽¹⁰⁾ mother of ʕm.t, born to Penet[...],¹⁷ justified; his sister, Keku,¹⁸ justified, born to I-ti, justified; ⁽¹¹⁾ his brother, chamberlain of the kitchen, Imeny, justified, born to [...]puenperhedj ⁽¹²⁾ I-y, justified...

The text invokes an offering to the king and gods of the southern region, followed by a list of Sobekwer's family and household members. The descendants of Sobekwer's matrilineal grandmother, ʕm.t, include 'lady of the house' I-ti (Sobekwer's mother) and five grandchildren (Fig. 3). I-ti is attested in another unprovenanced stela, Musée Guimet C 12, along with her daughter and son Imeny.¹⁹ As the stela has been assigned to the early

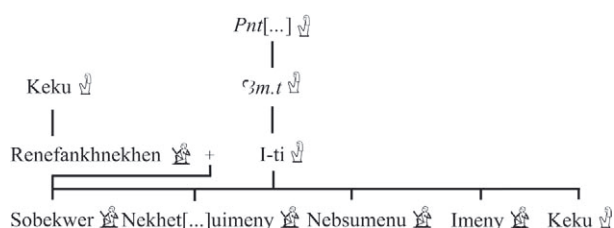



Fig. 3 Suggested genealogy of Sobekwer's family, as outlined in his graffiti at Aswan

Thirteenth Dynasty,²⁰ Sobekwer's inscription may be similarly dated to this period.

The second graffiti was left behind by the 'major-domo' Iuseneb and likewise includes an offering formula to the southern gods along with a list of household members. The latter only feature Iuseneb's mother, brother, aunt and the  ʕm.t Ismʕʕ ʕm.t Isma'.²¹ As she is the only individual with no apparent familial relation to Iuseneb, perhaps she was his wife or concubine.

The two graffiti add to a number of texts that mention individuals of seemingly Egyptian identity with relatives, particularly of female sex, named ʕm or ʕm.t. From the Middle Kingdom, the term ʕm(.t), translated as 'Asiatic' in the literature, was evidently used as both an ethnic identifier as well as an appellative for individuals originating from the Levant.²² Records, such as Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, suggest that immigrants with Semitic names were likely given Egyptian names upon entry to Egyptian households, settlements or other institutions.²³ These Egyptian names could be marked by a preceding or subsequent term ʕm(.t) to indicate that the individual either partly or fully was identified or identified him/herself with a foreign ethnic group from a region to the north-east of Egypt. In cases of marriage with Egyptians, or perhaps other foreigners within Egypt, the children or first generation were usually attributed with Egyptian names; so, if not for a corresponding ʕm, their foreign ancestry could not be textually identifiable. Indeed, such foreign ancestry could likely not be represented for reasons of decorum, status or profession. Yet, perhaps as a means to highlight or acknowledge this ancestry, texts that were possibly created or commissioned by these individuals retain the ʕm element for the one dedicating the text or for a relative(s) of his. Consequently, this individual could be considered of either Levantine descent or of mixed Egyptian-Levantine ethnic identity, the term

¹⁵ Title as translated in WARD 1982, 66 [544]; SCHNEIDER 2003a, 24.

¹⁶ WARD 1982, 57 [458].

¹⁷ Not attested in RANKE 1935–1977. Perhaps the name is derived from a Semitic word such as *benet* 'daughter' or *banah* 'to build'. For examples on the translation of Semitic *b* as Egyptian *p*, see HOCH 1994, 402. For more on the interchange of *p/b* in Egyptian, see WARD 1975.

¹⁸ RANKE 1935, 349 [8].

¹⁹ Her daughter is given the title 'lady of the house' in the stela. SCHNEIDER 2003a, 67.

²⁰ SCHNEIDER 2003a, 24, 67.

²¹ DE MORGAN *et al.* 1894, 42 [7]. The name is not attested in RANKE 1935. SCHNEIDER 2003a, 24.

²² It is also possible that individuals from the Sinai were labelled as ʕm, yet the evidence remains inconclusive. For more on the term and its association with ethnicity, see REDFORD 1986, 127–132; SCHNEIDER 2003a, 5–7, 316–338; ESPINEL 2006, 145–146; MOURAD 2015, 194–196; SARETTA 2016, 11–43. For the similar use of the term *Mdʕ(w/y)*, see LISZKA 2012, 192–193.

²³ See HAYES 1972, 99, pls. 8–13; SCHNEIDER 2003a, 60–61; MOURAD 2015, 116–117, 194–196, 291–297, fig. 7.8; SARETTA 2016, 110–112.

'Levantine' here etically denoting one of many possible ethnic groups that could have existed in the Levant at this time. In Sobekwer's case, the graffiti represents him as a second generation Egyptian of Asiatic ancestry. Whether or not he identified himself in reality as of mixed ethnicity is uncertain, as is the degree of his expression of Egyptian cultural traits or acculturation to the Egyptian culture;²⁴ nevertheless, the inclusion of the *ʿ3m* element in his grandmother's name suggests that he at least acknowledged a foreign heritage and, perhaps, still retained some Levantine elements in his cultural expression.

It is thus probable that such Levantine cultural elements were encountered at Aswan. While Iuse-*neb's* graffiti refers to an Asiatic likely residing in Egypt, that of Sobekwer points to the presence of an individual of Asiatic descent working for the Egyptian administration at the very south of Egypt's borders. Likely during the early Thirteenth Dynasty, this individual evidently chose to record his visit in the typical Egyptian manner, paying homage to Egyptian gods while noting foreign ancestry.


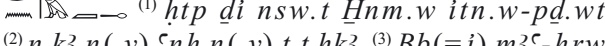
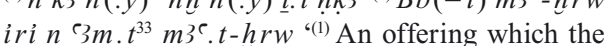
Other evidence for contact

The capital of the First Upper Egyptian nome, Elephantine, yielded minor finds of Levantine origin or inspiration. The earliest are fragments of Levantine Painted Ware, one of which has been stylistically dated to Dynasty 11 while another was evidently found in a context dating to Senwosret I's reign.²⁵ Two other fragments were retrieved from Stratum 14, which has also been assigned to

the period spanning the reigns of Senwosret I and III.²⁶ Later strata have produced scarab seals bearing MBA Levantine designs: one from the early Second Intermediate Period Stratum 12 displays a Horus hawk motif,²⁷ and five others from Second Intermediate Period Stratum 11 display such motifs as red crowns, a kneeling figure and the *ʿnr* formula.²⁸ Two other scarab seals of king Maaibra Sheshi, more recently assigned to the Fourteenth Dynasty, were also discovered.²⁹

Encountering Levantine elements beyond Egypt's southern 'border'

Kumma

Located around 365 km south of Aswan is the fort of Kumma (Semna East). Archaeological investigations revealed over 130 Middle Kingdom rock inscriptions engraved on the boulders and overhanging ravines surrounding the fortification.³⁰ The texts comprise records of Nile levels, mostly from Amenemhat III's reign, as well as private inscriptions of the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.³¹ As with the graffiti at Aswan, each private inscription mainly consists of an offering formula, the name of the individual who commissioned it (a passer-by or an official of a nearby fort), and a list of household members.³² Two texts feature *ʿ3m.t* women. Inscription no. 54 reads (1)  (2)  (3)  (1) *htp di nsw.t Hnm.w itn.w-pd.wt* (2) *n k3 n(.y) ʿnh n(.y) t.t hk3* (3) *Bb(=i) m3ʿ-ḥrw iri n ʿ3m.t*³³ *m3ʿ.t-ḥrw* "(1) An offering which the king gives and Khnum, opposer of bows,⁽²⁾ for the

²⁴ The situational nature of ethnic identity should be borne in mind. Theoretically, Sobekwer may have identified himself as of mixed Egyptian-Levantine ethnicity, but may have chosen to emphasise his Egyptian ethnicity at Aswan. On the other hand, if he were to encounter other individuals of Levantine ancestry (or perhaps other foreigners) in the area, then his Levantine ethnic expression may have been more pronounced. The use of the term 'acculturation' follows Berry's approach to the phenomenon. For more on the dynamic nature of ethnicity and ethnic identity, see EMBERLING 1997; JONES 1997, 109–125; S. SMITH 2003, 13–17, 30–36; KNAPP 2009, 37–40; GONZÁLEZ-RUIBAL 2011, 262–265; LISZKA 2012, 41–57; BADER 2013; 2017. For an overview of acculturation, see BERRY 2003; 2005; PHINNEY 2003; SCHNEIDER 2003a; 2010, 143–146.

²⁵ BAGH 2013, 65.

²⁶ BAGH 2013, 65.

²⁷ Ben-Tor's Design Class 3A3-3A4. VON PILGRIM 1996, fig. 105 [95]; BEN-TOR 2007, 46–47.

²⁸ Ben-Tor's Design Classes 3B3, 10C and 3C respectively. While the stratum was dated by the excavator to Dynasty 17, Ben-Tor mentions a more recent analysis that instead assigns its pottery to the early Second Intermediate Period. VON PILGRIM 1996, 15, figs. 103 [256], 105 [27, 44, 78, 81]; BEN-TOR 2007, 46–47.

²⁹ RYHOLT 1997, 369.

³⁰ LEPSIUS 1849–1859; DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960. See also HINTZE and REINEKE 1989; YVANEZ 2010.

³¹ DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 138; YVANEZ 2010, 6–13.

³² YVANEZ 2010, 12–13.

³³ The name has been transliterated by Yvanez as *ʿ3w.t*; however, the text's published photograph indicates that the shape of the hieroglyph after the throwstick (Gardiner's T14) resembles more an owl (G17) than a quail chick (G43). DUNHAM & JANSSEN 1960, pl. 98 [E]; YVANEZ 2010, 6–13.



Fig. 4 Selected scarabs from Mirgissa. After MARTIN 1971, pls. 8 [24], 23 [29]; VERCOUTTER 1976, figs. 5 [2], 6 [2-3, 7-9, 14, 16]

reign of either Sobekhotep II or Khendjer.⁵⁸ The name of the official, *ʕm*, evidently links him to a Levantine group, the seal impressions thereby attesting to encounters with the Levantine culture at Mirgissa. Another sealing from the fortress's Room 47 belongs to *nb.t pr(.w) Nb.t-Kpny* 'lady of the house, Nebet-Kpny' (Fig. 4 [2]),⁵⁹ whose name literally translates to 'lady of Byblos'. While a title is not provided, Nebet-Kpny was most likely

of high status to have her own seal. Her name, as attested in other inscriptions and stelae,⁶⁰ supports the worship of the Byblite deity Baalat-Gebel and highlights the possible association of the coastal city with cultic prestige. The scarab is perhaps of the late Middle Kingdom or later.

The site's Egyptian Cemetery MX additionally yielded several late Middle Kingdom to Second Intermediate Period scarabs, at least seven of which are associated with the north (Fig. 4 [3-9]).⁶¹ One of these displays the nomen of Sheshi (Fig. 4 [3])⁶² while the rest bear such Levantine designs as the Hathor symbol (Fig. 4 [4]),⁶³ a crocodile, (Fig. 4 [5-6])⁶⁴ an antelope (Fig. 4 [7-8]),⁶⁵ and the *ʕnrʕ* formula (Fig. 4 [9]).⁶⁶ Tombs 3 and 117 each additionally yielded a piri-form Tell el-Yahudiyah juglet that stylistically dates between the Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasties.⁶⁷ The tombs, however, were continuously used between the late Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties,⁶⁸ so an exact date for the juglets' deposition cannot be assigned. From the Kerma Cemetery are a number of Levantine-inspired scarabs displaying such motifs as confronted cobras (Fig. 4 [10]), which could date from the early to the late Second Intermediate Period.⁶⁹

Combined, the finds point to some connection between Mirgissa, the Delta region and possibly even if indirectly the Levant. The seal impressions of *ʕm* support the employment of officials of Asiatic ancestry in the Thirteenth Dynasty, with the added possibility that *ʕm* either visited the site or was involved in a commercial enterprise leading to his sealings' deposition at Mirgissa. On the other hand, the sealing naming Nebet-Kpny expresses knowledge and appreciation of the Northern Levantine city of Byblos.⁷⁰ The rest of the scarabs and

⁵⁸ It is, however, pertinent to note that identification based solely on similar names and titles is open to error. See SCHARFF 1922, pls. 18**–19**.

⁵⁹ RANKE 1935, 189 [17]; DUNHAM 1967, 166, fig. 10 [15]; MARTIN 1971, 58 [694], pl. 8 [24].

⁶⁰ See LANGE and SCHÄFER 1902, 101–103 [CG 20086], 244 [CG 20224]; 1908, 305 [CG 20678]; HODJASH and BERLEV 1982, 77–79; COLLIER and QUIRKE 2004, 48–49 [UC 32196]; MOURAD 2015, 119–120, 197, 270, 283–285, 300, figs. 7.9–7.10.

⁶¹ VERCOUTTER 1976, 275–277; BEN-TOR 2007, 56–57, n. 238.

⁶² VERCOUTTER 1976, 276, fig. 6 [3].

⁶³ Ben-Tor's Design Class 10D2. VERCOUTTER 1976, figs. 5 [2], 6 [2]; BEN-TOR 2007, 101–102.

⁶⁴ Ben-Tor's Design Class 9D. VERCOUTTER 1976, fig. 6 [7, 14]; BEN-TOR 2007, 97.

⁶⁵ Ben-Tor's Design Class 9B. VERCOUTTER 1976, fig. 6 [9, 16]; BEN-TOR 2007, 95.

⁶⁶ Ben-Tor's Design Class 3C. VERCOUTTER 1976, fig. 6 [8]; BEN-TOR 2007, 83–85; RICHARDS 2001, 310.

⁶⁷ Aston and Bietak's Levanto-Egyptian Type I.3.2b and I.3.3. VERCOUTTER 1975, 44–49, 154–164, figs. 11 [4], 62 [36]; KAPLAN 1980, 95, figs. 32 [b], 38 [b]; ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 169, figs. 106, 108–110.

⁶⁸ KAPLAN 1980, 95.





⁶⁹ Ben-Tor's Design Class 9C3 and 9C5. VERCOUTTER 1970, pl. 26 [5–6]; BEN-TOR 2007, 95–97.


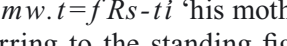
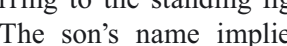
⁷⁰ For more on the relations between Egypt and Byblos in the Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period, see ALBRIGHT 1964; 1965; KITCHEN 1967; W. S. SMITH 1969; ALLEN 2008; FLAMMINI 2010; AUBET 2013, 201–265; MOURAD 2015, 62–63, 165–171 and references.


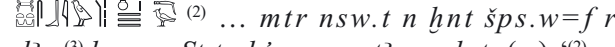
pottery can be generally ascribed to the Second Intermediate Period, their small quantities more likely indicating indirect trade with the north rather than the presence of Levantine descendants at Mirgissa. Nevertheless, because the majority are from cemeteries, some funerary significance may be attributed to them. Hence, it is possible to ascertain a minor development in the nature of contact with northerners, from the ritualistic *topos* representation of Levantine entities in the execration texts to their *mimetic* attestations in sealings and the import of products and, perhaps, people of Levantine origin into Mirgissa. Such imports, however, are only observable in the archaeological record from at least the reign of Sobekhotep II onwards.

Semna

Excavations at Semna, opposite Kumma, uncovered forts and cemeteries of the Twelfth Dynasty to the Second Intermediate Period.⁷¹ The fort of Semna-West was renovated under Senwosret III with evidence of continuous occupation until the New Kingdom.⁷² Of the three main cemeteries, only Cemetery S500 contains Middle Kingdom material, although some graves were plundered and/or reused.⁷³

Room 80 of the fort revealed a stela dedicated to Paimi-ib.⁷⁴ Its Second Intermediate Period date is validated by such orthographic features as the spelling of the *h₁tp-di-nsw* formula and the glyphs for *k3.w 3pd.w* as well as the inclusion and shape of the lunette's *w₃.t* eyes.⁷⁵ Beneath the lunette are three figures: a male and a female seated at the left before an offering table, and a man standing at the right probably carrying offerings. All three are carved with no delineating foreign facial features and in typical Egyptian stances. They are accompanied by three horizontal lines reading  (1)  (2)  (3)  (1) *h₁tp di*

nsw(.t) Wsir nb [...] d.t Inp.w ⁽²⁾ [*hnt.y sh ntr tp(.y) d₁w=f di(.w)=(s)n pr.t-hrw t hnḳ(.t) k3.w 3pd.w ih.t nb(.t) [nfr(.t)]* ⁽³⁾ *ḥnh(.t) ntr im n k3 n(.y) P3-imi-ib m3^c-hrw* ⁽⁴⁾ An offering which the king gives and Osiris, lord [...] eternity and Anubis, ⁽²⁾ [foremost of the divine booth, who is atop his mountain: may they give] an invocation offering of bread, beer, beef, fowl and every [good] thing ⁽³⁾ upon which a god lives for the *ka* of Paimi-ib, justified'.⁷⁶ The seated couple are labelled respectively as  *P3-imi-ib* 'Paimi-ib' and  *mtr nsw.t n hnt šps.w=f r* 'his mother, Resti',⁷⁷ the 'his' referring to the standing figure,  *ḥn.yw St.t sbi.w n.w t3.w mh.ty(w)*.⁷⁸ The son's name implies that Resti, and perhaps Paimi-ib, are individuals of Asiatic origin who may have donned Egyptian traditions by commissioning the stela. Its placement at Semna's fort suggests that at least one of the Egyptian-Asiatics had travelled south to this region during the Second Intermediate Period.

Mention can also be made of the Twelfth Dynasty stela of the 'sealer of the king of Lower Egypt' and 'overseer of the expedition', Montuemhat.⁷⁹ Although it does not specifically note the presence of Levantines in Nubia, it does suggest that particular officials were sent on expeditions to both the north-east as well as the south. Unearthed among the debris of the fort's Room 147 West, the stela includes an epithet of Montuemhat, describing him as ⁽²⁾ ...  ⁽³⁾  (2) ... *mtr nsw.t n hnt šps.w=f r d3r* ⁽³⁾ *hn.yw St.t sbi.w n.w t3.w mh.ty(w)* ⁽²⁾ ... (one on whom) the king testifies above his nobles to subdue ⁽³⁾ the rebels of *St.t* and the rebels of the northern lands'.⁸⁰ This is followed by two epithets concerning *m3^c.w* 'products' and *in.w* 'produce' that Montuemhat brought into Egypt.⁸¹ Evidently, the text points to bellicose activity against rebels from the lands of *St.t* and the north, perhaps resulting in the distribution of spoils across Egypt.⁸²

⁷¹ DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, xxix–xxx.

⁷² DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 14–15.

⁷³ DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 15.

⁷⁴ MFA 25.634; DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 30, pl. 87 [b].

⁷⁵ For more on the dating criteria, see BENNETT 1941, 77–82; FRANKE 2003, 39–57; ILIN-TOMICH 2011, 20–34.

⁷⁶ The transcription and transliteration follow DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 30, pl. 87 [b]. The translation is by the author.

⁷⁷ RANKE 1935, 227 [7–8].

⁷⁸ SCHNEIDER 2003a, 30. While it is feasible that Resti is Paimi-ib's mother, her positioning, seated behind Paimi-ib

with one hand around his waist, the other holding a lotus, suggests that she is more likely his wife.

⁷⁹ JANSSEN 1952, 442–445, pls. 16–17; DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 59–60, fig. 5, pl. 14; DELIA 1980, 81–85, 121 and references; PORTER and MOSS 1995, 144–145.

⁸⁰ The transcription and transliteration follow JANSSEN 1952, pls. 46–47; DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 59–60, pl. 14. The translation is by the author.

⁸¹ Lines 3–4, in JANSSEN 1952, pls. 46–47.

⁸² Interestingly, the targets are specifically labelled as 'rebels,' similar to those of the Mirgissa execration texts.

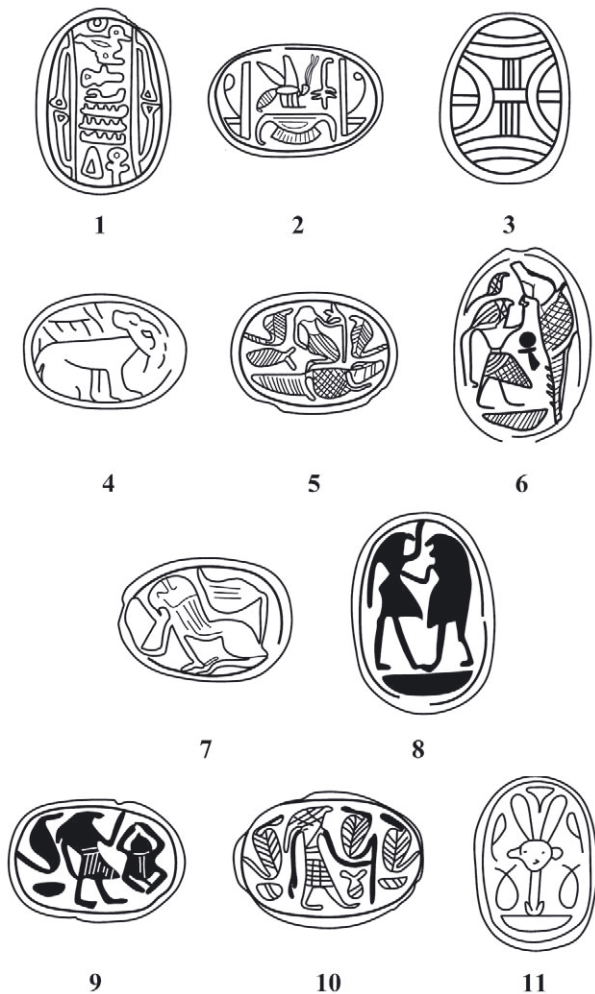


Fig. 5 Selected scarabs from Semna. After DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pls. 120 [4, 25], 121 [25], 122 [6, 14, 17–18, 33, 45], 123 [7]

Little contemporary evidence for such hostile activity exists, the only other definite military campaign to *St. t* referenced in the stela of Khuso-

bek of Senwosret III's reign.⁸³ This has led some to connect Khusobek's expedition with that of Montuemhat,⁸⁴ consequently assigning the latter's stela to Senwosret III's reign.⁸⁵ While appealing, the lack of any mention of a king's name or regnal date in Montuemhat's text confines its dating to the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁸⁶ The absence of any particular details regarding the expedition also places its aggressive nature in question. However, given the resulting import of products, its primary concern was likely of a commercial nature, perhaps similar to Montuemhat's expedition to Nubia.

Indeed, minor finds either of Levantine origin or influence were discovered at Semna. A Thirteenth Dynasty to early Second Intermediate Period context from the fort's Room 407 West produced a fragment of Tell el-Yahudiyah ware.⁸⁷ It preserves the bottom of a piriform juglet with a ring base and one zone decorated with standing triangles. Such features are most akin to Aston and Bietak's imported Type Group I.2.2e and I.3.2b which range in date from the mid-Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasty.⁸⁸ The fort's Room 14 yielded a scarab inscribed with *s3 R^c.w 3mw di(.w) 3nh* 'son of Ra, 3mw, given life' (Fig. 5 [1]),⁸⁹ linking it to the reign of a Fourteenth Dynasty king and thus trade with the northern, Levantine-influenced dynasty.⁹⁰ The same is the case with fifteen scarabs discovered in Second Intermediate Period tombs of Cemetery S500 (Fig. 5 [2-11]) which feature a range of Levantine designs. These include the geometric linear pattern,⁹¹ adorned red crowns (Fig. 5 [2]),⁹² encompassed coils with a central cross (Fig. 5 [3]),⁹³ an antelope (Fig. 5 [4]),⁹⁴ confronted cobras (Fig. 5 [5]),⁹⁵ a crocodile (Fig. 5 [5-6]),⁹⁶ a heraldic beast

⁸³ See BAINES 1987; MOURAD 2013, 34, 44–45; 2015, 100–101, 281.

⁸⁴ JANSSEN 1952, 442–445; POSENER 1966, 108, n. 7; DELIA 1980, 121.

⁸⁵ JANSSEN 1952, 442–445; DELIA 1980, 81–85, 121; PORTER and MOSS 1995, 145.

⁸⁶ As also surmised in DELIA 1980, 81–85, 121.

⁸⁷ Another sherd is described to be similar to the Tell el-Yahudiyah juglet. No image of it has been published for further assessment. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 29, 71, fig. 26; WILLIAMS 1975, 624; KAPLAN 1980, 98.

⁸⁸ ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 152, 169, 552–553, figs. 95, 99, 106, 108, 110.

⁸⁹ DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, 20, pl. 120 [4]. For a parallel, see MARIETTE 1880, 538 [1391].

⁹⁰ Like other Fourteenth and Fifteenth Dynasty kings, 3mw assumed royal Egyptian titles and epithets while bearing a foreign, Semitic-sounding name that points to his possible Near Eastern ancestry. RYHOLT 1997, 98–102.

⁹¹ Ben-Tor's Design Class 1B. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pl. 122 [44]; BEN-TOR 2007, 58, 122, n. 246.

⁹² Ben-Tor's Design Class 3B2b. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pl. 120 [25]; BEN-TOR 2007, 79. The scarab also features a sedge and bee motif (Design Class 3B2).

⁹³ Ben-Tor's Design Class 6C1. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pl. 122 [17]; BEN-TOR 2007, 90.

⁹⁴ Ben-Tor's Design Class 9B. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pl. 121 [25]; BEN-TOR 2007, 95.

⁹⁵ Ben-Tor's Design Class 9C2. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pl. 122 [33]; BEN-TOR 2007, 95–96.

⁹⁶ Ben-Tor's Design Class 9D. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pl. 122 [33, 45]; BEN-TOR 2007, 97.

(Fig. 5 [7]),⁹⁷ standing or seated figures either with a human or mythical head (Fig. 5 [8-10])⁹⁸ and a Levantine Hathor symbol (Fig. 5 [11]).⁹⁹

As such, the combined evidence indicates that goods from the Levant and the Levantine-influenced dynasties of the Delta had reached Semna in the Second Intermediate Period, perhaps as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty. Earlier, the only reference to Asiatics is of belligerent activity against a particular group among foreigners, agreeing with the Twelfth Dynasty representation of Asiatics in the Mirgissa execration texts. Despite the bellicosity, the Second Intermediate Period perhaps witnessed the presence of individuals of Asiatic descent like one of Paimi-ib's family members. Either directly via such individuals, or indirectly via other trade networks, products of Levantine origin or influence reached Semna. They signify that, after the withdrawal of pharaonic control from the site, its elite still had access to the north, suggesting a wider circulation of Levantine-inspired goods during the Second Intermediate Period.

Gebel Turob

Gebel Turob is a small hill around 0.5 km southwest of the fortress of Buhen.¹⁰⁰ The site was utilised as a cemetery for Buhen's officials and may have also acted as a strategic lookout over the desert encompassing Buhen.¹⁰¹ Middle Kingdom graffiti are engraved on the southern and western rock clefts of the hill, and were most possibly composed by officers or expedition members of the region's fortresses, primarily that of Buhen.¹⁰² One hieratic inscription, no. 13, includes the names of *Wsr.t ʕm.w(y)* 'Wosret and ʕm.w(y)', which has been corrected to *(S-n-)wsr.t (sʕ) ʕm.w(y)* '(Sen)wosret's (son), ʕm.w(y)' or *Wsr.t*

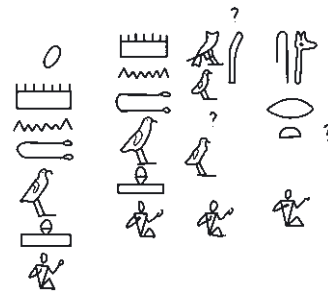


Fig. 6 Inscription no. 13, Gebel Turob. After H. SMITH 1972, 48, fig. 7A

*ʕm.w [...]*w 'Wosret, ʕm.w and [...]'w' (Fig. 6).¹⁰³ In all cases, the text hints that ʕm.w(y) or his/her son was at Gebel Turob and could have been employed at one of the fortresses in the area. He was either represented and identified partly, if not completely, as an Asiatic by his name, or as an individual of Asiatic descent.

Other evidence for contact

Minor finds of Levantine influence or origin are sporadically found at several sites south of the First Cataract. Due to the scope of this article, it is not possible to discuss the finds from each site in detail, however a selection is presented to show their geographic and chronological dispersal. For instance, the tombs of Buhen's Cemeteries K, J and H produced numerous Fifteenth Dynasty piri-form and biconical Tell el-Yahudiyah juglets and one wheel-made globular juglet.¹⁰⁴ Several scarabs with Levantine designs were also collected from the site, their styles assigned to the Second Intermediate Period.¹⁰⁵ At Askut, pottery evidently of MBIIA date and fabric, and piri-form Tell el-Yahudiyah ware of Levantine fabric were collected from the fort's mid-late Thirteenth Dynasty

⁹⁷ Ben-Tor's Design Class 9F. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pl. 122 [18]; BEN-TOR 2007, 97–98.

⁹⁸ Ben-Tor's Design Classes 10A and 10B. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pls. 121 [17, 32], 122 [6, 14–15, 45–46], 123 [4]; BEN-TOR 2007, 98–101.

⁹⁹ Ben-Tor's Design Class 10D. DUNHAM and JANSSEN 1960, pl. 123 [7]; BEN-TOR 2007, 101–102. Nine other scarabs from the cemetery have been assigned a Second Intermediate Period date, but these instead bear Egyptian motifs (BEN-TOR 2007, 57–58, n. 245).

¹⁰⁰ H. SMITH 1972, 46.

¹⁰¹ H. SMITH 1966, 330–334; 1972, 46–47.

¹⁰² H. SMITH 1972, 46–47, 51–56.

¹⁰³ H. SMITH 1972, 48, fig. 7A; SCHNEIDER 2003a, 33–34.

¹⁰⁴ RANDALL-MACIVER and WOOLLEY 1911, 133–134, 148–149, 152, 161–163, 171, 176–177, 185–186, 202–203, 214–216; KAPLAN 1980, 82–86, figs. 13 [a, d], 23 [b], 44 [c, g], 45 [c], 49 [c, e–f], 53 [b–c, f], 57 [f], 58 [a, d], 85 [b], 93 [b], 97 [a], 98 [b], 105 [c–d], 133 [o]; ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 144, 152, 206, 221–230, 240–257, figs. 87, 99, 141–142, 147, 162, 167, 176, 182, 186, 189.

¹⁰⁵ RANDALL-MACIVER and WOOLLEY 1911, 180–181, 183, pls. 56–58, 89; BEN-TOR 2007, 55–56, 86–87, 89, 91, 95–98, 101. Two stelae from Tombs J14 (Khartoum 370) and H1 (Khartoum 364) of the second half of the Second Intermediate Period were also dedicated by individuals of Asiatic descent. For these, see H. SMITH 1976, pls. 70 [1, 4]; SCHNEIDER 2003a, 48–49.

Phase 3,¹⁰⁶ while other sherds of Syro-Palestinian storage jars have also been identified.¹⁰⁷ At Uronarti, fragments of three piriform Tell el-Yahudiyah juglets were found in the barracks' Room 26, as well as the fort's Room F 32 and the south passage of Building A, their shapes paralleling those from Tell el-Dab^a Strata F-E/3 of the mid-late Thirteenth Dynasty, or the Fourteenth Dynasty in the Delta.¹⁰⁸ A scarab seal impression of Maaibra was also unearthed at the fort in a disputable context assigned to the late Thirteenth or early Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁰⁹ Ukma contained piriform Tell el-Yahudiyah juglets of the late Thirteenth to early Fifteenth Dynasty as well as Second Intermediate Period scarabs, one bearing the name of Maaibra Sheshi and several portraying Levantine designs.¹¹⁰ The southernmost reach of such northerly products appears to be Kerma, the administrative centre of the Kushite kingdom, where late Thirteenth Dynasty to Second Intermediate Period Tell el-Yahudiyah ware of piriform shape, miniature shape and naturalistic design were found.¹¹¹ The site also yielded a large collection of Second Intermediate Period scarabs,¹¹² including seal impressions of Sekhaenra, Maaibra and *Y^ckbhr*,¹¹³ which were evidently retrieved from late Thirteenth Dynasty contexts,¹¹⁴ as well as scarabs bearing Levantine designs like the repeated *nr^c* formula.¹¹⁵

The dates and contexts of these finds, a few of which are debated, signal the flow of Levantine and Levantine-inspired items across Egypt and Nubia. Some objects could have been directly

imported from the Levant via the Delta, but it is equally arguable that the items reached Nubia indirectly via travelling Egyptians or Nubians transporting commodities.¹¹⁶ Items dating to the Twelfth Dynasty are minimal if not absent, suggesting little to no direct and indirect contact between the Levant and Upper Nubia. From the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty and especially from the establishment of the Fourteenth Dynasty onwards, the flow of Levantine(-influenced) items seems to have increased, with the majority of scarab seal designs and Tell el-Yahudiyah juglets paralleling forms dating to this period or later. Interestingly, the observed shift corresponds with the discovery of sherds ascribed to Nubian cultures from Second Intermediate Period Phases E/3 to D/2 at Tell el-Dab^a.¹¹⁷ Such a shift could thus relate to the Egyptian administration's abandonment of forts in the Thirteenth Dynasty¹¹⁸ and the subsequent decrease in Egyptian control over the flow of items and peoples south of Elephantine.¹¹⁹ It may also be explained by heightened trade initiatives or attempts by the northern Dynasties, particularly Dynasty 14, to establish, develop or expand trade routes from the Delta to towns across the First Cataract. The observation could also be connected to the growing power of the Kushite kingdom¹²⁰ and/or escalated trade between Levantine regions and dynasties in Egypt, leading to a rise in the circulation of Levantine(-influenced) products. A further probability is the presence of Levantines themselves beyond the southern borders of Egypt, perhaps

¹⁰⁶ S. SMITH 1995, 58, 75-76, 81-82; 2004, 210, fig. 4; KNORBLAUCH 2007, 227. The Tell el-Yahudiyah vessels ascribe to Aston and Bietak's Levanto-Egyptian Types I.2 and I.3 (ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 144-169, figs. 87-110).

¹⁰⁷ S. SMITH 2002, 51; 2004, 210, fig. 3.

¹⁰⁸ Aston and Bietak's Levanto-Egyptian Types I.2 and/or I.3. ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 144-169, 347-368, figs. 87-110, pls. 7-14.

¹⁰⁹ REISNER 1955, 26, fig. 14 [387]; BEN-TOR, ALLEN and ALLEN 1997, 56-58; RYHOLT 1997, 321-322; BEN-TOR 2007, 47-48; MOELLER and MAROUARD 2011, 107-108.

¹¹⁰ KAPLAN 1980, 103, 257, fig. 31 [a-b]; RYHOLT 1997, 369; BEN-TOR 2007, 60-61; ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 169, fig. 105.

¹¹¹ REISNER 1923, 384, 386; KAPLAN, HARBOTTLE and SAYRE 1982, 141, fig. 7; MINOR 2012, 154-155, fig. 5.21.

¹¹² REISNER 1923, 384, 386; KAPLAN 1980, 90-92; BEN-TOR 2007, 63; ASTON and BIETAK 2012, 152-169, 200, 206, 278, figs. 102, 104, 141, 147, 207.

¹¹³ As with *ʕmw* and other rulers of Dynasties 14 and 15, the Semitic-sounding name of *Y^ckbhr* points to his possible Near Eastern ancestry. See n. 90; RYHOLT 1997, 99-100, 382-383.

¹¹⁴ REISNER 1923, 28; vol. 2, fig. 168 [56-58, 60]; PORTER and MOSS 1995, 175; RYHOLT 1997, 49, 360, 369, 382. See also GRATIEN 1991, 21-24.

¹¹⁵ TUFNELL 1974, pls. 4-6; BEN-TOR 2010, 93-95; MINOR 2012, 139, n. 174.

¹¹⁶ BOURRIAU 1991, 130; 2000, 195; BEN-TOR 2007, 54.

¹¹⁷ ASTON and BADER 2004, 63-64; ASTON and BIETAK 2017.

¹¹⁸ H. SMITH 1976, 67-79; BOURRIAU 1991, 130-135; RYHOLT 1997, 90-93; S. SMITH 2002, 59-73.

¹¹⁹ For more on the late Middle Kingdom's administration of the fortresses in Nubia as well as the extent of its control over the movement of peoples and items, see for instance H. SMITH 1976, 67-79; TRIGGER 1976, 64-81; ZIBELIUS-CHEN 1988, 136-197; WEGNER 1995; LISZKA and KRAEMER 2016; KRAEMER and LISZKA 2016.

¹²⁰ H. SMITH 1976, 61-93; BOURRIAU 1991, 130-135; RYHOLT 1997, 91; S. SMITH 2002, 59-73.

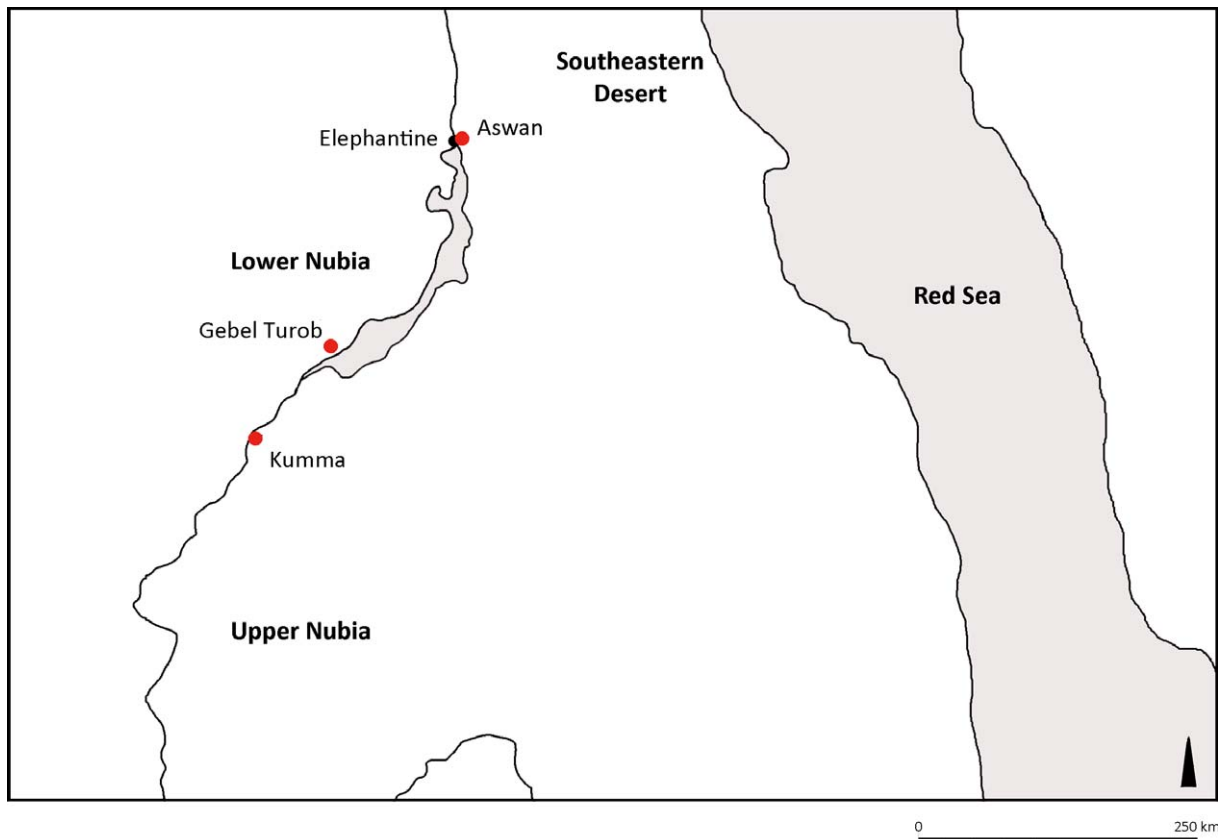


Fig. 7 Sites with evidence for contact with the Levantine from Dynasty 12 to early Dynasty 13

- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities and individuals of Asiatic origin

those sent on similar expeditions to the identified individuals of Asiatic descent discussed in this paper.

Observations

The collected evidence sheds light on the changing nature of encounters with the Levantine at or beyond the southern borders of Egypt from the Twelfth Dynasty to the early Second Intermediate Period. Not intended to be exhaustive, its resulting observations can offer insight into the dynamic relations that occurred across ethnic cultural and physical boundaries.

Dynasty 12 to 13

The earliest evidence for the presence of the Levantine in the south may be dated to the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty (Fig. 7). The Levantine Painted Ware vessels from Elephantine imply access to imported Levantine products between the reigns of Senwosret I and III. At around the latter's reign, an extensive execration ritual was carried out at Mirgissa, not only pointing to the

ideological, *topos*, representation of Levantines, but also to the administration's attempt to protect Egyptian security from foreigners, and its knowledge in Levantine matters. Epithets of the mid-late Twelfth Dynasty stela of Montuemhat from Semna similarly invoke the official's duty to subdue rebels of northern lands, signalling the continued representation of bellicosity against foreigners, and the foreigner *topos*, into the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty. Combined, these texts agree with other contemporary material from Egypt that similarly exhibits an ideological *topos*, as well as an increased concern to pursue ritual protection against the foreign by the state elite.

Despite such ideological portrayals, four inscriptions of the late Twelfth to early Thirteenth Dynasty attest to direct contact with individuals of Asiatic or Levantine origin. Two of these, one from Aswan and the other from Kumma, clearly point to the presence of such individuals in expeditions to the south. The remaining two, also from Aswan and Kumma, mention an association or relation with Asiatic women labelled as *ʿ3m.t*. Except for this term, all individuals of Asiatic

descent are represented as Egyptians, those at Aswan and Gebel Turob employing the hieratic script for their inscriptions. Such representation corresponds to other material from Egypt, indicating that, despite their proposed foreign ancestry, individuals of Levantine descent portrayed themselves, either willingly or according to accepted decorum and social norms, as predominantly Egyptian. This observation should not be confused as concrete evidence of the actual ‘Egyptianisation’ or acculturation of these individuals,¹²¹ but rather to their *representation* as individuals expressing Egyptian traits. The fact that the texts retained some indication of non-Egyptian ancestry suggests that the persons were not completely assimilated into the Egyptian culture, and perhaps their acknowledgement of this ancestry was not particularly shunned in society. It also hints at a multicultural and perhaps even multi-ethnic identity, aspects of which could be manipulated according to representation or purpose, status or profession. So, even though these inscriptions were carved at or south of the Middle Kingdom border, the individuals still mostly utilised Egyptian cultural traits of, for instance, language, script and religion, in these Egyptian-style inscriptions. The presumed context of Egyptian hegemony at the inscriptions’ locations, the very nature of these artefacts as Egyptian dedicatory texts, as well as the individuals’ professions within the Egyptian administration, all would have influenced how these officials represented themselves, their social identities, and thus their depiction as ‘Egyptian-Levantines’. While the texts do not bear clear insight into these individuals’ activities at these locations, they can be added to several naming Asiatic descendants that were discovered along other nodes and vectors frequented by Egyptian officials, soldiers, personnel, and traders as, for instance, at Wadi el-Hol, Gebel Tjauti, Wadi el-Hudi, Wadi el-Hammamat, and Serabit el-Khadim.¹²² This could point to the individuals’ roles and skills in expeditionary ventures, but whether or

not such expertise was related to their Levantine background and perhaps knowledge of different terrain or cultures, or their duties as part of Egyptian institutions and/or households, remains speculative.

Dynasty 13 to the early Second Intermediate Period

The evidence from the Thirteenth Dynasty to the early Second Intermediate Period is marked by a clear increase in contact with that of Levantine origin or influence (Fig. 8). Direct encounters may only be definitively inferred in two cases: the seal impressions of *ʕm* from Mirgissa’s fort, and the stela of Paimi-ib from Semna. While the first may be attributed to the reign of Sobekhotep II or Khendjer, the second can only be assigned to the Second Intermediate Period by the available evidence. As with the inscriptions from Aswan and Kumma, the two suggest that individuals of Asiatic origin were utilising Egyptian traditions for either administrative or honorary purposes. They had assumed Egyptian names and practices and, other than the term *ʕm*, cannot be distinguished as foreigners. As the scarabs and stela were all found at Egyptian forts, they also suggest that the Asiatic descendants were likely associated with other Egyptians at Nubia, possibly even representing Egyptian interests in the south. The remaining evidence takes the form of royal-name and Levantine-design scarabs as well as Levantine-(influenced) ceramics. Fourteenth Dynasty scarabs of Sekhaenra, Maaibra Sheshi, *Yʕkbḥr* and *ʕmw* were collected from such sites as Elephantine, Mirgissa, Semna, Uronarti and Kerma. Levantine-design scarabs were more numerous, especially in funerary contexts, and occur at sites like Elephantine, Buhen, Mirgissa, Semna, Ukma and Kerma. Tell el-Yahudiyah vessels were retrieved from the examined sites of Buhen, Askut, Semna, Uronarti, Ukma and Kerma. Other non-Egyptian ceramics are unique, only occurring at Askut and Buhen.

¹²¹ In fact, the presumed ‘Egyptianisation’ of individuals should be reassessed to take into account current understanding of the processes and mechanisms involved in culture change or ethnic and social identity transformation, modification or manipulation. For a similar view regarding Egyptianisation, see VAN PELT 2013; DE SOUZA 2013.

¹²² Wadi el-Hol: J.C. DARNELL *et al.* 2005. Gebel Tjauti: J.C. DARNELL 2002b, 56–58. Wadi el-Hudi: ROWE 1939, 187–191, pl. 25; FAKHRY 1952, 35–38, fig. 29, pl. 14; SADEK 1980,

38–39, 84–88; SADEK 1985, pls. 8, 23. Wadi el-Hammamat: COUYAT and MONTET 1912, 40, 48–51, pls. 5, 13–14; GASSE 1987, pls. 39–42. Serabit el-Khadim: GARDINER and PEET 1917; ČERNÝ 1935; ČERNÝ 1955; GOLDWASSER 2012. See also MOURAD 2015, 108–109, 112–113, 131–146. For further discussion on individuals of Asiatic descent in these areas, see J.C. DARNELL *et al.* 2005, 89–92; GOLDWASSER 2012, 370–371.

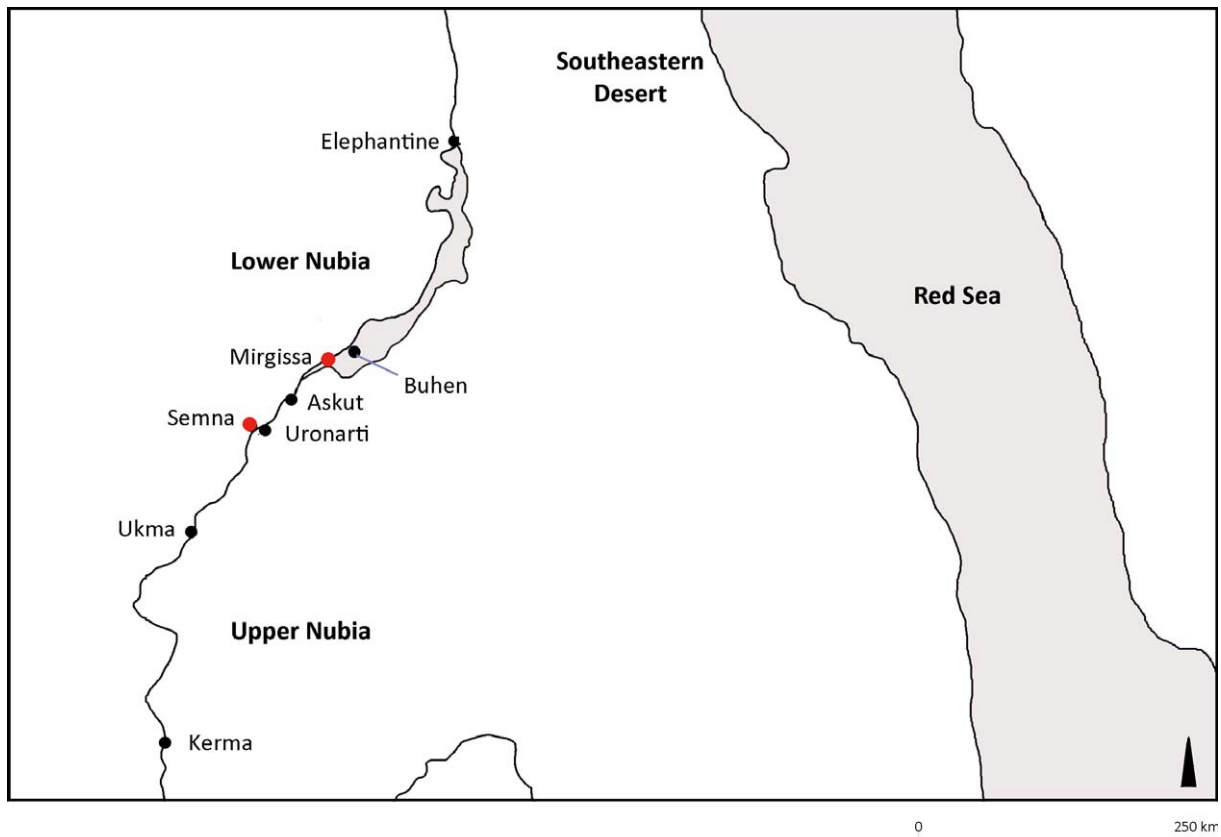


Fig. 8 Sites with evidence for contact with the Levantine from Dynasty 13 to the early Second Intermediate Period

- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities
- Presence of Levantine(-influenced) commodities and individuals of Asiatic origin

The finds specify the flow of traded goods, albeit somewhat limited, during Dynasty 13 and the early Second Intermediate Period. While this is more indicative of indirect contact, it remains evidence for some cross-cultural encounters between elements originating from the Levant and the Levantine-influenced northern dynasties of Egypt, and the Egyptian and Nubian elements of Nubia. It further vindicates Nubia's access to Levantine and Levantine-inspired products during the Fourteenth Dynasty and the early Fifteenth Dynasty, even if this was via indirect links. The increase in these items' number in comparison to previous periods, as well as the differences in their nature and contexts, point to a changing trade network. This could be explained as a symptom of the Thirteenth Dynasty's reduced control over Egypt, correlating with the fall of the Middle Kingdom as well as the disintegration of Egyptian border control. Indeed, the dissolution of Dynasty 13's power would have feasibly affected the state's domination

over regional and interregional trade routes, eliminating possible former restrictions on the distribution of particular items to certain areas across Egypt and Nubia, and allowing emerging powers such as the Fourteenth Dynasty to more freely establish and develop trade. Significantly, the evidence corroborates the existence of some trade links from the very north of Egypt to the heart of Nubian lands, pointing to the wider dissemination of Levantine and Levantine-influenced products, even if through indirect channels. The Hyksos Dynasty would have likely fostered this trade, but the rising Theban Dynasty and its control over parts of the Nile Valley may have further altered the channels and links through which objects and entities reached Nubia. Inevitably, though, such trade links could have very well influenced or furthered political developments towards the second half of the Second Intermediate Period and towards the reunification of the Egyptian state.

References

- ADAMS, A.
1977 *Nubia. Corridor to Africa*, London.
- ALBRIGHT, W.F.
1964 The Eighteenth-Century Princes of Byblos and the Chronology of Middle Bronze, *BASOR* 176, 38–46.
1965 Further Light on the History of Middle-Bronze Byblos, *BASOR* 179, 38–43.
- ALLEN, J.P.
2008 The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur. Preliminary Report, *BASOR* 352, 29–39.
- ASTON, D.
2012 From the Deep South to the Far North: Nubian Sherds from Khatan'a and 'Ezbet Helmi (Tell el-Dab'a), 159–179, in: I. FORSTNER-MÜLLER and P. ROSE (eds.), *Nubian Pottery from Egyptian Cultural Contexts of the Middle and Early New Kingdom. Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Cairo, 1–12 December 2010*, Vienna.
- ASTON, D. and BADER, B.
2009 Fishes, Ringstands, Nudes and Hippos – A Preliminary Report on the Hyksos Palace Pit Complex L81, *Ä&L* 19, 19–89.
- ASTON, D. and BIETAK, M.
2012 *Tell el Dab'a*, vol. 8: *The Classification and Chronology of Tell el-Yahudiya Ware*, UZK 12, Vienna.
2017 Nubians in the Nile Delta: À Propos Avaris and Perunefer, 489–511, in: N. SPENCER and A. STEVENS (eds.), *The New Kingdom in Nubia: Lived Experience, Pharaonic Control and Indigenous Traditions*, BMPES 3, Leuven.
- AUBET, M.E.
2013 *Commerce and Colonization in the Ancient Near East*, New York.
- BADER, B.
2013 Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology: The 'Hyksos' as a Case Study, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 28/1, 257–286.
2017 Children of Other Gods: Social Interactions, 61–77, in: P.P. CREASMAN and R.H. WILKINSON (eds.), *Pharaoh's Land and Beyond. Ancient Egypt and its Neighbours*, Oxford.
- BAGH, T.
2013 *Tell el-Dab'a*, vol. 23: *Levantine Painted Ware from Egypt and the Levant*, UZK 37, Vienna.
- BAINES, J.
1987 The Stela of Khusobek: Private and Royal Military Narrative and Values, 43–61, in: J. OSING and G. DREYER (eds.), *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten. Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht zum 65. Geburtstag am 6. Februar 1987*, Wiesbaden.
- 1996 Contextualizing Egyptian Representations of Society and Ethnicity, 339–384, in: J.S. COOPER and G.M. SCHWARTZ (eds.), *The Study of the Ancient Near East in the Twenty-First Century: The William Foxwell Albright Centennial Conference*, Indiana.
- BEN-TOR, D.
1997 The Relations between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom as Reflected by Contemporary Canaanite Scarabs, *IEJ* 47/3, 162–189.
2007 *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections. Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period*, OBO 27, Freiburg.
2010 Sequence and Chronology of Second Intermediate Period Royal-Name Scarabs, Based on Excavated Series from Egypt and the Levant, 91–108, in: M. MARÉE (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current Research, Future Prospects*, Leuven/Paris/Walpole.
2017 Evidence for Middle Bronze Age Chronology and Synchronisms in the Levant: A Rejoinder to Höflmayer et al. 2016, *BASOR*, forthcoming.
- BEN-TOR, D., ALLEN, S. and ALLEN, J.
1999 Seals and Kings, *BASOR* 315, 47–74.
- BENNETT, C.J.C.
1941 Growth of the *ḥtp-dj-nsw* Formula in the Middle Kingdom, *JEA* 27, 77–82.
- BERRY, J.W.
2003 Conceptual Approaches to Acculturation, 17–37, in: K.M. CHUN, P.B. ORGANISTA and G. MARIN (eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement, and Applied Research*, Washington.
2005 Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures, *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29, 697–712.
- BIETAK, M.
1984 Problems of Middle Bronze Age Chronology: New Evidence from Egypt, *AJA* 88/4, 471–485.
1989 The Middle Bronze Age of the Levant – A New Approach to Relative and Absolute Chronology, 78–120, in: P. ÅSTRÖM (ed.), *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology held at the University of Gothenburg, 20–22 August 1987*, vol. 3, Gothenburg.
- 1991 Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age, *BASOR* 281, 27–72.
- 2010 Houses, Palaces and Development of Social Structure in Avaris, 11–68, in: M. BIETAK, E. CZERNY, and I. FORSTNER-MÜLLER (eds.), *Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt. Papers from a Workshop in November 2006 at the Austrian Academy of Science*, UZK 35, Vienna.

- 2016 Review of Stuart Manning, *A Test of Time and A Test of Time Revisited: The Volcano of Thera and the Chronology and History of the Aegean and East Mediterranean in the Mid-Second Millennium BC*, ISBN: 9781782972198, Oxford: Oxbow Books 2014, Pp. 672, H242 x W170 (mm), *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2016.04.06, <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2016/2016-04-06.html> (accessed 15.06.2017).
- BOURRIAU, J.
- 1991 Relations between Egypt and Kerma during the Middle and New Kingdoms, 129–144, in: W. DAVIES (ed.), *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, London.
- 2000 The Second Intermediate Period (c.1650-1550 BC), 172–206, in: I. SHAW (ed.), *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford.
- ČERNÝ, J.
- 1935 Semites in Egyptian Mining Expeditions to Sinai, *ArOr* 7, 384–389.
- 1955 *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 2: *Translations and Commentary*, London.
- COLIN, F.
- 2005 Kamose et les Hyksos dans l’Oasis de Djesdjes, *BIFAO* 105, 35–47.
- COLLIER, M. & QUIRKE, S. (eds.)
- 2004 *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*, BAR/IS 1209, Oxford.
- COUYAT, J. & MONTET, P.
- 1912 *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, MIFAO 34, Cairo.
- DARNELL, D.
- 2002 Gravel of the Desert and Broken Pots in the Road: Ceramic Evidence from the Routes between the Nile and Kharga Oasis, 156–177, in: R. FRIEDMAN (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia. Gifts of the Desert*, London.
- DARNELL, J.C.
- 2002a Opening the Narrow Doors of the Desert: Discoveries of the Theban Desert Road Survey, 132–155, in: R. FRIEDMAN (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia. Gifts of the Desert*, London.
- 2002b *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert*, vol. 1: *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1-45 and Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 1-45*, OIP 119, Chicago.
- DARNELL, J.C. *et al.*
- 2005 Two Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from the Wadi el-Hôl: New Evidence for the Origin of the Alphabet from the Western Desert of Egypt, *AASOR* 59, 63–124.
- DE MORGAN J. *et al.*
- 1894 *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l’Égypte antique*, vol. 1: *De la frontière de Nubie a Kom Ombo*, Vienna.
- DELIA, R.
- 1980 *A Study of the Reign of Senwosret III*, PhD Dissertation, Columbia University.
- DI BIASE-DYSON, C.
- 2013 *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives*, Leiden.
- DIRMINTI, E.
- 2014 Between Kerma and Avaris: The First Kingdom of Kush and Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, 337–345, in: J. ANDERSON and D. WELSBY (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond. Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 1, Leuven/Paris/Walpole.
- DUNHAM, D.
- 1967 *Second Cataract Forts*, vol. 2: *Uronarti – Shalfak – Mirgissa*, Boston.
- DUNHAM, D. and JANSSEN, J.
- 1960 *Second Cataract Forts*, vol. 1: *Semna-Kumma*, Boston.
- EMBERLING, G.
- 1997 Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives, *JAR* 5/4, 295–344.
- ENGELBACH, R.
- 1923 *The Problem of the Obelisks, From a Study of the Unfinished Obelisk at Aswan*, London.
- ESPINEL, A.D.
- 2006 *Etnicidad y Territorio en el Egipto del Reino Antiguo*, Avla Ægyptiaca – Studia 6, Barcelona.
- FAKHRY, A.
- 1952 *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries at Wadi el Hudi*, Cairo.
- FLAMMINI, R.
- 2008 Ancient Core-Periphery Interactions: Lower Nubia during Middle Kingdom Egypt (ca. 2050–1640 B.C.), *JWSR* 14/1, 50–74.
- 2010 Elite Emulation and Patronage Relationships in the Middle Bronze: The Egyptianized Dynasty of Byblos, *Tel Aviv* 37, 154–168.
- FORSTNER-MÜLLER, I. and ROSE, P.
- 2012a Nubian Pottery at Avaris in the Second Intermediate Period and the New Kingdom: Some Remarks, 181–212, in: I. FORSTNER-MÜLLER and P. ROSE (eds.), *Nubian Pottery from Egyptian Cultural Contexts of the Middle and Early New Kingdom. Proceedings of a Workshop held at the Austrian Archaeological Institute at Cairo, 1-12 December 2010*, Vienna.
- 2012b Grabungen des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts Kairo in Tell el-Dab’a/Avaris: Das Areal R/III, *Ä&L* 22/23, 55–66.

- FRANKE, D.
2003 The Middle Kingdom Offering Formulas – A Challenge, *JEA* 89, 39–57.
- FUSCALDO, P.
2002 The Nubian Pottery from the Palace District of Avaris at Ezbet Helmi, Areas H/III and H/VI, Part I: The “Classic” Kerma Pottery of the 18th Dynasty, *Ä&L* 12, 167–186.
- GARDINER, A.
1916 The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. I, *JEA* 3, 95–110.
- GARDINER, A. and PEET, T.E.
1917 *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. 1: *Introduction and Plates*, London.
- GASSE, A.
1987 Une expédition au Ouādi Hammāmāt sous le règne de Sebekemsaf Ier, *BIFAO* 87, 208–218.
- GOLDWASSER, O.
2012 Out of the Mists of the Alphabet - Redrawing the “Brother of the Ruler of Retenu”, *Ä&L* 22/23, 353–374.
- GONZÁLEZ-RUIBAL, A.
2011 The Politics of Identity: Ethnicity and the Economy of Power in Iron Age Northwest Iberia, 245–266, in: S. STODDART and G. CIFANI (eds.), *Landscape, Ethnicity, Identity in the Archaic Mediterranean Area*, Oxford.
- GRATIEN, B.
1991 Empreintes de sceaux et administration à Kerma (Kerma Classique), *Genava* 39, 21–24.
- HABACHI, L.
1972 *The Second Stela of Kamose and his Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and his Capital*, Glückstadt.
- HAFSAAS-TSAKOS, H.
2010 Between Kush and Egypt: The C-Group of Lower Nubia during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, 389–396, in: W. GODLEWSKI and A. LAJTAR (eds.), *Between the Cataracts: Proceedings of the 11th Conference for Nubian Studies, Warsaw University, 27 August-2 September 2006*, PAM 2.2/2, Warsaw.
- HAYES, W.C.
1972 *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)*, 2nd reprint, Brooklyn.
- HEIN, I.
2001 Kerma in Avaris, 199–212, in: C.-B. ARNST, I. HAFERMANN and A. LOHWASSER (eds.), *Begegnungen: Festgabe für Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter F. Reinecke, und Steffan Wenig von Schülern und Mitarbeitern*, Leipzig.
- HINTZE, F. & REINEKE, W.
1989 *Felsinschriften aus dem sudanesischen Nubien*, 2 vols., Berlin.
- HOCH, J.
1994 *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton.
- HODJASH, S. & BERLEV, O.
1982 *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*, Leningrad.
- HÖFLMAYER, F.
2017 A Radiocarbon Chronology for the Middle Bronze Age Southern Levant, *JAEG* 13, 20–33.
- HÖFLMAYER, F. and COHEN, S.L.
2017 Chronological Conundrums: Egypt and the Middle Bronze Age Southern Levant, *JAEG* 13, 1–6.
- HÖFLMAYER, F. et al.
2016 New Evidence for Middle Bronze Age Chronology and Synchronisms in the Levant: Radiocarbon Dates from Tell el-Burak, Tell el-Dab’a, and Tel Ifshar Compared, *BASOR* 375, 53–76.
- ILIN-TOMICH, A.
2011 Changes in the *htp-dj-nsw* Formula in the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period, *ZÄS* 138, 20–34.
- JAMBON, E.
2010 Les mots et les gestes. Réflexions autour de la place de l’écriture dans un rituel d’envoûtement de l’Égypte pharaonique, *Cahiers Mondes Anciens* 1, 2–24.
- JANSSEN, J.
1952 La stèle de Montouemhat trouvée à Semna, *ArOr* 20, 442–445.
- JONES, S.
1997 *The Archaeology of Ethnicity. Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*, London/New York.
- KAPLAN, M.F.
1980 *The Origin and Distribution of Tell el Yahudiyeh Ware*, SIMA 62, Gothenburg.
- KAPLAN, M.F., HARBOTTLE, G. and SAYRE, E.V.
1982 Multi-Disciplinary Analysis of Tell el Yahudiyeh Ware, *Archaeometry* 24/2, 127–142.
- KELANY, A. et al.
2009 Granite Quarry Survey in the Aswan Region, Egypt: Shedding New Light on Ancient Quarrying, 87–98, in: N. ABU-JABER et al. (eds.), *QuarryScapes: Ancient Stone Quarry Landscapes in the Eastern Mediterranean*, Geological Survey of Norway Special Publication 12, Trondheim.
- KEMP, B.J.
2006 *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, 2nd edition, London/New York.
- KENDALL, T.
1997 *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush, 2500-1500 B.C.: The Archaeological Discovery of an Ancient Nubian Empire*, Washington.

- KITCHEN, K.A.
1967 Byblos, Egypt, and Mari in the Early Second Millennium B.C., *Orientalia* 36, 39–54.
- KLEMM, R. and KLEMM, D.
2008 *Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt*, London.
- KNAPP, A.B.
2009 *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity*, Oxford.
- KNOBLAUCH, C.
2007 Askut in Nubia: A Re-examination of the Ceramic Chronology, 225–238, in: K. ENDREFFY *et al.* (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists. 31 August – 2 September 2006, Budapest*, StudAeg 18, Budapest.
- KOENIG, Y.
1990 Les textes d'envoûtement de Mirgissa, *RdE* 40, 101–125.
- KRAEMER, B. and LISZKA, K.
2016 Evidence for Administration of the Nubian Fortresses in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Semna Dispatches, *JEH* 9/1, 1–65.
- LACOVARA, P.
1997 Egypt and Nubia during the Second Intermediate Period, 69–86, in: E. OREN (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, University Museum Monograph 96, Philadelphia.
- LANGE, K. and SCHÄFER, H.
1902 *Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 1, CG, Cairo.
1908 *Grab und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 2, CG, Cairo.
- LEPSIUS, R.
1849–1859 *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, vols. 2, 5, Berlin.
- LISZKA, K.
2012 “We Have Come to Serve Pharaoh”: A Study of the Medjay and Pangrave as an Ethnic Group and as Mercenaries from c. 2300BCE until c.1050 BCE, PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- LISZKA, K. and KRAEMER, B.
2016 Evidence for Administration of the Nubian Fortresses in the Late Middle Kingdom: P Ramesseum 18, *JEH* 9/2, 151–208.
- LIVERANI, M.
2001 *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1600-1100 BC*, New York.
- LOPRIENO, A.
1988 *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur*, ÄA 48, Wiesbaden.
- MARIETTE, A.
1880 *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos découverts pendant les fouilles de cette ville*, Paris.
- MARTIN, A.
1971 *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, Oxford.
- MATIĆ, U.
2014 “Nubian” Archers in Avaris: A Study of Culture Historical Reasoning in Archaeology of Egypt, *Etnoantropološki problemi* 9/3, 697–721.
- MINOR, E.J.
2012 *The Use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Material Culture in Nubian Burials of the Classic Kerma Period*, PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.
- MOELLER, N. & MAROUARD, G.
2011 Discussion of Late Middle Kingdom and Early Second Intermediate History and Chronology in Relation to the Khayan Sealings from Tell Edfu, *Ä&L* 11, 107–108.
- DE MORGAN, J. *et al.*
1894 *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'égypte Antique*, vol. 1/1: *De la frontière de Nubie a Kom Ombo*, Vienna.
- MOURAD, A.-L.
2013 Asiatics and Abydos: From the Twelfth Dynasty to the Early Second Intermediate Period, *BACE* 24, 31–58.
2015 *Rise of the Hyksos. Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the Early Second Intermediate Period*, Archaeopress Egyptology 11, Oxford.
2017 The Asiatic *St.t* and *St.ty.w* from the Early Dynastic Period to the Middle Kingdom, 297–310, in: C. DI BIASE-DYSON and L. DONOVAN (eds.), *The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience. Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga*, Münster.
- O'CONNOR, D.
1974 Political Systems and Archaeological Data in Egypt: 2600-1780 B.C., *World Archaeology* 6/1, 15–38.
2003 Egypt's Views of “Others”, 155–185, in: J. TAIT (ed.), *‘Never had the Like Occurred’: Egypt's View of its Past*, London.
- PEDEN, P.
2001 *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c. 3100-332 BC)*, Leiden.
- PHINNEY, J.S.
2003 Ethnic Identity and Acculturation, 63–81, in: K.M. CHUN, P.B. ORGANISTA and G. MARIN (eds.), *Acculturation: Advances in Theory, Measurement, and Applied Research*, Washington.
- PILGRIM, C. VON
1996 *Elephantine 18: Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*, AV 91, Mainz.

- PORTER, B. and MOSS, R.
1995 *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, vol. 7: *Nubia, The Desert, and Outside Egypt*, Oxford.
- POSENER, G.
1966 Les textes d'envoûtement de Mirgissa, *Syria* 43, 277–287.
- QUIRKE, S.
1990 *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents*, New Malden.
- RANDALL-MACIVER, D. & WOOLLEY, L.
1911 *Buhen*. Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition to Nubia 7–8, Philadelphia.
- RANKE, H.
1935–1977 *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, 3 vols., Glückstadt.
- REDFORD, D.
1986 Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom, *JARCE* 23, 125–143.
- REISNER, G.
1923 *Excavations at Kerma*, vols. 1–4, Cambridge.
1955 Clay Sealings of Dynasty XIII from Uronarti Fort, *Kush* 3, 26–69.
- RICHARDS, F.V.
2001 *The Anra Scarabs. An Archaeological and Historical Approach*, BAR/IS 919, Oxford.
- RITNER, R.K.
1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, SAOC 54, Chicago.
- ROWE, A.
1939 Three New Stelae from the South-Eastern Desert, *ASAE* 39, 187–194.
- RYHOLT, K.
1997 *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 BC*, CNIP 20, Copenhagen.
- SADEK, A.I.
1980 *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, vol. 1, Warminster.
1985 *The Amethyst Mining Inscriptions of Wadi el-Hudi*, vol. 2, Warminster.
- SARETTA, P.
2016 *Asiatics in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Perceptions and Reality*, London/New York.
- SCHARFF, A.
1922 Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie, *ZÄS* 57, 51–68.
- SCHNEIDER, T.
2003a *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit*, vol. 2, ÄAT 42, Wiesbaden.
- 2003b Foreign Egypt: Egyptology and the Concept of Cultural Appropriation, *Ä&L* 8, 155–161.
- 2010 Foreigners in Egypt. Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context, 143–163, in: W. WENDRICH (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, Oxford.
- SETHE, K.
1926 *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässcherben des Mittleren Reiches*, Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Phil-Hist Klasse 5, Berlin.
- SMITH, H.
1966 Preliminary Report on the Rock Inscriptions in the Egypt Exploration Society's Concession at Buhen, *Kush* 14, 330–334.
1972 The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen, *JEA* 58, 43–82.
1976 *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, EES Exc-Mem 48, London.
- SMITH, S.
1995 *Askut in Nubia. The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.*, London/New York.
2002 Pots and Politics: Ceramics from Askut and Egyptian Colonialism during the Middle through New Kingdoms, 43–79, in: C. REDMOUNT and C. KELLER (eds.), *Egyptian Pottery. Proceedings of the 1990 Pottery Symposium at the University of California*, Berkeley.
2003 *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*, London/New York.
2004 Sealing Practices at Askut and the Nubian Fortresses: Implications for Middle Kingdom Scarab Technology and Historical Synchronisms, 203–219, in: M. Bietak and E. Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications*, CChEM 8, Vienna.
2007 Ethnicity and Culture, 218–241, in: T. WILKINSON (ed.), *The Egyptian World*, London/New York.
- SMITH, W.S.
1969 Influence of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt in Western Asia, especially in Byblos, *AJA* 73/3, 277–281.
- DE SOUZA, A.
2013 The Egyptianisation of the Pan-Grave Culture: A New Look at an Old Idea, *BACE* 24, 109–126.
- TÖRÖK, L.
2009 *Between Two Worlds. The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC – AD 500*, Leiden/Boston.
- TRIGGER, B.
1976 *Nubia under the Pharaohs*, London.
- TUFNELL, O.
1974 *Studies on Scarab Seals*, vol. 2: *Scarab Seals and their Contribution to History in the Early Second Millennium B.C.*, Warminster.

VAN PELT, W.P.

- 2013 Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement, *CAJ* 23/3, 523–550.

VERCOUTTER, J.

- 1964 Excavations at Mirgissa I (October-December 1962), *Kush* 12, 57–62.
 1965 Excavations at Mirgissa II (October 1963-March 1964), *Kush* 13, 62–73.
 1970 *Mirgissa*, vol. 1: *Les nécropoles*, Paris.
 1975 *Mirgissa*, vol. 2: *Les nécropoles*, Paris.
 1976 *Mirgissa*, vol. 3: *Les nécropoles*, Paris.

VILA, A.

- 1963 Un depot de textes d'envoûtement au Moyen Empire, *Journal des Savants* 3/1, 135–160.
 1973 Un rituel d'envoûtement au Moyen Empire, 625–639, in: M. SAUTER (ed.), *L'Homme, hier et aujourd'hui. Recueil d'études en hommage à André Leroi-Gourhan*, Paris.

WARD, W.

- 1975 The Biconsonantal Root *bʒ and Remarks on Bilabial Interchange in Egyptian, *ZÄS* 102, 60–67.
 1982 *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*. Beirut.

WEGNER, J.W.

- 1995 Regional Control in Middle Kingdom Lower Nubia: The Function and History of the Site of Areika, *JARCE* 32, 127–161.

WILLIAMS, B.

- 1975 *Archaeology and Historical Problems of the Second Intermediate Period*, PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago.

YURCO, F.

- 2004 Kerma, the Hyksos, the Medja, and Dynasty 17, 446–448, in: T. KENDALL (ed.), *Nubian Studies 1998: Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the International Society of Nubian Studies, August 21-26, 1998, Boston, Massachusetts*, Boston.

YVANEZ, E.

- 2010 *Rock Inscriptions from Semna and Kumma. Epigraphic Study*, Khartoum.

ZIBELIUS-CHEN, K.

- 1988 *Die ägyptische Expansion nach Nubien: Eine Darlegung der Grundfaktoren*, Wiesbaden.

Figure Captions

All drawings are by A.-L. Mourad. Figures 2, 4, 5 and 6 have been redrawn by A.-L. Mourad after the sources listed in the captions.



ERC Advanced Grant The Hyksos Enigma

This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 668640)



