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Egypt's encounter with the West: Race, Culture and Identity

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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

University of Durham,

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2011

<u>Abstract</u>

The present study is an investigation into the processes involved in interpreting ethnic identity in the ancient world. Specifically, it focuses on the various "Libyan" groups currently found in Egyptological literature who are attested in ancient Egyptian sources from the dawn of Egyptian civilization.

Set within the broader theoretical discussion of identifying social and cultural differentiation in the ancient world, this thesis will explore the manner in which the identity of "Libyan" groups has been interpreted by modern scholars; the way in which the ancient Egyptians interpreted the identity of these groups; and the degree to which self-expressed "Libyan" identity is still visible in the iconographic, epigraphic and archaeological records of ancient Egypt.

Historically, this thesis will trace the interaction which the ancient Egyptians alone record between themselves and the various groups currently aggregated under the term "Libyan." Through art, text and archaeology, this thesis will outline this interaction from the earliest appearance of these groups in Egyptian records in the Fourth Millennium BC, through the resettlement of some of these groups in Egypt during the Twelfth Century BC and continued references to these groups living in diaspora within Egypt during the first half of the First Millennium BC.

Following a strict methodological approach which emphasizes chronology and context as key factors in understanding ancient ethnic groups, this thesis will explore how the projections of internal group identities evolve over time and the manner in which these identities have been observed by both ancient (Egyptian) and modern (Egyptological) outsiders.

<u>Acknowledgements</u>

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Introduction

The following thesis developed out of a desire to understand the process behind identity formation in the ancient world. Originally, it was intended to be based exclusively on archaeological field-work conducted under the directorship of Penelope Wilson (Durham University) at the site of Sa el-Hagar in the western Delta (ancient Saïs) exploring how identity formation is reflected in the archaeological record of the Third Intermediate Period. Specifically I was interested in how so-called "Libyan" identities might be distinguished from "Egyptian" identities within the material-cultural record of the period known as the "Libyan Period" (Dynasties 22-24; or ca. 945-712 BC)[1]

After a year or so of collecting comparable published material, however, it became quite apparent that the project, as originally set out, was not to be. There were some fundamental flaws as well as numerous assumptions about the data-set: Firstly, there was almost no comparable material from the region identified as "Libya"; secondly, where such material had purportedly been found, in most cases, its "Libyan identity" rested almost entirely on it being identified in the first instance as "non-Egyptian"; and thirdly, almost all of the material collected in Egypt (either published, or from the excavations at Saïs) had clearly been manufactured in Egypt (i.e. produced from Nile silt in the case of pottery, or other local materials in other instances) and was generally consistent with an evolution in form from earlier periods. It seemed almost impossible, therefore, to attempt to understand how identity manifested itself through material culture alone.

From this beginning my research then led me to explore a much broader series of questions focused around the three actors responsible for the modern creation of ancient "Libyan" identity: the ancient "Libyans" themselves, the ancient Egyptians, and modern Egyptologists.

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[1] The dates used in this work are those given by Peter Clayton in his *Chronicle of the Pharaohs* (1994), unless specified otherwise.

At the outset, I was intrigued by an article written by Le Page Renouf in 1891 and a question which he asked therein: "Who were the Libyans?" A simple question if ever there was one and yet from this simple question emerges a complex problem. Indeed, embedded in this question are three sub-questions: "how did the ancient "Libyans" identify themselves?" "How did the ancient Egyptians identify the ancient "Libyans"?" and "how have modern Egyptologists identified ancient "Libyans"?" And, perhaps more critically, are all of these identifications, in fact, the same.

The two-fold objective of this thesis, therefore, is firstly to clarify the identity of the groups that academic literature on ancient Egypt currently designates collectively as "Libyan." Secondly, the thesis aims to demonstrate the utility of strict methodology geared around a diachronic framework in the examination of the evidence related to expressions of ethnic identity among these groups and the ways in which these expressions have been interpreted from a variety of perspectives.

Defining "Libya" and "Libyan."

Before continuing, a note should be said regarding the definition of the subject matter. The primary problem with defining "Libya" in the ancient world is that it is a mutable construct dependant on the viewpoint of the observer. In the modern world "Libya" is a very well defined North African country nestled between Egypt, Sudan, Chad, Niger, Algeria, Tunisia and the Mediterranean Sea and has been defined as such for over a century. Before that, however, the region now known as "Libya" was divided into three independent provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Prior to that, the region was part of the Byzantine Empire after the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in the Fifth Century AD. To the Romans and the Greeks before them, the region of modern "Libya" was merely one small section of the larger territory known as *Libues* – a term which, depending on the ancient author's whim could refer to the entirety of Africa; or the region of Africa east of the Atlantic, north of the dark-skinned Aethiopians, and either west of the Red Sea or west of the Nile Valley (Bates, 1914, xix).

The term "Libyan" should here be defined as well. It is used here exclusively on account of modern scholarly convention (for a good overview of such, see Snape 2003, 93f.). It should be noted that this term does not refer to a single group of people nor is it historically appropriate to refer to *any* groups of people by the adjective "Libyan" prior to the first half of the First Millennium BC and the use of this term by the Greeks – contrary to a recent statement by Fekri Hassan (2001, 20) that "the inhabitants of that region [west of Egypt] were called 'Libyans.'" It is for this reason that I have chosen to place the term "Libyan" in quotation marks throughout this thesis when referring to populations mentioned prior to ca. 500 BC, while for the majority of this thesis I have tried not to refer to the populations under study by this term.

Within Egyptological literature, however, it has become accepted practice to use the term "Libyan" indiscriminately when referring to the individuals belonging to the groups identified by the ancient Egyptians variously as "Tjehenu", "Tjemehu", "Meshwesh", "Ma", and "Rebu" (among other groups such as the Imukehek, Qeheq, Qayqash, Esbet, Eqbet, Hass, and Beqen who have but single mentions in Egyptian texts; see Bates, 1914, 47f.). In most translations of Egyptian texts all of these various terms have been translated into English using the common term "Libyan" and it is only by referring to the original Egyptian that any distinction regarding the Egyptian usage can be made. In understanding concepts of ancient identity with regard to these groups this was one of the first hurdles which had to be overcome. Moreover, it led to three further research questions: "why have all of these groups been lumped together under a single term, "Libyan" in modern scholarship?", "are there means to distinguish between these groups?" and "what criteria did the ancient Egyptians (and to a lesser extent, the ancient "Libyans") use to distinguish between these groups to which they ascribed various names?"

It is from these basic questions and objectives that the present thesis developed, while the title itself – *Egypt's encounter with the West* – is purposefully chosen as a double-entendre. On the one hand, it is meant to suggest the relationship which the ancient Egyptians had with the ancient populations they occasionally described as living in "the west" and the ultimate rise to power within Egypt by

these supposed "westerners" at the beginning of the First Millennium BC. On the other hand it is equally meant to suggest "Western" scholarship's historiography concerning these very same groups which has both described and created "Libyan" identity in equal measures.

<u>Thesis Outline</u>

The primary focus of the following study will be on the history of the identity of the people identified by modern scholars as "Libyans" in Egyptian sources between ca. 3000 BC and ca. 500 BC. While these dates are by no means meant to be interpreted as exact, they are illustrative of two major changes in the history of the so-called "Libyans." The upper end of this date range is identifiable with the earliest written and pictorial records left by the ancient Egyptians along the Nile. It can be considered to be roughly contemporaneous with the dawn of ancient Egyptian civilization and the initiation of the dichotomy between that which was considered "Egyptian" by the "Egyptians" and that which was considered "Foreign." In contrast, the lower end of this date range is identifiable with increased mentions of the term "Libya" in classical Greek texts and therefore provides an appropriate *terminus ad quem* for this thesis. Moreover, within this defined date range the history of the "Libyans" can be divided into the earlier history in which contact with the Egyptians was largely outside of Egypt, and the later history in which references from Egypt refer to certain "Libyan" groups as residing in diaspora within Egypt.

Thematically, this thesis is easily divisible into three interdependent parts. The first part, comprising the first three chapters, will focus on the theoretical, historiographical and methodological framework of addressing ancient and specifically "Libyan" identity.

Chapter 1 will define the terms which are commonly used to define human population groups such as "society," "race," and "ethnic group," and the ways in which these terms are used in modern parlance and their application to the ancient Egyptian record.

Following this, Chapter 2 will begin by examining the historiography of the "Libyans" and the previous methodologies which have been employed for creating the current "Libyan Paradigm." It will focus primarily on the way in which the iconographic and epigraphic records of ancient Egypt have been used historically in the creation of "Libyan" identity over the last two centuries. It will demonstrate that "Libyan" identity as it is currently understood is a remnant – possibly one of the last remnants - of a culture historical approach which sought to identify ancient populations as bounded and immutable entities and promoted a methodology based on retro-projection of a much later term onto much earlier sources. One of the major research questions to be addressed by this thesis is the degree to which scholarship into the question of ancient "Libyan" identity has both created and propagated said identity. Towards this end, it is necessary to address both the issues of how "Libyan" identity has been created in Egyptological literature as well as re-examine the primary source material responsible for this identity.

Chapter 3 will outline the methodology which will be employed in the current thesis. It will argue that, in order to fully appreciate the nuanced identities of the actors involved it is necessary to re-examine the Egyptian source material in a methodical and diachronic manner. At its core, the fundamental methodological point addressed in this thesis is a rejection of an attitude which promotes the retro-projection of much later terminology onto earlier source material for which it is not suitable to act as a descriptor. Instead, this thesis promotes the idea that the only way in which ancient identity can be understood is through a strict diachronic approach which highlights the original ancient source materials (iconographic, epigraphic and archaeological) and places them within the proper historical and cultural context. While this methodology is intrinsically quite simple, it is also a significant departure from earlier methodologies which begin from an a priori assumption regarding the underlying "Libyan" identity of the groups being studied. It is hoped that by applying a methodology which emphasizes chronological, cultural, and archaeological contexts a more nuanced understanding of how the groups under study expressed their ethnic identity in the ancient world will become apparent.

Towards this end, the second part of this thesis will examine the source material relating to the early history of Egyptian interaction with the so-called "Libyan" groups. It will be divided into three chapters each centered around the three primary datasets used in discussions of identities in ancient Egypt: the pictorial record, the epigraphic record and the archaeological record.

Chapter 4 will examine the pictorial record of ancient Egypt as a means of understanding ancient identity. It begins by examining how the ancient Egyptians understood their world around them and how "foreigners" –as forces of chaos - were illustrated and ordered within this world. Specifically, it will focus on the idea within Egyptian cosmological thought of the "Three Foreign Races" and trace the development of the iconography associated with these groups and specifically of the "Third Race" who are distinguished in Egyptian art from other foreign groups by their distinctive iconography and often captioned with the ethnonyms "Haty-a Tjehenu" "Tjehenu," "Tyhy," "Rebu," "Meshwesh," "Aamu," and "Kharu."

Having established the names by which the Egyptians referred to these illustrated groups, Chapter 5 will diachronically examine the context in which these terms are found in the epigraphic record of ancient Egypt. Specifically, the context in which certain terms are found will be used as evidence through which the history and geography of the individual groups' relation with Egypt can be written.

Following the study of history and geography as it relates to the interpretation of ethnic identity, Chapter 6 will take a more in-depth look at the specific personal and group names found in the epigraphic record. First it will examine the etymologies of the various groups as products of Egyptian nomenclature (exonymy) or indigenous nomenclature (endonymy). It will then examine the personal names associated with the various groups and how these may be used to establish expressions of ethnic identity by the Egyptians with respect to both groups and individuals.

Chapter 7 will move away from the "historical" records and examine the manner in which ethnic identity is expressed in the archaeological record. After a brief

introduction outlining how archaeology has been used to identify "ethnic groups" to the east and south of Egypt, Chapter 7 will examine the archaeological record of the region to the west of Egypt. This region can be divided into two discrete areas: the Oases and the North Coast. Each region will be examined in turn for evidence of both "local material culture" and "Egyptian material culture."

Methodologically part two is concerned exclusively with the contact which the Egyptians had with the groups under discussion outside of Egypt. As such, the *terminus ad quem* of Part II is Ramesses III's Year 11 when he defeated the Meshwesh at the site of Hawt-sha, as depicted around the First Court of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. Following this event, the groups known as the Rebu and Meshwesh were deported into Egypt. Consequently, Egyptian sources for the remainder of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period describe these two groups as residing within Egypt. The third part of this thesis, therefore will examine the manner in which the Rebu and Meshwesh managed the expression of their identities as they lived in diaspora in Egypt.

The final chapter of this thesis will begin by examining the source material from Ramesses III's reign to the end of the New Kingdom as a means of providing a historical background to the ethnic expression of Rebu and Meshwesh communities during the Third Intermediate Period. Chapter 8 will be divided into three parts which examine the iconographic, the epigraphic and the archaeological records and the manner in which each of these demonstrate variously the adaptation of diasporic communities in Egypt during the First Millennium BC.

In the end, this thesis will argue that in order to fully appreciate the forms and expressions of ethnic identity in the past through the iconographic, textual and archaeological records one has to allow such records to express themselves without masking the evidence through the application of historic, cultural and geographically loaded modifiers such as "Libyan."

While the impetus of this project was an investigation into ancient, and specifically "Libyan" identity, over the course of the years of research which it

has taken for it to come to fruition it has also become apparent that there is a need to reanalyze the large body of evidence regarding the so-called "Libyan" groups. Indeed, the application of the term "Libyan" itself fails to appropriately acknowledge the variety and nuanced identities found in the iconographic, historic and archaeological records.

Part I: Theory, Historiography and Methodology

Chapter 1: Culture, Race and Ethnicity in the Present and Past

The study of identity and specifically notions of "ethnic" identity in both the past and present revolves around two principal themes: the identity of one's self and the identity of one's group (or groups). These two themes are, of course, mutually inclusive and the identity of one's self is normally expressed through association with a group; while a group's identity is formed from the identities of the individuals which comprise it. These relationships, however, are not always straight forward since they do not merely require the acceptance of the individual by the group or the group by the individual. In addition, there is a third-party identification whereby the identification of the individual and/or the group is given a degree of wider "authenticity" through the acceptance of this latter's identity by external individuals or groups.

At its core, however, all identity – whether ancient or modern – is the result of human social interaction. As such, identities cannot exist in isolation and can *only* exist in the interface of real or perceived differences between individuals and groups. This interface has been defined in various manners over the last few centuries and has focused primarily on the concepts of "society," "culture," "race" and "ethnicity" as categories for identifying and classifying this difference. While it is not my intention to give a full history of these complex concepts, for the study at hand it is necessary to provide a brief overview of these terms.

1.1 Society and Culture: The building blocks of identity

Human beings are social by nature and, in interacting, information is shared among individuals. While the interaction itself can take on numerous forms ranging from the social and economic to the political, it is through this interaction that individuals coalesce into meaningful groups. The nature of these groups can most easily be described as "society" and it is from society that culture develops. As Clifford Geertz noted, "society's forms are culture's substance" (1973, 28). Consequently, while society itself may not be an

observable phenomenon, the product of society – that is to say the interaction between individuals, i.e. "culture" - is observable in many instances.

The forms which culture takes are as varied and complex as human beings themselves. Yet, cultural forms also tend to be unique to societies at a given point in space and time. As a general rule, cultural forms do not appear *de novo*, but are invariably a product of a continuum of human interaction, building upon previous forms and ideas and contributing to future ones. Because culture is visible in space and time, from an historical perspective it is possible to isolate cultural phenomena in the past. Moreover, it is possible to identify cultural differences both within and between historically contemporaneous groups. In recognizing this fact, historians and archaeologists during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries developed the methodology of Culture History, which attempted to isolate the material expression of past cultures in the archaeological record and in-so-doing trace the movement and development of these populations (Tyson Smith, 2003, 14). Sian Jones describes the concept of Culture History in the following terms:

> Culture-history can be characterized as the empiricist extraction, description and classification of material remains within a spatial and temporal framework made up of units which are usually referred to as 'cultures' and often regarded as the product of discreet social entities in the past (Jones, 1997, 5).

The methodology of Culture History, therefore, attempts to describe cultures (in both the past and the present) as "bounded, immutable entities" (Tyson Smith, 2003, 14). As has been proven repeatedly, however, these "bounded" Cultures do not exist in reality (Jones, 1997, 106; Tyson Smith, 2003, 33) and the methodology of Culture History does not allow for the mutations of cultures through a the continuum of time or the expression of self-identity by individuals within these larger cultural groups.

Implicit in the concept of Cultural History is the idea that cultures tend towards homogeneity and that individual identities are the result of ascribing to one or another cultural group. Historically, the concept of Culture History devised models of culture (as "bounded, immutable" entities) which neatly paralleled the

concept of Race (as "bounded, immutable" entities) which devised models of human differentiation based on observable characteristics.

1.2 Race and Racism: Hierarchies of Difference

Race, as opposed to Racism, will be here defined as the division of human beings based on phenotypical variations, usually - though not always - related to pigmentation. There is nothing inherently "wrong" with dividing up human populations in this way. In fact, one could argue that it is quite normal, and to some degree "scientific" – in as much as it allows the quantification of people based on physical characteristics. As a scientific tool however, it is largely useless: once you have divided the world in such a way, there is very little else you can obtain from it, since not all people with blue eyes or red hair or olive complexion will ever behave in the same way or identify themselves only based on these features.

The problem arises, and racism emerges when members of one group declare inequality with the other groups, and attempt to create hierarchical typologies and stereotypes of others based on non-scientific beliefs in the inheritability of mental and/or emotional traits based on external, biological features (Isaac, 2004, 23). Isaac has suggested that "racism is not a scientific theory or concept, but a complex of ideas, attitudes, and forms of behaviour which are themselves by definition irrational" (2004, 22).

While phenotypical variation exists among human populations, beginning in the Nineteenth Century this variation was used to create a classification of humanity into "Races" based on what were, at the time, believed to be "distinct, primordial entities, characterized by specific qualities" (Jones, 1997, 41). This notion of "Scientific Races" came to characterize scholarship of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries and became a means of classifying human populations. It has been shown repeatedly, however, that "Races" classified in this manner do not in fact exist in reality (Isaac, 2003, 16). Moreover, the classification of groups in this manner places the emphasis entirely on the identification of the

groups by outsiders. Consequently the individuals which comprise the groups become bounded into artificially constructed, monolithic entities.

In creating boundaries between individuals and groups, therefore, it is not uncommon to resort to phenotypical or racial differentiation based on observable physical difference. The perception of "others" however, and the creation of boundaries between concepts of "us" versus "them" are often more complex and develop out of real or perceived social and cultural differentiation rather than simple biological epi-phenomena. In response to the need to incorporate ideas of self-identification into the equation of identity formation in the past and the present, social scientists of the second half of the Twentieth Century developed the concept of "ethnicity."

1.3 Ethnicity: Equalities of Difference

The development of the notion of "ethnicity" in the second half of the Twentieth Century allowed an escape from the scientifically obsolete concepts of "Race" for many social scientists. Not surprisingly, this occurred at a time when such concepts of Race were becoming highly politicized, particularly in North America. Yet it should be noted that the adoption of "ethnicity" did not eliminate the concept of "Race." This is not to say that Race and ethnicity are the same thing, though the line is often be blurred between the two (Fenton, 2003, 31ff). Particularly in the USA, many modern "ethnic groups" derive their "ethnic" identity from earlier "Racial" classification; whilst in the UK, the terms "ethnic" and "race" are commonly conflated in the media (Fenton, 2003, 50). The major difference between "race" and "ethnicity" is that the latter allows the subject to describe and define themselves within their own milieu, whereas in the former the subject is the object of external classification.

The current trend within the social sciences and humanities to divide humanity via "ethnic groups" can be traced directly to the mid-twentieth-century Norwegian anthropologist Barth, and his influential 1969 work *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*. The importance of this work is not that it provided social scientists with a new

concept, "ethnicity" – based on the ancient Greek *ethnos* meaning "a number of people accustomed to live together, a company, a body of men" (Liddell and Scott, 2001, 226) - but that it provided a new way of classifying the world in more "politically correct" terminology which moved away from the previous, highly politicized ideas regarding Race.

To date, no single definition of "ethnicity" exists within the social sciences (Jones, 1997, 56), since all research into this subject begins from one of two mutually exclusive approaches: the "primordialist perspective" and the "instrumentalist perspective." The former interprets the expression of ethnic identity among individuals as a direct result of 'blood'-lineage, language, religion, territory and culture (Jones, 1997, 85) and in many respects is indebted to earlier concepts of "Race." In contrast, the instrumentalist perspective interprets the same phenomenon in less concrete terms and sees the expression of ethnic identity among populations as being linked with the ability of individuals to mediate social relations and negotiate access to primarily economic and/or political resources (Jones, 1997, 72). As Jones has pointed out, however, despite the degree to which these two perspectives have been presented as diametrically opposed, they have the potential to identify complementary aspects of the phenomena associated with such a multi-variate idea as "ethnicity." For Jones ethnic groups are defined as "culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture and common descent" (1997, 84).

1.4 Expressions of ethnic identity among the ancient Egyptians.

The expression of both "primordialist" and "instrumentalist" perspectives of ethnicity in the ancient world are evident in the various ways in which the ancient Egyptians identified themselves as "Egyptian" at various points of their history.

Like many of the surrounding regions, the history of ancient Egypt is very well defined and thoroughly studied. It begins roughly 5000 years ago when, according to their history, Egypt was unified into a single kingdom. For the next

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three thousand years, Egyptian political control was administered by a succession of kings (including the occasional female king) in a historical model which is divided into three Kingdoms (Old, Middle, New) - during which political power was centralized and policies were expansionist - and three Intermediate Periods (First, Second, Third) during which political power was internally fragmented.

The kings of Egypt – being semi-divine - received their power to rule directly from the pantheon of Egyptian gods and in turn were expected to provide for the rest of the population by performing the duties required of the monarch. As a result of this action as well as a necessity for its completion, the Egyptian idea of *Maat* ("order") was maintained, while *Isfet* ("chaos") was held at bay. Within this political system which was maintained to a greater or lesser degree throughout the Dynastic Period, there were a variety of ways in which people identified themselves as "Egyptian." These included being associated with the Egyptian crown, praying to Egyptian gods, speaking Egyptian, or merely living in Egypt.

Perhaps the most famous instance of Egyptian identification and one which has influenced western scholarship in defining "Egypt" is found at the very end of the Dynastic Period in the Fifth Century BC writings of the Greek historian Herodotus. According to this classical author, the oracle at Siwa made the following proclamation regarding the definition of an "Egyptian":

> The inhabitants of the cities of Mareia and Apis, on the Libyan border, used to think they were Libyans, not Egyptians, and were aggrieved by the Egyptian sacred rites that required them to abstain from eating the meat of cows. So they went to the oracle of Ammon, claiming that they had nothing in common with the Egyptians, that they lived outside of the Delta and did not resemble them in any respect; therefore they said, they wanted to be permitted to consume all foods. But the god did not allow them to do this; he defined Egypt as the entire area watered by the Nile as it rises over the land, and the Egyptians as those who live downstream of the city of Elephantine and who drink the water of this river (Herodotus II.18.2-3; trans. Purvis, 2007).

This is certainly a clear "primordialist," geographically defined means of identifying an Egyptian. Such a definition, however, implies a form of social

unity which was not always present in the Egyptian understanding of Egypt itself.

An important aspect of the political and social fabric of ancient Egypt was the "myth" that Egypt was not a single land, but a duality of "Two Lands" bound into a single kingdom. This duality of self-identification even within Egypt itself is found throughout Egyptian art and texts. In art it is typically represented through a visual rubric (Fig. 1) which illustrates the binding of the symbols of the north -normally the Papyrus plant- with symbols of the south -normally the Sedge-lily (Wilkinson, 1992, 81).
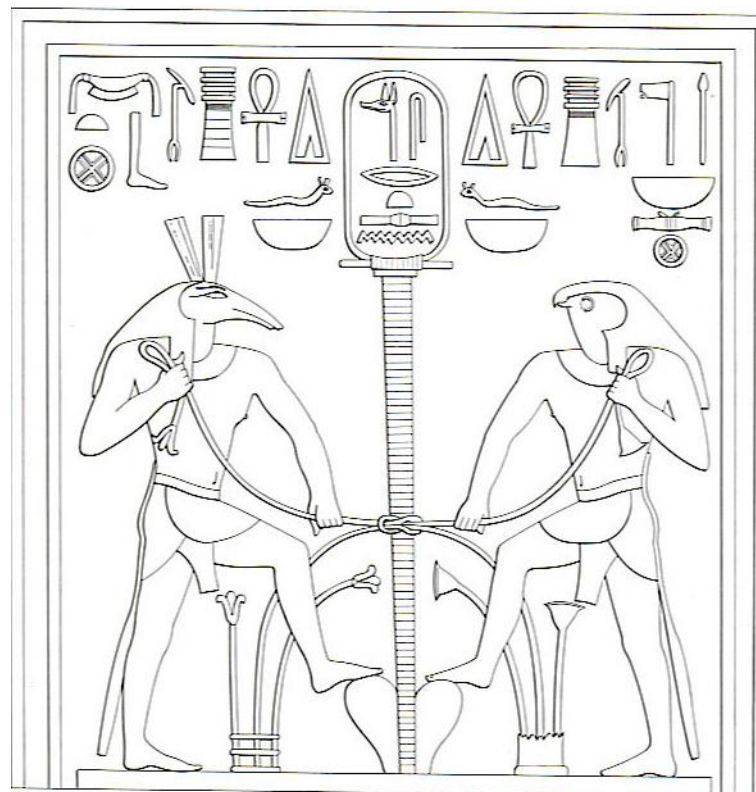
**Fig. 1 – Typical Middle Kingdom Binding Scene
[From Kemp, 2000, 28 fig. 6]**

By far the most important aspect of "Egyptian" identity, however, was one's ability to speak Egyptian. At a very practical level, this obviously allowed persons to freely participate in Egyptian society. As such, it is not surprising that, throughout periods in which large foreign populations were entering into Egypt, it was a prerogative of the Egyptian administration to ensure that they learned

Egyptian. Thus, in the New Kingdom Instructions of Ani, this sage makes reference to teaching foreigners Egyptian: "One teaches the Nubian to speak Egyptian, the Syrian and other strangers too" (Lichtheim, 1976, 144). Similarly, under Ramesses III's reign, a stela from Chapel C at Deir el-Medina dedicated to Mert Seger reads:

> He has plundered the foreign land of […lost… R]ebu and Meshwe[sh] he made them cross the River, brought away into Egypt. They are settled into strongholds for the Victorious King, they hear the language of Egypt's people, in serving the King. He abolishes their language, he changed their tongue, they went on the way that they had not descended (KRI V 91:5-7).

In addition to being able to speak Egyptian, Egyptians were very often distinguished from surrounding groups by their personal names. Egyptian names are heavily linked to the Egyptian language and theology and, generally speaking, the "Egyptian" quality of a person's name is defined by the degree to which it is meaningful in the Egyptian language. Many Egyptian names, for instance, are associated with uniquely Egyptian gods (i.e. Amunhotep, "the-god-Amun-is-at-peace"); others, however, simply make grammatical sense in Egyptian (Ward, 1994, 63).

A common phenomenon found in the records of foreigners in Egypt, therefore, is name change. Foreigners are often identifiable in these documents by their uniquely foreign names – i.e. a name that doesn't make sense in Egyptian – as well as being provided with a "proper Egyptian" name (i.e. "ᶜkbr [foreign name] who is called Ramesses-Nakht [Egyptian name]" Ward, 1994, 64).

In learning Egyptian and acquiring an Egyptian name, foreigners in Egypt quickly became "Egyptian." The reasons for these changes are undoubtedly in response to an individual's ability to acquire resources in their new territory – in line with "instrumentalist" ideas of ethnicity. To an external observer, such as the modern Egyptologist, however, individuals who have undergone name-change cease being "foreign" and quickly become "Egyptian" within the historical record (Leahy, 1985, 54). As these individuals were often not born in Egypt, nor in many cases spoke Egyptian as a first language, they create an interesting

conundrum against purely primordialist approaches in understanding ethnicity in the past.

A similar "instrumentalist" interpretation of ethnicity in ancient Egypt is found in the story of Wenamun dated to the First Millennium BC. In this story the idea of being an "Egyptian" as a political and economic phenomenon is reinforced. When the prince of Byblos asks Wenamun: "Where is the ship of pinewood that Smendes gave you? Where is its Syrian crew?" (Lichtheim, 1976, 226), Wenamun replies:

> Is it not an Egyptian ship? Those who sail under Smendes are Egyptian crews. He has no Syrian crews. (Lichtheim, ibid)

It is quite possible that these crews neither spoke Egyptian nor possessed Egyptian personal names. While this is not explicitly stated in the text, one can infer this through the prince of Byblos' comment who presumes that the individuals aboard these ships are "Syrian." The very fact that an individual is employed by the king of Egypt – regardless of their "primordial" characteristics such as territorial origin or mother-tongue - is, according to Wenamun's interpretation, enough to make an individual "Egyptian."

Being "Egyptian" in the ancient world, therefore, is a complex phenomenon which cannot be tied exclusively to "primordialist" or "instrumentalist" perspectives of ethnic identity, but is quite clearly a conflation of both of them. An "Egyptian" was not merely someone who lived within the boundaries of Egypt, nor a person who practiced Egyptian religion or spoke Egyptian. An "Egyptian" could be all of these, or none of these. Like ethnic identity in the modern world, ethnic identity in the ancient world was equally nebulous. That said, despite the often inclusive nature of Egyptian society, the Egyptians were also prone to exclude groups whom they considered to be different from themselves. This has created a lively debate within scholarly literature on the degree to which the ancient Egyptians were Racist (Tyson Smith, 2003, 22; Grantham, 2003, 23; Fluehr-Lobban and rhodes, 2004, xiv).

1.5 Race and Racism in Ancient Egypt.

It has been claimed, on the one hand, that "Race is an important part of studies of the Nile Valley, but it is often underrepresented in historical and social scientific analyses of the region" (Fluehr-Lobban and rhodes, 2004, xiv). On the other hand, however, is has been claimed that "the ancient Egyptians, and indeed the ancient Mediterranean peoples in general, did not make skin colour a definitive criterion for racial discrimination" (Tyson Smith, 2003, 22). While, more generally, it has been claimed that "racism… was an offshoot of the ideas about evolution that developed in the nineteenth century… [and] conventional wisdom usually denies that there was any race hatred in the ancient world" (Isaac, 2004, 1).

From the pictorial record of ancient Egypt, for instance, it is quite obvious that the Egyptians did differentiate the way in which "Egyptians" were illustrated from the manner in which "non-Egyptians" were illustrated. For those writers seeking to demonstrate the "racial" qualities of the ancient Egyptians, such representations are often the first point of departure as they clearly distinguish groups of people through both their costume and skin colour. Within the argument concerning the colour of the ancient Egyptians, whether "Black" or "White," significant emphasis has been placed on the illustration in Ramesses III's tomb depicting the "Four Races of Mankind." Unlike all other illustrations of Egyptians found on Egyptian monuments or even other copies of this motif (in Seti I's and Seti II's tombs), the people labeled "Egyptian" (*Remetch*, literally "men") in Ramesses' III's tomb as well as Tawasret's tomb (Vittmann, 2003, 247 abb. 122) are depicted identically to those labeled "Nubian" (*Nehesyu*). As such, it has been argued in Afro-centric literature that the Egyptians considered themselves to be identical to the Black Nubians (Grantham, 2003; Diop, 1991, 66) and were therefore "Black."

In addition to the pictorial record, the Egyptians also distinguished themselves from surrounding populations in poetry and prose. In a Hymn to the Aten from Amarna, for instance, the division of the world's population is described as divinely ordained:

> The lands of Syria and Nubia and the Land of Egypt –thou puttest every man in his place and thou suppliest their needs. Each one hath his provision and his lifetime is reckoned. Their tongues are diverse, and their form likewise. The skins are distinguished, thou distinguishest the peoples (Transl. Erman, quoted in Cheal, 2004, 52-53)

The ancient Egyptians, therefore, clearly differentiated themselves from neighbouring populations. While the establishment of difference is a necessary precursor to prejudice and racist attitudes, it is not in itself prejudicial and an individual's success in ancient Egyptian society does not appear to have been hindered by one's skin colour or ancestry (Tyson Smith, 2003, 24).

Nevertheless, the Egyptians did at times use derogatory language to refer to non-Egyptians. Foreigners are described in numerous Egyptian texts as barbaric, cowardly, effeminate, inhuman and animalian – in every respect, they are understood as qualitatively inferior to Egyptians (Tyson Smith, 2003, 25).

Such quantitative differentiation combined with qualitative hierarchies would easily fit the definition of "racist" as outlined above. One of the main obstacles in the current discussion on the relevance of race and racism in the ancient world, however, is the degree to which these terms have been defined and utilized in the modern world and the relevance which current, western definitions have retrospectively on ancient, non-western societies.

As a means of circumventing the highly political and emotionally charged nuances associated with modern definitions of race and racism, it has become common within mainstream Egyptological literature to dispense with these terms altogether. Instead, Egyptian attitudes towards foreigners tend to be described in terms originally coined by Antonio Loprieno (1988) as *Topos* and *Mimesis*.

1.6 *Topos* and *Mimesis*

The Egyptian *topos* towards foreigners is an idealized view of the world from an ideal, Egyptian perspective. In this view foreigners – regardless of their origin –

are intrinsically inferior to Egyptians and, within imperial Egyptian ideology, easily defeated.

In contrast to this negative stereotype of foreigners perpetuated within Egyptian topoi towards foreign groups, the Egyptian equally understood the realities of quotidian interactions with these populations. In such situations, it was not possible to maintain the explicit negative stereotypes propagated in the foreigner *topos* associated with "official" state ideology. This acceptance of foreigners by the Egyptians, defined as *mimesis*, is not so much a positive perspective towards non-Egyptians as it is an Egyptian appreciation of human diversity and a treatment of foreigners as individuals in lieu of stereotypes (Tyson Smith, 2003, 28).

1.7 Discussion and Analysis

The ideas of culture, race, ethnicity, topos and mimesis all serve as theoretical tools to investigate the phenomena associated with individual and group identities in both the present and the past. Within this theoretical framework it can be established that all groups of people live within societies and that the product of society is culture. One way in which group differentiation can be established, therefore, is through the qualitative differentiation of one group's culture from that found in surrounding groups.

Similarly, groups distinguish between themselves and others through real or perceived biological differentiation. Such phenotypical differentiation is often described in terms of "Races." While once thought to be a "scientific" way of classifying humanity, the differentiation of the world in this way has become, largely, obsolete. In addition to the ethical problems of classifying populations in this manner, the concept of "race" suffers from the methodological problem that it does not allow for the self-expression of the groups involved. To overcome this methodological problem, social scientists of the last half of the twentieth century have adopted the concept of "ethnicity" to explain the differentiation of human social groups.

Just as in modern society, the ancient Egyptians also appear to have interpreted their world and the populations which surrounded them in a manner which can, ostensibly, be described in terms of "ethnicity" and "race." The application of these terms directly to the ancient Egyptian record, however, is problematic since it promotes a modern, primarily "Western" understanding of social group dynamics - derived largely through the experiences of recent history - onto a template in which such concepts were, generally speaking, unknown. As a result of this modern bias, it has become common in Egyptological literature to refer to the manner in which Egyptians identified "foreigners" through the terminology of *topos* and mi*mesis*.

Having outlined the theoretical framework relating to the interpretation of group identity in the past, the next chapter will examine the historiography related to the creation of "Libyan" identity in western scholarship since the early Nineteenth Century.

Chapter 2: The "Libyan" Paradigm

How the Greeks obtained the term *Libues* to refer to the territory of North Africa as a whole has been the object of significant scholarly conjecture – though no serious study – for the better part of the last 150 years. It is fairly certain, however, that the Greek term was initially derived from the ancient Egyptian mention of the group called "Rebu" who appear mysteriously during the reign of Ramesses II, were resettled into Egypt under Ramesses III, and eventually become politically autonomous in the Western Delta in the first half of the First Millennium BC.

Some scholars, such as Oric Bates (1914, 46) believed that the Rebu "were so extensive a people that their importance led the Greeks into bestowing the generic term Libyans upon indigenous North Africans as a whole." Others, such as Gardiner, believed that the Greeks learned the name directly from the Rebu themselves (1947, 122*).

Important to the discussion at hand, however, is the fact that the "Libyan" identity of all of the various groups identified in modern scholarship under this term from Egyptian texts starts with the initial identification of the Rebu as inhabitants of "Libya" as early as the Thirteenth Century BC. A brief overview of the historiography associated with the Rebu, however, is enlightening from the viewpoint that the latter identification has not always been the case. Instead, it is an identity which has, for the most part been created, manufactured and developed over time.

2.1 Wilkinson's Rebu

One of the earliest scholars to write extensively on the Rebu was Sir John Gardner Wilkinson who in 1837 published his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.* In it, he described the Rebu as "One of the most formidable Asiatic enemies encountered by the Egyptians" (ibid, 371) which "from the style of their costume, and the lightness of their complexion, it is evident that they

inhabited a northern as well as Asiatic country, very distant from Egypt, and of a far more temperate climate" (ibid, 372f.). Accompanying this description, Wilkinson included a woodcut of images of the "Rebu" (Fig. 2) which he describes simply as "from Thebes" (no. 62 fig. 4 in 1838 ed; and no. 76 fig. 4 in 1878 ed.).

Fig. 2 - "Wilkinson's Rebu" [from Wilkinson, 1878, woodcut 76 fig. 4]

This particular image of four "Rebu" standing together is unique, and in many ways peculiar, in Egyptian art - not least so because so few examples of captioned-images of "Rebu" actually exist. Whilst the term is commonly used as both an ethnonym and toponym in historical texts from the beginning of Dynasty 19, the only images of "Rebu" which can be dated prior to the Third Intermediate Period (and the rise of the "Chiefs of the Rebu" in the western Delta) are found exclusively at Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. Because of this restricted dataset, it is possible to question the authenticity of Wilkinson's plate which, on closer examination, is not a true "historic" monument at all but a composite image.

In fact, none of the figures on this plate can be positively identified as assembled together in like manner under a caption of "Rebu" on any Egyptian monument - from any period. While the possibility exists that this monument is no longer extant or has been lost in the intervening years since Wilkinson published his work, its authenticity has been previously studied by Wainwright (1962, 92 n. 5) who recognized the fact that it was a composite image drawn from a variety of sources.

Although Wilkinson was not of the opinion that the Rebu were indigenous inhabitants of Libya, by the second half of the Nineteenth Century this had become the dominant opinion in scholarly literature. Indeed, the dogmatism regarding the identity of Rebu as "Libyans" is clearly evident in Samuel Birch's reprinting of Wilkinson's book in 1878. In Birch's edition, many of Wilkinson's original words were changed or omitted. Some of the mentions of "Asiatic" Rebu, for instance are deleted altogether, whilst others are amended with the footnote that the "The Rebu are the Libyes or Libyans" (Wilkinson, Birch Ed., 1878, 250 n. 3). Such amendments are contradictory to Wilkinson's original words, yet more in-line with the burgeoning theory at the end of the Nineteenth Century which began to identify the Rebu as indigenous North Africans, directly ancestral to the Greek λιβυες.

The underlying assumption regarding the "Libyan" identity of the Rebu, therefore, is clearly not the result of Wilkinson's original 1838 publication. It is, however, a direct result of a single image of a Rebu published by Karl Richard Lepsius' in 1848.

2.2 Lepsius' "Libyan"

Within ten years of Wilkinson's original publication, claiming the Rebu to be "Asiatic" or "Northern," a rival theory regarding to the origin of the Rebu was developed. This theory was originally developed by Heinrich Brugsch (and his contemporaries) and claimed that the Rebu were indigenous inhabitants of North Africa and autochthonous to Libya (Brugsch, 1858, 80).

Apart from the phonetic similarities between the terms "Rebu" and "Libya," the evidence in support of the identification is fairly sparse. Indeed, in addition to being associated with "Libya," the term Rebu had also been associated with "Arabia" by the end of the Nineteenth Century through a similar philological argument (McCaulay, 1881, 67).

Like Wilkinson's "northern theory" which rested largely on his interpretations of the figures illustrated in his wood-cut (Fig. 2); the indigenous-theory or "Rebu-

Libyans" rested almost entirely on a single image of a Rebu published in Karl Richard Lepsius' *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* (1848).
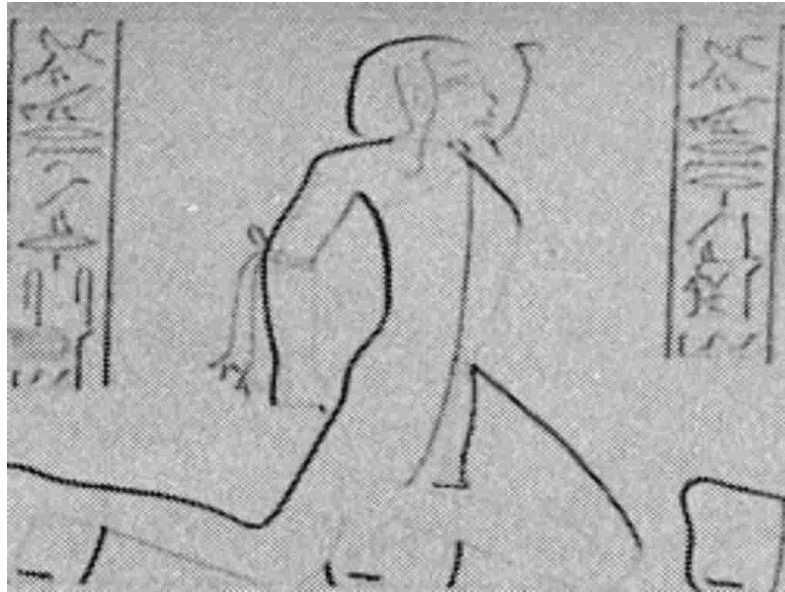
Fig. 3 – "Lepsius' Libyan" [from Lepsius, Denkmäler III 199.a; reproduced in Brugsch, 1858, fig. 20]

Lepsius' image (Fig. 3) is quite clearly from the Eastern High Gate of Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu and is from the section known as the "Southern Chiefs List." It illustrates a person identified as "the great one (i.e. chief) of the Rebu" in the accompanying hieroglyphic caption in front of him and depicts him with a long-cloak, a side-lock, and a short beard. Significantly, Lepsius' drawing clearly illustrates the "chief of the Rebu" wearing a penis-sheath below his waist.

In the historiography of the "Libyans" this specific image of a Rebu is important because to the Nineteenth Century observer, the presence of the penis-sheath all-but-proved the "African" origin of the Rebu.

2.3 Naville, the penis-sheath, and the dissemination of "Libyan" identity.

The equation between penis-sheaths, Africans and the idea of indigenous "Libyans" is best illustrated in a brief article written by Edouard Naville in the

years 1899-1900 titled *Les Figurines Égyptiennes de l'Époque Archaïque.* In it he states without any evidence to back his claim that

> Les peoples qui portent ce fourreau sont toujours des populations appartenant au groupe africain (1900, 70).

He then cites Lepsius' image of the Rebu from Medinet Habu, specifically, as one such "African" group. Naville's statement, therefore, is based on a sample size consisting of *a single* individual. From this single example, Naville drew a rather broad conclusion:

> Ce fourreau, ce cornet, est donc, une tradition, un trait charactéristique de ce groupe Libyen, qui sous la XIXe dynastie, s'allie aux peoples de la Mediterranée pour marcher sur l'Égypte (ibid).

The "Libyan" group to which Naville must be referring are the Rebu who, in Merneptah's inscription, and under the leadership of Meryey son of Dydy, allied themselves with other "Sea Peoples" against Egypt.

Though brief, Naville's article was hugely influential during the first decade of the Twentieth Century. Whilst he was certainly not the first to suggest the indigenous origins of, or even the equation of, the Rebu with Libya — as Brugsch had done — his article is important in the historiography of the Rebu and the creation of "Libyan" identity because it set the benchmark for the early Twentieth Century. Following Naville's lead, soon all illustrations of people wearing penis-sheaths in Egyptian art suddenly acquired a "Libyan" identity, and all scholars cited Naville's article and Lepsius' "Rebu-man" from Medinet Habu to back up their claims.

F. Legge, for instance, identified many of the penis-sheathed figures on pre-dynastic slate palettes as "Libyans" (1900, 129). Whilst he cites Naville's work, his main corroborating evidence for a "Libyan" identification for the penis-sheath-clad individuals is the resemblance of their attire with modern sub-Saharan African populations. He cites, for instance the prisoner being smitten by Narmer on the Narmer Palette (discovered at Hierakonpolis in 1898) as wearing

"a moocha, or small bark apron like that worn by the Nyam-Nyam and other races of Central Africa" (Legge, 1900, 129).

Elsewhere, Legge identifies the costumes on these ancient Egyptian palettes as being reminiscent of the "the Bantu sheath," and "of German East Africa [modern Tanzania]" (ibid, 137; 1909, 300). Yet despite the ethno-archaeological association which Legge makes with *sub*-Saharan Africa, he ultimately concludes "the enemies over whom Narmer is here shown triumphing appear to be *Libyans*, as are the slave slipper bearer and the attendants on the two-tailed monsters" (ibid, emphasis mine).[2] It is not made clear how the use of modern sub-Saharan African penis-sheaths results in a parallel with ancient North African populations, except to reinforce the inherent "African" nature of this dress. The Egyptian or other Mediterranean origin of such costume is not even considered.

Throughout the first decade of the Twentieth Century, more depictions of penis-sheath wearers on Egyptian monuments were published. When Borchardt found the first Old Kingdom example of a penis-sheath-wearing individual in the mortuary temple of Neuserre (1907, 47), he published the figure (Fig. 4) as a "Libyan." This was in spite of the fact that none of the names/ethnonyms associated with this individual survived, and the identification was made solely on the remains of a depiction of a penis-sheath ("Vorn hängt daran die "Penistasche," die sogar einige ägyptische Gottheiten von den Libyern übernommen haben"; 1907, 47). He based the "Libyan" identification on Naville's earlier work (Borchardt, ibid, note), but in the process set a mine field for all succeeding scholars. Suddenly, all penis-sheaths from Egyptian representations everywhere became associated with "Libyans" through the use of this garment by the Rebu-man in Lepsius' original illustration.

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[2] Even as late as 1980, Cyril Aldred commented on the figures of the Narmer palette that "In the lower register Narmer, in the guise of a bull, breaks down a fortified place and tramples upon its fallen chief, probably a Libyan" (1980[reprint 1993], 35)
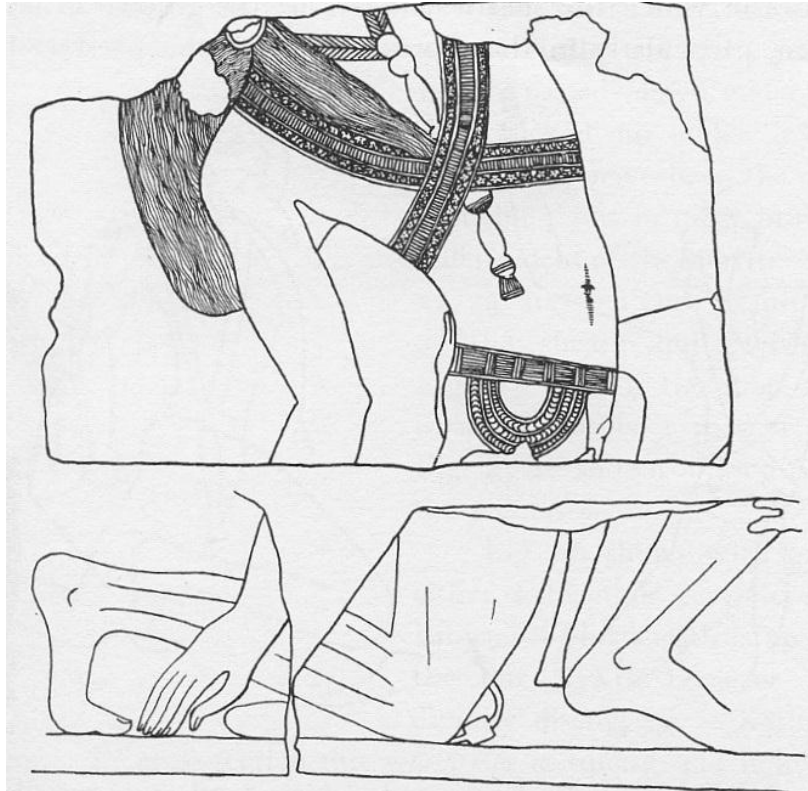
Fig. 4 – Borchardt's "Libyan" in mortuary temple of Neuserre. [Borchardt, 1907, fig. 31]

By 1908, the penis-sheath was considered an ethnic and 'national' identifier for the "Libyans," as defined by Jéquier, "l'étui phallique en usage en Égypte a la period la plus ancienne, le [qarnati] que les Libyens seuls conserverent presque comme insigne national" (1908, 43).

By the end of the first decade of the Twentieth Century, Naville had proposed a definition of an "African" costume which he outlined in his article on the *Anu* (*Iwntiw*). Whilst he does not explicitly mention the "Libyans," he is implicit in describing them as quintessentially "African":

> Le costume des Africains est plus ou moins complet. L'un des traits les plus caractéristiques, c'est la plume d'autruche. Ils en ont une ou plusieurs. Dans les inscriptions de la XXe dynastie, la plume est l'ornement propre aux Africains et qui distingue même les Nègres. Ces Africains peuvent être imberbes ou avoir une barbe pointue. La chevelure est plus ou moins longue. Elle se prolonge sur le côté en une boucle mince ou en une tresse large et épaisse. Ils ont l'étui phallique ou quelquefois comme lorsqu'il s'agit des porteurs du trône de Horemheb, une sorte de tablier qui leur couvre le ventre et le haut des jambes (Naville, 1910, 56).

Within this definition of "African," the Egyptians are quite clearly left out. The only "true" African peoples are the Nubians to the south of Egypt and the penis-sheath wearing "Libyans" to the west. Yet, certain aspects of the above definition clearly do not refer to "Nubian" groups. The Nubians, for instance are never depicted in Egyptian monuments with a side-lock ("une tresse large et épaisse"); whilst the penis-sheath ("l'étui phallique"), in this definition is almost certainly referring, exclusively, to "Libyans." Within four years of the publication of Naville's article, the penis-sheath was identified by Oric Bates as the as the "Characteristic feature of the dress of North African peoples" (Bates, 1914, 122).

2.4 Oric Bates and the *Eastern Libyans*

The first major study to systematically examine Egypt's interaction the populations identified as "Libyans" was Oric Bates' 1914 work, *The Eastern Libyans, An Essay*. From the very outset of his work, Bates began from an underlying assumption, derived largely from a thorough reading of Breasted's *Ancient Records* (1906), that the terms found in the ancient Egyptian epigraphic record are references to indigenous inhabitants of "Libya" (Bates, 1914, 46ff. and notes). In identifying the geographic locations of these "Libyan" groups for instance, Bates' methodology starts from the premise that the earlier a term appears in the Egyptian record, the closer to Egypt it must be. Thus, according to Bates:

> The name of the Tjehenu became early known to the Egyptians as a general term for Westerner, which testifies to their early geographic position as the Libyans nearest the Nile (1914, 51 note 1).

The stated purpose of Bates' essay was to provide "evidence relating to the history of Cyrenaica" and to "provide… a scientific basis for further study of the Libyans east of Africa Minor" (Bates, 1914, vii). Historically, Bates' work roughly coincided with the Italian invasion of Libya in 1911 which ejected the Ottomans and opened up the country to western scholars. Methodologically, however, much of Bates' work relied on sources of "un-demonstrable relevance" (Leahy, 1985, 52). Specifically, Bates' work tended to meld sources from a

variety of different time periods and cultures ranging from ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome and modern Berber populations in order to produce his narrative which is created largely through the application of later source material onto earlier records. Many of the methodological flaws found in Bates' work, however, were rectified a generation later when in 1955 Wilhelm Hölscher published his 1937 PhD thesis entitled *Libyer und Aegypter*.

2.5 Wilhelm Hölscher's *Libyer und Ägypter*.

Whereas Bates' original publication was arranged thematically, Hölscher arranged his thesis chronologically through Egyptian history. Consequently, he began his thesis with an analysis of the Tjehenu, followed by the Tjemehu, Rebu, Meshwesh up to the overthrow of the "Libyan" dynasties by Pianky (Piye). While methodologically more sound than Bates', Hölscher's thesis continued to refer extensively to Graeco-Roman sources and modern ethnological studies within Africa among penis-sheath wearing populations to demonstrate the underlying "Libyanness" and "Africanness" of the various groups identified by him as the ancient "Libyans." For much of the Twentieth Century, Bates and Hölscher's works remained the standard secondary source material for discussions regarding "Libyan" history. It was only in the early 1990s, that David O'Connor began to question the validity of the application of the term "Libyan" itself to the western neighbours of Egypt.

2.6 David O'Connor and the Tjemehu

At a conference held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in 1986, David O'Connor presented a paper entitled "The Nature of Tjemehu (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom." In it he attempted to reconstruct the "nature of 'Libyan' society during the first crucial phase of interaction with Egypt during the later New Kingdom" (1990, 30). In identifying the groups under study in his work, however, he chose to use the ancient Egyptian term "Tjemehu" in lieu of Graeco-Roman term "Libyan." O'Connor defined "Tjemehu" as a "collective term covering probably all the inhabitants of ancient Cyrenaica and of the coastal zone between it and the Egyptian Delta" (1990, 30). While the terminology

chosen by O'Connor has not generally been adopted in Egyptological Literature, the region of Tjemehu which he identifies between the Delta and Cyrenaica has witnessed significant archaeological activity over the last century in search of remains of Late Bronze Age "Libyans."

2.7 The Archaeology of Libya.

It is perhaps a truism that the archaeology of "Libya" –in its broadest sense - should provide evidence for the physical remains of "Libyans." Towards this end, archaeological investigations into the region to the west of Egypt and specifically the fertile Nile region have a long history over the course of the Twentieth Century. It is perhaps also not surprising that the man who might easily be considered the founder of "Libyan" history, Oric Bates, is also one of the founders of "Libyan" archaeology – having excavated a pair of graves in 1915 near the modern town of Mersa Matruh. It is primarily in the last thirty years, however, that systematic investigation, excavation and interpretation of the archaeology of "Libya" has been undertaken at sites in the vicinity of Mersa Matruh as well as in Cyrenaica. Much of what has been uncovered in the region to the west of Egypt is hardly comparable to the historical record of the "Libyans" in the Egyptian record. On account of this disparity, various hypotheses have been proposed.

Some of the hypotheses regarding the "Libyans" which are currently found in the literature about them and their archaeological remains include the suggestion that they were incapable of boating or swimming (White, 2002, 26), that they were incapable of metallurgy (Conwell, 1987, 33), that they were of minimal importance to the ancient Egyptians (Snape, 2003, 94) and that they were generally "devoid of high culture, populous cities, or mineral wealth" (Davies, quoted in Wachsmann, 1987, 5). Almost all of these assumptions – some of which are actively disputed by the historic and iconographic record of the "Libyans" on Egyptian monuments – are a direct result of the historiography associated with the "Libyans" and the degree to which their assumed identity as "Libyan" has affected interpretations regarding their history, society and aptitudes.

The environment in which the physical remains of "Libyans" have been found has also prompted discussions as to their social organization. Based largely on ethnographic studies of modern populations in the region (O'Connor, 1990, 89), it has been suggested that the "Libyans" practiced transhumance (Richardson, 1999, 160) and lived in "tribal societies" (Ritner, 2009, 3ff.). The nature of the society which has been hypothesized for the "Libyans" living in "Libya" has ultimately been used as evidence for the paucity of physical remains currently associated with this group. Furthermore, the hypotheses regarding "Libyan" society in "Libya" have also been used as the primary means of interpreting the social and cultural changes which are visible in Egypt during the so-called "Libyan Period" in which persons of presumably "Libyan" origin lived in and ultimately ruled Egypt

2.8 The "Libyan Period" in Egypt.

The period following the collapse of the New Kingdom around 1070 BC is commonly described in Egyptological literature as either "the Late New Kingdom," "Third Intermediate Period" or "the Libyan Period." It is a period characterized by the devolution of political power within Egypt. Rulers with foreign-sounding, non-"Egyptian" names such as Sheshonq, Osorkon, Takelot, Iuput and Nimlot were recognized as the kings of Egypt while "Chiefs of the Rebu" and "Chiefs of the Ma" controlled individual cities and semi-autonomous territories throughout Egypt.

Up until the end of the first decade of the Twentieth Century, there was some debate in Egyptological literature as to the nature of the identity of the kings of this period. Throughout the latter half of the Nineteenth Century, scholars were divided as to the linguistic origins of the names of the kings of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties with some opting for a "Semitic" origin of these names, while others opted for a "Libyan"/Berber origin of the same names. The former school attempted to interpret the royal names themselves using roughly contemporary "Semitic" cognates. The latter school – lacking any contemporaneous "Libyan" cognates – used extant genealogies from this period

which attest to the fact that the first king of the Twenty-Second Dynasty was descended from an individual called Tjehen-Buyuwawa whose name has generally been translated as "The Libyan Buyuwawa."

One of the first major works published on the "Libyan Period" of Egyptian history was Yoyotte's 1961 article entitled *Les Principautés du Delta au temps de L'anarchie Libyenne (Études d'histoire politique)*. In this article, Yoyotte analyzed a series of documents from the reign of Sheshonq III onwards which mention individuals living in Egypt and associated with the titles "Chief of the Rebu," "Chief of the Meshwesh," "Chief of the Ma" and "Chief of the foreigners."

More recently, Anthony Leahy published a brief article in journal of the Society for Libyan Studies entitled *The Libyan Period in Egypt*. In this article, Leahy identified a series of fundamental aspects of the Period which he believes were influenced by the presence of "Libyans" in Egypt and promoted the idea that the period should be called "the Libyan Period" as such a nomenclature "embodies the most important change" of the period "namely, the arrival of Libyans in power" (Leahy, 1985, 53). In recent times, Leahy's thesis continues to have a profound effect on the nomenclature associated with the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties of Egyptian history. Robert Ritner, for instance has recently published a book entitled *The Libyan Anarchy* (2009), in which the "Libyan" identity of the "Libyan Period" is presumed. Similarly, a conference entitled *The Libyan Period in Egypt* was recently held at Leiden University between the 25-27 October, 2007 and the proceedings of which were recently published (Broekman et al., 2009).

The underlying "ethnic identity" of the "Libyans" with whom the Egyptians interacted over the course of the Dynastic Period, the search for the physical remains of these "Libyans" in along the North Coast of modern Egypt and Libya, and the ultimate rise to power of these "Libyans" during the "Libyan Period" in Egypt is constructed entirely on a historiographical framework which can be traced back directly to the middle of the Nineteenth Century and the assumptions regarding ancient identity derived from the image of a Rebu-man wearing a

penis-sheath as illustrated by Lepsius. Over the course of the last century, however, two aspects of the methodology responsible for the "Libyan" framework, namely the iconography of Lepsius' Rebu-man and the methodology of equating Egyptian term with Graeco-Roman or modern terms have come under scrutiny.

2.9 Re-examining Lepsius' "Rebu-man"

In many instances it was often beyond the means of early scholars to travel to Egypt and scholarship undoubtedly relied on having accurate facsimiles of Egyptian monuments in academic libraries. Consequently, in the historiography of the "Libyans," the illustration of the "Great One of the Rebu" from Medinet Habu reproduced by the Lepsius Expedition (Fig. 3) has had a significant impact on the creation of "Libyan" identity as it was this image which was used by Brugsch and Naville to propose a "Libyan" identity for this figure and ultimately disseminate this identity onto other, similarly clad figures.

On reexamining the evidence from Medinet Habu, however, there is a particular iconographic feature missing from the original on which Lepsius' Rebu-figure was derived. It is clear that Lepsius' original publication of the "Rebu man," on which so much of the later scholarly work is based, and which has provided a fundamental contribution to the ethnic identity of the eponymous "Libyans" is flawed in one detail. Contrary to many of the earlier publications, as well as to Naville's thesis on the identity of the "Libyans," there is absolutely no evidence that the "Rebu -man" was ever depicted with a penis-sheath (Figs. 5 and 6). Indeed, not a single Rebu individual is ever illustrated wearing such a garment – from any period.
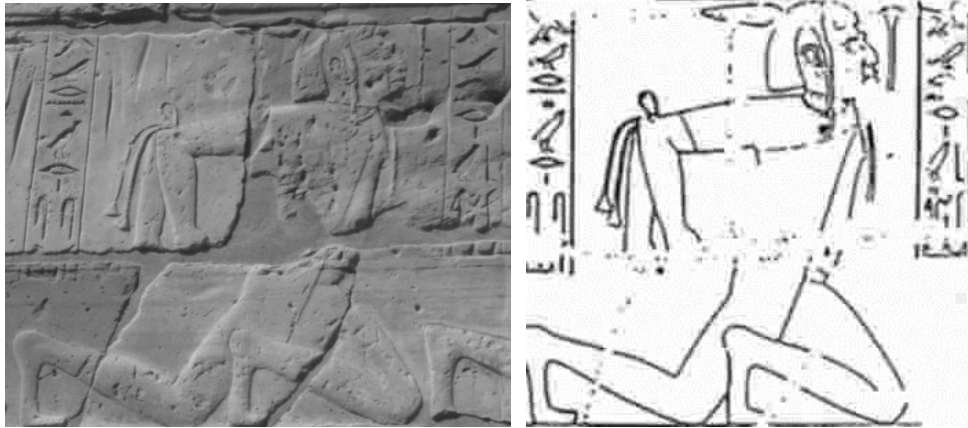
Figs 5 and 6 – Rebu on "Southern Chiefs List" clearly illustrating him without a penis-sheath [photograph by author, line drawing from Medinet Habu Epigraphic Survey, pl. 600]

The fact that the Rebu are never depicted wearing penis-sheaths was originally pointed out by Hölscher (1937, 44; Edwards, 1938, 252), and has therefore been known for almost 70 years. Indeed even before Hölscher submitted his PhD thesis, a proper photograph of the (non-) penis-sheath-wearing Rebu had been published by Möller (1924, taf. 6 abb. 6). Yet, the attribution of the epithet "Libyan" to all those individuals who wear the penis-sheath has been retained in the underlying dogma: Rebu + penis-sheath = 'African' "Libyan," thus anyone with penis-sheath in Egyptian representations = "Libyan."

The use of a penis-sheath among the Rebu, however, is only one aspect which has contributed to the identity of this group as "Libyan." By far the more insidious factor responsible for the identity of "Rebu" as "Libyan" is found in the phonological link which has been made between the Egyptian term "Rebu" and the Greek term "Libues." While this specific equation has not been challenged to date, the underlying methodology which applies Graeco-Roman terms onto earlier Egyptian terminology in order to discern the latter's intrinsic meaning, identity and geographic origins has been challenged in recent years. Specifically, this methodology has been questioned in relation to the identities of the groups identified in Egyptological literature as the "Sea Peoples."

2.10 Re-examining ancient identities in recent literature

The methodology of equating Egyptian terms (i.e. Rebu) with those found in classical sources (i.e. Libues) is not unique. Similar philological associations have also been proposed for a variety of other groups mentioned in Egyptian texts such as the Shardana, Ekwesh, Teresh, and Peleset and other so-called "Sea Peoples." The various "homelands" of these "Sea People" groups have often been sought through linguistic associations with other classical place-names (cf. Redford, 1992, 246, Table 1). It has only been in recent years, however, that such anachronistic associations have been questioned. As Cline and O'Connor have pointed out regarding, for example, the Shardana

> From the similarity between the "Shardana" and "Sardinia," scholars frequently suggest that the Shardana came from there. On the other hand, it is equally possible that this group eventually settled in Sardinia after their defeat at the hands of the Egyptians and only then gave their name to this island, as Maspero and others have suggested. For the time being such equations between similar-sounding names must be treated with the greatest caution in the absence of any corroboratory evidence (2003, 112).

Similar caveats are given by these authors regarding the Teresh (= Etruscans) and the Shekelesh (=Sicily) (ibid, 113). An equal caveat is well understood for the Peleset group who, it is generally accepted, later became Philistines and who gave their name to the region now known as Palestine, but who were not indigenous to the region of Palestine.

Yet, to date, no such caveat has been suggested for the "Rebu." Thus, whilst the original 'home-lands' of the various "Sea Peoples" remains contested in the scholarly literature, the location of the 'home-land' of the Rebu as "Libya," has largely been agreed through consensus, yet by using the same phonetic-methodology used to identify the "Shardana" with "Sardinia." The possibility that the Rebu gave their name to a land *after* they settled there has never been considered.

The argument that the Rebu were "Libyan" is based entirely on a methodology which projects later forms onto much earlier examples. Since Lepsius published his penis-sheath clad Rebu-man, the association of the Rebu with "Libya" has gained momentum in Egyptological literature. In many ways, however, this association has become canonized within the literature and has affected - if not *created* - much of the history associated with the ancient "Libyans." Thus, while it is certainly possible, if not probable, that the Greek term "Libya" was derived from the Egyptian ethnonymic Rebu, it does not follow – in the same formula as the Sheklesh = Sicily, Turesh = Etruscans, and Peleset = Philistines - that the population which the Egyptians referred to as "Rebu" were *autochthonous* to "Libya."

2.11 Discussion and analysis

The creation of "Libyan" identity has a varied history. Wilkinson was the first to provide western scholarship with a composite image of Rebu individuals who he identified as a "northern" population associated with the "Persians" or "Parthians." A decade after Wilkinson, Lepsius published an altogether different image of a Rebu which clearly illustrated an individual wearing a penis-sheath. To the Nineteenth Century observer, this particular garment was indicative of the "African" nature of its bearer and, as such, reinforced the "Libyan" identity of the Rebu. The degree to which this iconographic feature has been instrumental in the creation of "Libyan" identity in modern scholarly literature is illustrated by the fact that even when it was discovered in the early Twentieth Century that the "Rebu-man" as depicted by Lepsius, did not in fact wear a penis-sheath, this garment was still deemed illustrative of other individuals' "Libyan" identity.

The figure of the Rebu-man has also been instrumental in the creation of "Libyan" identity through the close phonetic similarity between his ethnonym and the term used by the Greeks to refer to the territory of North Africa. Through a methodology developed on retro-projection, therefore, the term Rebu in Egyptian sources became synonymous with "Libya." Such a methodology is not uncommon in Egyptological literature and is found, for instance in contemporaneous identifications of particular "Sea People" groups mentioned in

Egyptian sources with phonetically similar toponyms found in later Graeco-Roman sources. While this particular methodology has recently been questioned in scholarly literature concerning its use with the identification of the "Sea Peoples," it is still commonly accepted in discussions regarding the identification of the so-called "Libyans."

The current historiography into the groups identified as "Libyans" utilizes Egyptian sources in the creation of a "Libyan" history. It is a history, however, in which the underlying identity of the actors themselves has been applied to them by an external third party (Egyptologists). The search for any aspect of expressions of ethnic identity by these groups, therefore, becomes an impossible task since all such expressions are invariably filtered through the lens of this retro-projected identity.

The inherent problems with this historiographic approach can, perhaps, best be understood through analogy with the archaeological method. While archaeological excavation always works from that which is known (the upper layers) to that which is unknown (the lower layers), the *interpretation* of archaeological sites, must always begin from the lower layers to the upper layers – since the understanding of the processes visible in upper layers can only make sense through an appreciation of what happened before. Similarly, the application of the interpretation of upper layers to lower layers simply would not make sense as it would be an inversion of the basic precept of cause and effect. So it is with the history of the so-called "Libyans" whose ultimate identity through all layers of their history is a direct result of the application of later "Libyan" identity from the modern world into the past.

In order to counter the plethora of modern assumptions and prejudices which have crept into the literature on the "Libyans"; acquire a better appreciation for Egyptian attitudes towards these various groups; and understand the ways in which identity is expressed by the various groups currently identified as "Libyan" in all periods of their history, it is necessary to examine the source material from a new light without the initial application of an identifier. Towards

this end, the following chapter will outline the methodology to be used to re-examine the evidence.

Chapter 3: Current Methodology

For the better part of the last 150 years the "Libyans" in Egyptological literature have been identified as such through the retro-projection of a modern term onto a variety of ancient sources. Methodologically, the application of later terminology onto earlier sources creates little more than a mask for the source material. In so doing, after one has applied the mask of later terminology and then attempts to examine the sources, all one sees is the mask itself. Through this methodology all nuanced identity of the groups involved is obscured. The simplest way to move beyond the mask, therefore, is to not apply it in the first instance.

The primary methodological point of this thesis is to move beyond the 'mask' of "Libyan" identity through a strict diachronic methodology which emphasizes the contexts and nuances of the primary source materials. Towards this end, the following thesis will be divided into two parts which reflect the history of Egypt's interaction with the groups identified as "Libyans" in modern Egyptological literature.

The history of the so-called "Libyans" under study in this thesis can be divided into two discrete phases. The earlier part of "Libyan" history spans the 1830-year period between ca. 3000 BC to 1170 BC. It represents the phase in which the majority of Egyptian contact with the so-called "Libyans" is extra-mural to Egypt and the so-called "Libyans" were to be found in their own territory. The second major phase of "Libyan" history spans the period between the resettlement of Meshwesh and Rebu into Egypt under Ramesses III until the last mention of a self-identifying Rebu, Tefnakht, in Egyptian texts sometime in the Eighth Century BC. The second phase is differentiated from the earlier period since the foreigners were no longer living in foreign lands but were living within Egypt.

The source materials which provide evidence for the expression of ethnic identity of "Libyan" history can be divided into three classes of evidence: the iconographic record, the epigraphic record and the archaeological record.

3.1 The Iconographic Record

By far the most common source of information regarding ancient Egyptian interaction with foreign groups up to the end of the New Kingdom is the pictorial record. Even before the language of ancient Egypt was deciphered, the pictures left by the ancient Egyptians were clearly identifiable as illustrative of ancient Egypt's account of itself and its relationship with the populations outside Egypt. Almost all of the illustrations of foreigners on Egyptian monuments occur in one of two contexts: Temple Walls and Tomb Scenes.

As houses for the gods, temples played an important role in ancient Egyptian religious life from all periods, yet the vast majority of temples which are still extant from ancient Egypt date from the New Kingdom or later Graeco-Roman Periods. Within Egyptian ideology, it was one of the roles of the king – as high priest to all temples – to maintain the infrastructure and donations to the temples throughout Egypt. From the New Kingdom, the expansionist policies of the Egyptians were interpreted as divinely ordained by the gods. Victories over foreign foes were memorialized on temple walls and the spoils of war were donated to the temples as thanksgiving offerings.

Temples, however, were more than merely constructions for use by the religious elite. In many instances, the architecture of the temple itself was a three-dimensional representation of complex Egyptian ideology. On one level, it was an architectural representation of Egyptian cosmogenesis – a stone copy, as it were, of the Egyptian story of creation (Shaw and Nicholson, 2008, 324). On another level, it was equally a representation of the contemporary cosmos – with the internal structure being representative of Egypt itself and the external walls illustrating the outside world (ibid). In many instances, the position of the foreigners in these external scenes is synchronic with their true geographic position vis-à-vis Egypt. Importantly, because of the ideological implications involved, scenes depicted on temple walls are imbued with the concepts of Maat (order) and Isfet (chaos). Thus, not only are the scenes often geographically ordered, but they are also often chronologically ordered within the overall composition. Moreover, the ideas of Maat and Isfet are dramatically illustrated

visually in these scenes where the king – the embodiment of Egyptian Order itself – is illustrated as triumphing over a chaotic mass of foreigners who flee before him in disarray.

In contrast to the greater cosmic "reality" illustrated on temple walls, tomb scenes provided another - often more personal - representation of Egyptian contact with foreigners. Unlike temple scenes which commonly depict the king in combat with foreign groups, tomb scenes almost exclusively illustrate foreigners arriving in Egypt with tribute or depict them within the context of mortuary literature vignettes.

At the beginning of the First Millennium BC, the Rebu and Meshwesh begin to be illustrated on commemorative stelae along with a new group referred to as "Ma." Unlike the earlier period, the Rebu, Meshwesh and Ma are not illustrated in combat with or as prisoner of the Egyptian king but are, instead depicted as wealthy Egyptian land-owners offering fields to Egyptian gods. While the ethnonyms used to describe these individuals are largely unchanged from the earlier New Kingdom forms, the associated iconography is indicative of the manner in which these groups had largely assimilated into Egyptian culture.

The iconographic record is an important record for the study at hand as it often provides a succinct account of Egypt's interactions with specific foreign groups. In discussions of ancient identity, however, it can only ever be a starting point. While it provides an image of a foreigner, it often only provides the vaguest of contexts with which to place this foreigner temporally or geographically. To appreciate the context of the Egyptian interaction with the groups illustrated, therefore, one has to resort to the epigraphic record and the texts which mention, but do not necessarily illustrate the groups whose names are referred to in the iconographic record.

3.2 The Epigraphic Record

The names found associated with iconographic record form part of the epigraphic record of ancient Egypt. Whereas the iconographic record provides a

visual identification of foreigners, the epigraphic record provides the contextual framework necessary to analyze foreign groups and individuals associated therewith. Much of the epigraphic record is intimately associated with the iconographic record and forms part of the "official" history of the kings of Egypt.

For the most part, the "official" history was the history as it was meant to be presented to the gods and the degree to which this was accessible propaganda to "ordinary" Egyptians has been addressed recently by Baines (1996, 346f.). In many instances, the records provide historians with the only reference to events of a particular king's reign. Thus, while the underlying reliability of these texts may be questioned, they tend to be important in understanding Egypt's "official" ideological viewpoint towards foreigners.

Often accompanying the "official" history are lists of place-names, known as Topographical Lists. Topographic lists are known only from the New Kingdom onwards and have traditionally formed the basis of discussion regarding foreign toponyms in antiquity. Complementing the duality of Egypt itself, these lists are frequently divided into "Northern" ("Asiatic","Syrian" or occasionally "Aegean" groups) and "Southern" ("Nubian") groups (Simons, 1937, 7).

The most common "Northern" lists refer to the topography and peoples found in Syria-Palestine and, as such, have been utilized especially in the creation of the discussion regarding Egypt's knowledge of the geography of this region. While the lists do not always mention the same terms, they are consistent in the use of terms associated with Syria-Palestine and/or the Aegean (Kitchen, 1965, 5f.; Astour, 1966, 313ff.). While not true for all such lists, in some instances the position of the names on the list also clearly refers to the itinerary of the Egyptian campaign into a region (Redford, 1992, 313).

The degree to which these lists reflect "historically accurate" knowledge of contemporary Syria-Palestine has, however, been questioned (Redford, 1992, 143). Redford indicates, for instance, that "apart from the extensive toponym lists of Tuthmosis III, which derive from itineraries, the lists of later kings

decrease in value as a reflection of historic events" (ibid). In support of his "non-historical" argument, Redford cites the topographical list of Seti I at Qurnah noting that it

> Contains a section of twelve names which could plausibly be linked to the Beth-Shean campaign of year 1, only to include in the same list such impossible sites as Cyprus, Assyria, Pabanhi, Takhsi (twice!) [sic] and Qatna no longer in existence (ibid, note 61).

The question of historical accuracy of the lists, therefore, appears to be a reflection of the degree to which one *already knows* the history. Thus, the inclusion of repetitive names, names that are otherwise unknown, or names which appear "out of place" are immediately used as evidence against the historicity. O'Connor and Quirke, however, have pointed out with particular reference to "Syrian" lists in general that

> The lists represent a very wide geographical knowledge about the world surrounding them on the Egyptians' part, even allowing for archaizing reuse of foreign toponyms which no longer existed in practice, and possibly even for fictitious names invented to fill up space and make complementary lists equivalent to each other in compositional terms. These problems probably comprise a minority, and the lists in general can be considered an accurate rendering of hundreds of foreign regions, places and peoples known to the Egyptians (2003, 8).

Similarly, Simons points out in his compilation of Syrian topographical lists, that in many instances these lists represent the only information we possess about a particular place (Simons, 1937, 4). That said, however, Simons was very clear about what he considered to be "Asiatic" names and heavily expurgated his text by eliminating all the terms which he believed were not "Asiatic."

As a counterfoil to the "Syrian" Lists, Egyptian monuments quite often include "Nubian" lists. By far the most extensive Nubian list is that recorded by Tuthmosis III at Karnak. While the Southern lists contain the same degree of underlying coherence and structure as found in the northern "Syrian" lists, the lack of contemporary written records in the area to the south of Egypt makes it difficult to test similar hypotheses regarding the locations of the individual

places and the "vast majority of the names cannot be assigned even approximate, let alone precise, locations" (O'Connor and Quirke, 2003, 8)

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Whether truly "historical" or not, Topographical Lists are part of the "official" history of ancient Egypt. The overall history of ancient Egypt however is not constructed solely from the "official" history. Instead, the "official" accounts commissioned by the kings are often corroborated by other narrative histories.

The earliest form of narrative history in ancient Egypt is the Tomb Biography. This form is particularly common to noblemen's tombs from the Old Kingdom onwards and often provides historians with much more information relating to the events of a particular king's reign than are recorded in the "official" histories left by the kings themselves. Tomb biographies almost always provide the name of the tomb owner, the reign(s) of the king(s), and a sequence of important events in which the tomb owner participated. Often, these events narrate the travel into foreign lands, the defeat of rebels, the doing of good deeds, the importation of trophies (both material and slaves) into Egypt and the favours granted to the tomb owner by the king.

Because of their nature, tomb biographies often contain references to foreign ethnic groups or foreign territories encountered by the tomb owner outside Egypt, and often provide a detailed account of how the tomb owner arrived in foreign lands. As such, they can be used as a useful cross reference for terms often found in isolation.

The importance of the tomb biography in ancient Egyptian society is illustrated not only by its continued use in tombs, but also through its use as a template in more literary genres - as illustrated in the Story of Sinuhe. The "classic" of Middle Egyptian literature, the story of Sinuhe uses the form of a Tomb Biography to describe the eventful life of the protagonist, Sinuhe, his ordeals living in self-imposed exile in Syria-Palestine and his return to and burial in Egypt under Sesostris I.

Many of the literary works of ancient Egypt (i.e. Doomed Prince, Wenamun, Tale of Woe; Shipwrecked Sailor) revolve around the basic premise of a protagonist traveling to foreign lands – either real or imaginary – and their return to Egypt (cf. Loprieno, 2003). While the historical veracity of many of these stories is questionable at best, the underlying geography and knowledge of foreign lands and populations is, more often than not, based on accurate and verifiable contemporary knowledge. As such, these texts like the tomb biographies provide an important source and cross-reference for information regarding particular population groups at various periods throughout Egyptian history.

An altogether different corpus of epigraphic source material relating to foreign lands and populations are religious texts. In general, there are two types of religious texts. The first type, "offertory literature," are those sources written on the walls of temples and stelae and record the hymns, offerings and petitions made to the gods during one's life and form part of the "official" history. The second type, "mortuary literature," are those found depicted on the walls of royal tombs, on sarcophagi and papyrus scrolls placed in the tomb as an aide for the deceased in navigating the treacherousness of the afterlife. In general, references to foreigners are most commonly found in the former category as these references are often incorporated within narrative "official" histories on the same monument.

Because of the nature of the mortuary texts – many of them being prerequisite for or illustrative of the Egyptian afterlife – mentions of foreigners, which were often considered to be "dangerous" and "chaotic" forces, are uncommon. Indeed, by virtue of their foreignness most foreigners would be excluded from an Egyptian afterlife. While mentions of foreigners do exist in mortuary texts from the Old Kingdom onwards, the usefulness of these references in interpreting Egyptian history is negligible.

"Official," narrative, and mortuary literature combined provide the contextual framework necessary to analyze the manner in which the ancient Egyptians

understood their interaction with particular foreign groups and the ability to place these groups within the geographical world view of Egypt.

In addition to the contexts provided by these texts, the epigraphic record also includes a series of mentions of individuals with non-Egyptian names associated with specific foreign groups. In studying the derivation of group and individual names, however, a more in depth understanding of how individuals expressed their identity and how the Egyptians interpreted said identity can be examined.

Following the resettlement of the Rebu and Meshwesh groups to Egypt under Ramesses III, however, the content and context of references mentioning foreign groups changes. After the death of Ramesses III, there are significantly fewer documents relating "official" history. By the First Millennium BC, almost all references to foreign groups on Egyptian monuments refer, contextually, to these groups inhabiting Egypt. The identity and understanding of the groups involved, therefore, is reliant entirely on the contextual interpretation from earlier sources.

The study of the epigraphic record, therefore allows one to appreciate both the contextual framework within which particular foreign groups appear in the ancient Egyptian world-view. It also provides terms by which groups can be identified and illustrates how Egyptian terminology towards groups changes over time. Finally, it provides personal names for individuals associated with said groups and illustrates how Egyptians and Foreigners mediated and understood their ethnic identity. While the epigraphic record provides a potentially greater source of information than the iconographic record alone, the two are complementary in understanding Egyptian attitudes towards specific groups. Read together, both have the potential of providing a great deal of information regarding foreign groups. Consequently, a knowledge of the history and geography of the groups can aid in establishing where the physical, archaeological remains of these groups might be found.

3.3 The Archaeological Record

The third significant source of evidence relating to the expression of ethnic identity in the ancient world is the archaeological record. While the contextual information found within the epigraphic record will illustrate a variety of potential geographic areas in which future research may locate the foreign populations under study in this thesis, for brevity, the region which will be highlighted here is the area to the west of the Nile Valley which, at its greatest extent, can be interpreted as "Libya."

At present the archaeology of Libya is still in its infancy and it is acknowledged here that future work could change perceptions of the people in the areas to the west of Egypt. The majority of studies, which have examined the area to the west of Egypt have focused, primarily, on two groups: the populations which inhabited the Sahara region prior to its last arid event – sometime around 5000 BC, and the Phoenician and Greek settlements along the coast beginning sometime in the First Millennium BC. For the most part, therefore, the archaeology concerning the population of the region to the west of Egypt and specifically the Nile Valley between 5000 and 1000 BC is relatively undocumented.

Beginning in the Old Kingdom a significant Egyptian outpost was set up in Dakhlah oasis at the site of Ain Asil; while during the New Kingdom, a chain of fortresses was set up along the North Coast stretching as far west as Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham near modern day Mersa Matruh. In both of these areas, there is archaeological evidence which suggests that the Egyptians encountered "non-Egyptian" populations in these regions. In both instances, the material evidence – particularly pottery – has been associated with local pastoral-nomadic groups. These have, in turn, been associated with the populations depicted on Egyptian monuments and identified as "Libyan" in Egyptological literature.

By the Third Intermediate Period, and the increased foreign presence within Egypt itself, the expressions of ethnic identity of the communities in diaspora have been sought in the archaeological record of Egypt itself. Identifying non-

Egyptian material-culture in the archaeological record of First Millennium Egypt, however, exemplifies the methodological problems inherent in interpreting diasporic communities archaeologically. When communities live in diaspora they have the choice of retaining their earlier material cultural identity or assimilating their material cultural identity to that in their new homeland. In the case of the so-called "Libyans" of the First Millennium BC, there is no evidence within the archaeological record of Egypt itself which suggests a high proportion of the population was foreign.

3.4 Summary

Previous studies into the history, archaeology and identity of the so-called "Libyans" have implicitly begun from a methodology which projected the term Libyan onto earlier sources and, essentially, divested it of its historical context. Methodologically, previous studies have simply applied the "mask" of "Libyan" identity onto the Egyptian source material. Consequently, all the material was consolidated so as to fit underneath the mask or, where this was not the case, was dismissed as an Egyptian clerical error.

In order to counter the assumptions which are inherently implicit in applying the mask of "Libyan" identity, this thesis will resist the temptation to do so. Instead, the source material will be allowed to express its own nuances and multiple identities. Towards this end it will conduct a diachronic analysis of the iconographic, epigraphic and archaeological records within Egypt. To appreciate how these records are interconnected, however, it is necessary to analyse them independently. It will begin by examining the iconographic record of ancient Egypt and the manner in which the Egyptians "visualized the Other" down to the end of Ramesses III's reign.

SPAIN

TUNIS

MALTA

CRETE

CYPRUS

TUNISIA

Tripoli

MOROCCO

Haua
Fteah

ZUR Mersa
Matruh

Cyrenaïca

Marmarica

Wadi
Natrun

Bubastis

ALGERIA

LIBYA

Siwa
Oasis

Bahariya
Oasis

Northern
Oases

EGYPT

·Tighammar

Fezzan

Farafra
Oasis

NILE

Dakhla
Oasis

·Balat

Luxor
Armant

Kufrah
Oasis

Abu
Ballas

Kharga
Oasis

Aswan

Gilf
Kebir

Southern
Oases

Dunqul
Oasis

Uweinat

Tibesti

·Bilma

0 100 200 300 400 500 km

NIGER

SUDAN

C H A D

35

30

25

20

15

10   5   0   5   10   15   20   25   30   35

Map 1 - Overview map of locations and regions mentioned in text.

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Part II: Communities in Contact

Chapter 4: Visualizing "The Other"

When the French expedition attached to Napoleon's army arrived on the west bank of Luxor at the end of the Eighteenth Century they were greeted by the sight of the temple enclosure of Medinet Habu. Unable to read the hieroglyphic inscription and relying instead on Herodotus' account of Egyptian history, the French scholars believed that the battle scenes depicted on the walls of this temple, particularly the naval battle against a population distinguished by their feathered headdresses, were depictions of Sesostris' campaign against the Hindoos (Dothan and Dothan, 1992, 15f.). Even at this formative period of Egyptology, it was evident that the figures being fought by the Egyptian king on the side of this monument were clearly distinguished from the "Egyptians." Of the curious, be-feathered enemies, Dominique Vivant Denon – the scholar in charge of recording these scenes at the time – observed they "[had] not the least resemblance to known forms of Egyptian heads" (Dothan and Dothan, 1992, 15).

Only a generation later, after the decipherment of the hieroglyphic script, was it learned that the temple belonged to Ramesses III - not Sesostris - and the population against whom he was depicted fighting were not "Hindus" but men whom the Egyptians referred to as being of mysterious origins from "a land in the isles in the midst of the sea" (Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 42; Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu I, pl. 42). The analogy, however, is illustrative of the degree to which iconography is used to identify past populations as well as the degree to which our knowledge of past populations has as much to do with our own knowledge of their history as it does with our own perceptions of artistic representations of ancient groups.

From the dawn of Egyptian civilization, the Egyptian artist attempted to convey human phenotypical variation. While conceptually Egypt itself was considered a duality of "north and south" bound together within the unity of one Kingdom, illustrations of "Egyptians" tend to be standardized from a very early period and reflect this unifying characteristic. From what evidence remains, there does not

appear to be any artistic differentiation in illustrations of "Upper Egyptians" from "Lower Egyptians" and both groups are depicted as stereotype "Egyptians."

In depicting his "foreign" subjects, however, the Egyptian artist drew on a variety of materials. While it is quite probable the some artists had personal interaction with foreigners from around the world, from a very early period, the artists of ancient Egypt had developed stock stereotypes to illustrate foreign populations.

Because of the proscriptive nature of Egyptian art, images of humans needed to be both recognizable to the viewer as much as recognizable to the gods – for whom all action was undertaken and from whom all was given. On account of this requirement, images of humans tended to be heavily standardized and created within the constraints of fairly rigid artistic conventions (Wachsmann, 1987, 4). As Wachsmann points out,

> It is important to remember that we are dealing with iconographic representations – not photographs. Any attempt to understand the scenes will falter if this seemingly obvious fact is ignored (1987, 4).

While illustrations of foreigners in Egyptian art are clearly "stereotypes," in their inception the forms used must have been based to a greater or lesser degree on observable phenomena, since stereotypes are only identifiable if they can be interpreted by the viewer. The original template used to illustrate foreign groups, however, was often the result of Egyptian interaction with foreigners. The means by which Egyptians came into contact with foreign groups tended to happen in one of two ways. Either the foreigners came to Egypt or the Egyptians travelled to foreign lands.

Illustrations depicting foreign groups arriving in Egypt are known from all periods of Egyptian history. In the Old Kingdom, unnamed "Asiatic" types are illustrated arriving in Egypt by boat in Sahure's mortuary temple (Mus. Berlin 21833); in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Khnumhotep II foreigners identified as "Aamu" are illustrated arriving in Egypt by donkey (Kamrin, 1999, fig. IV.26); while in Rekhmire's New Kingdom tomb, foreigners from around the Eastern

Mediterranean, Africa and the Near East are illustrated arriving in Egypt bearing tribute (Davies, 1943, passim).

New Kingdom imperial expansionist policies resulted in the Egyptians making significant territorial gains into both Nubia and Asia as Egyptian armies marched across the Near East and Africa. As a direct result of the expansionist imperial strategy, the Egyptians came into contact with an increasing number of foreign groups.

While Egypt presented itself as a bulwark of stability – imbued with the divinely ordained concept of *Maat* ("order"), the world around Egypt's borders was constantly shifting and reorganizing itself. It was not uncommon in the ancient world, for instance, for entire populations or political institutions to succumb to the power struggles which engulfed the Near East. Examples of this can be found, for instance, in references to the "Mitanni" who were known to the Egyptians from the very beginning of the New Kingdom as inhabiting the region of northern Syria but who had ceased to exist as a political unit by the middle of the Thirteenth Century BC (Astour, 2001, 423). Other groups, such as the various "Sea Peoples" appear mysteriously at the beginning of the Thirteenth century BC and disappear almost as mysteriously within a couple of generations. Throughout all of this turmoil beyond Egypt's borders, the Egyptian state remained steadfast and the Egyptian artist and scribe recorded and illustrated the triumphs of the kings over foreign groups as well as the appearance of foreign groups bringing trade and tribute to Egypt.

In illustrating foreigners therefore, the Egyptian artist did have a fairly wide variety of human forms to choose from. Yet it was rarely his intention to illustrate the diversity of human phenotypes. Instead the major attempt of the ancient Egyptian artist was to incorporate "foreign" phenotypes into a larger thematic sphere as he attempted to apply a sense of order the otherwise "chaotic" world outside Egypt. In creating order from this chaos, the Egyptian artist attempted to portray an "external" world which was easily ordered into halves, thirds, or ninths.

The present chapter will begin by briefly analyzing the conceptual plane of Egypt's interaction with foreign groups. It will demonstrate how the majority of references to foreigners in Egyptian art play on the conceptual duality of Egypt itself and visualize the world "outside" Egypt as composed in a similar duality of "Syrians" and "Nubians." As an offshoot of the external duality, this chapter will then examine the Egyptian concept of the "Three Foreign Races." The focus of this chapter, however, will be on the iconography associated with the "Third Race" as the figures identified within this iconography are typically those who have, historically been classified as "Libyan." In order to appreciate the nuances associated with the iconography of the "Third Race," the discussion of the iconography of this group will be divided into two parts. The first part, will examine the iconography of the "Third Race" as it develops from a possible historic figure called the "Haty-a Tjehenu" illustrated in Sahure's Fifth Dynasty mortuary temple, until the final depictions of this figure during the Graeco-Roman Period where it is depicted uniquely as a topos in the "smiting scene" motif. The second part, will then examine the continued use of the "Three Foreign Races" motif in Egyptian art from the Middle and New Kingdoms. It demonstrate how a distinct iconography associated with the figure of the "Tjehenu" was used as a topos to illustrate the "Third Race" within New Kingdom illustrations of the "Three Foreign Races" and, as an offshoot of the latter, the "Nine Bows." Finally, it will demonstrate how the iconography of the "Third Race" eventually came to be used to illustrate "historical" scenes illustrating groups with a variety of names such as "Tjehenu," "Rebu" and "Meshwesh."

4.1 The conceptual plane of Egyptian - Foreign interaction

Since the Old Kingdom, the artist had a stock repertoire of two groups in particular, the "Nubian" and the "Syrian" (Fig. 7). The former was distinguished by his dark, black skin, and black-curly hair and was often beardless. In costume, the "Nubian" was commonly depicted with a kilt of varying length and often with a cloth sash across his chest. He was adorned with a necklace, earrings, and especially from the New Kingdom a single, vertical plume in his hair.

In contrast, the stock scene of the "Syrian" was often illustrated with light-skin (normally yellow), straight hair tied back with a head-band and rounded just above the shoulders, and a long, straight beard. In earlier illustrations of the "Syrian" he is depicted with a simple short kilt. Over time, however, the stereotypical "Syrian" costume depicts him with a complex, multi-layered, colourful cloak which appears to wrap around the entire body.

In art, the two groups of "Syrian" and "Nubian" are commonly depicted together (Wilkinson, 1992, 19). Aesthetically, the Egyptians appear to have appreciated the contrasting skin colours of the two groups and representatives of both groups are often juxtaposed with one another to give such an artistic effect (Wachsmann, 1987, 8). Their duality is commonly used as a stock motif to illustrate the subjugation of "the entire world" outside Egypt by the Egyptians. As such, the "Syrian" and "Nubian" are often depicted together in the "smiting scene" motif and as alternating bound foreigners.
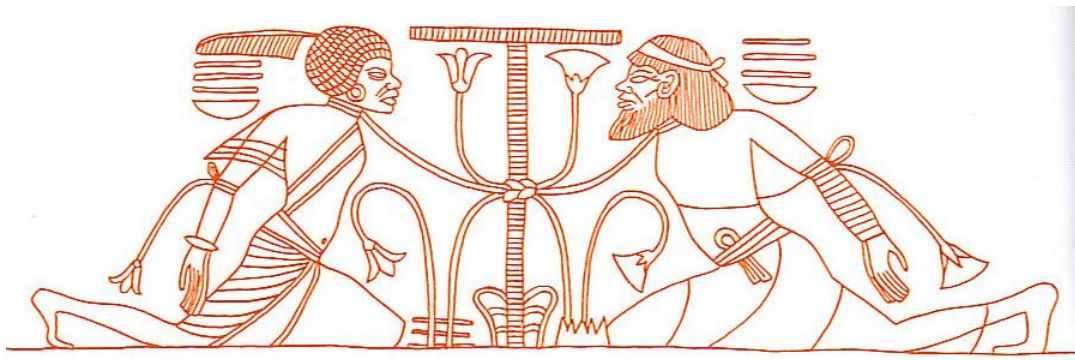
Fig. 7 – Binding scene with "Nubian" and "Syrian"
[From Wilkinson, 1992, 18.3]

Together, the "Syrian" and the "Nubian" are the stereotypical enemies of Egypt. As representative of the duality of "northern" and "southern" enemies, they can be interpreted as the mirror-image of Egypt's own duality: The Maat-filled, controlled duality of Upper and Lower Egypt contrasted with the Isfet-filled, chaotic duality of southern "Nubians" and northern "Syrians."

While duality is the most common motif found in Egyptian art, the Egyptian artist was not confined to dualities. It is not uncommon in Egyptian art to find

triads. Within the semiotics of ancient Egypt, the number three was indicative of plurality and the use of three strokes was used as the determinative of plural nouns. Triads can be interpreted as the natural continuation of the "duality" and they are commonly found in Egyptian religious iconography within divine familial groups (the union of the male and female gods produce the child king/god).

While dualities – often binary oppositions (north-south, dark-light, day-night) – were "controllable" within the binary opposition of Maat-Isfet, triads represented a slightly more chaotic force. The "plural" nature of the "external" triad and the absence of the "internal" Egyptian counter-force to it, reinforced the chaotic nature of the trio of foreigners. At the same time, they illustrated –if only slightly- a more "real" understanding of the outside world then that provided by a simple duality.

4.2 The Third Race, Part 1

The earliest example of the triad of foreigners – with the exception of an image of a stick-figure smiting three other stick-figures in the Predynastic Tomb 100 (see Schulz and Seidel, 2004, fig. 25/26) - is found in the mortuary temple of Sahure from the Fifth Dynasty (Fig. 8). Although none of the foreigners are named, they represent three "non-Egyptian" stereotypes. A "Nubian" is depicted with a short curly hair, a head-band, a short beard and a short kilt. An "Asiatic" is illustrated with a short, pointed beard, long hair, a head-band, and a short kilt following the "Nubian." The third individual, who leads this procession is depicted with long hair, a short beard, cross-bands on his chest, a beaded necklace, a penis-sheath, an animal's tail and a uraeus-like appendage on his forehead. The ropes attached to the prisoners are held by gods above. The scene suggests the subjection of all foreigners to the king.
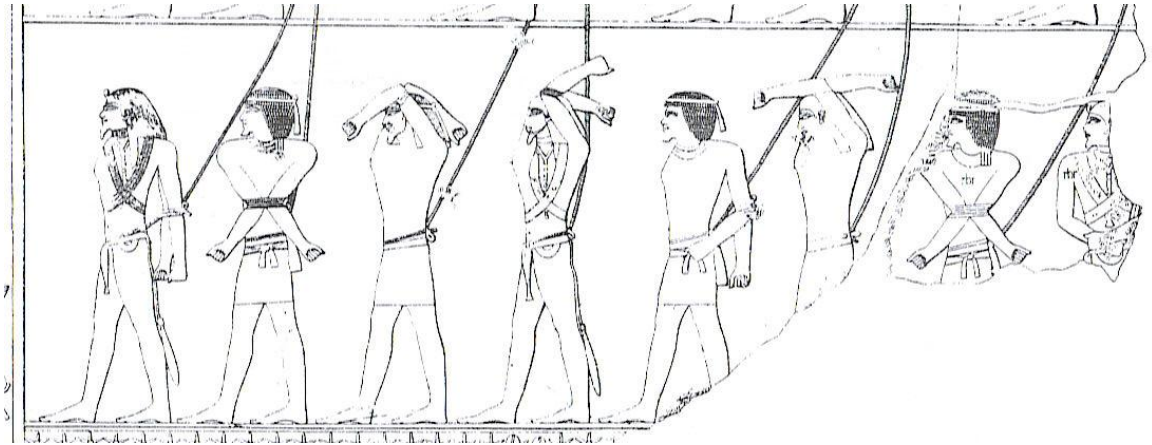
Fig. 8 – Triads of bound foreigners in Sahure's mortuary temple.
[Borchardt, 1913, Bl. 6]

Although the three individuals are not named in the above scene (Fig. 8), the iconography used to depict the penis-sheath-clad individual is found elsewhere in Sahure's temple where names are provided. In a heavily damaged scene from Sahure's temple (Fig. 9), three groups of individuals are illustrated paying homage to the king while the goddess Seshat records the various livestock being brought to Egypt. All three groups are distinguished iconographically from other foreigners in Sahure's tomb by their unique style of dress which includes a uraeus-like appendage on their forehead, long hair below the shoulders, cross-bands and a beaded necklace across their chest and a penis-sheath. The three groups are enumerated in this scene as Basher, Baket and [lost].

Fig. 9 Baket [bottom], Basher [middle] and unnamed [top row]
[Borchardt, 1913, Bl. I]

Below these three groups are three individuals – two boys and a girl - named Wesa, Weni and Khut-ef-es respectively who are equally depicted wearing similar accoutrement (Fig. 10). To the left of Sahure's scene, there are traces of a now destroyed smiting scene of which only the elbow and ankle of the smitten is preserved as well as traces of the caption: "Smiting the Haty-a Tjehenu."

Fig. 10 - Wesa Weni and Khut-ef-es [Borchardt, 1913, Bl. I]

Unfortunately, because of the poor preservation of this monument it is impossible to determine how the figure of the "Haty-a Tjehenu" was depicted thereon. It is certain, however, that at least portions of this scene were copied throughout the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (cf. Neuserre scene, below, fig. 11; Pepi I in Leclant, 1980, pl. II; Pepi II scene in Jéquier, 1938, pl. 8-9) and as late as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (cf. Taharqa Kawa temple fig. 12 below). While the title of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* is not preserved in any of the later copies, the similarity in composition (and specifically the mention of the three figures Wesa, Weni and Khut-ef-es) can be used to infer that there was a standard iconographic form associated with the figure of the Haty-a Tjehenu in Egyptian Art. He is consistently illustrated with long hair, cross-bands, a beaded necklace, a penis-sheath and an animal tail.
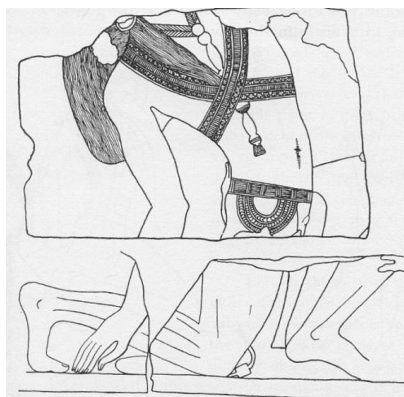
Fig. 11 – Penis-sheathed individual in mortuary temple of Neuserre.
[Borchardt, 1907, fig. 31]
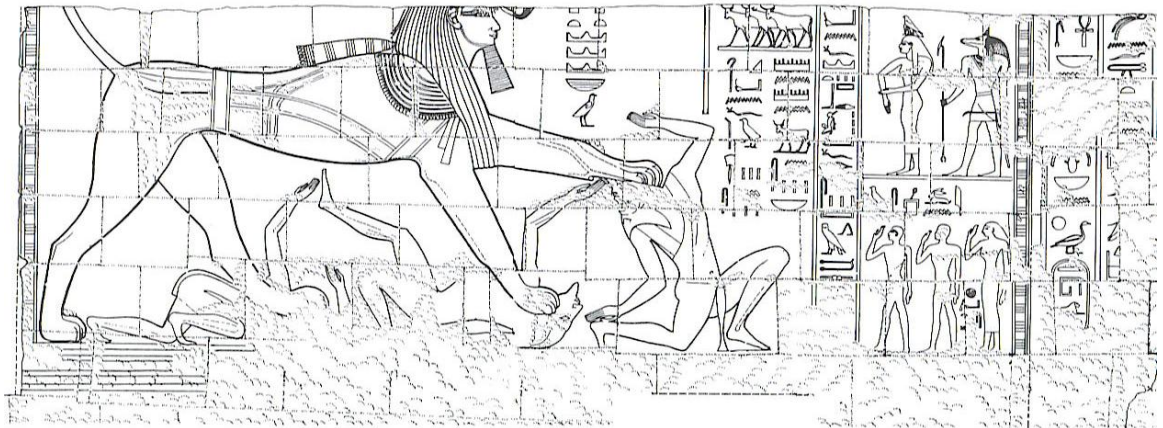
Fig. 12 - Taharqa copy of Sahure's scene, Kawa Temple T
[MacAdam, 1955, pl. IX]

Significantly, the iconographic features of this figure – the penis sheath, the long flowing hair, and the animal tail – remain standard elements in depictions of *Haty-a Tjehenu* for the entirety of the Dynastic Period as does his title.

In a scene from the Middle Kingdom temple at Gebelein, the figure of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* is again depicted being ritually destroyed by the king Mentuhotep II in the midst of a processional scene (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13 - Mentuhotep II smiting "*Haty-a Tjehenu, Hedj-wawsh(i)*"
[from Habachi, 1963, pl. 11a]

Iconographically, this Middle Kingdom image of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* is similar to Old Kingdom depictions of this figure (such as that found in Neuserre's tomb). He is illustrated with long hair over the shoulders, a beard, a distinctive penis-sheath and an animal tail on his back which, in this instance, has been compared to a representation of a pike (Swan Hall, 1986, 12). In contrast to earlier representations, he is not illustrated with cross-bands or a pendant.

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Almost a millennium after Mentuhotep's depiction of the *Haty-a Tjehenu*, however, the same title was used above a similarly illustrated figure from Merneptah's palace (Fig. 14). Like earlier depictions, Merneptah's *Haty-a Tjehenu* is characterized by his long hair below his shoulders, his short beard and his nakedness apart from a penis-sheath. He is illustrated next to the "Nubian" figure of the *Iwntiw-setet* and together they clearly illustrate a "duality" outside of Egypt of "north" and "south" respectively. In this scene, therefore, the Haty-a Tjehenu has replaced the "Syrian" as the representative of the "northerner."

Fig. 14 – Haty-a Tjehenu and Iwntiw-setet from Merneptah's palace
(University of Pennsylvania Museum E 13575)
[Swan Hall, 1986, fig. 63]

Through these named representations of this figure which span from the Old to the New Kingdoms, it is possible to discern that the *Haty-a Tjehenu* was a unique *topos* in Egyptian art.

An almost identical depiction of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* is found on the westernmost base of Osiride Pillars along the North wall of the First Court of Medinet Habu (Fig. 15). The name belonging to this individual has been largely erased over time but has most often been restored as *Tjemehu* (Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 146 & note 9b; Kitchen, KRI V, 102:6).
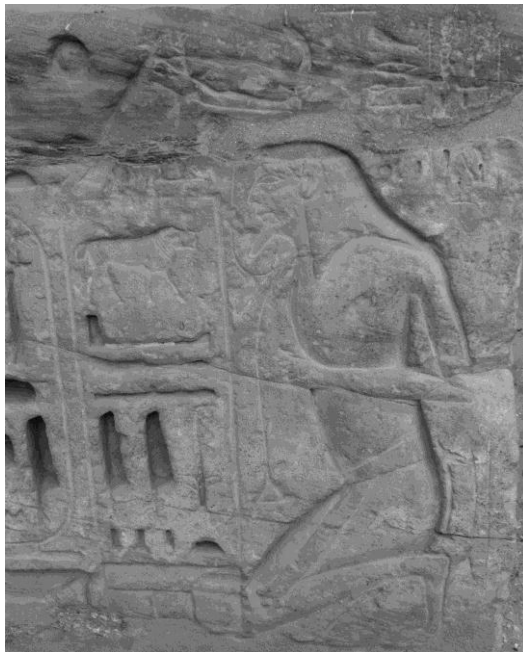
Fig. 15 – Image on base of western most Osiride Pillar
[photograph by author]

The suggestion that this term reads "Tjemehu" is based on the surviving letter h in the inscription and ignores the iconography of the image portrayed. Paleographically, it is hard to believe that the tall *ti-* and *m-* signs could fit into the space of the available lacuna. Instead, the lacuna requires one or two small flat signs. With his long, shoulder-length hair, pointed beard, penis-sheath and animal's tail this figure is iconographically identical to images of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* in Merneptah's palace door-jamb (above) as well as all earlier representations of this *topos* from the Old and Middle and New Kingdoms.

Having established the iconographic identity of the *Haty-a Tjehenu*, it is possible to examine other depictions of iconographically similar figures in Egyptian art, but whose title as *Haty-a Tjehenu* is absent. Indeed, this figure is attested from all periods of Egyptian history, being particularly prevalent during the New Kingdom. Significantly, however, this artistic *topos* is almost always associated with a single artistic representation – the king smiting the enemy.

4.2.1 Smiting the Haty-a Tjehenu: A History.

The image of the king smiting the "Tjehenu" dates back to the beginning of Egyptian Civilization. The earliest attested records suggesting Egyptian knowledge of a region or population called "Tjehenu," comes from the reign of Narmer and a single ivory docket (Ashmolean E3915) illustrating a theriomorphic-cat-fish King, Narmer, smiting a group of 9 captives who are illustrated in a schematic manner in which only the presence of a pointed chin or beard is discernable.
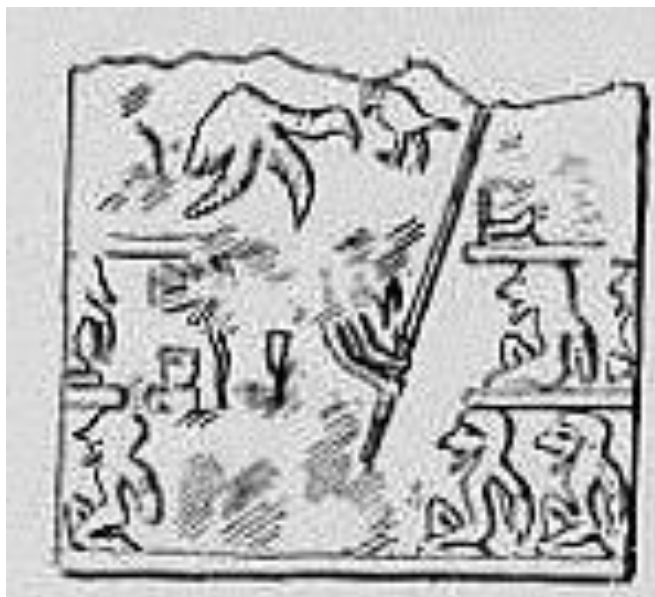
Fig. 16 – Theriomorphic Narmer smiting group of enemies labeled Tjehenu [Galassi, 1942, 29 fig. 8]

The orthography of the term Tjehenu, in the Narmer example is almost identical to that used to describe the figure in both Sahure's and Mentuhotep's scenes. Similar orthography is found captioning a pair of "Egyptians" in Neuserre's Sun Temple (in von Bissing, 1923, pl.13, 33b), above a *was*-scepter performing a Henu-salute in Sneferu's Valley Temple (Fakhry, 1961, 78 fig. 58). The associated iconography of the two scenes and a discussion of their unique qualities fall outside the discussion of this thesis. The same orthography continues to be used two millennia later in an epithet of Psamtek I on a stela from Saqqara (cf. "Psamtek, smiter of Tjehenu" Vittmann, 2003, abb.7; also see Appendix A).

With the exception of the Gebelein smiting scene (above, fig. 13), I am aware of no other Middle kingdom examples of this motif or of the associated figure. Illustrations of smiting scenes, however, become particularly prevalent during the New Kingdom. From the Eighteenth Dynasty until the Roman Period, however, smiting scenes exist which illustrate the king smiting an individual who is distinguished by his long hair, cross-bands (C-B), necklace and penis-sheath (P-S) as demonstrated in the chart below (Table 1). While his title of "haty-a Tjehenu" is not always preserved in these New Kingdom scenes, his is often referred to in accompanying captions by more general terms sucha s "chief of every foreign land."

Table 1: smiting the Haty-a Tjehenu

	Caption	No. Indiv.	Kilt	P-S	Cloak	C-B	Belt	Beard	S-L	Long	REF.
						XVIII Dynasty					
Tuthmosis IV	**"chiefs of every foreign land"**	**1**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Swan Hall, fig. 31**
Amenhotep IV	**None(mostly destroyed)**	**1/>46**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**?**	**N**	**Y**	**Swan Hall, fig. 36**
						XIX Dynasty					
Seti I (Karnak)	**"Iwntiw Mentiw, every secret foreign land, every land, the Fenkhu of the marshes of Asia**	**1/9[3]**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**?**	**N**	**Y**	**Swan Hall, fig. 45**

[3] Whilst there are 9 faces depicted, there are also 9 right hands and 6 left hands

	and the Great Bend of the Great Green"; "the Nine bows"									
Seti I (Karnak)	**"every foreign land"**	**1/9**[4]	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Swan Hall fig. 46**
Ramesses II (Abu Simbel; Great Temple)	**"trampling the chiefs of every foreign land"; (above Re-Horakhty is mentioned) "Retenu," "Ta-Set," Chiefs of every foreign land"**	**1/10**[5]	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Swan Hall, fig. 55**
Ramesses II (Abu Simbel; Great Temple)	**"every land and every foreign land," "chiefs of every foreign land," "trampling the vile chiefs of every foreign land."**	**1/12**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Swan Hall, fig. 56**
Ramesses II (ZUR Stela 4)	**[none]**	**1**	**N**	**?Y**[6]	**N**	**?**	**?**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Snape and Wilson, 2007, 105**
Merneptah (Memphis Palace; below smiting scene)	**"Haty-a Tjehenu and Iwntiw Setet"**	**½**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Swan Hall, fig. 63**

[4] There are 9+X faces in the scene, though the number of limbs suggest there are 12 bound foreigners.

[5] Although there are ten faces, the limbs suggest nine figures.

[6] See Snape and Wilson, 2007, 104

	XX Dynasty										
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu,1ˢᵗ Pylon, South Tower)	**"trampling the great ones of every land"**	**1/42**	**N**	**?**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**?**	**?**	**Swan Hall, fig. 64**
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, 1ˢᵗ Pylon, North Tower)	**"trampling the great ones of every land"**	**1/42**	**N**	**?**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Swan Hall, fig. 65**
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, 1ˢᵗ Pylon, North Tower)	**"smiting the great ones of every land"**	**½**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**Y**	**MH, pl. 85**
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, 1ˢᵗ Pylon, South Tower Exterior, "blessing of Ptah")	**[none]**	**½**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**MH, Pl. 105**
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, South face	**[none]**	**½**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**MH, pl. 114**

of window of appearances, east side of window)										
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, 1st Court, Osiris Pillars)	**"The vile great one of –h [land], who his Majesty smote."**	**1**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**MH, pl. 118A**
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, 1st Court, South side pillars)	**"chief of every land"**	**1**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**MH, pl. 121A**
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, 1st Court, South side pillars)	**[none]**	**1**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**MH, pl. 122A**
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, South face of East doorway into Temple)	**[None]**	**1**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**MH, pl. 113**
Unknown "Ramesses" (Ostracon in Cairo Museum,	**"Every Tjehenu"**	**1**	**?**	**?**	**?**	**N**	**?**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Un-published (?) Based on observation**

Room 24										**by author**
Ptolemaic Period										
Unknown Ptolemaic king	**[None]**	**1**	**N**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**Y**	**Walters Art Gallery, 22.45; Swan Hall, 1986, fig. 86**
Roman Period										
Hadrian?	**[None]**	**1**	**N**	**Y?**	**N**	**Y**	**Y**	**N**	**N**	**N**	**Hofmann, 1984, pl. 31A**

<u>4.2.2 The identity of the Haty-a Tjehenu.</u>

The artistic origins of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* are unclear. It is quite possible that at one time this figure represented a "historical" figure (Schulmann, 1988, 47). Indeed, the illustration in the tomb of Sahure would appear to support this notion and individuals clad similarly to the *Haty-a Tjehenu* are represented throughout Sahure's mortuary temple. The impression one gets from the captions in Sahure's mortuary temple is that there is one – and only one – figure who goes by the title Haty-a Tjehenu. The other figures in the scene are all given their own unique identities which separate them from that of the *Haty-a Tjehenu*. Thus, while it can be argued that all the human figures in this scene have some relationship to the *Haty-a Tjehenu* through their costume, the only *Haty-a Tjehenu* in the scene is the one being clubbed by the king.

While often interpreted as "historical" scenes (Schulmann, 1988), the smiting scene is entirely indicative of Egyptian royal ideology and the role of the king in "administering *Maat*" over the forces of *Isfet*. The placement of smiting scenes

auspiciously flanking the portals of temples do not illustrate the mass slaughter of the enemies depicted, but – through the mystical dimension associated with Egyptian art – guarantee the sanctity of the temple itself through the ritual pictorial illustration of the king defeating the forces of Isfet (Robins, 1997, 178). Similar to ancient Chinese concepts of Feng Shui, the chaotic forces of Isfet are not able to enter the temple since they are destroyed at the doorway. On account of this it is not surprising that the superscription above these portal scenes refer to the quintessential forces of chaos, the "Nine Bows," and the number of individuals depicted tend to be in multiples of three, seven or nine ("chaotic" numbers). At the centre of the majority of smiting scenes throughout the New Kingdom, however, is the image of the Haty-a Tjehenu.

Whatever the true origins of the *Haty-a Tjehenu*, it is clear that by the end of the Old Kingdom – if not even before the end of Sahure's reign – this icon had achieved an artistic quality which no longer had reference to its historical origins. Following Sahure's reign, the icon is never used to depict ethnic groups bringing tribute or groups being defeated in battle by the Egyptian army. Indeed from its first depiction in the Old Kingdom the *only* context in which the image of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* is found is as the object of the king's aggression in smiting scenes – a topos which remains characteristic in Egyptian art until as late as the Roman Period. In some of these scenes he continues to be referred to as the *Haty-a Tjehenu*. In others however, he acquires other titles such as "Chief of every foreign land," "Every northern country," and "all lands." Such titles suggest that this image had shed any and all historical and/or "ethnic" attributes which it may have had in its conception, and had become the type-cast image in Egyptian art to represent Egyptian supremacy over all of the forces of chaos in general rather than a specific group in particular.

Perhaps on account of the semiotic qualities associated with the *Haty-a Tjehenu*, therefore, the Egyptian artist of the New Kingdom developed an altogether different iconographic form to illustrate members of the "Third Foreign Race." This new icon is distinguished in Egyptian art through his short hair, side-lock, and long-colourful cloak as well as the occasional use of the penis-sheath, a kilt, and tattoos.

By the Middle Kingdom, if not the end of the Old Kingdom, the iconography associated with the Haty-a Tjehenu – long-hair, penis-sheath, cross-bands, necklace and animal tail - had already become the stereotype within the smiting scene. From this period onwards, therefore, a second form associated with the "Third Race" was developed to distinguish it from contemporary images of the Haty-a Tjehenu.

The only extant illustration of the "Three Foreign Races" dating to the Middle Kingdom is found on a block associated with the temple site of Gebelein in Upper Egypt. It is dated to the reign of Mentuhotep II but had been reused in a much later Ptolemaic temple on the site.

Fig. 17 –The "Three Foreign Races" from Gebelein. [From Habachi, 1963, pl. 11b]

The three individuals depicted to the left of the smiting scene are illustrated almost identically to each other and are naked, wearing but a belt and bald (or with short hair). They are labeled from right to left as Setetiw, Setjetiw, and Tjehenuyu. The only differentiation between these individuals is the fact that the first figure labeled Setetiw is not wearing the feather associated with the other two. While the three "foreigners" may be representative of the "foreign triad" from the Old Kingdom, there is very little within their Middle Kingdom iconography which would associate them with their unnamed Old Kingdom

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counterparts. The iconography of the "Three Foreign Races" however continues to be illustrated into the New Kingdom, during which time they acquire their own specific stereotypes.

In tombs from the Amarna Period the triad of the "Three Foreign Races" is a particularly common motif. Specifically, it was common to illustrate this triad within depictions of the Egyptian Army. While none of the individuals are named explicitly, they are clearly distinguishable as the "Three Foreign Races" through their iconography.
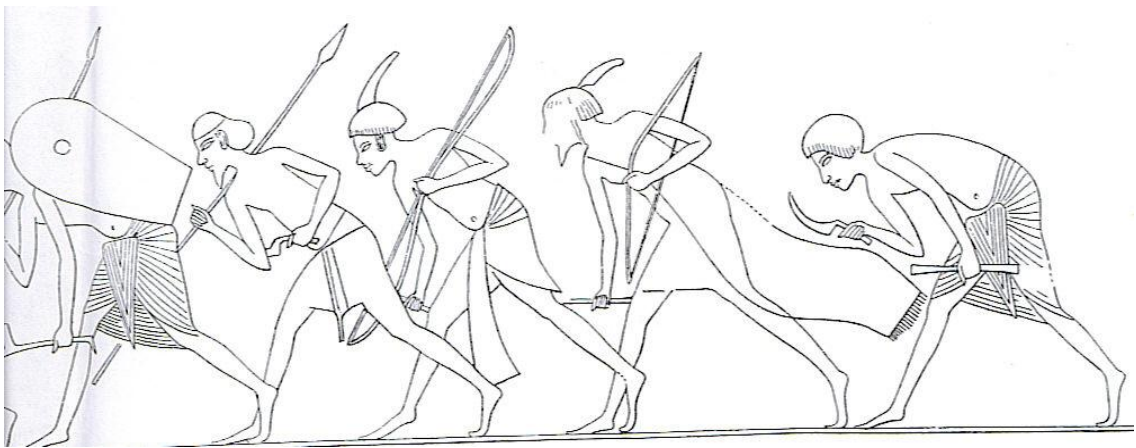
**Fig. 18 The "Three Foreign Races" in Ahmes' tomb
[Davies, 1908, pl. XXXII]**

**Fig. 19 – The "Three foreign races" in tomb of Meryra
[Davies, 1903, pl. xxix]**

In both Ahmes' (Fig. 18) and Meryra's (Fig. 19) tomb, two of the foreign groups are easily recognizable as a "Nubian" (characterized by the feather in his hair, short curly black hair and "negroid" features) and an "Asiatic" (characterized by

his curved hair-style tied back with a head-band, pointed beard and tripartite kilt). In Ahmes' tomb, the unnamed "Third Race" individual is differentiated from the other two as well as the Egyptians by the feather in his hair, his side-lock, long cloak and kilt. He is armed with a bow and possibly an axe. A similar, albeit featherless depiction is found in Meryra's tomb where the "Third Race" individual –identifiable by his unique side-lock- is armed with a duck-bill axe similar to those associated with the Hyksos (Bietak, 1997, 100; Bourriau, 2002, 188). The iconography of the "Third Race" figure during the New Kingdom is also significantly different from that associated with the Haty-a Tjehenu type found in the Old Kingdom.

Elsewhere in the New Kingdom, the "Three Foreign Races" are illustrated in similar manner but provided with names. In a cryptic inscription running along the architrave of Luxor temple, dated to the reign of Ramesses II, for instances, the "Three Foreign Races" are enumerated as "vile Kush" (i.e. Nubia), "vile Tjehenu" and "vile Setjet" (i.e. Asia; KRI II 612:10). While the Egyptians appear to have multiple terms for "Nubians" and "Asiatics," they commonly refer to the "Third Foreign Race" throughout the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties as "Tjehenu" and consistently illustrate this figure with short hair and a distinctive side-lock as well as commonly portraying him with one or two feathers in his hair.

Fig 20 – "Vile Kush, Vile Tjehenu, Vile Setjet" (from right to left), Luxor [KRI II, 612:11]

As a well-established motif in Egyptian art, the concept of the "Three Foreign Races" is found throughout the New Kingdom. It is particularly common, however, in the iconography associated with the motif of the "plurality of pluralities" known as the Nine Bows.

4.3.1 The Nine Bows

As a *topos* in Egyptian ideology, the Nine Bows dates back to the earliest periods in Egyptian history and references to "the Nine (occasionally Seven) Bows" are well attested in written sources from at least the Old Kingdom (Uphill, 1966, 393f.). Ideologically, the Nine Bows was the foreign/chaotic aspect of a conceptual duality representing Isfet whose foil was the Ennead of the gods ("Nine Gods") representing Maat. This duality is mentioned explicitly in a spell from the Pyramid Texts (Spell 222 (202b); see Faulkner, 1969,50; Mercer, 1952, 67) where the deceased king implores of the Sun god: "Grant that I may rule the Nine Bows and provide for the Nine Gods" (Poo, 2005, 43).

From the reign of Amenhotep III (ca. 1386-1349 BC), the ideology behind the Nine Bows is canonized and the "classical Nine Bows lists" begin to be produced (Uphill, 1966, 395). For the next millennium, the Nine Bows are enumerated, with only slight variations, as

<div align="center">

Haut-Nebut

Shat

Ta-Shema (Upper Egypt)

Sekhet-Yam

Ta-Mehu (Lower Egypt)

Pedjetiu-Shu

Tjehenu

Iwntiw-Setet

Mentiw nw Setjet

</div>

The list appears to be divisible into three unequal parts. The first two terms, Haut-Nebu and Shat are clearly complementary terms which are illustrative of the duality of the far North and far South respectively (Uphill, 1966). The next four terms, Ta-Shema, Sekhet-Yam, Ta-Mehu and Pedjetiu-Shu are almost certainly a reference to "Greater Egypt" along the cardinal points comprising Southern Egypt, the Western Oases, Northern Egypt and the Eastern nomadic

groups respectively. Finally, the last three terms, Tjehenu, Iwntiw-Setet and Mentiw nw Setjet are the typical "Three Races" outside Egypt.

With the canonization of the Nine Bows during Amenhotep III's reign, the unique images used to illustrate each group also begin to appear. Specifically, the figure of the "Third foreign race" who is consistently referred to as "Tjehenu" is also consistently illustrated with a distinctive side-lock which distinguishes him from the long-haired Haty-a Tjehenu.
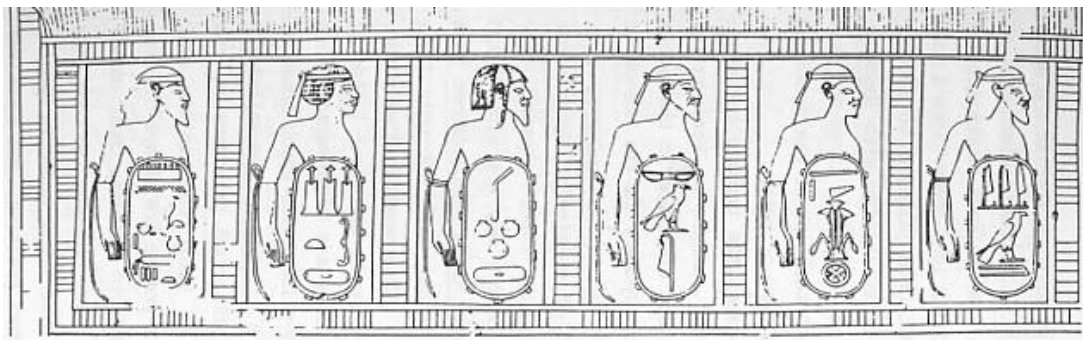
Fig. 21 – Six of the Nine Bows as illustrated in the tomb of Keruef in Thebes [from Nibbi, 1986, 44 fig. 27]

Within the Nine Bows canon, the term and iconography of Tjehenu is almost always found in close association with the Iwntiw-setet ("Nubians") and the Mentiw-nw-Setjet ("Asiatics"). In many "Nine Bows" lists these terms are accompanied by busts of and are therefore solely distinguishable through their facial features. It is only at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, that a full-length image of the "Tjehenu" figure is found in the tomb of Anen.

In Anen's representation (Fig. 22), the Tjehenu-figure is depicted among a list of nine "foreigners." The prisoners are arranged along the base of the throne in an alternating pattern of "northerner" –tied with a papyrus plant – and "southerner" – tied with a sedge lily. While each individual is given a different caption, the iconography of the "southerners" is consistently identical, with the only variation being the length of their kilt (which alternates between long and short).

Fig. 22 - Foreigners in Anen's tomb [Robins, 1997, 136]

Within this alternating aesthetic, the "Tjehenu" figure is preceded by an image of the Iwntiw-Setet and succeeded by an image of the Mentiw-nw-setet (both depicted as "Nubians" in this instance). In this particular scene, the Tjehenu is bound with the papyrus plant (symbol of the "north") and is distinguished from the other "northerners" by his side-lock and a long, colourful cloak. He is also illustrated wearing two large feathers in his hair, a short kilt and has visible tattoos on his arms (Fig. 23).

Fig. 23 –"Tjehenu" in Anen's tomb, Amarna Period [Aldred, 1968, fig. 32].

Within the history of foreigners in Egyptian art, the illustration of the Tjehenu is Anen's tomb is particularly important as it was almost certainly used as the template for the depiction of the "Three Foreign Races" in Seti I's copy of the Book of Gates.

The "Three Foreign Races" are again illustrated in a vignette from the fifth hour of the Book of Gates, a text used to illustrate the tombs of the kings of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. In total, there are eight extant versions of this scene (Hornung, 1980, 176ff.) which depict the god Horus in front of sixteen individuals divided into four groups. The scene has historically been used as evidence for the Egyptian "racial" division of the world and is commonly referred to as "The Four Races of Mankind."

In three of the extant examples of this scene from Seti I's sarcophagus, the Osireion and Ramesses VI's tomb, the artist has not differentiated among the "Four Races," and all are depicted with short wigs, a small beard and alternating skin-coloration in the pattern red-blue (in the Osireion) or yellow-green (in Ramesses VI; Hornung, 1980, 134). As Wachsmann points out,

> [The] varying of skin colour to differentiate figures is not uncommon in Egyptian art. For example, note such combinations of light and dark skins in the tombs of Userhet, Neferhotep, Thanuny, Haremhab, Ramose, Nebamun and Ipuky, Userhet and that of Ipy. Note also the contrasting skins of figures on the central register of a hunting scene painted on the lid of a wooden chest from the tomb of Tutanchamun and in scenes of Nubians at Beit el-Wali dating to the reign of Ramesses II (Wachsmann, 1987, 8).

While the particular colour pattern of red-blue and yellow-green are clearly not meant to portray any form of realism, the underlying aesthetic of the artistic motif is the same. In contrast to this artistic motif, the alabaster sarcophagus of Seti I (BM 29948 & 37927/28) depicts all of the characters in black ink, leaving no option for such patterning.

In two of the extant versions of the text in Merneptah's tomb as well as in the sarcophagus chamber of Seti I the "Four Races" scene is almost entirely destroyed (Hornung, 1980, 135). The three remaining scenes are found in the pillared hall of Seti I's tomb, Seti II's tomb and Ramesses III's tomb. Each of these scenes depicts sixteen individuals divided into four discrete groups in front of the god Horus.

Seti I's remaining scene of the Book of Gates has not fared well over the years since its discovery in 1817. Despite earlier drawings depicting the completeness of the figures of foreigners, the tomb was already badly damaged from at least the middle of the Nineteenth Century, and is discernable in Lepsius' drawings (ca. 1845) of the scenes (Denkmaler, III, 136a). Two of the side-locked individuals in Seti's copy of the Book of Gates have been largely destroyed above the waist and one above the calf. It is the lone remaining figure in this group, depicted with pale-skin, a side-lock, a short beard, two-feathers in his hair, and a long cloak, which has been used to reconstruct his three companions.
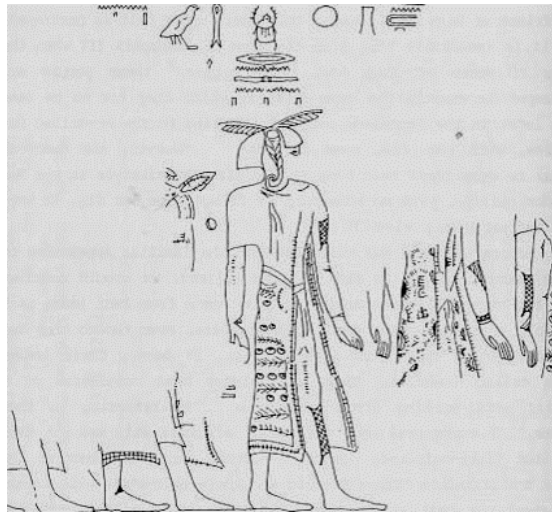
Fig. 24 – The "Third Foreign Race" from Seti I's tomb
[from Nibbi, 1986, 76 fig. 35]

The damage to Seti I's tomb makes it unclear what name was used in the caption between these individuals as the only letter which even partially remains are traces of the initial tj-sign. Iconographically, however, there can be no doubt that the figure in Seti I's tomb is "Tjehenu" and it is almost an exact replica of the "Tjehenu" found in Anen's tomb (see above, fig. 23).

Similar to Seti I's scene, Seti II had a similar representation of the Book of Gates depicted on his tomb wall. The figures in Seti II's scene are distinguished by their very broad side-lock and a pointed chin/beard. They are equally depicted wearing a long robe which is tied with a belt. Whilst one of them appears to be depicted with a penis-sheath, this garment is not distinguishable on the

remaining three individuals who appear to have a cross between a kilt and a penis-sheath.
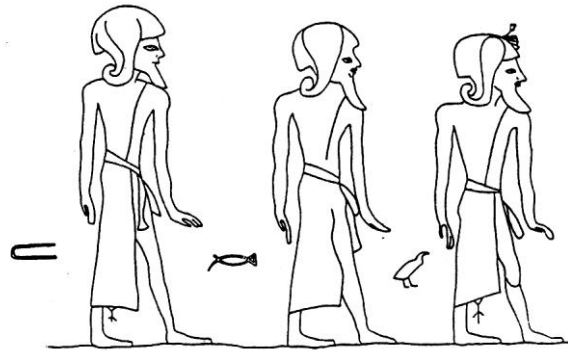
Fig 25- The "Third Foreign Race" in Seti II's tomb
[From Nibbi, 1989, fig. 28]

The caption between the figures in Seti II's has normally been transcribed as "Tjemehu." From the transcription provided by Nibbi (Fig. 25), as well as my own observation of this inscription from this tomb, it is possible that the initial

(*Tj*-sign; as given in Hornung, 1980, 176) is in actuality an (*m*-sign), giving the term *mehu* meaning "northerners." This identification has been proposed previously by Brugsch in the Nineteenth Century (see Hölscher, 1955, 51)

The same stereotype of a side-locked individual to that found in Seti I's and Seti II's tomb is again depicted in Ramesses III's copy of the "Book of Gates." Whereas the caption in Seti I's image has largely been destroyed, and that in Seti II's tomb can be read either "Tjemehu" or "Mehu," in Ramesses III's copy of this text, the four figures with a side-lock are clearly labeled "Aamu." They are depicted with cropped hair, a fine side-lock, a yellow cloak with a blue fringe tied at the shoulder and open in front revealing a short kilt
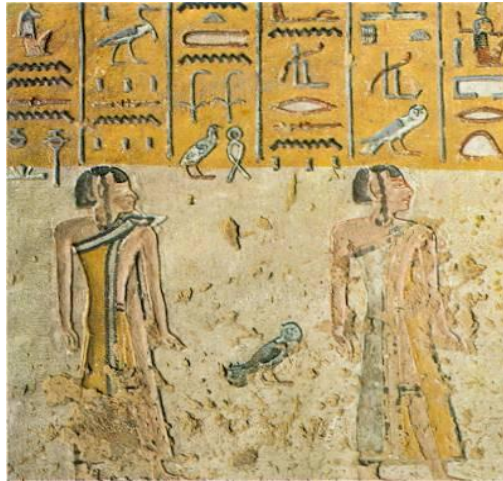
Fig. 26 - "Aamu" from tomb of Ramesses III
[from Hornung, 1990, 109]

The term "Aamu" is normally found in Egyptian texts in reference to eastern populations in Syria-Palestine. In most publications of this scene, however, there is no indication that the caption reads "Aamu" and these figures are normally identified as "Libyans" (see most recently Redford, 2010, 97; Hornung, 1990). Because of the iconographic similarity between the "Aamu" of Ramesses III's tomb, the "(Tje)Mehu" of Seti II's tomb and a similar group in Seti I's tomb, it has often been assumed that this is a "scribal error" on the part of Ramesses III's artists.

Taken to its extreme, this "scribal error" in Ramesses III's scene has led some scholars, such as Nibbi (1986, 75ff.), to consider complete re-examination of the geography of foreigners vis-à-vis ancient Egypt (i.e. that the Aamu, who are generally "easterners," could also be considered "westerners" in such contexts). Conversely, this also led some earlier scholars, such as Wilkinson, to describe the images of "Tjemehu" from Ramesses III's tomb as "Parthians" (1837, 373) and the side-locked individuals identified by Wilkinson by the term "Rebu" as "Asiatics" (ibid).

Disregarding the images themselves for a moment, the most likely explanation as to why the side-locked individuals are labeled "Aamu" in Ramesses III's tomb is almost certainly a result of the associated text written above the figures in this particular context. Unique to Ramesses III's example of this text, the superscript

above the four side-locked individuals is the section of the text (see Hornung, 1980, 179, RIII lines 21-26) which refers explicitly to the "Aamu."

Thus, the most likely explanation for the "error" in identifying these figures is that the scribe who was in charge of writing the names between the figures was not concerned with what the figures actually looked like, but with what the text above them actually read and, reading "Aamu" in the above text, labeled the individuals below the text likewise.

While there can be no doubt that the side-locked individuals in Ramesses III's tomb are labeled "Aamu" and, as such might suggest an "Eastern" identity, there is a perfectly logical explanation as to why and how this identification occurred in ancient times. Such an explanation, however, implies that the ancient scribe in charge of writing the names undertook his work *after* the images themselves were drawn. If the opposite occurred, however, and the individuals were drawn when the names were already present, then one would still have to explain why the Egyptian artist drew a unique illustration of a side-locked individual in the caption destined for an "Aamu." On the present evidence, the solution to this cannot be known. What is certain, however, is that the particular stereotype –of a side-locked individual – was used in Seti I's, Seti II's and Ramesses III's scenes specifically because it was illustrative of one of the "Three Foreign Races of Mankind."

The caption of the "third" foreign race is variously preserved in these scenes. In both Seti I's pillared hall and Ramesses VI's tomb, only the initial *tj*-sign is preserved; In three of the remaining scenes (Seti I's sarcophagus, Seti II's tomb and Ramesses III's tomb), the orthography of the associated caption could either be read as "Tjemehu" or simple "Mehu"; while it is only in the Osireion, that the figures are captioned uniquely with the title "Tjemehu." The orthography of this latter term, however, written ▭ 𓏏𓏤𓅓𓏛 ‖ and is unique in Egyptian texts and is found solely in the context of the Book of Gates.

Indeed, there is some confusion in the literature regarding the nomenclature of the individuals in these Book of Gates scenes. The figures are variously referred to as "Libyans," "Tjemehu" or "Tjehenu." Moreover, Anthony Leahy has recently implied that the illustrations in Seti I's scene are depictions of "Rebu" or Maxues ("Meshwesh") groups (Leahy, 2001b, 291).

Regardless of the nomenclature used, it is clear that the underlying semiotics of the "Four Races" scene was to illustrate Egyptians alongside the "Three Foreign Races." Within this context, the terminology used was generally inconsequential to the more profound semiotic meaning. Indeed, it is perhaps telling in this regard that only three of the extant eight copies of this scene differentiate the physical types, and of these one is provided with a different caption from the other two.

The concept of the "Three Foreign Races," both alone and as a component part of the "Nine Bows" remained constant over the course of the New Kingdom. With the exception of the Book of Gates scenes, the figure in these illustrations is universally referred to as "Tjehenu." Beginning at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, the Egyptians begin to depict side-locked individuals outside of the confines of the Three Foreign Races motif. From Horemheb's reign until New Kingdom illustrations end in Ramessses III's reign, the Egyptians depict themselves engaged in a series of battles with the "Third Race."

4.4 Beyond the *Topos*: "historic" encounters with the Third Race.

In addition to being a topos within the "Three foreign Races" motif, side-locked individuals are depicted in Egyptian art as arriving in Egypt with tribute during the Amarna Period and, from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, as a population continuously attacked by the ancient Egyptians.

4.4.1 The Eighteenth Dynasty

The earliest, as well as the only, example of side-locked individuals bringing tribute to Egypt is found in the tomb of Meryra II from the Amarna Period. The

individuals in the scene are unnamed, but are clearly illustrated with a distinctive side-lock and double-plumed headdress and depicted bringing eggs and feathers to Egypt.
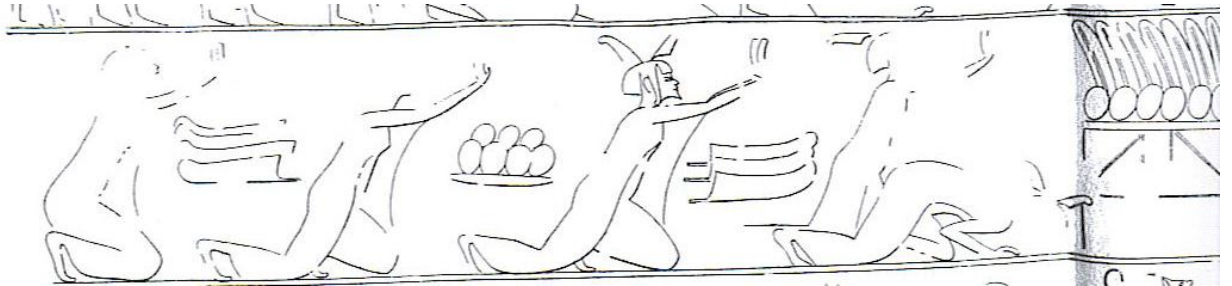
Fig. 27 - Tribute scene of ostrich products, Tomb of Meryra II
[Davies, 1905, pl. XL]

The association of this group with what appears to be the products of ostriches has produced claims that this group was indigenous to a region in which ostriches were found. While the ostrich is perhaps best known as an "African bird," up until the middle of the Twentieth Century, it also existed in Asia (Laufer, 1926, 12), where the last sighting of one in the Trans-Jordan was in the 1950s (Karageorghis, 1985, 378). Caution should be taken, however, in assigning such a one-to-one relationship between the objects being brought as tribute to Egypt and the geographical origin of the individuals themselves. Wachsmann, for instance suggests that the products often associated with foreign groups bringing tribute to Egypt are often the result of the artistic technique of transference (1987, 11). He points out for instance:

> It is due to this phenomenon [i.e. transference] that many apparent 'errors' appear in the recording of foreign tribute. Thus Aegean articles are put in the hands of Syrian tributaries and Aegeans bring merchandise of obvious Egyptian workmanship to Egypt. In itself this does not prove that Syrians transported Minoan wares to Egypt nor that Aegeans did so with Egyptian stuffs. It simply indicates that the artist borrowed from another portion of his pattern book in constructing the scene (Wachsmann, 1987, 12).

Regardless of whether this is a "true" depiction of side-lock wearing individuals bringing ostrich products to Egypt (which are depicted elsewhere as being brought to Egypt by Nubians, cf. tomb of Rekhmire), it is important not to take this scene out of its artistic context. Above the scene of side-locked tribute

bearers are traces of a "Nubian" individuals bearing tribut, while below it are similar traces of a "Syrian" individuals bearing tribute (Davies, 1905, 41). Taken together, these three registers illustrate the larger concept of "Three Foreign Races." This scene however, represents the first and last illustrations of side-locked individuals bringing tribute to Egypt in Egyptian art.

The unparalleled illustration of side-locked individuals bringing tribute to Egypt can possibly be explained by its historic context. The scene was illustrated in a tomb during the Amarna Period in which no major foreign campaigns are attested. In the aftermath of this period, however, Egypt reinstituted an expansionist policy. Beginning in Horemheb's reign, Egypt would be brought continuously into conflict with similarly illlustrated side-locked individuals until a final campaign depicted under Ramesses III.

The earliest representation of the Egyptians in combat with individuals distinguished by their unique sidelock is found in blocks dated to Horemheb's reign (Johnson, 1992, fig. 12; Darnell and Manassa, 2007, 200). These scenes appear to have been originally part of Horemheb's mortuary temple which was dismantled sometime in the Twentieth or Twenty-First Dynasty and reused within the construction of the Khonsu temple at Thebes (Johnson, 1992, 122ff.). The extant illustrations, which were first recorded by Raymond Johnson's 1992 PhD thesis, had been reused in the top of the top of the north wall of the hypostyle hall of the Khonsu temple as well as within the East Pylon staircase (Johnson, 1992, 126f.).

Decontextualized and heavily damaged, the representations lack any specific ethnonyms and merely illustrate distinctive side-locked individuals being brought as captives back to Egypt.
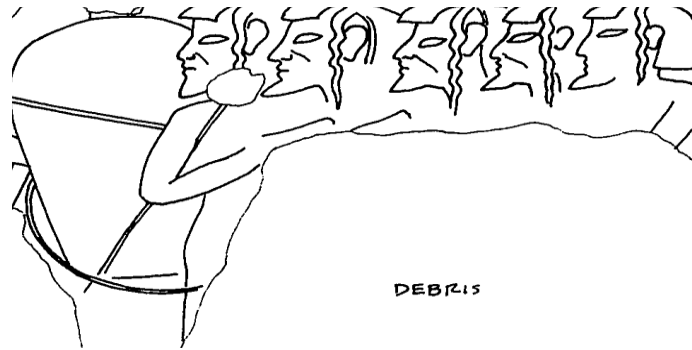
**Fig. 28 – Remains of battle scene against unnamed side-locked individuals
[Johnson, 1992, 176 fig. 57]**

A similarly depicted pair of side-locked individuals is illustrated within Horemheb's tomb at Saqqara. While not named, the pair of side-locked, feather-wearing individuals is depicted amid a group of seven other figures whose thick hair, bald heads, and bushy beards suggest "Asiatic" stereotypes.

**Fig. 29 side-locked individuals in Horemheb's Saqqara Tomb
[Bates, 1914, pl. IV fig. 3]**

Little context is given for the scenes so it is unclear whether these illustrations were the result of a 'real' military campaign, or whether they are stock scenes illustrating the triumph over chaotic foreigners. Shortly after Horemheb's reign, however, his successor, Seti I, illustrated himself campaigning against side locked individuals on the walls of Karnak temple in a context which is almost certainly historical.

4.4.2 The Nineteenth Dynasty

Seti I's encounter with a population distinguished by their side-locks is depicted on the north (exterior) wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak. The scenes are sandwiched between a campaign against a town called Kadesh (presumably Kadesh-on-the-Orontes) above and a campaign against the Hittites below on the west side of the doorway. On the opposite section of the north wall, on the east side of the doorway is a campaign against the Shasu in the bottom register dated to Year 1 of Seti I and a campaign against the Retenu ("Syrians") in the middle register. The topmost register on the east side of the doorway is destroyed. The placement of the scenes on this monument cannot be considered random. As Gay Robbins points out,

> Sety's reliefs on the north wall [of Karnak Temple] are arranged around a door placed in the centre of the wall that forms a side entrance to the hypostyle hall. The wall provides a spatial analogue to the Egyptians' world: the door at the centre represents Egypt and the east and west extremities represent the foreign lands at the edge of the world. The scenes are laid out so that battles take place at the eastern and western ends of the wall. The action then moves towards the doorway as the victorious king returns to Egypt […] (Robins, 1997, 178)

Similar to the other battle scenes on this monument, Seti's campaign against the side-locked people is divided into four scenes. The first two scenes depict the battle itself divided into a campaign against the unnamed side-locked group and a close-up of the triumph over the "Great Ones of the Tjehenu." The third scene depicts the presentation of "Tyhy" prisoners to Seti on the battlefield; while the final scene depicts the presentation of prisoners, here referred to as "Aamu" and "Tjehenu" to the Egyptian pantheon. In all of these scenes, the enemy against whom Seti I is campaigning is depicted with a side-lock and a feather in their hair and illustrated wearing long cloaks and a penis-sheath. Within the first two scenes, however, Seti I is illustrated smiting individuals labeled "the great ones of Tjehenu" who are distinguished from the rest of the Tjehenu through their use of a double-plumed head-dress and a double side-lock. The unique iconography employed by the Egyptian artist to illustrate the "chiefs" of the Tjehenu suggests

that the population against whom Seti was fighting had a social hierarchy which was discernable to the Egyptians.

Fig. 30- Seti I in battle against Tyhy/Tjehenu [Romer, 1982, 121].

Following in his father's footsteps, Ramesses II campaigned against a town called Satuna inhabited by individuals who are similarly attired to Seti I's Tjehenu/Tyhy/Aamu but who are not provided with a name on the walls of Luxor Temple. Though heavily damaged, the scene depicts Egyptian forces attacking a fortified town which is labeled "the town which the strong arm of pharaoh, L.P.H., plundered. Satuna."
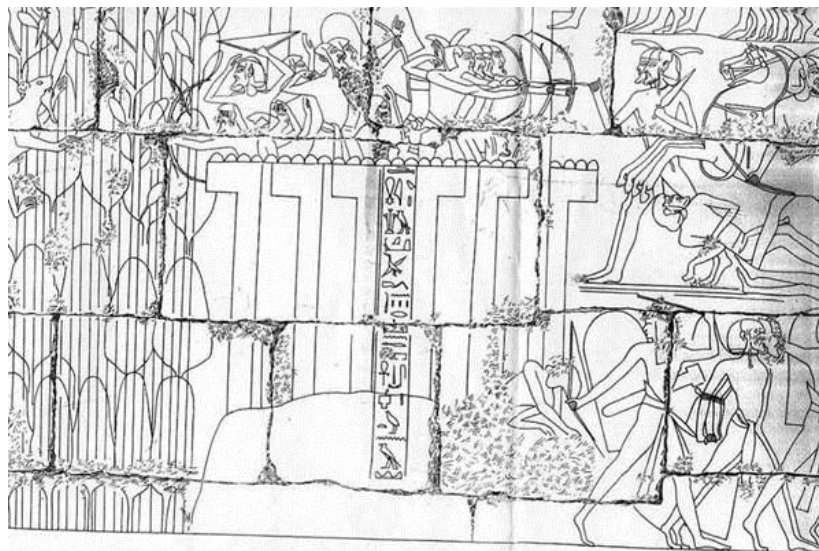
Fig. 31 – Siege of the town of Satuna populated by Tjehenu-type people [From Burchardt, 1914, pl. 6]

The town is depicted as being located on a hill and surrounded by a forest. Within the confines of the town are 10 men, 3 women and at least one child. To

the right of the town are three registers. The topmost register, which is largely missing except for the feet, depicts a group of people moving towards the town with at least one individual falling down in the fray (illustrated by a hand entering the scene at the far end). The second register depicts three enemy (non-Egyptian) combatants running towards the town, and two slain enemies on the ground, being trampled by the horses of a chariot team. The final register depicts two Egyptian soldiers leading groups of enemy prisoners away from Satuna in groups of two. To the left of the town is a depiction of a forested landscape with an enemy combatant trying to escape the jaws of a bear which is biting down on his ankle.

All of the male, non-Egyptian individuals in the scene are depicted with short hair, a side-lock and penis-sheaths. At least three of them are also depicted with a double-feather in their hair. Two of the men are holding swords, whilst the majority of the defenders of Satuna are armed with bows and arrows. Two of the individuals within Satuna are also carrying shields. Unlike all of the illustrations examined above, the defenders of Satuna depicted by Ramesses II are unique in the fact that they are not depicted wearing long cloaks. There is, however, a possible indication of a cloak on one of the pair of enemy combatants being led away in the lowest register (Fig. 31).

The walled fortress, general geographical information of hills, forests and bear, as well as the name "Satuna" within this scene all suggest an eastern Levantine location. The iconography of the side-locked figures, however, has traditionally been described as 'Libyan.'

It has generally been assumed that the artist(s) of this scene became confused and, after drawing a series of "Libyans" realized that the setting was in Asia and began to change the enemies into "Asiatics" (Müller quoted in Burchardt, 1914, 107; O'Connor, 1990, 47). The campaign has been described by O'Connor as:

A bizarre battle scene of Ramesses II, in which the artist peopled a battle in Asia with Tjemehu [sic; the population is not in fact named], later corrected, at least partially, to represent Asiatics (1990, 45)

Whilst there is some evidence that two of the figures' hairstyle was altered to bear a greater resemblance to an Asiatic's, the argument that this scene was composed in its entirety, and meticulously chiseled into the stone only to realize the mistake once the artists stepped away from the wall seems difficult to sustain.

The overall composition of the scene, however, would appear to place it in Asia and therefore suggest that this unnamed side-locked-population was to be found somewhere in Asia at this time. The trees are almost identical to those depicted by Seti I's artists in a scene illustrating "Asiatics" cutting down trees in the Lebanon (See Hasel, 1998, 83 fig. 9), while the town itself is quite clearly based on the Asiatic migdol-form found throughout New Kingdom illustrations of uniquely Asiatic campaigns.

Phonetically, the location of this fortress has been associated with the town of Shatin in the vicinity of Bsherreh (Ahituv, 1984, 168). As Ahituv has pointed out, however, the "resemblance between the names is superficial" (Ahituv, ibid).

Apart from the iconography associated with figures who appear to be resident of the town of Satuna, there is nothing about this composition which suggests that its location should be searched for outside of Asia. The migdol-type fortress and associated forest all suggest an "Asiatic" setting. Iconographically, therefore, it seems clear that the side-locked individuals depicted in this relief were resident somewhere in Asia.

4.4.3 The Twentieth Dynasty

Following Seti I's example, Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty had a copy of Seti's presentation scenes illustrated on the exterior walls of the Mut Precinct at Karnak.

Like Seti's original, the accompanying text refers to side-locked enemy prisoners of war as "Tjehenu" and "Tyhy." They are depicted with cropped hair, a side lock, a long open cloak, a distinctive kilt and almost all of them wear feathers in their hair. While the presentation scene suggests that Ramesses III campaigned against the Tjehenu, there is no evidence in the form of a battle scene which depicts Ramesses III in actual combat against this specific group at Karnak.
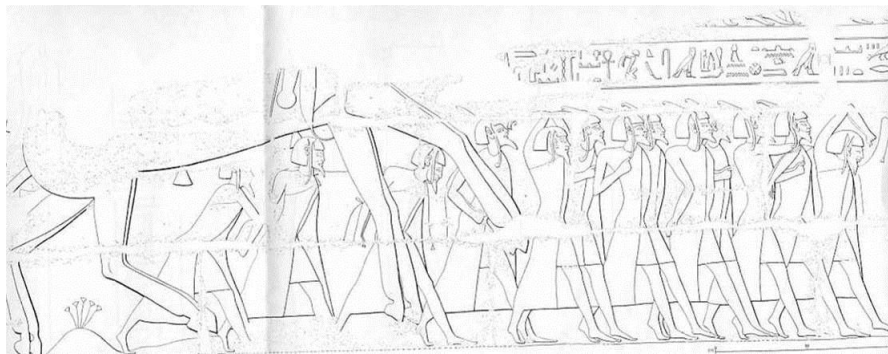
**Fig. 32 – Ramesses III returning to Egypt with Tyhy prisoners
[From RIK pl. 119]**
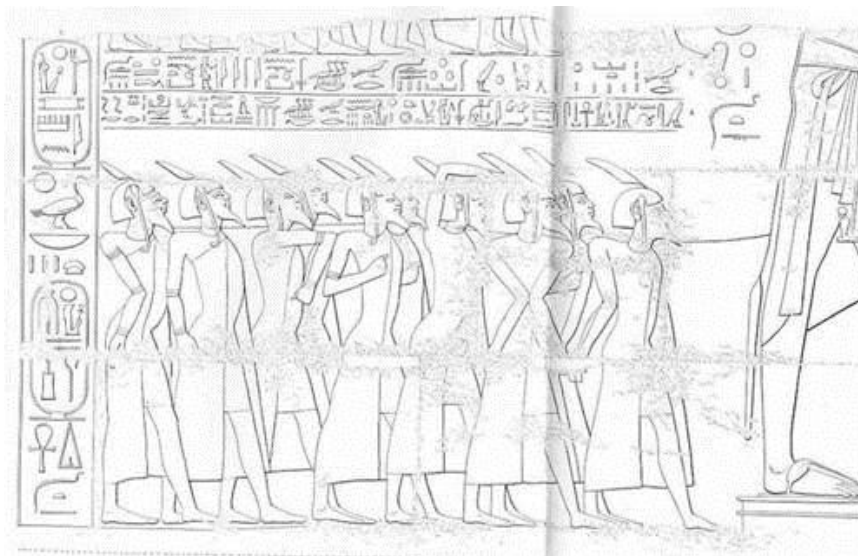
Fig. 33-Ramesses III presenting Tjehenu-prisoners to Amun [RIK, pl. 128]

The campaign scene depicted immediately before the presentation scene at Karnak shows Ramesses III campaigning against unidentified side-locked, long cloak wearing individuals. These are, however, distinguished from the Tjehenu/Tyhy in Ramesses III's presentation scene by the presence of penis-sheaths.
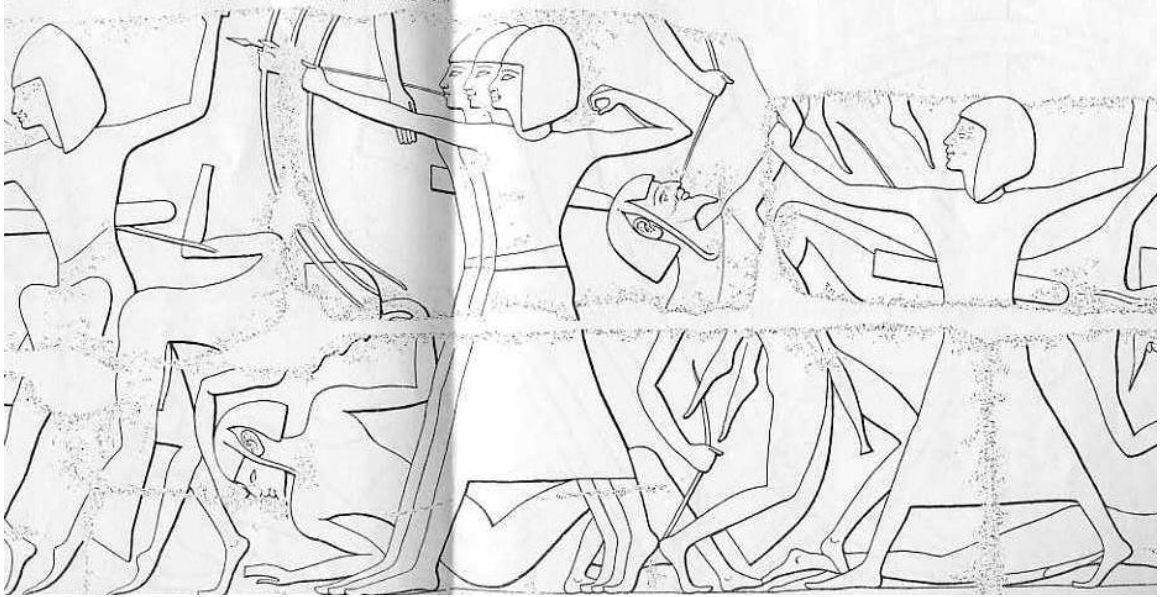
**Fig. 34 – Ramesses III's army in combat against side-locked individuals
[from RIK, pl. 116]**

The differentiation in iconography between the campaign and presentation
scenes might suggest that the penis-sheath was worn in fighting and were either
removed or covered with a kilt in the tribute procession. Alternatively, it might
imply that the campaign was against a group other than the Tjehenu/Tyhy who
are later presented to the gods.

Ramesses III's Karnak example, therefore, seems to highlight the problems of
iconography with all of its symbolic meanings, when used in 'historical
inventories' of campaigns, some of which label the enemy and some which do
not. The problem is intensified in the well preserved campaign scenes in the
mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, where both the number of
people illustrated with side-locks and the terms used to define them are
multiplied.

The iconographic qualities associated with the Tjehenu/Tyhy at Karnak,
particularly the use of the side-lock, are equally associated with individuals
identified as "Tjehenu" at Medinet Habu where they are illustrated on the base of
an Osiride-pillar in the first court.

The Osiride-pillar colonnade at Medinet Habu (MH II, pl. 57) runs along the north wall of the first court at Medinet Habu. It is composed of eight mummiform-Osiris-shaped pillars each standing upon a square base. The face of each pillar is decorated with the cartouche of Ramesses III in the middle and the avatar of the king holding either one or a pair of captives on either side. When facing the Osiride-pillar colonnade, the foreigner on the left side of the cartouche is consistently a stereotypical "Nubian-type" and referred to in the accompanying caption as either "Ta-setet" or "Kush." Conversely, the foreigner(s) on the right side of the cartouche are illustrated with a more varied iconography and captioned with a more varied nomenclature. The figures illustrated on the right hand side of the avatar of Ramesses III running from west to east of the court are enumerated as:
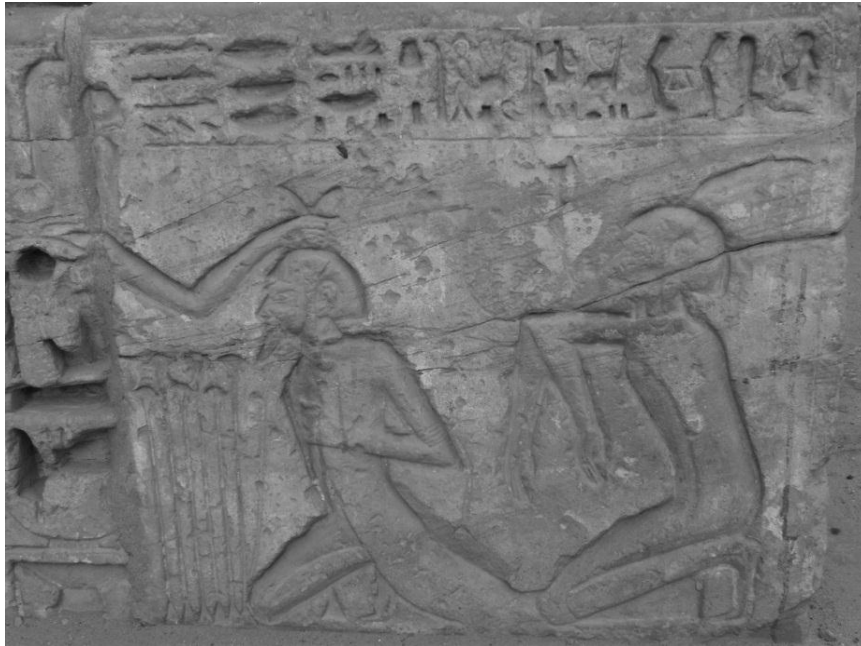
[Tje]he[nu] (?)

Tjehenu

Peleset

Meshwesh

Qode

[Lost]

Hatti

The penultimate westernmost pillar depicts a pair of Tjehenu in the grasp of the avatar of Ramesses III on the right side of the cartouche. Iconographically, the pair of "Tjehenu" are depicted with short hair, a side-lock and a long cloak. The second figure is distinguished from the first by a feather in his hair (Fig. 35).

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Fig. 35- A pair of prisoners captioned "Tjehenu" on penultimate westernmost Osiride Pillar [photo by author]

Directly opposite the Osiride-pillar colonnade at Medinet Habu, along the South Wall, is the so-called "Window of Appearances." The 'window' connects the temple with the palace behind it and Ramesses III would have appeared here before the assembled courtiers filling the First Court (Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 137) and bestowed gifts. Directly below the Window of Appearances are two scenes depicting wrestling matches. The top scene depicts the wrestling match between an Egyptian and a Nubian while the bottom scene depicts a wrestling match between an Egyptian and a side-locked individual. The accompanying text to the bottom scene makes reference to "Pa-Kharu."

Fig. 36 Wrestling the "Kharu." Medinet Habu [photo by author]

In all other mentions of the term "Kharu" from the Egyptian record, the context suggests that "Kharu" in Egyptian referred to someone from Syria (Hännig, 2006, 1177). In Edgerton and Wilson's explanatory notes of this scene they comment that the term Pa-Kharu is a reference to the side-locked individual and comment on what they believe to be a disparity between the term and the iconography used:

> His [i.e. the Egyptian wrestler's] opponent in this scene is actually a Libyan. The text shows the slavish and thoughtless copying from an ancestor scene which actually had a Syrian opponent (1936, 140 note 27a)

As far as I am aware, the supposed "ancestor scene" for this monument has, to date, never been found. The title "Pa-Kharu," however, may not be a reference to the side-locked individual, but the name of the Egyptian champion in this scene leaving no indication as to the identity of the side-locked individual.

The most extensive encounters with side-locked individuals depicted at Medinet Habu, however, are against two groups referred to as "Rebu" and "Meshwesh" in battle scenes found throughout this monument.

4.4.4 The Iconography of the Rebu at Medinet Habu

Contrary to Wilkinson's "Rebu woodcut" (see chapter 2; fig. 2) as well as numerous misguided mentions of the existence of Rebu from the Middle Kingdom (cf. Bates, 1914, 212), the Rebu are depicted for the first – and only – time during the New Kingdom on the walls of Medinet Habu. In total, 84 figures captioned as "Rebu" are depicted on the walls of Medinet Habu and are distinguished from other foreigners by their kilt, cloak, beard and side-lock.

Table 2: Iconography of Rebu at Medinet Habu

Location	Caption	No. Indiv.	Kilt	Penis-Sheath	Cloak	Belt	Feather	Beard	Side-Lock	REF.
North exterior wall, west end	"The fallen ones of the Rebu in front of the fortress 'Ramesses III-repels-the-Tjemehu'"	28	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	MH I, pl. 22
Interior Second Court, South wall, east end	Counting hands and phalli of the "fallen ones of Rebu"	35	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	MH I, pl. 23
Interior Second Court, East wall, south of doorway	Presenting "Rebu" to Mut and Amun	15	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	Y	MH I, pl. 26
North exterior wall, west of 2nd Pylon	"words spoken by the fallen Rebu"	4	25%	N	75%	N	N	Y	Y	MH I, pl. 43
"Southern Chiefs List"	"Chief of the Rebu"	1	Y	N	Y	?	Y	?	Y	MH VIII, pl. 600

"Treasury scene" Pillared Hall, South wall.	Rebu	1	?	?	?	?	Y	Y	?	MH V, pl. 317

Fig. 37 – Rebu captives being led before Amun. [Photograph by author]

All captioned images of Rebu at Medinet Habu depict them as prisoners in the aftermath of battles (Fig. 37). In the battle scenes which precede the presentation of Rebu prisoners, however, the captions indicate that the scenes are illustrating a battle in a place called "Tjemehu-land."

Fig. 38 - Battle in "Tjemehu-land" at Medinet Habu [photograph by author]

Yet, in the outcome of the battle in "Tjemehu-land" there are no prisoners captioned "Tjemehu." Iconographically, however, the Rebu who are captioned and illustrated as prisoners at the end of the battle in "Tjemehu-land," are largely identical to the enemies illustrated within the two battle scenes themselves.

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Table 3: Iconography of enemy in Tjemehu-land battles

	Caption	No. Indiv.	Kilt	P-S	Cloak	C-B	Belt	Feather	Beard	S-L	REF.
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, North exterior wall, west end)	Overthrowing the Tjemehu	124	15%	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Medinet Habu, pl. 18
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, Interior, Second Court, East wall, south end)	Overthrown is the heart of the land of Tjemehu- their lifetime and their souls are finished.	97	22%	N	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	Medinet Habu, pl. 19

It follows, therefore, that Ramesses' campaign in Tjemehu-land was against the population known to the Egyptians as the "Rebu." Thus, the 221 figures who are depicted in the Tjemehu-land battle scenes at Medinet Habu should, in all likelihood, also be considered "Rebu," as has been suggested previously by Edgerton and Wilson (1936, 20) and Leonard Lesko (1980, 85).

In total, therefore, there are 305 illustrations of "Rebu" at Medinet Habu of which only a third are actually named as such. They are all, however, depicted with short hair, a curly side-lock, a short beard, a long cloak, and a kilt. While two individuals are depicted with a feather in their hair, this feature is only attested in 0.655% of the sample (2 out of 305) and can be considered as a negligible iconographic feature of the New Kingdom depictions of "Rebu" in general. The use of the feather however might be considered a status symbol among the Rebu and is attested only among the two figures who are additionally captioned as "chief" of this group.

The iconographic features used to illustrate the Rebu at Medinet Habu, however, are not unique to this group and it has long been obvious that the groups identified as the "Meshwesh," illustrated exclusively on scenes surrounding the First Court at Medinet Habu, share a very similar iconographic form to that of the Rebu.

4.4.5 The Iconography of the Meshwesh at Medinet Habu

Although the Egyptians had known about the existence of the Meshwesh group since at least the time of Tuthmosis III (see Appendix D), their first - and only - pictorial appearance in the Egyptian artistic records occur under Ramesses III at Medinet Habu in illustrations of his campaign against this group in his Year 11.

Similar to the Rebu, the 205 Meshwesh individuals depicted on the walls of Medinet Habu are depicted with short-hair, a side-lock, and a long cloak. The only major iconographic difference between the groups labeled "Meshwesh" and "Rebu" at Medinet Habu is that many of the Meshwesh are depicted wearing penis-sheaths (P-S) as the table below illustrates.

Table 4: Iconography of Meshwesh at Medinet Habu

	Caption	No. Indiv.	Kilt	P-s	Cloak	C-B	Belt	Feather	Beard	S-L	Long	Ref.
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, W. side of First Pylon)	Meshwesh	21[7]	N	50%	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	MH pl. 68
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, easternmost scene on north ext. wall) Battle at Hawt-Sha	Meshwesh	26[8]	4%	16%	Y	N	N	1/26	Y	Y	N	MH pl. 70
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, ext.	Meshwesh	19	30%	15%	Y	N	N	10%	Y	Y	N	MH pl. 74

[7] *Haty-a Tjehenu* figure being bound by Ramesses not included in count.
[8] The two Haty-a Tjehenu-type figures are not included in count

north wall) Presenting prisoners to Ramesses												
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, ext. north wall)	Meshwesh	14	50%	50%	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y	N	MH pl. 77
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, ext. north wall) presenting prisoners to gods	Meshwesh	13	N	Y	Y	N	Y	85%	Y	Y	N	MH pl. 78
Ramessses III (Medinet Habu, interior 1st court, south side) Battle of Hawt-sha	Meshwesh	80	N	23%	Y	N	N	14%	Y	Y	N	MH pl. 72
Ramesses III (Medinet Habu, interior 1st court, north side) presenting tribute to Ramesses	Meshwesh	12 still ext.	N	30%	Y	N	16%	N	Y	92%	8%	MH pl. 75

Perhaps by way of distinguishing a particular regiment among the Meshwesh, those wielding long swords (Fig. 39) in the interior scene at Medinet Habu are depicted with a single vertical feather in their hair similar to that worn by the "chiefs of the Rebu."

**Fig. 39 - Meshwesh warriors Medinet Habu, First Court, East Wall
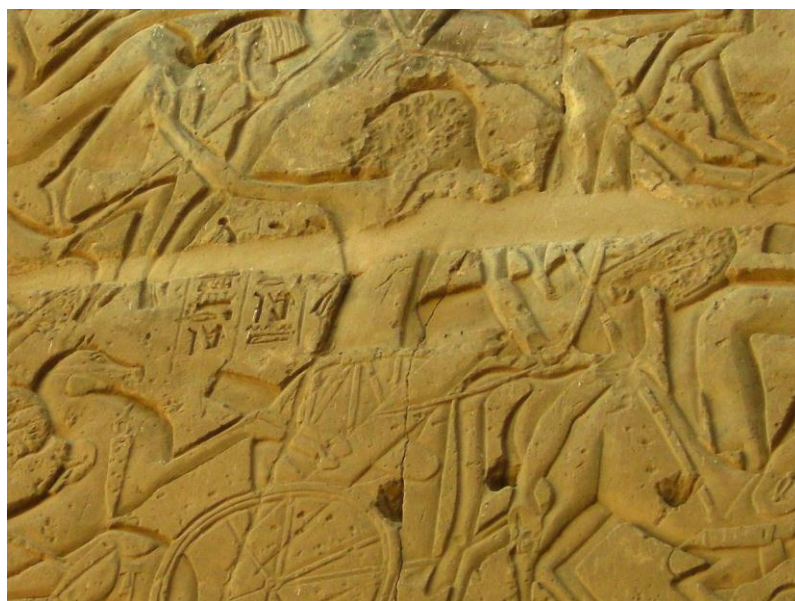[Photograph by author]**

Unlike illustrations of the Rebu or any other depiction of foreign groups at Medinet Habu, there appears to be a significant amount of differentiation between Meshwesh individuals on this monument, in particular the sword-bearers and the "chiefs of the Meshwesh" are marked out.

In contrast to the host of Meshwesh, the two chiefs of the Meshwesh, who are named Mesher and Meshesher in the accompanying inscriptions, are consistently differentiated iconographically from the rest of the Meshwesh. The image of Mesher, chief of the Meshwesh, is illustrated as a captive being brought before Ramesses III on the north side of the inside face of the first pylon (Fig. 40). He is distinguished from the rest of the Meshwesh by an iconography which depicts him with long hair (as opposed to a side-lock), a pointed beard, naked with the exception of a penis-sheath, and an animal-tail-appendage.

Fig. 40 – Mesher, "chief of the Meshwesh"
[From Wainwright, 1962, fig 1]

On the opposite, south side of the inside face of the First Pylon, a similar figure is depicted riding in a chariot amid a throng of side-locked Meshwesh individuals (Fig. 41). A caption next to him identifies him as "Meshesher, Chief of the Meshwesh." Although his face has been roughly hacked out, it is clear that the iconography used to illustrate Meshesher is similar to that used to illustrate Mesher, and he is depicted with long-hair and a pointed beard.

Fig. 41 –Meshesher son of Kapuer [photograph by author]

The clear iconographic disparity between the "Chiefs of the Meshwesh" and the host of the Meshwesh, has led to various attempts to explain it. One of the earlier studies into the iconography of the Meshwesh by Wainwright (1962, 89ff.), for instance, interpreted the differentiation between the Meshwesh chiefs and their host through a clearly imperial discourse:

> The Meshwesh was a mixed tribe of Libu-like tribesmen with their native chiefs who had evidently by the time of Sethos and certainly by the time of Ramesses III had become subject to a family of Tjehenu origin (Wainwright, 1962, 92)

While this explanation is plausible enough there is some evidence to suggest that the iconography associated with the "Chiefs of the Meshwesh" is not the result of purely historical processes. Indeed, to prove the "historical process" behind Wainwright's hypothesis, one would first have to prove the "historicity" of the iconographic form used to illustrate it.

The particular iconographic form which is used to illustrate the chiefs of the Meshwesh, however, is specifically that of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* type icon attested from the Fifth Dynasty onwards (see above). One of the main problems in interpreting the Meshwesh scenes as being the result of imperial expansion of *Haty-a Tjehenu*-type individuals known from the Fifth Dynasty, as assumed by Wainwright, is proving the fact that the *Haty-a Tjehenu*-type individual was an historical figure as late as the Twentieth Dynasty.

The main argument against the current assumption of the *Haty-a Tjehenu* figure's historicity is the fact that, following the first attested depictions of this figure in the Fifth Dynasty, the form is not used in the same way in Egyptian art as other "ethnic" types. Indeed, a brief overview of all other ethnic types common to Egyptian art reveals that two discrete scenes, namely the bearing of tribute to Egypt and defeat in battle - are indicative of a groups' historicity. For the *Haty-a Tjehenu* type alone amongst foreign stereotypes, these types of scenes *do not exist*. Instead, from the Fifth Dynasty onwards, the *Haty-a Tjehenu* is consistently and uniquely depicted as being clubbed, trampled or otherwise smote by the king. On account of this unique and ubiquitous topical use of the

Haty-a Tjehenu in Egyptian art, it is unlikely that this figure represented a "historical," let alone a discernable "ethnic" group - making it further unlikely that such a hypothetical ethnic group would have the means of "conquering" another group.

As was discussed above, the figure of the Haty-a Tjehenu is the *topos* of a "foreigner" in Egyptian art and is also the personification of "all lands" and every chaotic force outside of Egypt. The use of the Haty-a Tjehenu motif to depict the "chiefs of the Meshwesh" might imply that the Egyptians believed that this "chaotic force" had returned in the corporeal form of the "chiefs of the Meshwesh."

4.5 Discussion and Analysis

To the ancient Egyptians, Egypt was a duality held together by its own unity. This fundamental duality transposed itself into almost every sphere of Egyptian thought which is heavily tempered with dichotomies, dualities and binary oppositions. It is not surprising, therefore that the inverse of the "Egyptian-duality" of north and south Egypt - which coalesced into a unity through the divine power of Maat - is found in the duality of the chaotic forces of "northern" and "southern" enemies. This is the basic building block on which any discussion into ancient Egyptian foreign interaction rests.

The simple, formal duality between northern and southern enemies, however, is not enough to encompass the entirety of the Egyptian world. Expanding on this concept, therefore, the Egyptians also interpreted the world beyond their borders in terms of a triad. The definition itself of plurality and chaos. As such Egypt was both an ordered duality mirrored by a chaotic duality as well as the ordered duality-within-a-unity mirrored by the chaos of the triad (the one versus the many).

Within this tertiary division of the world, the "Third Race" was commonly referred to by the Egyptians as the "Tjehenu." The earliest representations of this figure appear in the tomb of Sahure, where – although he is not named – he is

illustrated with long hair, a uraeus-like appendage on his brow, cross-bands and a penis-sheath. This same iconography is found in this tomb associated with members of the groups called Basher and Baket as well as the individuals called Wesa, Weni and Khut-ef-es. The latter trio are depicted next to a smiting scene which is labeled "smiting the Haty-a Tjehenu" and, while the latter figure is no longer visible it is possible to discern from later copies of this scene that he would have been illustrated identically to the other "foreigners" in this scene. While this initial scene may have been "historic" during Sahure's lifetime, it is clear that by the end of the Old Kingdom, the image of the Haty-a Tjehenu had become a *topos* in Egyptian art and illustrative of the Egyptian authority over all foreign and chaotic forces.

Thus, while the specific image of the Haty-a Tjehenu became a *topos* in its own right, it was rarely used to illustrate the "Third foreign Race" of "Tjehenu," after the Old Kingdom. By the New Kingdom, a different iconographic motif had been developed to illustrate the concept of "Tjehenu" within the "Three foreign Races" motif. It differed significantly from the Old Kingdom image of the Haty-a Tjehenu, and was illustrated with a distinctive side-lock, short hair, long cloak and wearing a kilt or a penis-sheath.

It can only be assumed that the Egyptian artist drew inspiration for his depictions of these groups from historic encounters. While it is certainly true that later scenes were often copied, hybridized or transposed from earlier versions, the original image of a side-locked individual must have come from a historic encounter. Whether later images, such as those found in Ramesses III's scenes were equally historic is difficult to say. Yet it must be borne in mind that for a stereotype to have any relevance, it must be identifiable.

This last point ultimately brings us to the question of the ability to identify ethnic groups in the artistic record. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the iconographic motifs found in association with the side-locked individual have largely been responsible for the identification of these groups as "Libyan." Thus, the use of the feather in the hair and the penis-sheath clearly identified these groups to the Nineteenth Century observer as "African." Yet, it was equally true that these

groups were not "black African." Thus, it followed that they were "North African" and hence "Libyan." Such an identification based on phenotypical characteristics of the iconography, however, is little more than "racial profiling." There is nothing within this iconography itself which indicates where these groups were located vis-à-vis Egypt and the presence or absence of certain traits cannot be used as indicators where there is no contemporary evidence available.

Indeed, some of the contextual indications appear to be contradictory. On the one hand, unnamed, side-locked individuals are illustrated in Amarna Period tombs bringing feathers and eggs to Egypt which may suggest a proximity to ostrich-rich regions of either Africa or Asia. On the other hand, and little more than a century later, almost identical figures are illustrated within a migdol-type fortress whose name appears to be Semitic in origin and is located in a setting which would otherwise indicate "Asia." On the face of it, there is no more indication that this group resided in Africa as there is that they resided in Asia. Were the iconographic record our only source of information, therefore, it would be very difficult to claim with any certainty the geographic relationship of the Third Race vis-à-vis Egypt. Luckily, a common factor of Egyptian art is to incorporate text. As such, we are provided with a series of names by which to identify the groups illustrates.

Up until the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the only terms used to describe the Third Race were Tjehenu or Tyhy. A single example may exist in the tomb of Seti II at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty where individuals of this type are referred to as either "Tjemehu" or "Mehu."

By the Twentieth Dynasty, the side-locked individuals are given a variety of other names. Among continued references to "Tjehenu" and "Tyhy," Ramesses III's artists referred to these groups as "Rebu," "Meshwesh." The following chapter, therefore, will examine the appearance and context of the terms "Tjehenu," "Tjemehu," "Rebu," and "Meshwesh" in the Egyptian epigraphic record from their earliest appearance in the Predynastic up to the appearance of these terms on the walls of Medinet Habu as a means of identifying the geographic and historic relationship which these groups had with Egypt.

Chapter 5: (Con)textualising the "Other."

The analysis of the iconographic record in the last chapter provided us with a series of ethnonyms associated with illustrations of the "Third Foreign Race." While the iconography of many of these groups is similar, they are differentiated from each other through the names which the Egyptians applied to them. In the current discussion on the identity of these groups all of the terms used by the Egyptians for the side-locked individuals have been lumped together under the rubric "Libyan," and are commonly translated as such. As Le Page Renouf pointed out over a century ago, however:

> What right have we to confound the Rebu, the Tehennu, and the Mashawasha under one ethnic name [i.e "Libyan"], any more than we have to apply the same treatment to the Greeks of Barka and Cyrene, the Carthaginians and the Numidians? (1891, 599)

In order to understand the geographic and historic relationship which exists between the Egyptians and the groups variously named "Tjehenu, Tjemehu, Rebu and Meshwesh," therefore, it is necessary to return to the Egyptian epigraphic record. In examining these records and identifying the contexts in which the various "Libyan" terms are mentioned, we may perhaps be able to shed some light on Renouf's rhetorical question. In doing so, however, it is necessary to examine the epigraphic record of each named group individually and not to apply a presumed identity, such as "Libyan" to these various groups. Towards this end, the following chapter will trace the outline of Egypt's interaction with the foreign groups derived from the iconographic record.

It will begin with an examination of the term Tjehenu from the earliest mentions in the Predynastic Period down to the end of the Middle Kingdom. In the latter period, Egyptian records begin to refer to the Tjehenu alongside another term, Tjemehu. An analysis of the documents of the term Tjemehu from the Old and Middle Kingdom will establish that it is consistently located in Egyptian texts to the west of Egypt where it was accessible overland to Egyptian caravans. The terms Tjehenu and Tjemehu continue in Egyptian texts up to the end of

Ramesses II's reign when this latter king built a series of fortresses along the north coast of Egypt which from remaining records indicate that they were build "upon Tjemehu-land." Within five years of Ramesses' death, however, Egyptian records indicate that Tjehenu-land was sacked by a coalition-force of "Sea Peoples" headed by a group known as Rebu. The history of Egypt's encounter with the Rebu will then be examined up to their appearance on the walls of Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu where they are mentioned in coalition with the groups known as Sepedu and Meshwesh. Finally, the Egyptian records relating to their interaction with the Meshwesh will be examined from the reign of Tuthmosis III down to Ramesses III's reign.

While references to the Tjehenu, Tjemehu, Rebu and Meshwesh continue to be referred to in Egyptian sources well past Ramesses III's reign, this date has been chosen as an appropriate terminus in this chapter as it marks a significant historical event in the relationship which the Egyptians had with the two groups known as Rebu and Meshwesh who are resettled into Egypt during the reign. Consequently, references to Rebu and Meshwesh following Ramesses III's reign refer to these two groups as living within Egypt. The records relating to these groups following Ramesses III's reign therefore will be examined in the final chapter of this thesis which deals specifically with the period of history in which these groups are resident in Egypt.

5.1 Tjehenu and Tjemehu from the earliest records to the end of the Middle Kingdom

The term "Tjehenu" is one of the earliest foreign names to appear anywhere in Egyptian texts. Indeed, the term "Tjehenu" might be one of the earliest words found anywhere in hieroglyphs and it is commonly assumed that a throw-stick and land-sign found amid an illustration of a grove of trees on a proto-dynastic palette (Fig. 42) is the earliest mention of this term.

Fig. 42 – The "Tjehenu Palette" [from Galassi, 1942, 24 fig. 1]

For the better part of the past century, the so-called "Tjehenu Palette" (also called the "cities palette") has been ascribed to the Late Pre-Dynastic Period and the reign of king Scorpion (Gardiner, 1947, 116*). Although only the lower part of this palette remains, the unique presence of the proto-hieroglyph ⌒ amid a group of trees on one side has for generations led various scholars to interpret this group as a reference to the first contact which the Egyptians had with a group of people called the "Tjehenu" (Sethe, 1914, 57).

The appearance of this "proto-hieroglyph" on this palette, however, is not implicit in suggesting that the term was referential to a population group. Its location amid a grove of trees might be just as indicative of the word for this particular type of tree. Indeed, contemporaneous with the Tjehenu-palette are dockets referring to the importation of a substance known as "Tjehenu oil" into Egypt and information on these dockets suggest that this oil was the product of trees. There is no indication in any of these records of the region from which this produce was arriving to the royal storehouses of Egypt, although the Tjehenu-

tree may have been connected to a Tjehenu-region and, ultimately, a "Tjehenu-population" through the similarity of the word.

On account of the early appearance of the term Tjehenu, the location of Tjehenu-land has generally been assumed to be proximal to Egypt (Bates, 1914, 46ff; Breasted, 1924, 166; Osing, 1980, 1015 f.; Spalinger, 1979, 125; Leahy, 2001b, 291). There is however, no evidence from the Egyptian texts themselves to support this claim. Apart from references to "Tjehenu-oil" there is little to suggest Egyptian contact with a land or population known as Tjehenu until the reign of Sneferu in the Third Dynasty when evidence of a campaign by this king in an unknown region resulted in the importation of Tjehenu-captives and livestock is recorded on a fragment of the Palermo Stone.

Though badly defaced, the extant text on the recto of Cairo Fragment 4 of the Palermo Stone lists booty brought back to Egypt by a king Neb-Maat (possibly Sneferu; but see Wilkinson, 2000, 235). The text, as transliterated and translated by Wilkinson (2000, 235 and fig. 9) reads:

> Appearance of the king as *nswt*; fourth occasion of the running of Apis; creating (a statue of) [sic] the Horus [Sneferu]; … what was brought from Ta-Tjehenu: 1100 live captives (and) [sic] 23,000? [Sic] 'small cattle'; … Ita? [sic]… [cubits], 2 palms.

Fig. 43 - Line drawing of Cairo Fragment 4 of the Palermo Stone
[From Wilkinson, 2000, fig. 9]

Some recent studies (O'Mara quoted in Wilkinson 2000, 41-43) have suggested that this text is a modern forgery. Regardless of whether it is a forgery or not, it is clear that this fragment mentions the importation of over a thousand prisoners from Tjehenu-land. There is no indication within this text, however, of where Tjehenu land was located. Indeed, the first indication of the location of Tjehenu-land in the Old Kingdom is possibly found in the reference to the Haty-a Tjehenu mentioned in Sahure's mortuary temple relief.

While the image of the Haty-a Tjehenu has largely been destroyed in Sahure's relief (see above), mention of this figure occurs twice on this monument. The first is the caption next to the partially destroyed smiting scene. The second occurs in a speech of the "goddess of the West" depicted behind the figure of Khut-ef-es. The speech simply states: "Giving to you [i.e. the king] the Haty-a Tjehenu" (Sethe in Borchardt, 1913, 74 & pl. 1). Previous interpretations of this scene have found significance in the presence of the goddess of the West in this scene, and from her presence have inferred a "western" origin of the Haty-a Tjehenu (Hölscher, 1937, 14; Fecht, 1956, 40). Additional evidence that the Tjehenu-land was located to "the west" of Egypt is found, not in "historical" documents of the Old Kingdom at all, but in contemporary mortuary literature known as The Pyramid Texts.

Tjehenu-land is referred to three times in the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom. In all previous translations of these texts, the presumptions regarding the identity of Tjehenu-land have meant that it has universally been translated as "Libya." However, an unbiased reading of these texts would suggest, instead, that the references to this land in the Pyramid Texts are not being made to a distinct temporal, geographical location (i.e. "Libya") but are instead making reference to a location associated with stellar events and rites of passage for the deceased king.

In Spell 570 (lines 1456-1459), for instance, *Tjehenu*-land is referred to as a land over which the Imperishable Stars perpetually travel:

N. is your fourth, O gods of the Lower Sky, imperishable stars, which traverse the land of ⳼ ("Tjehenu")[9], which are supported by their Djam-scepters; just as N. is supported, with you, by a Was-scepter and a Djam-scepter (Mercer, 1952, 231)[10]

Faulkner (1969, 224) translated this same passage:

I live beside you, you gods of the Lower Sky, the Imperishable Stars, who traverses the land of Libya [Tjehenu], who lean on your Djam-scepters; I lean with you on a was-staff and a Djam-scepter, for I am your fourth.

The reference to Tjehenu-land in this text is certainly associated with a region in the after-life, since only once the deceased king has become an Imperishable Star, is he able to traverse *above* Tjehenu land. To locate Tjehenu-land more precisely via exegesis of such vague references in funerary literature is undoubtedly a process fraught with pitfalls.

A further reference to the Imperishable Stars, with reference to Tjehenu-land occurs in Spell 665C, line 1915

The six door-bolts which keep Libya [⳼ , "Tjehenu"] out are opened for you; your iron scepter is in your hand that you may number the slayers, control the Nine Bows and take the hand of the imperishable stars. (Faulkner, 1969, 276)

This second reference, like similar apocryphal literature, is cryptic. Spalinger interpreted this passage as referring to the "six regions bordering upon Egypt, as recorded in the topographical lists of Tuthmosis III" (1979, 131). It is difficult, however, to reconcile the huge time period (almost a millennium) which separates these two references, the variant orthography of these two references, as well as the fundamental assumption on the part of Spalinger, that Tjehenu is "Libya."

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[9] A variant of this text in Pepi II's Pyramid has written this term ⳼

An alternative reading of this passage, however, could be that the Land of Tjehenu was one of the last places through which the deceased king (or queen; this particular text is only recorded in the tomb of Neith; Jequier, 1933, pl. 28) had to pass before becoming an Imperishable Star. The denizens of this land, in this interpretation, are "the slayers" and the "Nine Bows." Like the previous mention in spell 570, the mention of Tjehenu-land in this text need not be a reference to a distinct geographical location (i.e. "Libya") but could be understood as a mythical location in the Egyptian netherworld or the last place the queen has to control, giving her all of the Nine Bows.

The final reference to the Tjehenu in the Pyramid Texts is found in Spell 301 line 455c:

> Arise, O great float-user, as Wepwawet, filled with your power, having gone up from the horizon! Take the *wrrt*-crown [white crown of Upper Egypt] from the great and mighty talkers who preside over Libya [▱◯◯◯ / 𓇌𓀁 ▭ , "Tjehenu"] and from Sobek, Lord of Bakhu (Faulkner, 1969, 90).

This text is even more cryptic than the last, and has been variously translated by previous scholars. Mercer, for instance, translated the same text as

> Stand there, great reed-float, like Wepwawet, filled with thy splendour, come forth from the horizon, after thou hast taken possession of the white crown in the water-springs, great and mighty, which are in the south of Libya [Tjehenu], Sobek, lord of Bakhu (Mercer, 1952, 101).

The location of Bakhu is fairly certain within Egyptian cosmography, and was the mythical mountain of the Eastern Horizon over which the sun rose (Hännig, 2006, 1135). Indeed, it is only its mention in this particular passage, which has been used to defend the hypothesis that Bakhu was originally located in the West, and only later became the mountain of the Eastern Horizon (Sethe, 1913, 76). A more logical explanation is to understand this reference to the eastern Bakhu in juxtaposition with a "western" land of Tjehenu. This particular reference is the very first indication within the Egyptian texts, albeit indirect, that the land of Tjehenu was located "to the west" of Egypt.

Mercer's translation, with its references to water-springs in southern Tjehenu, is dependent on the land of Tjehenu being "Libya" and the water-springs being located in the "oases" (Mercer, 1952 commentary, 212). It is a particularly literal translation of this text and relies perhaps too much on   an assumed identity for the term Tjehenu. In many ways, Faulkner's translation of "talkers" (or "jabberers") is preferable. According to Faulkner, "a description of persons rather than places is required" (ibid, 91 note 13). Yet, the translation of "Tjehenu" as "Libya" which is commonly followed in these translations seems awkward and unwarranted since it is not entirely clear whether the land of Tjehenu was being interpreted by the Egyptians as a location in the temporal sphere or a "mythical" location in the afterlife.

The reference to Tjehenu in spell 301 is, judging from the similarity in orthography, identical to the reference found in Spell 665c (above). It makes sense that the "talkers" (or "jabberers") here refers to "talkers of foreign languages," as suggested by Spalinger (1979, 130). They can probably be interpreted as synonymous with the "Nine Bows" and "Slayers" mentioned in 665c. The sense of Spell 301, therefore, might be a reference to the seizing of the symbol of power (i.e. the *wrrt*-crown; for discussion of this crown in Pyramid and Coffin Texts see Goebs, 2008, 35ff.) from the foreign kings, "both great and mighty," who do not speak Egyptian, and therefore "jabber." The land of Tjehenu, in this context, is not necessarily a temporal location (i.e. "Libya") but a region in the afterlife through which the deceased king has to pass and whose inhabitants – "jabbering" foreign kings, the "Nine Bows" and "slayers" - do not have the option of becoming, along with the king of Egypt, one of the Imperishable Stars.

While there are significant references to Tjehenu-land in the Old Kingdom, none of them are very specific as to where the Egyptians located this land apart from vague, indirect, inferences to it being located in "the west." References to this land and its people, however, continue into the Middle Kingdom and are found in the mortuary literature of this period, known as the Coffin Texts, in literary

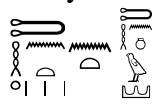texts such as the Story of Sinuhe, and magical texts known as "Execration Texts."

5.1.1 The Tjehenu in Middle Kingdom Texts

The Coffin Texts which, as their name suggests, were texts written primarily on coffins, are part of a funerary ritual associated largely with the burials of the Middle Kingdom and derived –both semantically and linguistically − from the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts (Lesko, 2001, 287). Unlike the latter texts, which were the prerogative of the monarchs of the time, the Coffin Texts are often associated with the mortuary rituals of high officials and their families and, it has been suggested, represent a "democratization of the Hereafter" (Lesko, ibid; Lichtheim, 1975, 131; Callender in Shaw, 2000, 180). Like the Pyramid Texts on which they are based, the spells of the Coffin Texts also make significant reference to geography. As Lesko (2001, 287) points out:

> These and most other groups of spells involve knowledge that the deceased should have about the afterlife. Very little in them would have been considered useful for a living person. Obviously the geography of the day and night skies and the demons to be encountered at various locations had to be identified to be passed safely, and the deceased would also have to learn all the ship's parts to be a successful sailor on the solar bark.

Within this corpus of texts, there are at least two additional explicit mentions of Tjehenu-land alongside numerous mentions of "Tjehenu-oil" within the offering-lists which accompany these texts. The first mention of Tjehenu-land in the Coffin Texts is found in spell 594 where the land of *Tjehenu* is clearly involved in a play on the word for faience (*tjehenet*).

> Osiris… to whom are brought gold of the deserts, myrrh of God's land, costly stones ($^c awt$) from the isles (*Haw-nbwt*), by Horus the Elder; ("faïence (*Tjehenet*) of (*Tjehenu*)"), lapis lazuli of the Blue Land, haematite (?) of *Hbks*; turquoise (*mfakt*) of Sinai (*mfgt*) […] carnelian (*Hrst*) of *šayt*. (Faulkner, 1977, 192; de Buck VI 213).

Although found in the context of funerary literature, this passage has been previously interpreted literally. Möller (1924, 44), for instance, suggested that Tjehenu-land should, on the basis of this passage, be located in the region of the Wadi Natrun region during the Middle Kingdom since one of the main ingredients in faience is natron salts. Whilst this must remain a possibility, it is clear that the Egyptians had full control over this oasis by at least the Middle Kingdom. The "Eloquent Peasant" is said to have come from this region (Lichtheim, 1975, 170 and note 1) and a significant Middle Kingdom structure was partially recorded by Fakhry there (see below, chapter 7).

A non-literal interpretation of the above passage, however, would suggest that the text is a play on the phonetics of "Tjehenu" and has little "historical" value in placing the land of Tjehenu. This is supported from the similar play on words in this passage with the "stones (ᶜawt) from the isles (Haw-nbwt)," "lapis lazuli (i.e. a blue stone) of the Blue Land," as well as "Turquoise (mefaket) of Sinai (mefeget)."

The second explicit mention of Tjehenu-land in the Coffin Texts is found in spell 647. Here, for the first time, are the "Three Foreign Races" enumerated explicitly in the context of a spell in which the deceased is transformed into the god Ptah:

> I make the herbage to grow, I make the riparian lands of Upper Egypt green, (I) the lord of the deserts (Khastyw), who make green the valleys in which are the Nubians[⌗ Setetiw], the Asiatics [⌗ Setjetiw] and the Libyans [⌗ Tjehenuyu]. I have entrapped the Nine Bows, and everything is given to me by Re, the Lord of All. (Faulkner, 1977, 222; de Buck, VI 268)

The text is roughly contemporary with the illustration of the "Three Foreign Races" on the block of Mentuhotep II at Gebelein (see above, page 70 fig. 17). Like the mention of the Tjehenu in spell 594, it is possible to read this spell literally and suggest that the three lands of Setetiw, Setjetiw and Tjehenuyu are "desert" lands. As this is "magical" literature, however, it is perhaps not best practice to adopt an overly literal interpretation. All that can be said for certain regarding the mention of Tjehenu in this text is that it is being used in the context

of the "Three Foreign Races" outside Egypt. Thus, while it may have some reference to the "real world" as understood by the Middle Kingdom Egyptians, the context is not to provide a "map" of the world indicating that the names of the "desert lands" around Egypt. Instead, it is meant to demonstrate the authority of the deceased over both "Egypt" and the "outside" world as various forms of the god Ptah ("Lord of Maat") into which the deceased in transformed in this spell. Indeed, the passage literally reads, "I the Lord of *khastyw*-lands who make green…" and may not be a reference to the explicit desert-like quality of the enumerated lands. O'Connor has pointed out regarding the use of the word *Khastyw*: "[it] always has the implications of a 'desert land' or of a 'foreign land' that may or may not be desert in character" (O'Connor, 1990, 32).

Like references to Tjehenu-land in the Pyramid Texts, references to this location in the Coffin Texts are equally cryptic. The references to the Tjehenu in these texts, however, are not enough to place the location of Tjehenu-land geographically and indications that Tjehenu-land was a desert or associated with natron salts are particularly literal translations of an otherwise religious, magical and mystical document. Contemporary with the mention of Tjehenu-land in the Coffin Texts, however, are references to the only "historical" encounter which the Egyptians appear to have had with this group during the Middle Kingdom as narrated in the Story of Sinuhe.

The Story of Sinuhe is a "classic" story of Middle Egyptian writing. It is preserved on five Middle Kingdom manuscripts and over twenty copies from the New Kingdom (Parkinson, 2001, 292). The narrative, which is generally believed to be a work of fiction (Parkinson, 2001, 292) recounts the story of a courtier, Sinuhe, under the reign of Amenemhet I and Sesostris I. The story can be roughly divided into three parts: the flight of Sinuhe from Egypt, Sinuhe's life outside of Egypt in Syria-Palestine, and Sinuhe's return to Egypt at the end of the tale. The reason why Sinuhe left Egypt in the first instance is never made explicitly clear in the text, though there is some indication that he overheard something about the assassination of king Amenemhet I. Most of the narrative takes place to the east of Egypt in Syria-Palestine. The story begins, however,

with the expedition of the crown-prince (soon to be king) Senwosret (Sesostris) I campaigning in a land called Tjemehu:

> His Majesty [i.e. Amenemhet I], however, had dispatched an army to the ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ (land of the **Tjemehu**), with his eldest son as its commander, the good god Sesostris. He had been sent to smite the foreign lands and to punish ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ ("those among the **Tjehenu**"). Now he was returning, bringing captives of the **Tjehenu**[11] and cattle of all kinds without number.

This same expedition to Tjemehu-land is referred to again, later on in the text when Sinuhe recounts this expedition to Ammunenshi:

> when I returned from the expedition to the ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ (land of **Tjemehu**),[12] it was reported to me [i.e. the death of the king] and my heart grew faint. (Lichtheim, 1975, 225)

Within the Story of Sinuhe, the location of Tjemehu-land in this text is made fairly explicit. Sinuhe describes the courtiers who come to inform Sesostris of his father's death:

> The companions of the court, they sent to the west side, in order to inform the king of their plan, conceived in the cabinet chamber (Breasted, 1906, sec. 492).

From this passage it is clear that the new king, Sesostris must have been fighting to the west of Egypt and specifically on the "west side" of the Nile. Consequently, Tjemehu-land lay to the west of Egypt. In narrating this campaign, however, Sinuhe claims that Sesostris departed to "Tjemehu"-land, but was returning with booty and Tjehenu-captives after dealing with "those who live among Tjehenu"-land. This has previously been interpreted as indicative of

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[11] ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ (R.), ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ (C.), ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ (OB3.)

[12] From Sinuhe B, OB version has ⟨hieroglyphs⟩, R version ⟨hieroglyphs⟩

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the poor state of "geographical" knowledge of the Egyptian scribe at this time, and indicative of a tendency to "confuse" or merge these two geographic terms (Bates, 1914, 252; Lichtheim, 1975, 233 note 2). As a result of this, it has become common to simply translate both terms, Tjehenu and Tjemehu, as "Libyan" (Parkinson, 1997, 27). More recently a translation of this text by Barta translates all mentions of both Tjemehu and Tjehenu as "Tjehenu," and thereby ignores the orthography or differentiation of the word "Tjemehu" in this text (Barta, 2003, 13 and 15). Neither of these methodologies, however, are satisfactory and they both rely, to a greater of lesser extent on the modern interpretation of "Tjehenu" and "Tjemehu" lands as being indicative of an almost identical geographical meaning. Indeed, such a methodology ignores the obvious fact that the Egyptian scribe was using two discrete orthographic entities. The story of Sinuhe, however, is not the only Middle Kingdom text to refer to both "Tjehenu" and "Tjemehu" side-by-side. Contemporary with the composition of this tale, references to both Tjemehu and Tjehenu are found in the fragments of ritually destroyed documents known as "Execration Texts."

Execration Texts are known from almost all periods of Egyptian history. The purpose of these texts, it seems, was to imbue objects –normally pottery vessels, anthropomorphic ceramics or wax figures - with magical powers by inscribing them with the names of foreigners, deceased individuals, and other "chaotic" forces. The ritual destruction of the inscribed object, it was believed, would prevent internal strife within Egypt as well as discourage attacks on Egypt by foreigners (Seidlmayer, 2001, 489). The ritual has been compared to the practice of creating "voodoo dolls" (Ritner, 1993, 137).

The earliest forms of Execration Texts from the Old Kingdom are confined largely to mentions of Nubians, Egyptians and the "rebellion formula." By the Middle Kingdom, lists are known which include extensive references to Syro-Palestinian toponyms and individuals. In most of the references to both Nubian and Syro-Palestinian names, the formula in the Execration Texts is to mention "The Prince of X-place, named Y" (Posener, 1940, *passim*). Thus, for instance, the names on the figures from the Teti Cemetery, currently in Brussels and published by Georges Posener in 1940, read "Le prince de Kush [in Nubia]

(appelé) Wttrrss" (Posener, 1940, 48) or similarly "Le prince de *Mktri* [in Syria Palestine] (appelé) Ibiafi" (Posener, 1940, 67).

From the Middle Kingdom there are two examples of execration lists, dated to the reigns of Amenemhet II and Sesostris II (Koenig, 1990, 102) which enumerate Tjehenu and Tjemehu-lands together. In both instances, the reference is particularly vague and reads simply:

Chiefs (*Haty-a.tiw*) in *Tjehenu*, every *Temeh(w)* and their leaders

Unlike references to "Nubians" and "Asiatics," these references are unique in the fact that they do not indicate the names of the chiefs of these two regions. It has been suggested by Seidlmayer (2001, 488) that:

> The section on Libya is unusually sketchy, probably because contacts with Libya were less crucial to Egypt during that time and because of the great mobility and the fluid social organization of Libyan tribes fit less easily into the Egyptian concept of "countries" headed by "chiefs."

Yet in one of the earliest examples of an execration text dated to the Middle Kingdom, the Egyptian scribe has attempted to detail the various locations and groups within Tjemehu land specifically:

Every Tjemehu-population of every western land, of the land of Tjemehu, of H[..]kes, of Hebeqes (Posener, 1987, 51ff.)

What is perhaps most significant about this earliest document, however, is that it makes no mention of the Tjehenu-land or the Haty-a Tjehenu. Moreover, unlike the later mentions which simply list the Haty-a(.tiw) Tjehenu and Tjemehu without any explanation as to where these places were located, this early reference is quite explicit in the fact that Tjemehu-land and the locations named

"H[…]kes" and "Hebeqes" are located to the west of Egypt. This "western" location would appear to be confirmed by both the contemporary reference in Sinuhe as well as all earlier and later references to this land in Egyptian texts.

5.1.2 Tjemehu-land from the Old and Middle Kingdoms

The earliest reference to Tjemehu in Egyptian texts are as conscripts in the army of the Egyptian official Weni whose career spanned the reigns of Teti, Pepi I and Merenre (ca. 2330 – 2280 BC). Weni's autobiographical inscription formed one wall of his tomb or cenotaph (Lichtheim, 1975, 18; Grébaut, 1900, pls. 27-28) at Abydos, and is written on a single piece of limestone 1.10 m high and 2.70 m long.

Under Pepi I's reign, Weni led a series of campaigns into northern Sinai and southern Palestine which, according to Breasted, "is the first invasion of that country known in history" (BAR I, sec. 306). The relevant section of the text mentioning the Tjemehu reads:
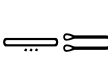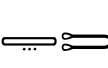
> When his Majesty took action against the Asiatic Sand-dwellers, his Majesty made an army of many tens of thousands from all of Upper Egypt: from Yebu [Elephantine] in the south to Medenyt in the north; from Lower Egypt: from all of the Two-Sides-of-the-house and from Sedjer and Khen-sedjru; and from Irtjet-Nubians, Medja-Nubians, Yam-Nubians, Wawat-Nubians, Kaau-Nubians; and from ⎯𓇋𓏤𓈖𓅓𓎛𓅱 ("**Tjemehu**-land") (Lichtheim, 1975, 19).

The mention of Tjemehu-land in this passage comes directly after an enumeration of five different groups who are all given the epithet "Nubian" (*Nehesyu*). This latter epithet, however, is not applied to the Tjemehu. It follows, therefore, that the Egyptians did not consider the Tjemehu to be a southern, "Nehesyu" population. From the brief initial mention of this population, there is very little which can be discerned about the Tjemehu's location vis-à-vis Egypt. It can be deduced, however, that Tjemehu-land was not located in "Asia." Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt, or Nubia which are all mentioned in addition to Tjemehu-

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land. Significantly more information regarding the location of Tjemehu-land is provided, however, by Weni's successor, Harkhuf.

It is possible that, as a young man living in southern Egypt, Harkhuf witnessed Weni's "international" force being mustered en route to Asia. It is certainly true that Harkhuf's political life began during the reign of Merenre, by whose reign the war-hardened Weni had been appointed governor of Upper Egypt, from Elephantine (Yebu) in the south to Aphroditopolis (Medenyt) in the north (see BAR I, sec. 320; Lichtheim, 1975, 21). Harkhuf would eventually succeed Weni in this position.

Like Weni, Harkhuf recorded the events of his life on the walls of his tomb which is located in the western hills near modern day Aswan (Lichtheim, 1975, 23). The major events of Harkhuf's life include, amongst other things, four trips in which he conducted a caravan to the land of Yam. The first of these, he conducted with his father, Iri, under the reign of Merenre. The second, also under Merenre, he conducted alone. On his third expedition to Yam, still during the reign of Merenre, Harkhuf was forced to divert his route when he found that the "chief of Yam" had gone off to smite the "land of Tjemehu as far as the western corner of heaven":

> Then his Majesty sent me a third time to Yam. I went up from the nome of [This?] upon the Oasis road. I found that the ruler of Yam had gone off to ⸺⸺🦉𓏤𓎡 ("**Tjemehu**-land"), to smite the ⸺🦉𓏤𓎡 ("**Tjemehu**") to the western corner of heaven. I went up after him to ⸺⸺🦉𓏤𓎡 ("**Tjemehu**-land") and satisfied him, so that he praised all the gods for the sovereign (Lichtheim, 1975, 25).

While the starting point of Harkhuf's journey is debated (BAR I, sec. 335; O'Connor, 1986, 29), it is clear that he passed along a track known as "the oasis road." This route presumably took him through the oases of the Western Desert (Murray, 1965, 72). The route to Yam and, ultimately the encounter with the Tjemehu-peoples, therefore, suggests that the latter were located to the west of Egypt and furthermore that it was a region accessible to Egyptians over land.

Following the collapse of the Old Kingdom, Tjemehu-land is not attested in Egyptian records until the reign of Mentuhotep II[13] and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Mentuhotep's mention of this region, found in a relief from a chapel at Dendera (Fig. 44), is rhetorical and devoid of any explicit historical or geographical information.
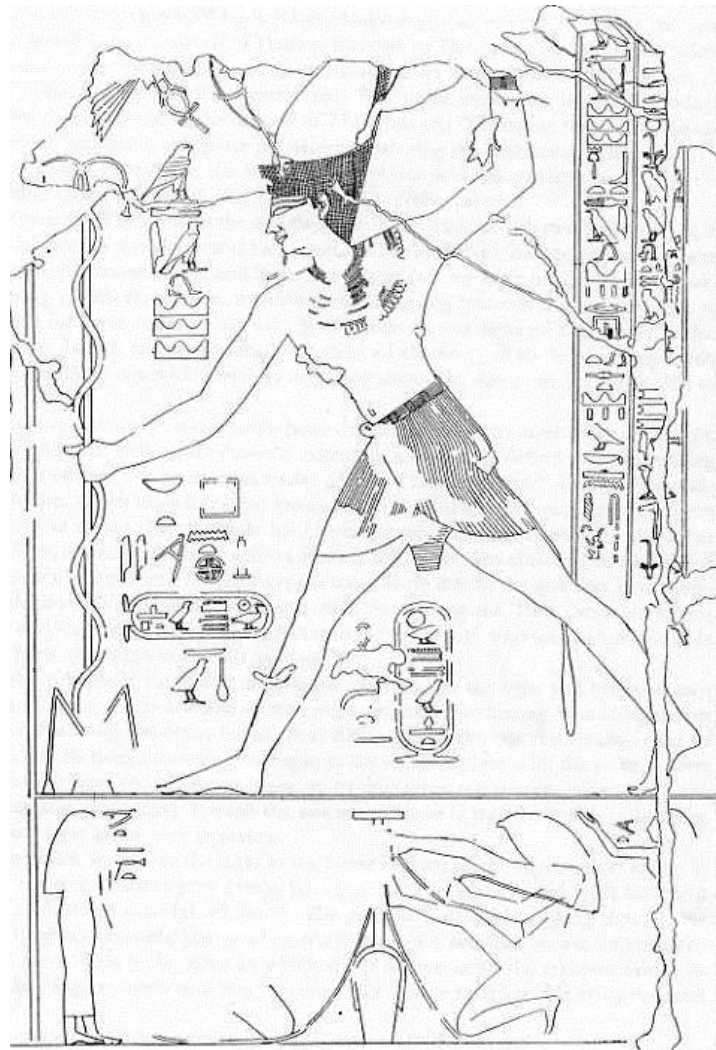
**Fig. 44 – Smiting scene of Mentuhotep II from rear wall of Dendera Chapel
[from Habachi, 1963, 22 fig. 6]**

The text is written in two columns behind an image of the king Mentuhotep Nebhepetre who is depicted in a variation of the "smiting scene." Though badly damaged, the text was translated by Habachi as:

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[13] Identified as Mentuhotep III by Daressy (1917b, pl. 1) and Mentuhotep II by Habachi (1963, 21f.)

> Clubbing the eastern lands, striking down the hill countries, trampling the deserts, enslaving the Nubians … [sic] the hands (?) [sic], uniting Upper and Lower Egypt, the Medjay, the Lybians [Tjemehu] and the marshes lands [alt. "river banks"][14] by the Horus 'Neteryhedjet,' king of Upper and Lower Egypt, 'Nebhepetre'
> (Habachi, 1963, 23).

As "the unifier" of Egypt in the aftermath of divisive First Intermediate Period, the underlying meaning of the text may loosely refer to the regions under the control of the king. The scene itself would appear to reinforce this overarching idea of "unity" and Mentuhotep is not illustrated smiting "foreigners" as is typical in this scene. Instead, he is clearly illustrated in the smiting pose while grasping the symbols of Northern and Southern Egypt. Below him, two gods – of which the lone preserved is illustrated with a Horus-head – are shown "binding" the symbols of the "Two Lands." Indeed, the sense one gets of the inscription is that Mentuhotep has not only united Upper and Lower Egypt but the regions on either side – the "Medjay" and "Tjemehu"-lands, that is to say the eastern and western desert areas respectively. The latter two groups are again referred to, presumably also in geographic apposition, in the surviving text of the Admonitions of Ipuwer.

The Admonitions of Ipuwer (P Leiden I.344), though paleographically dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty provides a glimpse of a world where order is replaced with chaos and, it has been suggested, refers loosely to the events of either the First or Second Intermediate Periods (for discussion of the historicity of this text in literature see Enmarch, 2008, 5ff.). The composition of the text appears to be a dialogue between an Egyptian sage, named Ipuwer, and the "Lord of All" who has been variously interpreted as the king or the solar creator god (see Enmarch, 2008, 6) and revolves around a series of reproaches (by Ipuwer) and replies by the "Lord of All" in which the themes of national distress, the triumph of chaos over order and the question of divine responsibility for human evil are discussed. The end of the fourteenth column of the text is part of a reply of the "Lord of All" to Ipuwer. The text reads:

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[14] See Habachi, 1963, 23 note 3.

One says 'the state/manner thereof is finished for them.' No one can be found who will stand up to protect them; throughout […lost…] Asiatics; every man fights because of his sister (but) protects himself. (Is it) Nubians? Then let us make our/your (?) protection, (and) mass fighters to repel the bowmen! Is it Libyans [𓌔𓆓𓏏𓈖 𓂻𓈖 Tjemehu]? Then let us act too, since the Medjay are well-disposed towards Egypt! (P. Leiden I.344, 14.11-14; transl. Enmarch, 2008, 203)

Parkinson has suggested that this section "evokes the full range of enemies: first come the Syrians [*Setetiw*] who are Egypt's inveterate enemies to the north-east, and then the Nubians to the south, the Libyans to the west and the Medjay, who are nomads of the eastern deserts of Nubia, and warlike enemies" (1998, 199 note 114). The passage is possibly an attempt by the "Lord of All," in his reply, to placate Ipuwer through the claim that divine kingship is a necessity of Egyptian life if one wants to maintain order and be able to properly defend against the outside aggression which threatens Egypt on all sides (in Asia, Nubia and Tjemehu-land). The idea is reinforced at the end of the passage "now all foreigners are afraid of it [i.e. Egypt], and the experience of the subjects says 'Egypt will not be given to the sand. It is strong on its borders" (Enmarch, 2008, 206).

The idea of chaos (Isfet) triumphing over order (Maat) as found in the Admonitions is a common motif in Egyptian Literature particularly of the Middle Kingdom (Lichtheim, 1975, 134; Parkinson, 1997, 131). It is a motif which is clearly in direct opposition to that of the state-sponsored propaganda machine which consistently attempted to demonstrate the king's ability to apply order to chaos. Similar to the lamentations of Ipuwer, another Middle Kingdom story known as the Prophecy of Neferti also deals with the themes of a world turned into chaos and the redeeming qualities of the role of Egyptian divine kingship.

The prophecy of Neferti is set in the Old Kingdom court of king Sneferu. While the text is written in classical Middle Egyptian, the score of surviving copies all date to the New Kingdom (Ritner, 2001, 512). It has been suggested, however, that the composition of the text dates to the early years of Amenemhet I (Ritner,

ibid) and is roughly contemporary with the story of Sinuhe at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. The Tale of Neferti "prophesizes" the destruction of the world order and the rise of the Middle Kingdom pharaoh, Amenemhet I (referred to as "Ameny" in the text) who will reestablish said order. The Tjemehu are mentioned in a brief passage at the very end of the text after the enthronement of Ameny.

> The evil-minded, the treason-plotters, they suppress their speech in fear of him; Asiatics (*Aamu*) will fall to his sword, 𓅭𓄿𓇋𓀁𓏏𓅓𓎛𓏤 (**Tjemehu)** will fall to his flame, rebels to his wrath, traitors to his might, as the serpent on his brow subdues the rebels for him (Lichtheim, 1975, 143)

Similar to their mention in the Admonitions of Ipuwer, the Tjemehu in this context are clearly placed in apposition to the Aamu in the east. While the "Nubians" are not mentioned in this passage, it can perhaps be assumed that Ameny's arrival "from the south" is indicative of his subjugation of the "south" itself. The underlying context is clearly one of the triumph of order over chaos, and of reestablishing "Egyptian" rule over the areas it deems belong to it – namely the regions of Tjemehu in the west and Aamu in the east. From all of these mentions of Tjemehu, it is clear the land was historically considered part of "greater Egypt." It is also consistently referred to as the region immediately bordering Egypt to the west.

There is a single mention of Tjemehu-land in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts. Spell 398 enumerates the parts of the celestial barge on which the deceased travels. Each section of this barge is composed of various types of wood associated with minor deities. According to this text:

(de Buck, 1961, V 136)[15]

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[15] Based on GIT version
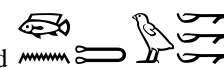
Her *Maaw* [type of wood][16] are the *Hesmet*-monster which eats the [**Tjemehu**]
Her *bow-timbers (?)*[17] are the demons[18] which are in[19] the Abyss [*nwn*] (Faulkner, 1977, 34)

Faulkner noted that the meaning of the spell is unknown (1977, 38 note 33). Whilst *Maaw* wood is a fairly well attested substance in Egyptian sources, the *Hesmet*-monster, "who eats the Tjemehu" is otherwise unattested (ibid). In some texts, however, (sarcophagus of Heqat, M46C, from Aswan, CG 28127; Lacau, 1908, 65 ff.), the term Hesmet is written ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ *Hesat* which might suggest that it was associated with a cow-goddess of the same name who is referred to in Egyptian sources (Hännig, 2006, 1771). It is possible, though by no means certain, that the *Hesmet*-monster is an avatar of the goddess Hathor who was commonly associated with the region of the oases and was commonly provided with the epithet Tjemehu(t) (Meeks, 2006, note 464; Wilson, 1997, 1165). The mention of Tjemehu in this passage, however, is curious, and no other "foreigners" or foreign groups are mentioned in the text. Like all other mentions of foreign groups in mortuary literature of the Middle and Old Kingdoms, however, care must be taken in reading too literally into this text. The text itself does not in fact shed any further light onto the identity of the Tjemehu. Indeed, their appearance in this text could be as much a result of the required phonetics of the term itself (perhaps being used in parallel to the phonetics of Hesmet/Hesat) as it could the underlying theological concepts which are lost to us.

5.1.3 Summary: Tjehenu and Tjemehu-lands to the end of the Middle Kingdom

It is common in modern scholarship to claim that the terms Tjehenu and Tjemehu were merely "confused" by the Egyptians [Bates, 1914, 252;

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[16] some versions (M21C, M2NY, MSC, M4C) read ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ *Intjw* instead of *Maaw*
[17] some versions (M21C, M2NY, M5C, M4C) read *Maaw*
[18] Faulkner has translated this word as "demon" (1977, 34), though according to his dictionary it could equally be translated as "foreigner" (2002, 266).

[19] Versions GIT and AIC read "to eat"; versions M2NY, M5C, and M4C read ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ *imw* ("who are in"); all other versions are too damaged to read (see de Buck V 136)

Lichtheim, 1975, 233 note 3; O'Connor, 1990, 30; Kitchen, 1990, 16]. According to Spalinger:

> Tjemehu and Tjehenu were often confused, but some difference can be observed between them. Essentially, Tjehenu was the older term and so during the revival of ancient terminology and traits in the first millennium, was ably suited to designate people in north Libya (Cyrene and the nearby regions) [sic]. Tjemehu, originally Libyans "of the south," became the general designation for Libya proper. (1979, 143; see similar comments in O'Connor, 1990, 30)

From the above references into the two terms Tjehenu and Tjemehu, the argument that these two terms were "confused" by the Egyptians does not seem to have any merit. Nor are the texts explicit enough to claim that Tjehenu referred to "Cyrene and nearby regions" or that Tjemehu was uniquely used for the "Libyans of the south." What can be said with certainty, however, is that the Egyptians clearly identified two terms which they knew of as "Tjehenu" and "Tjemehu." While the former is attested slightly earlier, both terms are used concurrently down to the end of the Middle Kingdom. Moreover, the references are quite specific about the location of Tjemehu land and quite ambivalent about the location of Tjehenu-land.

Tjemehu-land throughout the Old and Middle Kingdoms is clearly a location which was accessible to the Egyptians overland (cf. Harkhuf), which could be reached by passing through the Oases (cf. Harkhuf) and which bordered Egypt on its western side of the Nile (cf. Sinuhe and execration texts). The references to Tjemehu-land throughout this thousand year period are both explicit and consistent.

In contrast, references to Tjehenu-land, which is attested from the dawn of Egyptian orthography are not nearly as indicative of its location. Tjehenu-land is never referred to as a land which was accessible to the Egyptians in the same way as was Tjemehu-land. Its location, vis-à-vis Egypt is rather vague. Since the Egyptians never appear to have gone to Tjehenu-land, they are not as forthcoming as to where it was located. Vague references found in mortuary literature suggest a "western" location, yet in the Egyptian understanding of the

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afterlife *all* locations are "in the west." The west is the region of the afterlife. Slightly more concrete references to the "western" location of the Tjehenu can be gleaned from mention of the Haty-a Tjehenu alongside the known western Tjemehu in execration texts of the Middle Kingdom. Yet these cannot be taken as indicative of the Egyptian confusion between Tjehenu and Tjemehu-lands. The similar mention of the Tjehenu and Tjemehu-lands referred to side-by-side in both the execration texts and Sinuhe seem to indicate that the Egyptian scribe was differentiating between the two terms. Indeed, the encounter which is recorded in Sinuhe is indicative of the Tjehenu-population being encountered by the Egyptians in Tjemehu-land. There is no indication that the Tjehenu were consequently indigenous to Tjemehu-land.

Even within the mortuary literature of the Old and Middle Kingdoms there appear to be no indications that the Egyptian scribe attempted to change the word Tjemehu into Tjehenu, nor is there such an indication of the opposite in Coffin Text passages where Tjehenu is mentioned. This fact alone suggests that the scribe differentiated between the terms Tjemehu and Tjehenu. While the two terms may sound similar to the modern observer, there is no indication in the references to these terms from the first thousand years of Egyptian history that they were confused by the Egyptian scribe who, it must be concluded, knew perfectly well that the terms Tjehenu-land and Tjemehu-land indicated two discrete and separate entities. This differentiation between Tjehenu and Tjemehu-lands and their composite populations continued into the New Kingdom.

5. 2 Tjehenu and Tjemehu in the New Kingdom

Following the Middle Kingdom, references to both Tjehenu and Tjemehu during the New Kingdom continue to occur largely in isolation to each other until the reign of Merneptah. During this latter king's reign, Egyptian texts begin to mention a whole cohort of populations previously unknown in Egyptian texts. The following, therefore, will examine the use of the terms Tjehenu and Tjemehu in Egyptian texts diachronically up to the end of Ramesses II's reign on the eve of Merneptah's reign.

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Whereas the above sections have detailed all references of which I am aware to both Tjehenu and Tjemehu lands from the Predynastic through to the end of the Middle Kingdom, to do so for the New Kingdom would be a largely futile and extensive activity beyond the limits of this thesis. Following the Middle Kingdom, References to Tjemehu-land become increasingly rare. Conversely, references to Tjehenu-land and a population group of similar name become increasingly common. The latter references can be divided into two discreet categories: "formulaic" and "non-formulaic" mentions.

"Formulaic" references to "Tjehenu" include mentions of this group as members of the "Three Foreign Races" and, by implication, their mention in "Nine Bows" lists. Similarly, numerous references from the New Kingdom mention the Tjehenu next to the Iwntiw-Setet from which it can be inferred that the term Tjehenu was used to refer to the "north" in apposition to the "southern" Iwntiw-Setet. Full references to these formulaic mentions can be found in Appendix A.

In contrast, "non-formulaic" references to "Tjehenu" are intrinsically more important in the discussion regarding their history and geography vis-à-vis Egypt. As such, it is the "non-formulaic" mentions of Tjehenu-land and Tjehenu-people which will be the focus of the following section. Such references include Egyptian accounts of the Tjehenu population arriving in Egypt, in battle with or otherwise interacting with the Egyptians, as well as mentions of Tjehenu-land in Egyptian texts outside of the above mentioned "formulaic" references.

5.2.1 The Tjehenu in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Following their mention in the Middle Kingdom, references to Tjehenu-land and Tjehenu-people do not reappear in Egyptian texts until the reign of Hatshepsut. During her reign, the land of Tjehenu is referred to as both a land located in the afterlife as well as a population which brings tribute to Egypt.

The land of "Tjehenu," as a location in the afterlife following both Old and Middle Kingdom prototypes continues during the New Kingdom and is found in

the "Book of Hours." Extant texts of this Book are known from the Eighteenth Dynasty mortuary temple of Hatshepsut as well as much later copies of this text from the Twenty-Fourth Dynasty (Assmann, 1969, 124-125). According to this text, the deceased monarch must pass among "those who live among Tjehenu-land" during the Ninth Hour of the Night. Assmann's translation of this text reads:

> Du hast deine beiden Himmel überquert, Re, in Frieden. Es erheben dich die ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ ("Bewohner der Westwüste" *Tjehenu*]) Deine Feind, der von dir zurückgewichen ist, liegt gefällt. Der König [*Maat-ka-ra*] fällt ----------------------(Assmann, 1969, 124-125)

Similar to the religious texts already discussed, there is very little reason to believe that the term Tjehenu, at this period refers to the western desert (Assmann's "Westwüste"). Like the Pyramid texts before it, it seems more likely that this term refers to a more "mythical" location, far distant from Egypt and confined to the afterlife. Within this context there is no reason to presume that the "geography" of the afterlife, while a mirror-image, of the "real" world, can be used as references to interpret this "real" world. Furthermore, in the context of mortuary literature the inhabitants of Tjehenu-land in the afterlife are specifically referred to as "enemies of the Sun God" (Assmann, ibid). A more indicative reference to the "historicity" of the Tjehenu from Hatshepsut's reign, however, is found in the mention of this group arriving in Egypt bearing tribute.

The heavily damaged shaft of Hatshepsut's fallen obelisk at Karnak provides a brief mention of the Tjehenu arriving in Egypt with tribute consisting of ivory and tusks.

> […ca. 1/5 of line lost…] All the good sweet woods of God's-Land. ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ (I brought the tribute of **Tjehenu**, consisting of ivory and 700 tusks")[…ca. 1/5 of line lost…] (Breasted, BAR II, Sec. 321; Sethe, Urk. IV, 373)

Significantly, this is the first mention of tribute/booty from Tjehenu-land which includes mentions other than cattle (c.f. Sinuhe) or oil. Mention of tusks in this inscription has prompted interpretations that the Tjehenu-population must have been in contact with elephant or hippopotamus regions presumably in Africa. Bates for instance, claims that the tribute brought by the Tjehenu to Hatshepsut "was almost certainly, by its nature, exacted from the oasis dwellers" (1914, 48 note 5) and later claims that the tribute of ivory and tusks "could hardly have been obtained elsewhere than in Darfur, Wadai, or the Chad Region" (Bates, 1914, 101).

Roughly contemporaneous with this inscription, however, there is evidence that Egypt was importing both tusks and ivory from a variety of peoples around the Eastern Mediterranean. In the tomb of Rekhmire, for instance, persons of "Aegean" type are illustrated bringing large tusks to Egypt (Davies, 1943, pl. XX). Moreover, Hatshepsut's successor, Tuthmosis III is known to have hunted Asian elephants in the region known as Niy (BAR II, sec. 588). Aside from the ambiguous ivory clue, there is nothing in Hatchepsut's mention of the Tjehenu which indicates the region from which this group was arriving in Egypt at this time. From Hatshepsut's successor, Tuthmosis III, however, there is an additional, albeit cryptic reference in Tuthmosis' Hymn of Victory at Karnak that these same Tjehenu-people were encountered by this monarch in the Aegean.

Tuthmosis III's "Hymn of Victory" is written on a black granite tablet 180 cm high. It was discovered by Mariette in a chamber northwest of the main sanctuary room at Karnak and is currently in the Cairo Museum (Breasted, BAR II, sec. 655 note b). The text itself consists of twenty-five lines of hieroglyphs below two scenes of Tuthmosis III offering to the gods of the Theban Region. The part of the text referring to the Tjehenu reads:
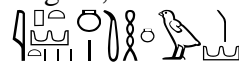
> I [Amun] have come, causing thee to smite those who are in the isles; those who are in the midst of the Great Green hear thy roarings. I have caused them to see thy majesty as an avenger who rises upon the back of his slain victim. I have come
>
>
>
> ("causing thee to smite **Tjehenu-land** and the isles of *Utjentyw* are [subject] to the might of thy prowess**)** (Breasted, BAR II, sec. 660).
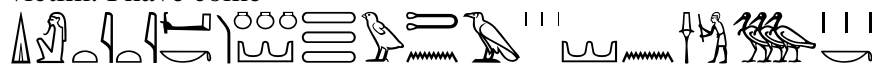
Significantly, this passage would appear to provide us, for first time out of all the texts so far studied, an indication of where the Egyptians believed Tjehenu land to be located – almost 1500 years *after* they first started recording this term. Contextually, the mention of Tjehenu-land and the isles *Utjentyw*, which Breasted notes are otherwise unknown (BAR II, sec. 660 note c) - in this passage could be used to suggest a location for the Tjehenu in the vicinity of the "Isles of the Great Green," i.e. the Mediterranean and/or Aegean.

A similar reference to the Tjehenu dated to Tuthmosis III' reign, further suggests that this king encountered "Tjehenu" individuals during the course of his Asiatic campaign in his Year 23 (ca. 1481 BC) which culminated in the sack of Megiddo. The text is written on a stela found at the temple of Buhen on the Nubian frontier but quite clearly describes the campaign of Tuthmosis III in Asia:

> His Majesty stood on 'The Horns of the Earth' (*Wepet-ta*) to fell the wild men of Asia (Mentiw-setet)
> […Epithets of King…]
> The king himself he took the road,
> His valiant army before him like a fiery flame;
> The mighty king who acts with his arm,
> Dexterous, with none to compare him to;
> Slaying the wandering foreigners (?) [Sic], crushing Retenut (sic),
> Their chiefs are living captives, with their chariots wrought
> In gold, harnessed to their horses.
> 𓈎𓏤𓇯𓏛𓇋𓎡𓈖𓏏𓈉 ("The lands of **Tjehenu")** are reckoned, doing obeisance to His Majesty's power,
> Their tribute is on their backs [groveling] as dogs do,
> Seeking that they be given the breath of life!
> (Buhen Temple Text; P-M VII, 134 (11w); Urk. IV, 806-10; Trans. Redford, 2003, 160)

Breasted interpreted this mention of Tjehenu in this text as indicative of this group arriving "with tribute on the king's return from the campaign" (BAR, 1906, sec. 414). There is nothing within the text however, which suggests that the king returned to Egypt only to be greeted by the "Tjehenu" bearing tribute. Such an interpretation of this text, however, requires an a priori assumption as to

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the identity and location of the Tjehenu – which from the above references is not discernable. In interpreting this text two possibilities present themselves.

On the one hand, it could be argued that, from the context of the text, Tuthmosis III encountered the Tjehenu – or a segment of the Tjehenu population – in Asia. Indeed, in Caminos' translation of the text, Tuthmosis III did not meet a large "Tjehenu" population, but merely "the envoys of the foreign-lands of Tjehenu" (Caminos, 1974, 50). It is possible that the Tjehenu were in Asia acting as mercenaries for or trading with the local population in Asia. Such an interpretation does not imply that the Tjehenu were indigenous populations of Asia, nor is there anything in this text which suggests that the purpose of Tuthmosis' campaign in Asia was specifically against this group or that this encounter was bellicose in any way.

On the other hand, Tuthmosis' text may imply apposition between the "eastern" Asiatics to talking about "western" Tjehenu. The latter may have seen how the king dealt with the east and capitulated before he turned to them. However the passage is read, there is nothing from the context of this passage which suggests that the contact between Egypt and the Tjehenu was necessarily bellicose. Similarly, there is nothing in this passage which specifically indicates where the encounter between Tjehenu and Egypt occurred. Possible locations for this encounter, therefore, include Egypt, Asia, or the "western" Tjehenu-homeland.

The final reference to Tjehenu during Tuthmosis' reign is found on the three identical copies of Tuthmosis' "geographical list" at Karnak. In the three, almost identical lists, the term "Tjehenu" is listed as the 88th entry in a "southern peoples list" (Sethe, Urk. 18.IV.11, 799).

**Fig. 45 – Tuthmosis III's "geographical list." Karnak Temple
[photograph by author]**

The mention of Tjehenu in this list differs from previous attestations of this term in the Eighteenth Dynasty in a few important respects. Firstly, the particular orthography used to write this term, ⟨glyphs⟩ is significantly different from all other references to "Tjehenu" attested from the Eighteenth Dynasty. Indeed, with the single exception of the writing of Tjehenu-land in Pepi II's version of Pyramid Text spell 570 (see above note 1), this orthography is not found in any other reference to Tjehenu-land from any other period and is found usually in association with spellings of the substance known as "Tjehenu-oil."

Secondly, the mention of "Tjehenu" in Tuthmosis III's "southern geographical list" is unique in the fact that it is not listed as one of the "Nine Bows." While mentions of "Tjehenu" are common in "geographical lists" they are always written ⟨glyphs⟩ and always found in close proximity to other "Nine Bows" terms (see Appendix A). Instead, the terms surrounding the mention of Tjehenu in this

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list are references to places in Nubia and are written as follows (Urk. IV, 799-800, based on "list A"):

86. [hieroglyphs] 87. [hieroglyphs] 88. [hieroglyphs] 89. [hieroglyphs] 90. [hieroglyphs]

91. [hieroglyphs] 92. [hieroglyphs] 93. [hieroglyphs] 94. [hieroglyphs] 95. [hieroglyphs] 96. [hieroglyphs]

97. [hieroglyphs] 98. [hieroglyphs] 99. [hieroglyphs] 100. [hieroglyphs] 101. [hieroglyphs]

102. [hieroglyphs] 103. [hieroglyphs] 104. [hieroglyphs] 105. [hieroglyphs] 106. [hieroglyphs]

107. [hieroglyphs] 108. [hieroglyphs] 109. [hieroglyphs] 110. [hieroglyphs] 111.

[hieroglyphs] 112. [hieroglyphs] 113. [hieroglyphs] 114. [hieroglyphs] 115. [hieroglyphs] 116.

[hieroglyphs]

Just over fifty years ago, Ernest Zyhlarz studied Tuthmosis' Nubian list and suggested that the 117 terms enumerated on this list were divisible into 6 distinct "regional" lists (1958, passim). Accordingly, he believed that the mention of Tjehenu in this list referred to "Egypt's mythical rule over the Sudan in pre-Kashite times" (1958, 28f.). The regional section of the list involving the Tjehenu starts with term 86 and finishes with term 117.

Zyhlarz began his "regional" list at number 86, with the mention of *Knzt*, which he associates with the "terminus of the great oasis road" at Kensoi near Kerma (ibid). This same location has variously been identified as associated with the Wadi Qenous by Brugsch (Gauthier, DG V, 1928, 205) as well as various regions in Nubia and the Sudan (Gauthier, ibid). Gauthier, however, makes the comment that

> Enfin il semble qu'à l'origine Kens(t) ait eu une signification plus mythologique que géographique et ait désigné la region des morts, placée au sud de l'Égypte: c'est ainsi que dans les texts des Pyramides le lac de Kenst (ou Kensta) est, probablement, une region du monde céleste ou funéraire, plutôt que la contrée Assouan-Philae, comme la pensée Sethe (1928, 206).

In Zyhlarz' interpretation of this list, he claims that the next term, *Taw stiw* refers to "the countries of the western Oasis country" (ibid), for which he provides no evidence. Much of Zyhlarz' reasoning, however, would appear to be the product of his assumptions regarding the following seven terms (numbers, 88-94) which he translates (but does not transliterate) as "Marmarica-Fayum, Farafra, Dakhleh, Kharga, Kurkur, Dunkul and Semna district" (Zyhlarz, 1958, 29). In Tuthmosis' list these are listed as "Tjehenu, Huat, DjaDjas, tep-nkheb, Bash, Mairis and Ta-semi."

Huat, number 89, which Zyhlarz claims is a reference to Farafra Oasis, is found in numerous other topographical lists and literary texts. Gauthier mentions it as "[un] region montagneuse d'Afrique, voisin du pays de Pount et à laquelle on arrivait par eau" (DG IV, 1927, 19). Indeed, there is very little to suggest that this name was associated with Farafra oasis, whose only firm mention in Egyptian sources is found in the "Oases list" from the Ptolemaic-period Edfu temple where it is referred to as *Ta-iht* or "cattle land" (Aufrère, 2000, 89).

Djadjas, number 90, has generally been assumed to be "African" on account of its location in this list, though Budge placed it in "Syria" (cf. Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 110). Its association with "Dakhleh Oasis," as Zyhlarz interpreted it is only vaguely similar and the latter term is known from a variety of sources from Egyptian monuments by the name of "Djesdjes" (Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 134).
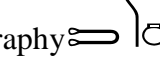
Tep-Nekheb, number 91 on Tuthmosis III's list, has little in common with Zyhlarz' suggestion of "Kharga oasis" which is generally known in Egyptian texts as simply Wahet ("the oasis"), Wahet Resy ("southern oasis"), or Kenmet (Giddy, 1987, 164). Gauthier suggests that the term Tep-nekheb refers to a headland of the African coast extending into the Red Sea (DG VI, 1929, 53).

Finally, there is no reason to presume that the names of Kurkur (number 92), Dungul (93) and Semna (94) are found in this list. To date, there is no external evidence which mention the Egyptian names for the Dungul and Semna oases. There is, however, evidence from Kurkur oasis itself, in the form of the Tutankhamen stela discovered there in 1997 (Darnell & Manassa, 2007, 113ff.)

that this locale may have been called *Duatneferet* (ibid) – a term not inscribed on Tuthmosis' list.

Zyhlarz' interpretation of the beginning of this section of Tuthmosis III's list as referring to the "oasis region" to the west of the Nile Valley rests largely on the assumption that number 88, "Tjehenu" is Marmarica-Fayum region (an identification followed most recently in Hännig, 2006, map 18) and that the terms following it are mangled forms of the oases of Farafra, Dakhleh, Kharga, Kurkur, Dungul and Semna.

While most of the toponyms in this list have been located in "Nubia" generally, there is nothing within this list which suggests that the terms in proximity to Tjehenu are indicative of the oases of the Western Desert. In placing the region of Tjehenu from its mention in this list, therefore, one encounters significant problems. Firstly, while the term "Tjehenu" is found in other lists it is always associated with the formula of the "Nine Bows." Its mention both outside of this formula and using a rare and otherwise unique orthography, suggests that the mention of "Tjehenu" in Tuthmosis' Nubian list is not necessarily a reference to the same "Tjehenu" found in other lists or the "historical" documents referred to above. It is possible, for instance that the Egyptian scribe was attempting to write the name of a similar sounding name to "Tjehenu" in Nubia and ended up using a form of "Tjehenu" only attested to in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts of Pepi II. The orthography ▭ lᴼ is attested in all three versions of Tuthmosis III's lists suggesting a common source. Perhaps noteworthy is a copy of a "Nubian" topographical list at Medinet Habu dating to the reign of Ramesses III where the place name ▭ is written next to the mention of Huat, DjaDjas, tep-nkheb, Bash, Mairis (Budge quoted in Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 81; KRI V, 99:5). Budge has suggested that the latter term is an extended orthography of the Tuthmosid "Tjehenu" (ibid). The implication of the term "Tjehenu" in the Tuthmosis Topographical List, however, suggests that the Egyptians knew of a region by this, or a similar sounding name in Nubia.

From the reign of Tuthmosis III, therefore, there exist three explicit mentions of a population and territory called "Tjehenu." Each of them, however, is designated by a variant orthography and each may suggest three different locations in which the Egyptians encountered the "Tjehenu." 𓉐-land may have been located in proximity to the "isles of the Great Green," people and tribute from 𓏏𓎛𓏤𓈖 may have been encountered "in Asia" and a land known as 𓏏𓎛𓏤 might be located "in Nubia." In Tuthmosis III's successor's reign, however, references to "Tjehenu" land are, for the first time explicit in placing it "in the west."

Reference to Tjehenu under Amenhotep III's reign is found on a black granite stela, known as the "Israel Stela," originally found by Petrie in the remains of the mortuary temple of Merneptah in western Thebes (BAR II, sec. 878; Petrie, 1896, 23f.; Spiegelberg, 1898, 37ff.). The recto inscription of thirty-one lines of hieroglyphic text commissioned by Amenhotep III and the stela had originally been set up in front of his mortuary temple on the west bank of Thebes (Breasted, BAR II, sec. 878). Shortly after its composition, however, the top 22 lines of text were almost entirely defaced – presumably by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (Breasted, BAR II sec 878) – and later re-carved by Seti I of the Nineteenth Dynasty. The only section of the text as originally carved by Amenhotep III and left untouched in the defilement was the last five lines which record, on the whole, a Hymn to Amun (whose name was erased, then restored) to the king. After a brief introduction, the Hymn mentions the god Amun "turning his face" in the direction of the four cardinal points (south, north, west and east) and making the populations of these regions (Kush, Setet, Tjehenu and Punt, respectively) bring tribute to Egypt. The text referring to the Tjehenu reads:

("I turn my face to the west and work a wonder for thee, I make thee seize the Tjehenu. They remember not")

> They built this fortress in my name of thy Majesty. Surrounded by a great wall, which towers to the sky, settled with the children of the princes of the Nubian Troglodytes [*Iwntiw-setet*] (Petrie, 1896, 25 & pl. 12)[20]

Whilst there are at least two copies of this text from later periods (see Appendices A & B), this is certainly the earliest. This passage is perhaps most important, however, in the fact that it is the very first monument which states unequivocally the location of Tjehenu as being "in the west." Historiographically, this passage is important to the history of the Tjehenu and Bates used this particular passage to claim that the Tjehenu were "the typical people of the west" (1914, 46).

The "west" however, is a very large area and there is nothing in this text to suggest exactly where it is meant specifically. Indeed, in Tuthmosis III's Hymn of Victory already mentioned above (page 131), a passage in line 16 referring to "the western land" reads:

> I have come, causing you to smite the Western Land, Keftyw [Crete] and Cyprus [Isy] are in terror. I have caused them to see thy majesty as a young bull, firm of heart, ready-horned, irresistible. (BAR II, sec. 659)

From this mention, it is clear that the Egyptian geographer understood "the west" as not only being the region immediately west of the Nile in North Africa, but that it was a region which could also include the islands of the Mediterranean such as Crete (Keftyw) and Cyprus (Isy).

5.2.2 Summary: (Tjemehu) and Tjehenu to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty

To date, there are no extant mentions of Tjemehu-land from Eighteenth Dynasty "narrative" histories (for other mentions see Appendix B). In contrast, references to "Tjehenu"-land become more pronounced throughout this period. Following on from Middle Kingdom tradition, the population of Tjehenu-land continued to be referred to as one of the "Three foreign Races" and, in this guise, were

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[20] Variation Breasted (BAR II, 892): "I caused thee to seize T. so that there is no remnant of them" and Spiegelberg's "Ich Wende mein Antlitz gen Westen, Dass ich Wunder für dich thue: Ich lasse Dich die T. fassen, Sie entrinnen (lit. "escape") nicht" (RT 20 (1898), 43 & 47)

eventually canonized at the beginning of the Amarna Period as one of the "Nine Bows." Similarly, following Old and Middle Kingdom tradition of mortuary literature, Tjehenu-land continues to be referred to in contemporary mortuary literature as a region through which the deceased monarch must pass and fend off the enemies of the Sun God, Re, on the solar bark's nightly peregrinations. While such "geographic" references in mortuary literature are certainly a mirror-reflection of the "real world," they have little to no historical value.

Beginning in Hatshepsut's reign and continuing on to the beginning of the Amarna Period, however, there are a series of significant "historic" references to Tjehenu. Geographically, however, the locations in which the Egyptians encountered the Tjehenu group do not appear to be constant in these references. Tjehenu are referred to as arriving in "Egypt" from an otherwise unknown location in Hatshepsut's reign bearing tribute of ivory and tusks. By the reign of Tuthmosis III, her successor, the references to these groups appear to imply that they were encountered by the Egyptians amid the "Islands in the midst of the Great Green," possibly in Asia, and that a location with a similar sounding name was known in the vicinity of Nubia.

Unlike the other references to Tjehenu from this reign which have orthographic antecedents both within the Dynasty as well as references from the Middle Kingdom, the orthography of Tjehenu in Tuthmosis III's "Southern Topographical Lists" is attested only in a single mention from the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. It seems unlikely, therefore that this reference is to the same place or population being attested to in the other Tuthmosid inscriptions.

The first indication of an explicit location associated with the Tjehenu is the reference to them inhabiting "the west" in Amenhotep III's reign. The West, however, is a very large region and, from the reign of Tuthmosis III, the "West" was known to include, not only North Africa west of the Nile (also known as "Tjemehu-land") but also the islands of Crete and Cyprus.

The indications of a highly mobile population, known as "Tjehenu" to the Egyptians are not, however, confined to the Eighteenth Dynasty and references

to this group from the Nineteenth Dynasty continue to suggest that the population was moving around the Eastern Mediterranean.

5.2.3 The Tjehenu in the Nineteenth Dynasty

As in the Eighteenth Dynasty, "formulaic" references to the "Tjehenu" continue to be associated, for instance with mentions of the "Nine Bows," the "Third foreign Race" (cf. Cryptic inscription at Luxor KRI II 612:10; Tell el Maskhuta block, KRI II 404:5-6) and in juxtaposition with the "southern" land and populations of "Iwntiw-setet" (Seti I inscription at Speos Artemidos; Fairman and Grdseloff, 1947, 23-24) and "Ta-Setet" (cf. Tanis Obelisk; Petrie, 1889, no. 45). These "formulaic" mentions from the Nineteenth Dynasty will not be analysed here, though reference to them can be found in the Appendix A. Similarly, fragmentary mentions such as those found at Bubastis (Kitchen, KRI II 465:6) and el-Alamein (KRI II 475:13 note a) which record little more than a surviving name or merely fragments of a name will also not be discussed here, and the reader is advised to consult the Appendix A for these as well.

The following will attempt to focus on the "historical," i.e. non-formulaic, mentions of Tjehenu-land and its population from the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II. While most of these references are clearly attributable to a specific reign, there is one mention of this land on an alabaster vessel dated roughly to the 19th Dynasty based on the paleography (Spiegelberg, 1929, 95) which cannot be attributed to either reign:

Overseer of foreigners (foreign-lands?) in **Tjehenu**-land.
(Spiegelberg, 1929, 95)

Apart from his surviving name, Huy, who this person was or what his function in this land of Tjehenu required of him, remains a mystery. The reference, however, does suggest that at some point during the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Egyptians had administrators responsible for Tjehenu-land. While the region in which this

individual performed his duties is not made explicit, it is evident from the records of Seti I, at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty that the Egyptians had significant contact with a population which they referred to as "Tjehenu" or "Tyhy."

The iconography associated with Seti I's campaign against the side-locked individuals named Tjehenu/Tyhy has been studied above (Page 86). It is located on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak on the west side of the doorway. The scene is sandwiched between an illustration of Seti's campaign against a town called Kadesh (above) and a campaign against the Khatti/Hittites (below). On the opposite side of the doorway, the two remaining registers depict Seti in combat with the Shasu (on the bottom) and with Retenu (in the middle). The topmost scene on the east side of the doorway (i.e. opposite the Kadesh scene) is completely destroyed.

[Lost]					Kadesh
Retenu	Smiting		Smiting		Tjehenu/Tyhy
Shasu (Year 1)	Scene		Scene		Hittites

Fig. 46 - Position of Seti I's campaigns at Karnak

Of the five remaining scenes, therefore, four of them – Shasu, Retenu, Kadesh, and Hittites - are quite clearly located in Western Asia. The only dated campaign on this monument is that against the Shasu on the bottom register of the north-east side which preserves a year date of "Regnal Year 1" (BAR, 1906, IV sec. 82). The way in which the five remaining scenes are meant to be read has been the object of various scholarly discussions (see Hasel, 1998, 119ff.). It is almost certain, however, that the earliest scene is that depicting Seti's encounter with the Shasu in the lower north-east corner (Hasel, 1998, 120) and that Seti I's campaign against the Hittites on the opposite north-west corner is to be considered the latest (Hasel, ibid).

While there is only one dated scene on this monument, much of the discussion regarding the sequence of these scenes is whether they illustrate the outcome of a

single campaign – dated to Year 1 – or the outcome of up to six separate campaigns – dated between Years 1 and 7 (BAR, 1906, IV sec. 81 note c; Kitchen, 1982, 24f.; Hasel, 1998, 121).

Regardless of the dating of the individual scenes, when taken as a whole, there would appear to be a clear directionality to the "Asiatic" scenes. The two extant registers on the North West side of the doorway indicate a campaign in southern Palestine against the nomadic Shasu as far north as the town of Yenoam mentioned in the Retenu campaign. That these two sections of the Karnak relief are illustrative of Seti's Year 1 campaign in southern Palestine is reinforced by the mention of the town of Yenoam captured by Seti I in his Year 1 as attested on the Beth Shan Stela (Hasel, 1998, 120).

Moving northwards from Yenoam in Retenu-land, Seti would have arrived at Kadesh-on-the-Orontes where his presence is attested through a fragment of a stela bearing his name from that site (Hasel, 1998, 120 note 13). Pushing further north, still, Seti would have eventually come into contact with the Hittites against whom he is depicted campaigning on the lowest register on the North West side of the doorway directly opposite his initial starting position against the Shasu.

In the middle of the western half of scenes is Seti's campaign against the "Tjehenu/Tyhy" which has commonly been interpreted as anomalous and, consequently, indicative of both a geographical and chronological break in Seti's otherwise "Asiatic" campaign(s) (Hasel, 1998, 123). If taken at face value, however, there is no reason to suppose that Seti's campaign against the Tjehenu/Tyhy was anything other than an encounter which occurred between Seti and the Tjehenu in western Asia during Seti's Year 1.

Indeed, some of the inscriptional evidence from Seti's monument at Karnak may reinforce the claim that Seti I encountered the Tjehenu/Tyhy population en route between Kadesh-on-the-Orontes and his encounter with the Hittites. In the final "presentation to the gods" scene following the Tjehenu/Tyhy campaign, for

instance, the Egyptian scribe explicitly identifies the Tjehenu being presented to the gods as "Asiatic" (Aamu):

> His Majesty arrived from the [rebellious?] countries when he had desolated Retenu and slain their chiefs, causing the Asiatics (**Aamu**) to say: "See this! He is like a flame when it goes forth and no water is brought." He causes all rebels to cease all contradiction of their mouths, when he has taken away their breath. […lost…] when one approaches the boundaries, he is like Montu, […lost…] he is the son of Nut; no country stands before [him]. (BAR III, sec. 139)
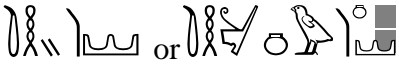
Similarly, in the subsequent campaign against the Hittites, the caption above the prisoners being presented to the gods appears to the list the entirety of the preceding campaign and makes reference to the geographical order of Retenu, Tyhy and Kheta:

> Retenu comes to him bowing down, the land [or island?] of **Tyhy** on its knees. He establishes seed as he wishes in this wretched land of Kheta; their chiefs fall by his blade, becoming that which is not (BAR, III, 147; KRI, I, 18:11).

Breasted interpreted the scribal 'slip' of referring to the "Retenu" and "Asiatics" with relation to the Tjehenu/Tyhy campaign as illustrative of "the subordinate character of the "Libyan" campaign, and the exclusive importance of the Asiatic victories" (BAR III, sec. 135). This assumes, however, that this passage is in fact in error and that the individuals depicted therein are necessarily "Libyans." Unfortunately, there are no clues within this passage itself to prove the "Libyanness" of the characters involved, and this is based entirely on the iconography of the Tjehenu/Tyhy group what can best be described as 'racial-profiling' of this group by Breasted.

Breasted quips that "it is absurd to suppose that Seti I completed a war against the Libyans [Tjehenu], a campaign against the Shasu, the conquest of Palestine and some of southern Syria, and a war with the Hittites, and finally accomplish the return to Thebes" (BAR, III, 81) in a single year. Instead he opts for a war against the Tjehenu in Year 2, claiming as evidence the bills for the maintenance of the court which locate Seti (or at least his court) in the Delta in said year.

Whilst the bills clearly show Seti's court as bivouacked in the Delta during year 2, all of them place him in the vicinity of Seti's capital, Pi-Ramesses, in the Eastern Delta (BAR, III, 82 note d). It is possible, therefore, that they represent the *return* of Seti's forces in the Eastern Delta after a campaign in Asia during his Year 1 which starts with the campaign against the Shasu and Retenu as depicted on the eastern side of the wall and ended with a campaign against the Hittites on the opposite side of the door. Indeed, one can "read" the montage of scenes on the north wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak as a single campaign if –and only if – the Tjehenu/Tyhy-people depicted therein were encountered by the Egyptians in Syria at that time.

There are only two pieces of evidence within the inscriptions of Seti I's campaign at Karnak which may be used as evidence to suggest that Seti I's encounter with the Tjehenu occurred in a place other than Asia. The first is a clear copy of Amenhotep III's "Hymn of the Four Corners" which mentions the Tjehenu "in the west" and the second is a very dubious mention of the term "Tjemehu" land within the context of the Tjehenu-campaign.

On the East side of the doorway to the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (i.e. immediately to the west of the Shasu and Retenu campaigns), Seti I's artists depicted a smiting scene in which the god Amun is illustrated giving the Kepesh-sword to Seti and reciting a "triumphal welcoming speech." The content of Amun's speech was largely copied from Amenhotep III's earlier "Hymn of the Four Corners."

𓀀𓂝𓏏𓎡𓈖... (KRI I, 27:1)

("I turn my face to the West, I work a wonder for thee, consuming for thee every land of Tjehenu") They come bowing down to thee falling upon their knees for terror of thee (Breasted BAR III, sec. 116)

Like Amenhotep III's original version, this text clearly indicates that the Egyptians understood the land of "Tjehenu" as existing "to the west" of Egypt. It is, however, a clear example of a rhetorical inscription and it is, perhaps, significant that the orthography of "Tjehenu" in this passage is differentiated

from all other mentions of Tjehenu/Tyhy on this monument. Indeed, there is very little to suggest a connection between the rhetorical reference to Tjehenu in the "Hymn" (spelled ⟦hieroglyphs⟧) and the historical references to a phonetically similar group of people (spelled ⟦hieroglyphs⟧ or ⟦hieroglyphs⟧) depicted between the battle at Kadesh and the battle against the Hittites. The orthography used to refer to this latter group has, perhaps closer similarities to references to the similarly named population encountered by Tuthmosis III – who were possibly also encountered in Asia (see above, page 131).

The only other piece of inscriptional evidence which might suggest anything other than a single campaign into Asia in Seti I's Year 1 is found in the terminal text to the left side of the second scene of Seti's "Tjehenu – campaign" which depicts Seti I spearing "the great one of Tjehenu." The remaining text reads:

> The king, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Might, Menmare smites the chiefs of the foreign countries *m…* [rest obscured by a prince]

The only part of the text following the mention of "foreign countries" which is still visible is a solitary ⟦hieroglyph⟧. Everything else has been largely destroyed by the insertion of a Ramesside prince (often presumed to be the future Ramesses II; Breasted BAR III, sec. 123f.) into the bottom of the text, as well as a large ostrich feather-fan which prince Ramesses is holding (Fig. 47).

Fig. 47 - Prince Ramesses in Seti's Karnak scene
[Photograph by author]

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Kitchen, in his Ramesside Inscriptions (Vol. 1), originally reconstructed the text to read

𓆓𓎡𓅢𓈖𓈌𓂝𓇳𓏤𓅆 (KRI I, 21:12)

"chiefs of foreign countries in valour like Re"

In the corrigenda (vol. 7), however, Kitchen suggested the possibility that the text should read:

𓆓𓎡𓇋𓅢𓏏𓈖𓇳𓏤𓅆 (KRI VII, 425:5)

"Chiefs of foreign countries of Tjemehu like Re"

This second reconstruction is largely based on the line-drawings of plates of the epigraphic survey of Karnak (RIK pl. 27), which suggests that an initial *ti*-sign had been inserted before the *m*, and would suggest the reading of "the great ones [chiefs] of the foreign lands of Tjemehu." Contextually, the word Tjemehu here would make very little sense, since all of the associated inscriptions refer to the "great ones (chiefs) of the Tjehenu," not the Tjemehu. Thus, the presence of the word Tjemehu in this scene rests entirely on the possibility that there is an initial *ti*-sign in this text.

On a recent visit to Karnak (November, 2008), a photograph (above fig. 47) was taken of this text and there is no conclusive evidence that the *ti*-sign was ever present. In the photograph, the space where the *ti*-sign exists in the line-drawing would appear to be erosion, or a hacking out, of the ostrich feather which partially obscures it. Whilst it cannot be said with absolute certainty that the *ti*-sign did not exist at the time the epigraphic survey made their line-drawings (and a mark is also visible in Breasted's line-drawing of this scene, BAR III, fig. 3), it would appear more likely, as well as more contextually sound, that no such sign was ever inscribed in this position in the original text. Thus, the only evidence in favour of Seti I's campaign against the Tjehenu/Tyhy occurring to the west of Egypt in "Tjemehu" land is the remotely probable indication of an obscure mention of the toponym "Tjemehu."

If there is no mention of "Tjemehu" on this monument and if the "rhetorical" mention of the Tjehenu has no bearing on the "historical" depiction of Seti's campaign against this group then it is probable that Seti I encountered the "Tjehenu/Tyhy" while on campaign in Syria in his Year 1.Without evidence to suggest the redeployment of Seti to a western locale in Tjemehu-land, the most logical solution in "reading" Seti's battle scenes is that Seti encountered the Tjehenu/Tyhy group in western Asia. Such a proposition does not detract from the fact that the Egyptians located "Tjehenu-land" in "the west," but merely indicates that the population of this land was potentially more mobile than previous assumed. It will be proposed here, therefore, that the Seti's campaign at Karnak illustrates a single campaign which begins against the Shasu-population closest to Egypt and ends with a skirmish along the Hittite border in northern Syria –all conducted during his first regnal year (Map 2). There is a clear directionality to this campaign and it is quite possible that the entire campaign could have been completed within a year. Moreover, it is not difficult to infer that the receipts indicating Seti's court being in the eastern Delta during his Year 2 is a result of the fact that he was returning from this campaign at that time and cannot be used as evidence that he was campaigning in an otherwise unattested "Libyan" war.
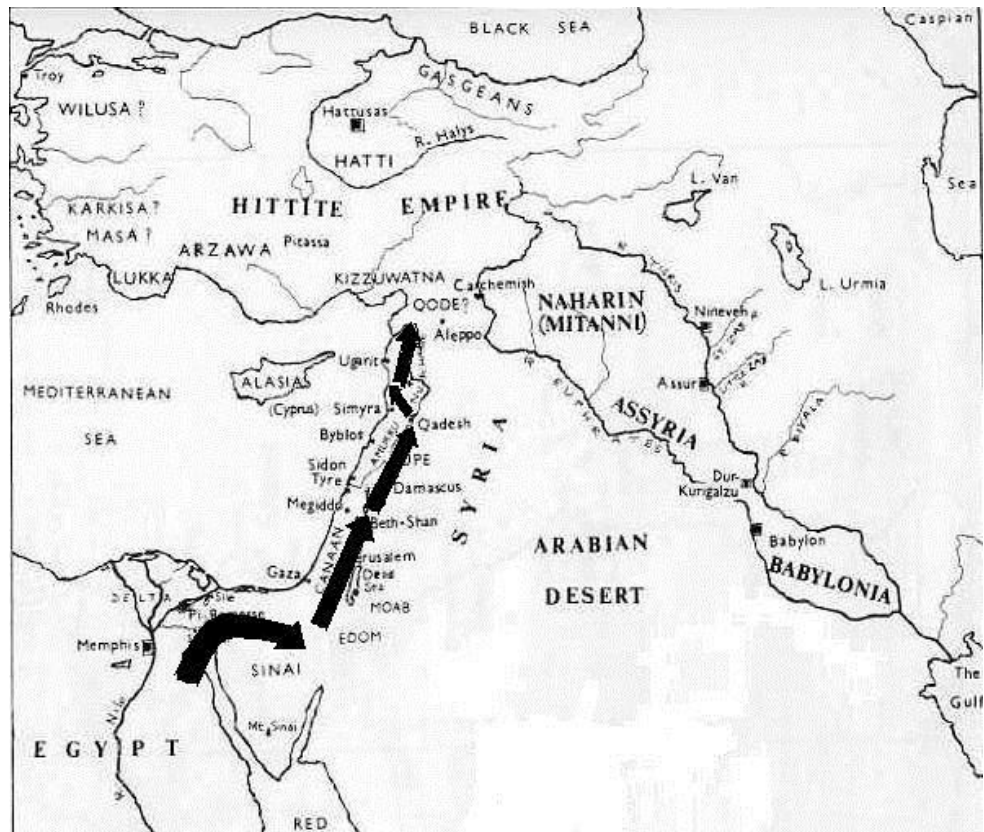
Map 2 –Possible campaign route of Seti's "Year 1" campaign
[Adapted from Kitchen, 1982, 263]

References to "Tjehenu" in Egyptian texts are, by far the most abundant during the 67-year reign of Ramesses II. Unfortunately, not a single mention of Ramesses' encounter with this group is dated. While all known mentions of this group can be found in the accompanying Appendix A, there are a series of texts from Ramesses' reign which call for attention. These include the arrival of tribute from Tjehenu-land as recorded in the Amara-West temple, mentions of a campaign, conscription and resettlement of the Tjehenu from stela left at Bubastis and Tanis as well as references to Tjehenu from Ramesses II's fortress at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham.

The "western" location of Tjehenu-land is, once again, referred to in Ramesses II's reign in a Hymn to Amun at Luxor temple, where the "western" Tjehenu are mentioned alongside the Haut-nebu:

[Hieroglyphic inscription]

> Acclamation of the western countries for Amun, Maker of Tjehenu; That dread of him last in all lands, for Amun Maker of the Remote Countries ["Hau-Nebut"] (KRI II, 627)

Apart from this mention, there is no evidence from the remainder of Ramesses II's references to Tjehenu regarding the location of Tjehenu-land or its population. From the above references to the Tjehenu from Hatshepsut's reign, it is clear that the Egyptians were importing large quantities of tusks, trees and tree products from Tjehenu land. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a similar mention of this tribute from Tjehenu-land occurring during the reign of Ramesses II at the Nubian temple of Amara West. The tribute which was brought from Tjehenu land as described in in the temple of Amarah West is found in the superscription to the second Syrian list. The text reads:

> [Hieroglyphic signs] ([…lost…]"[the] lands (or islands) of **Tjehenu")**, in submission to the might of His Majesty, bearing great marvel(s) and bringing every good thing from the choicest of the countries, fresh timber, ivory without limit to them, abundance of sending sheep and goats in herds (?), to where this God is. Being what [Hieroglyphic signs] ("Tjehenu") has brought to him, through the valour and victory… (KRI II, 217:4-5)

Interestingly, even within this small inscription there are two orthographic variations of the term "Tjehenu." The first mention, which appears to have close parallels with Seti I's "Hymn of the Four Corners" (above, page 137), seems to suggest that this was the common orthography used in the Nineteenth Dynasty to refer to this "western" land. The population of Tjehenu-land who are referred to at the end of the Amara inscription, however, appear to be spelled with a variant orthography which is distinguished by its use of the initial ti-sign. This orthography is much closer to that found associated with Seti I's campaign against this group at Karnak and Tuthmosis III's possible encounter of this group in Asia. This same population is almost certainly mentioned in references to a similar group from the sites of Bubastis and Tanis in the Eastern Delta.

The ancient city of Bubastis lies in the shadow of the modern town of Zagazig in the eastern Delta. The city has a long history and is archaeological and epigraphic evidence attests to its importance in the eastern Delta from the Old Kingdom onwards (Naville, 1891; Tietze, 2001, 208f.). Its proximity to the Ramesside Residence at Pi-Ramses in the Eastern Delta may have resulted in memorial stela being erected there during Ramesses II's reign. Alternatively, this same proximity may have easily allowed the transportation of such stelae to this site at a later date such as during the Twenty-Second Dynasty when Bubastis, for a brief period, became the political capital of Egypt. Regardless of how the rhetorical stela of Ramesses II arrived in Bubastis, it is clearly dated to his reign (though no regnal date survives). It is written on a "great tablet of red granite" (Naville, 1891, 39) which was discovered near the eastern entrance of the Festival Hall (of Osorkon II; Naville, ibid) and reads:
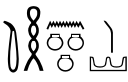
> Sovereign, valiant and vigilant, who plunders (?)⬚ (Tjehenu), whose victories people remember in distant foreign countries; who tramples down all lands, in valour and victory (KRI II 306:6-7)

Naville, who initially published this text, commented that Ramesses II did not leave any record of his involvement with the Tjehenu on the same scale as that recording his campaign in Kadesh in his Year 5 (Naville, 1891, 40) nor indeed on the scale of the encounter which his father, Seti I made at Karnak. References to Tjehenu, however, are not uncommon in Ramesses II's reign and, in addition to this solitary mention at Bubastis, there are additional references to the Tjehenu from Ramesses II's reign from the neighbouring site of Tanis in the Eastern Delta.

Like the city of Bubastis, the city of Tanis –located only a few miles north of Pi-Ramesses - was another important centre in the Eastern Delta during the New Kingdom, eventually becoming the political capital of Egypt during the Twenty-First Dynasty. During the latter period as well as the succeeding Twenty-Second Dynasty, the city of Tanis was adorned with the remains of much earlier Ramesside structures – many of which were erected using reused blocks from Pi-Ramses (Kitchen, 1982, 220). The pillaging of stone, therefore, could mean that the two references found in Tanis mentioning "Tjehenu" land are not in their

original context. The first of these is a reference found on the Rhetorical Stela (II) from Tanis known colloquially as the "Sherden stela" who are mentioned at the end of the text:

> King of South & North Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life; who devastated the Asiatic [*Setetyw*] chiefs in their (own) land, who has destroyed the heritage of Shasu-land, who made them bring their dues to Egypt eternally and forever. 𓂝𓈖𓏏𓊖 (**Tjehenu**) is cast down under his feet, his slaughtering has prevailed over them. He has captured the country of the West, transformed into soldiery, to serve him. He is like Seth in the moment of his power, like Montu on his right hand for fighting. King of South & North Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II. Whose might has crossed the Great Green, (so that) the Isles-in-the-midst are in fear of him. They come to him bearing tribute of their chiefs, [his renown has seized] their minds. (As for) the Sherden of rebellious mind, whom none could ever fight against, who came bold-hearted, they sailed in, in warships from the midst of the Sea (KRI II, 289:14 – 290:3)

The reference to "Tjehenu" in this text, as restored by Kitchen is, according to his notes, "on a fragment not seen" (KRI II, 298 15 note 15a-a). The fragments mentioning "Tjehenu" were discovered by Pierre Montet in 1934 (Yoyotte, 1949, 61). Breasted's interpretation of this stela - which was made before the reference to "Tjehenu" was known – was to suggest that the reference to "the countries of the west" was indicative of a "Libyan" and "Sherden" alliance (BAR III sec. 489). As was pointed out above, however, the same phrase, "country of the west," is found in Tuthmosis III's Hymn of Victory at Karnak in reference to the Keftyw (Crete?) and Isy (Cyprus) [cf. BAR II, sec. 659].
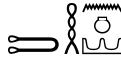
The only other notable mention of "Tjehenu" on fragments from Tanis is found in a very fragmentary text on an obelisk from Tanis (nr. XII) which suggests that Ramesses II forcibly resettled segments of the Tjehenu population. The text reads simply:

[Settling? the ea]st with **Tjehenu**.
(KRI II 426:6; Petrie, Tanis I (1889), pl. 11, nr. 65)

The text has been largely reconstructed by Kitchen and only traces of the word for "east" *iabtt* survive. From these two references from Tanis therefore, it appears that Ramesses II had some contact with the population of Tjehenu land, whose members may have had some connection with the Sherden and who were defeated, conscripted and resettled by Ramesses II "in the east." The action of resettling "the east" with Tjehenu from "the west" is partially corroborated by a reference found in the Temple of Abu Simbel.

Along the north wall of the entrance hall of Abu Simbel was a copy of the battle of Kadesh scenes. Opposite these scenes, on the south wall are –from east to west – depictions of the king attacking a Syrian fort, the king spearing an unnamed side-locked individual (copied from Seti I's second scene at Karnak) and the king returning to Egypt with Nubian prisoners. The montage is clearly meant to illustrate the motif of the king's mastery over the "Three Foreign Races." This theme is further expanded upon in the rhetorical text written next to the "spearing scene" in the middle of the tableau where the king's ability to relocate entire populations is stated.

> Good god who slays the Nine Bows, who tramples down the foreign countries of the northerners […lost…] puissant against the foreign countries, a swordsman valiant like Montu, who carries off the land of Nubia to the Northland, the Asiatics (Aamu) to Nubia (Ta-Setet), he has placed the Shasu in the west land, and has settled the ⬭𓂉𓍿𓅓 (**Tjehenu)** on the ridges (of Canaan?). Filled are the strongholds he has built with the plunder of his puissant strong arm – one who slays Khurru with his sword, Retenu having fallen to his slaughtering (KRI II, 206:14-16; BAR III, sec. 457)

The exact location of the resettlement of Tjehenu "on the ridges" is unknown. It has been suggested by Kitchen, however, that this was located somewhere in "the East Delta or of Canaan" (KRI II 205 note 9), though it may have been anywhere along the Levantine coast which was under the control of the Egyptians. Until further evidence is forthcoming it is impossible to provide a further explanation as to the meaning of this particular passage. Yet, if Ramesses II did resettle sections of the "western" Tjehenu-population in the Levant, it is equally interesting to note that the final references to this group from Ramesses

II's reign are found on the other side of the Egyptian Empire at the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham.

The fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham dates to the reign of Ramesses II, and appears to have been abandoned if not during, then shortly after his reign (Snape, 2003, 5). Inscriptions from this fortress have provided two tantalizing mentions of "Tjehenu." The first was discovered on a doorjamb while the second is mentioned on a stela from the site. Both references are contextually "rhetorical." The reference on the door-jamb, for instance, reads simply

"Good, valiant god who destroys Tjehenu" (KRI VII, 46:10)[21]

The only other reference to "Tjehenu" from the site of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham occurs on a private stela from this fort belonging to the standard bearer Amenmose:

Coming as supplicants (lit. "those who bow down"?),
the foreign land of Tjehenu (KRI VII, 126:17)

The two references to the Tjehenu group at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, almost certainly suggest that the purpose of the fortress at this site had something to do with the Tjehenu in the region. Yet other epigraphic evidence from this fort proves that the region in which this fortress was located was not called "Tjehenu" land, but was known instead as "Tjemehu"-land.

5.2.4 Tjemehu-land in Ramesses II's reign

After having no attestation in the Eighteenth Dynasty and only a dubious mention in Seti I's Karnak inscription, the term Tjemehu is once again clearly mentioned in a text on the surviving door-post at the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. The extant and heavily weathered text consists of only two lines of

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[21] Kitchens transcription is missing the *nw*-pot and *t*-sign which are evident on the Habachi plate.

which only the second half has been translated by Steven Snape "…*mnnw*-fortresses upon the foreign hill country of Timehu and the wells which are within them to refresh…" (Snape, 2003, 5).

Fig. 48 - Doorjamb mentioning Tjemehu-land at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham
[Photograph courtesy of Dr. Penny Wilson]

A full transcription of the text, however should read something like:

pDt n n[3?]y.i r rwi(.i) p3y.i.sn wht sprt n
[k3?]y[t?] mnnw [hr or r?] xst Timh šdyt m-ẖnw r b𝑐ḥ²²

A possible translation of this entire text might read something like:

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²² Thanks to Amr Gaber for aiding me with the transcription

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> "[…lost…] my Bowmen departed. Their failure to arrive at
> […lost…] fortresses [against/upon?] the foreign-land of Timehu, the
> wells which are within them refresh..."

The first column of this text is fairly difficult to understand, though it might provide evidence for the rationale behind the fort's construction, i.e. an expedition had been sent out along this coast and - not arriving at their destination - it was decided to build this fort (or series of forts) to protect the water supply for future expeditions.
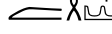
Such aetiological stories have a long history in Egyptian history. Seti I, for instance recorded building wells in el-Redesiyeh (see BAR, III, sec. 170; see also ibid., sec. 195). Ramesses II dug wells on the way to the gold-mining regions of the Wadi Alaki, in a passage reminiscent of the ZUR text:

> His majesty was[…] devising plans for digging wells on a road lacking in water, after hearing said that there was much gold in the country of Akita, whereas the road thereof was very lacking in water. If a few of the caravaneers of the gold-washing went thither, it was only half of them that arrived there, for they died of thirst on the road, together with the asses which they drove before them (BAR III, sec. 286).

Similarly, the foundation of the fortress at ZUR would appear to have been largely the result of having necessary wells along this route. The control of fresh-water wells in the region was undoubtedly a strategic ploy by the Egyptians. Not only did it ensure fresh-water for the garrison itself but also necessitated that anyone in the area would have to pass through the fortress to acquire this precious resource in the surrounding desert environment.

A renewed interest into the region of Tjemehu is attested from the reign of Ramesses II, and a campaign into the region was recorded by the Viceroy Setau and army commander Ramose on a stela at the Wadi Sebua.

> Year 44: His Majesty commanded the confident, the Viceroy of Nubia, Setau, together with army personnel of the company of Ramesses II,
>
> 'Amun protects his son', that he should take captives from the ⌒
> ⌒ ("land of **Tjemehu**") in order to build the Temple of Ramesses

II in the Domain of Amun, and the king also ordered the officer Ramose
to raise a force from the company
(Kitchen, Pharaoh Triumphant, 1982, 138)

It is possible, though by no means provable, that Setau passed through the
fortress of ZUR on his way to Tjemehu land. It is equally probable, however,
that he employed one of the caravan routes used a thousand years earlier by
Harkhuf to reach the land of Yam and, therefore, set out due west of Lower
Nubia as Harkhuf had done. Like all previous mentions of Tjemehu-land, the
evidence from this text reinforces the idea that Tjemehu-land continued to be a
region accessible overland from the Nile Valley.

5.2.5 Summary: Tjehenu and Tjemehu to the end of Ramesses II's Reign

During the course of the century which comprised Seti I and Ramesses II's
reigns, the Egyptians had increased and sustained contact with the population
known as Tjehenu. While Egyptian texts are explicit in referring to Tjehenu-land
as a location "in the west," references to the Tjehenu-people are, conversely,
vague and subject to interpretation. Many of the references to Tjehenu-
population in these texts do not imply that the Egyptians encountered this group
in Tjehenu-land. Instead, references to Tjehenu-people from the Nineteenth
Dynasty suggest that the Egyptians encountered this population throughout the
Eastern Mediterranean.

Based on the context of Seti I's depiction of this group at Karnak, for instance, it
is possible to suggest that the first encounter which the Egyptians had with the
Tjehenu-people in the Nineteenth Dynasty took place in Syria. While the exact
location of this encounter is not explicit, it is perhaps possible to infer from the
context that it occurred in a region between Kadesh and Hittite-controlled
territory, perhaps not that distant from the region in which Tuthmosis III had
possibly encountered a similar group a century and a half earlier.

Under Ramesses II, the Tjehenu are said to arrive in Egypt with a variety of
tribute – for the first time since the reign of Hatshepsut - some of which is

corroborated by mentions of similar products arriving in Egypt from this land in earlier times. Similarly, for the first time, they are said to have been conscripted into the Egyptian army as mercenaries. While the location of Tjehenu-land appears to have continued to be to "the west" of Egypt, there are vague, incomplete references which suggest that Ramesses resettled a portion of this population "in the east." Indeed, as was observed in the last chapter, Ramesses II may have encountered side-locked individuals in the "Asiatic" migdol fortress of Satuna.

The act of resettling populations from one end of the empire to the other was typical of Ramesside Egypt as well as surrounding countries (such as the Hittites and Assyrians; Hoffmeier, 1996, 113). The records of Ramesses II suggest large-scale population changes in all the regions around Egypt. We cannot underestimate the political and social fallout which this resettlement program may have had on the indigenous peoples of the region. This may have been as significant as it is in regions where similar processes have taken place in modern times.

Whether the "settling the east with Tjehenu" was a forcible relocation or merely a laissez-faire attitude towards a population of "Tjehenu" who had migrated there of their own volition, however, is impossible to tell from the fragmentary record.

In addition to the vague references suggesting that the Egyptians possibly encountered segments of the Tjehenu population in "the east," from the reign of Ramesses II, there is also evidence that the Egyptians encountered the Tjehenu population along the North Coast at the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. The region in which this encounter took place, however, is clearly identified in the inscriptions from the fortress as "Tjemehu-land." As such, it is possibly the first encounter by the Egyptians of a Tjehenu population in Tjemehu-land since Amenemhet I's reign in the Twelfth Dynasty and the record of a similar encounter in the story of Sinuhe. While it is unclear how long the fortress of

Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham remained in operation, it is clear from the inscription at the Wadi Sebua that the Egyptians were campaigning into Tjemehu-land for the express purpose of obtaining slaves to build Ramesses II's temples in Nubia as late as Ramesses' Year 44.

Within the epigraphic record up to the end of Ramesses II's reign, therefore, it is clear that the location of Tjemehu-land remained constant and was, specifically, the region immediately adjoining Egypt to the west and that it included, at least, the area around the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. Conversely, there continues to be no clear indication of where the Egyptians understood the land of Tjehenu whose population was encountered in both Tjemehu-land in the west, the Levant in the east and possibly as far away as the Aegean.

At the death of Ramesses II, however, turmoil was brewing in the eastern Mediterranean. Within five years, Ramesses' successor, Merneptah, would have to deal with the new threat of a mass migration on a scale unwitnessed in the ancient world. Warriors from beyond the sea descended in hordes first upon Tjehenu-land, then upon the Egyptian empire itself. At their head, according to the Egyptian records was one man, "the despicable chief of the Rebu, Meryey son of Dydy."

5.3 Egypt's encounters with the Rebu

The "Rebu" first appear in Egyptian sources during Ramesses II's reign. All of these are highly fragmentary, heavily rhetorical and none are dated. Three examples dating from Ramesses' reign refer to the Rebu are from the sites of Tanis (KRI II, 407:7), el-Alamein (KRI II, 475:7), and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (unpublished, but see Simpson, 2002, 2).[23] A fourth reference dated to Merneptah's reign — but referring back to Ramesses II —— is found in Papyrus Anastasi II (line 3,4; Kitchen, 1990, 17). Because of their fragmentary nature,

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[23] I have also seen an image of this monument in a presentation by Steven Snape at the ICAM Conference in Cairo, 26-29 October 2008.

these records will not be discussed here, but are listed in the Appendix C with bibliographic references.

The concentration of references to the Rebu along the north coast during Ramesses II's reign may suggest that this location was the primary region in which contact with this group occurred. It is, however, not enough to indicate that the group was indigenous to this region as is commonly assumed. The fragmentary records of this initial contact leave nothing regarding the origins of the Rebu and indicate little more than the fact that the Egyptians began to have contact with a population called "Rebu" beginning in Ramesses II's reign. On account of the fact that none of Ramesses II's records of the Rebu are dated, it is impossible to say when the Egyptians first began to encounter this group. What is certain, however, is that shortly after Ramesses II's death, his successor Merneptah was forced to fend off an invasion of a coalition force spearheaded by the chief of the Rebu.

By far the most important documents relating to the history of the Rebu are those describing Merneptah's war against them at the mid-point, in Year 5, of his brief 10 year reign (1212-1202 BC). The events of the campaign are recorded on various fragmentary documents found throughout Egypt. These include Merneptah's Great Karnak inscription (KRI IV 2:12ff.), the Victory Stela from his mortuary temple (also known as the "Israel Stela") and the copy of this stela at Karnak (KRI IV 12:10ff.), the Kom el-Ahmar ("Athribis") Stela (KRI IV 19:15ff.) as well as the four identical copies from Amada, Amara West, Wadi es-Sebua and Aksha (KRI IV 1:1 ff & 33:1ff.; for a full list of all possible copies, published and unpublished, see Manassa, 2003, 2 & note 6).

The first extant mention of the Rebu in the Great Karnak inscription does not, in fact, occur until line 13 when the king is informed that the Rebu "have descended upon Tjehenu-land."

> One came in order to say to his majesty in Year 5, second month of Shomu to the effect that: "the wretched chief of the enemies of the Rebu, Meryey son of Dydy, [hieroglyphs] ("has

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descended upon the land of Tjehenu") together with his bowmen. […lost…] Sherden, Sheklesh, Akawasha, Lukka, Tursha, consisting of the seizure of the best of every fighter and every runner of his foreign land; he brings his wife and children […lost…] the great chiefs of the tent. It is at the field of Perire that he reached the western borders." (Manassa, 2003, 23)

In this text there is no indication in this text of where Tjehenu-land was located in relation to Egypt, and it is possible that the invasion of "Tjehenu" territory was not actually witnessed by the Egyptians but merely reported to them. Indeed, there is no other mention of Tjehenu in the extant 79 lines of the remaining Karnak Text. The term might appear again at the end of the inscription within the name of the fortress where the booty was brought, "Merneptah-who-(hems-in)-the-[…]*nw*," though this must remain uncertain.

The remainder of the text appears to describe the campaign of Merneptah against the Rebu-coalition to the west of Egypt. According to the text of the Karnak Inscription, Merneptah engaged the coalition army under the command of "the Rebu, Meryey son of Dydy" on the eve of Year 5, Third month of Shomu, Day 3 at the plain of Per-ire. The exact location of the latter geographical term remains disputed, but is generally presumed to have been located somewhere in the western Delta (Manassa, 2003, 25). The battle is said to have lasted six hours (line 33; KRI IV, 6: 4) at a loss of almost 7000 men of the Rebu-coalition slain or captured. In defeat, we are informed by the inscription that Meryey son of Dydy fled the battle field. In the proclamation of victory, the Karnak inscription at line 43 reads:

> The enemy Meryey has fled by himself, because of his failure (?), having got past me in the depths of night, safely [… 15 groups lost… ending in poverty?] and destitution (?)/ Every god has failed him, for Egypt's sake. The threats he uttered they have failed; all that his mouth had spoken is turned upon his (own) head, and his condition is unknown, whether dead [or alive… 15 groups lost…] You have [stripped] him of his power. If he lives, he will not rule again, for he is now fallen, an enemy to his own army. It is you who have taken us, to cause to be slain [… 16 groups lost….] among/from the land of Tjemehu (KRI IV, 7:4-7)

From an initial attack on Tjehenu-land, therefore, Meryey's coalition force was ultimately defeated on the plains of Per-ire and Meryey fled into the "land of

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Tjemehu." In all references to Tjemehu-land already discussed, it is clear that this territory lay to the west of Egypt in North Africa. There is no indication from this text, however, that Tjehenu and Tjemehu-lands were similarly located and the initial attack on Tjehenu-land need not have been in proximity to Egypt. Indeed, while the Karnak Inscription is, by far, the most exhaustive source referring to the battle which Merneptah fought against a Rebu-led coalition in his Year 5, it is, as the above texts show, heavily damaged. A précis of the battle is provided in the form of the "Victory Stela" of Merneptah discovered by Petrie in Merneptah's mortuary temple on the west Bank of Thebes.

The Victory Stela, also known as the "Israel Stela" is, after the Great Karnak Inscription, the most complete document relating to Merneptah's war of Year 5. The text was inscribed on the verso of a stela originally set up by Amenhotep III (see above).While not quite as explicit as the details found in the Great Karnak Inscription, two passages in the "Israel Stela" might provide corroborating evidence to the latter text. In line 11 of the stela a passage reads:

> They [the Rebu] have ceased living pleasantly, in roaming about the meadows. Their wandering was ended in just a day, ("the **Tjehenu** were consumed in just a year/ a time"). [KRI, IV, 15:9-11]

The passage, though cryptic, is possibly a reference to the Rebu invasion of "Tjehenu"-land as recorded in the great Karnak inscription (above). Another echo of the Rebu invasion of Tjehenu-land is possibly also found in the colophon of the Victory Stela:

> All the rulers are prostrate, saying 'Salaam,' not one among the Nine Bows dare raise his head. . ("Plundered is **Tjehenu")**, Hatti is at peace, Carried off is Canaan with every evil. Brought away is Ascalon, taken is Gezer, Yenoam is reduced to non-existence; Israel is laid waste, having no seed, Khurru has become widowed because of Nile-land. All lands together are at

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Peace, and everyone who roamed about has been subdued. [KRI IV, 19:3-9]

It has generally been assumed that the reference to "Tjehenu" in this passage is merely a scribal form of referring back to the Rebu-campaign recounted in the rest of the stela (Edelman, 1985, 60 note 4). Alternatively, it has been suggested by Uphill that the Tjehenu in this passage refer to "the Libyan Meshwesh" (Uphill, 1966, 399), for which he provides no corroborating proof. Like Seti I's campaign illustrated at Karnak, the mention of the Tjehenu in the above passage appears slightly incongruous within a passage referring to the regions of Hatti, Canaan, Ascalon, Gezer, Yenoam, Israel and Khurru which are all known to exist to the East of Egypt.

Apart from the "Tjehenu," therefore all the other toponyms mentioned in the above passage are quite clearly located in Western Asia. It is possible that this reference is to a similar "Tjehenu" population found in western Asia during Merneptah's reign – possibly descended from those encountered there by Seti I or by those "resettled" there by Ramesses II. Alternatively, it is possible that the location of a western "Tjehenu" land is placed within its correct sequence at the head of this list. The "directionality" of the rest of the list seems to go from north (Hatti) to south (Israel). If Tjehenu-land is part of this same progression, then it follows that it was, possibly, located to the north (and west?) of the land of Hatti in Anatolia.

The only other mention of "Tjehenu" in the Victory Stela is found in a reference to them in the celebrations following the victory in line 21:

> Jubilation rings forth in the towns of the Nile Land, they tell of the victories that Merneptah has achieved [hieroglyphs] ("in **Tjehenu")** [KRI IV, 18:1]

On the one hand, the mention to Tjehenu in this passage may suggest that Merneptah campaigned in Tjehenu-land, whereas all other references to this campaign suggest that the Rebu coalition was encountered in Tjemehu-land. The

reference, however, may be similar to the rhetorical use of "Tjehenu" campaigns found in Ramesses II's inscriptions above.

In the aftermath of Merneptah's victories over the Rebu-led coalition, the political situation in Egypt descended into a brief period of anarchy (Clayton, 1999, 160). For almost the next thirty years there is little evidence for Egyptian foreign contact, yet one can only presume that the situation in the Eastern Mediterranean had not improved much and that migratory populations were still very much a common occurrence.

When the records resume in any significance during the reign of Ramesses III, the situation appears largely unchanged to that in Merneptah's day. Like Merneptah, Ramesses III also records fighting the Rebu population in his Year 5 in Tjemehu-land. The events of this campaign are narrated and depicted on the walls of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. On account of the concordance of the Year 5 date between both Merneptah's and Ramesses III's campaign against the Rebu as well as the description of this campaign occurring in Tjemehu-land, it has been suggested by Leonard Lesko that the Ramesses III's record of this event is not, in fact historical. According to Lesko:

> It seems to me that the first Libyan War of Year 5, although it was the largest record at Medinet Habu in 76 columns of text, was probably not fought by Ramesses III. I say this because, coincidentally, the Libyan War of Merneptah had occurred in his 5th Year and two of the named chieftains [Meryey and Dydy] are the same in each text. Assuming that Ramesses III borrowed the so-called first Libyan war from Merneptah, it obviously would not have been from the stela [i.e. the "Israel Stela"] but rather from his mortuary temple, now totally destroyed, but located originally directly between Medinet Habu and the Ramesseum [i.e. Ramesses II's mortuary temple], source of so many of Ramesses III's other borrowings (Lesko, 1992, 153)

Indeed, the Rebu only appear in a very cursory manner at Medinet Habu and are mentioned only a dozen times in the temple texts. Curiously, the Rebu are never mentioned explicitly in any of the battle scenes of this monument although they do constitute all of the captives obtained from Ramesses III's Year-5 campaign in Tjemehu-land.

Apart from their mentions as prisoners depicted in the aftermath of the Ramesses III's various campaigns during his first twelve years, the most explicit references to Rebu at Medinet Habu are found in texts mentioning them as part of a larger coalition force. They are mentioned once, for instance, in an inscription on the west exterior wall of Medinet Habu –supposedly associated with a date of Year 5- where they are closely associated with the groups called Sepedu and Meshwesh:

> Then one came to say to His Majesty: "The Tjehenu are in motion [*tfy*]; they are making a conspiracy. They are gathered and assembled without number consisting of Rebu, Seped, Meshwesh, lands assembled to advance themselves, to aggrandize themselves against Egypt" (Edgerton and Wilson, 1936,7)

The context of this passage suggests that, at this time, the term "Tjehenu" was an umbrella-term to describe the coalition of Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh. It is also obvious from the context of the scenes in the external north-west corner of Medinet Habu that Ramesses III encountered this coalition in the region known as Tjemehu-land. This encounter is further spelled out in the account of the campaign found in the Year 5 inscription along the south wall of the second court,

 (KRI V, 22:12)
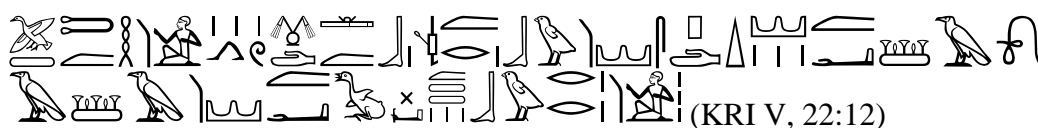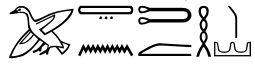
> The land of Tjemehu came, united in one place, even Rebu, Sepedu and Meshwesh levied from the lands of Buriru (transl. Kitchen)

In this passage we have, perhaps our first tantalizing bit of information regarding the origins of the Rebu, Sepedu and Meshwesh. While this coalition appears to have been encountered by the Egyptians in Tjemehu land, the inscription is quite clear in the fact that these groups originated from the "Land of Buriru." The latter is perhaps literally translated as "the place of the two mouths." There is no indication, however, where this mysterious land was located and it is unattested elsewhere in Egyptian sources.

Because of their association with the Rebu, previous commentators have assumed the Sepedu and Meshwesh are "Libyans" (Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 20). From the above passages, however, it appears that the Rebu, Sepedu and Meshwesh coalition were considered by the Egyptians to be "Tjehenu" from the "Land of Buriru" who were encountered by Ramesses III in Tjemehu-land. This same coalition is found associated with every major campaign illustrated on the exterior walls of Medinet Habu conducted by Ramessses III from Years 8 and 11 as well.

A reference to the same tripartite coalition is mentioned, for instance, in the aftermath of Tjemehu-campaign and the text immediately preceding the encounter of Ramesses III with the "Sea Peoples" on the exterior north wall of Medinet Habu:

> You see the many benefits that Amun-Re, King of the Gods, has performed for Pharaoh, his son. He has carried off ("the land of **Tjemehu**,"). Sepedu and Meshwesh who were ruining Egypt daily, (but) now laid prostrate under my sandals (KRI V, 14:15-15:1).

In this unique passage, the "Rebu" have been replaced with the term "Tjemehu" - the region from which the Rebu-coalition had attacked Egypt in Year 5. By this time in the narrative along the north wall, the Egyptian army had just returned from Tjemehu-land and is marshalling for war and the march to Djahy to engage the "Sea Peoples." The content of this inscription therefore may be foreshadowing the defeat of the Sepedu and Meshwesh in the scenes which follow while also indicating the completion of the Tjemehu-land campaign against the (unnamed) Rebu in Tjemehu-land.

The final mention of the Rebu, Seped and Meshwesh coalition is in the great inscription of Year 11 located in the First Court of Medinet Habu:

> The land of Meshwesh was devastated all at once; the Rebu and Seped were destroyed, so that their seed was not." (Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 84; KRI, V, 65; MH, II, pl. 83)

The context of this inscription is the defeat of the armies of the Meshwesh in Ramesses III's Year 11. Whereas in all previous mentions of this coalition, the Meshwesh were placed at the end of the list on account of the fact that they are the last to be defeated, here they are placed at the beginning because the accompanying text is entirely about them.

The Rebu, Sepedu and Meshwesh coalition, therefore, is referred to in the context of the three major campaigns of Ramesses III depicted on the exterior north wall of Medinet Habu. Each of Ramesses III's campaigns in Year 5, 8 and 11, therefore might reflect a campaign against each group specifically. As such, the Rebu are illustrated at the west of the temple in a campaign dated to Year 5 and located in Tjemehu-land. Similarly, the Meshwesh are illustrated specifically at the East end of the temple in a campaign dated to Year 11. It follows that the term Sepedu, which is vaguely referred to at the beginning of the so-called "Sea People" campaign in Year 8 is, in fact, referential to this latter, heterogeneous group.

It is possible, for instance, that the term "Seped" is derived from a diminutive meaning "pointed, sharp." As such, one could argue that the term referred to the unique, pointed helmets which many of the so-called "Sea Peoples" – and specifically the group known as the Sherden - are illustrated as wearing at Medinet Habu. One could argue, therefore, that the term "Sepedu" is yet another term to refer to the groups currently identified as the "Sea-People" against whom Ramesses III is depicted campaigning in the center of the exterior north wall at Medinet Habu.

5.3.1 Summary: The History and Geography of the Rebu

References to the population known to the Egyptians as the "Rebu" begin quite suddenly during the reign of Ramesses II. The sudden appearance of Rebu in Egyptian sources, however, provides us with no indication as to their origins. While the Egyptians often encountered this group to the west of Egypt, in the region they understood as "Tjemehu-land" there is no indication that the Rebu originated from this region and the close association which this group had with

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other so-called "Sea Peoples" suggests that they are most likely associated with this larger heterogeneous population group of equally mysterious origin.

The geographic clues found within Egyptian accounts of Merneptah's battle against the Rebu are equally vague. While the geography of Merneptah's battle in Year 5 can be vaguely reconstructed based on the surviving texts, this geography is as indicative of providing clues regarding the "home-land" of the Rebu as it is for the rest of the groups which accompanied them. Indeed, all that can be said for certain is that on the plains of the Perire, Meryey's army was defeated and captured. Meryey himself appears to have fled into the desert of Tjemehu-land and disappears from the historical record.

Almost thirty years after Merneptah engaged the Rebu-coalition at the plains of Per-ire – on the anniversary of Merneptah's victory – Ramesses III illustrated a similar campaign on the walls of his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu. The similarities between these two campaigns in both date and location have led some scholars to believe that Ramesses III's campaign is not to be considered historical. Whether it was historical or not, however, Ramesses' artists clearly depicted this campaign in Tjemehu-land and indicated in no uncertain terms that the population against whom the Egyptians fought was known as "Rebu."

However, despite campaigning in Tjemehu-land, there is no indication at Medinet Habu that the Rebu were in fact *from* Tjemehu-land. Indeed, all the indications from Medinet Habu suggest that the Egyptians understood the Rebu – along with the Seped and Meshwesh –as being *from* Tjehenu-land or the more mysterious location of Buriru.

At Medinet Habu there appears to be a narrative thread running through the texts of this temple regarding the Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh which, if followed, suggests that the Egyptian artist depicted these three groups as the three main antagonists in the Year 5, 8, and 11 campaigns along the north wall respectively. Consequently, Ramesses III recorded a war against the Rebu (in Tjemehu-land) in his Year 5; a war against the Tjekker, Peleset, Danuna, Sheklesh, Washash

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and Rebu in his Year 8; and a war against the Meshwesh (instigated by the Rebu) in his Year 11.

5.4 Egypt's encounter with the Meshwesh

At the end of the Nineteenth Century it was generally been accepted that the group that the Egyptians called the "Meshwesh" was to be equated with a tribes called the Maxues and Machles found in Herodotus and the Mazues in Hecateus. This identification was derived, in the first instance, from the similar iconography used by the Egyptian artist to depict both the Meshwesh and the Rebu. Consequently it was believed the Meshwesh were therefore "Libyan" and that a Herodotean "Libyan" tribe could be associated vaguely linguistically with the Meshwesh.

Although some scholars question the explicit acceptance of this equation (O'Connor, 1990, 35), their implicit acceptance of the identity of the "Meshwesh" is illustrated by the common reference to this group as "Libyan" and their existence in North Africa [Breasted, BAR IV, sec.83ff.; Bates, 1914, 46; Wainwright, 1962, 89ff.; O'Connor, 1990, passim].

It is generally agreed that the homeland of the Meshwesh lay to the west of Egypt, and specifically to the west of the Tjehenu-land (O'Connor, 1990, 35; Kitchen, 1990, 16; Osing, 1980, 1018). Bates placed the Meshwesh to the west of the Rebu in North Africa based on the belief that, as he believed them to be the last mentioned group in the Egyptian records, they were *ipso facto* further away (Bates, 1914, 51).

Bates' work, however, derived much of its theoretical base from the previous works of Petrie, Breasted and Brugsch from whose work he created his Ethnological Maps. Indeed, Brugsch was so confident that the Meshwesh were the Maxues of Herodotus, that in many of his works, for example *A History of Egypt Under the Pharaohs* (1879, 149) he simply substituted the latter term for the former.
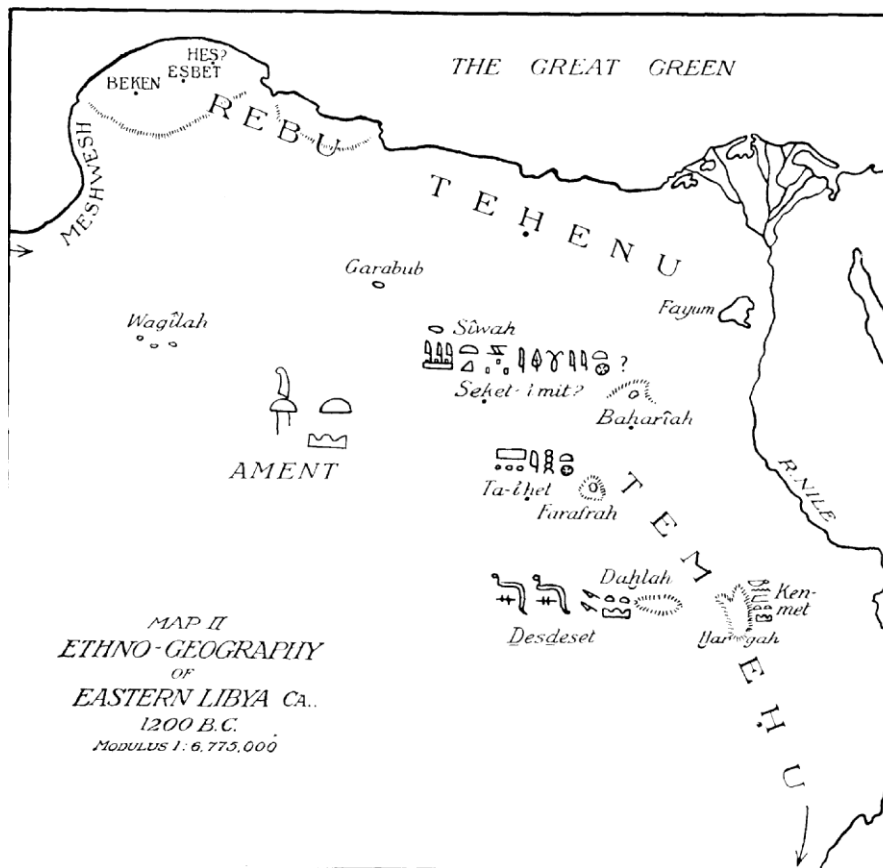
Map 3 – "Ethno-Geography" of Eastern Libya [from Bates, 1914, 50]

More recent scholarship has begun to place this population arbitrarily closer to Egypt. The most widely accepted placement of this group, following O'Connor (1990), is in the region of Cyrenaica in modern day Libya. The reason for this shift, as O'Connor states is on account that "[The] equation between the Meshwesh and the Maxues is by no means certain and is in itself insufficient evidence to locate the Meshwesh so far to the West" (O'Connor, 1990, 35). Yet he maintains that this group must ultimately be understood as "Libyan" and goes on to equate them with the Tjemehu (ibid, *passim.*).

5.5 Discussion and analysis:

From the beginning of Egyptian history, the texts from ancient Egypt make reference to "Tjehenu." Early references to this term suggest that it was associated with trees and a substance derived from trees, known as "Tjehenu-oil." While the Egyptians make references to the fact that Tjehenu-prisoners were brought back into Egypt from as early as the reign of Sneferu, and prisoners

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associated with the Haty-a Tjehenu are again depicted in the reign of Sahure, there is no indication in any of these early historical documents of where this land or its population were located. Indeed, all "historic" references to Tjehenu from the Old Kingdom suggest that the Tjehenu were arriving in Egypt. There is not a single reference to the Egyptians going to Tjehenu-land, whose location vis-à-vis Egypt is not made explicit.

Vague references in the Pyramid texts of the Old Kingdom suggest that Tjehenu-land was generally believed to be located on the western horizon of Egypt. It was a place through which the deceased monarch passed on his way to becoming an Imperishable Star. The denizens of this land within the magical, mortuary context of these religious texts are described as "slayers," "foreign kings" and the "Nine Bows." While the geography of the Hereafter in Egyptian belief was, generally, a mirror reflection of the contemporary geography, there is nothing apart from the fact that Tjehenu-land was located in "the west" and presumably a great distance away, which can be gleaned from these texts.

By the Middle Kingdom, references to the Tjehenu in the coffin texts confirm its position as one of the "Three Foreign Races" outside Egypt. Its exact geographical position towards Egypt, however, continues to be elusive. Like the Old Kingdom references, there is no indication that Egyptians ever travelled to Tjehenu-land, and the major contact which the Egyptians appear to have had with this group is the arrival of "those who live among Tjehenu-land" to the west of Egypt in Tjemehu-land.

Unlike references to the quasi-mythical Tjehenu-land, all references to Tjemehu-land from the Old Kingdom through to the end of the Middle Kingdom are explicit in locating this region. It was a region which was accessible to Egyptian caravans overland. Presumably, the eastern boundary of Tjemehu-land was in the vicinity of the "oasis road" which ran through to Dakhleh oasis in the south. Its northern boundary was clearly the Mediterranean Sea, along this coast-line it may have abutted the western Delta.

While Tjemehu-land and Tjehenu-land were both used to refer to regions to the "west," there is no indication from the texts down to the Middle Kingdom that they were considered by the Egyptians to be indicative of the same region or otherwise confused. Instead, the fact that the Egyptian scribe referred to these groups together in the same documents as well as discretely in different documents, suggests that a differentiation was known. Moreover, all evidence points to the fact that Tjemehu-land was a region which was accessible to the Egyptians overland in way that no references to Tjehenu-land make clear.

During the New Kingdom, Egypt came into significantly greater contact with Tjehenu-populations who, from the context of the inscriptions, appear to be wandering around the Eastern Mediterranean. At times, the Tjehenu appear in mentions which would place them contextually in the Aegean, in Asia, or in North Africa. Under Hatshepsut they are referred to as arriving in Egypt with tribute consisting of ivory and tusks, while similar tribute is attested two centuries later under Ramesses II. In contrast to the mobility of the people referred to in Egyptian texts as "Tjehenu," the region of Tjemehu continues to be referred to consistently as the region to the west of Egypt in North Africa. Though seemingly rarely visited throughout the New Kingdom, for a brief period under Ramesses II, Tjemehu-land acquired a permanent Egyptian garrison at the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham which is said to have been built explicitly "on Tjemehu-land."

Both the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and the mobility of the Tjehenu people seem to have come to an end at some point around Year 5 of Merneptah, ca. 1208 BC. In this year, a coalition of "northerners and wanderers of all lands," headed by a group known as the Rebu descended upon Tjehenu-land and progressed towards Egypt.

The origins of the Rebu are mysterious. Just as the 'homelands' of the various "Sea people" groups has been questioned in recent years (Cline and O'Connor, 2003, 112; see above, chapter 2) so too should the implicit assumption that the homeland of the Rebu lay in "Libya." The earliest mentions of the Rebu are found in Egyptian texts discovered along the north coast stretching from el-

Alamein to Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. While these tidbits strongly suggest that the Egyptians encountered the Rebu group along this coastline, it is a logical leap to suggest that the sudden appearance of this group is explicable by them being *indigenous* to this region. Indeed, a line of fortresses, protecting a coastline suggest that the defensive strategy was not a series of fall-back-positions aimed westward towards Libya, but a Maginot-type northwards defense towards the Mediterranean (Richardson, 1999, 151). All that can be said for certain regarding the origins of the Rebu is that they are described by the Egyptians as being encountered along the North Coast of Egypt in the company of various other groups whose origins remain equally elusive.

The first contextual references to the Rebu only begin in the reign of Merneptah. These suggest that the Egyptians interpreted the Rebu group to be closely associated with other "Sea Peoples." It follows, therefore, that the Rebu were merely *one group* of the so-called "Sea Peoples" whose large scale migrations throughout the Eastern Mediterranean are well documented in Egyptian sources from the Thirteenth and Twelfth centuries.

The Rebu reappear in Egyptian sources under Ramesses III where they are illustrated for the first time using the iconographic stereotype previously reserved for the Tjehenu and are explicitly referred to as being encountered by the Egyptians in Tjemehu-land. Whereas Merneptah's inscription describes the Rebu and their allies "descending upon Tjehenu-land," Ramesses III's inscription appears to suggest that the Egyptian scribes identified the coalition of Rebu, Sepedu and Meshwesh as all originating in Tjehenu-land.

Significantly, there is nothing within the textual record of ancient Egypt which suggests that the groups known as the Tjehenu, Rebu and Meshwesh in Egyptian sources were indigenous inhabitants of North Africa. Indeed, by lumping all of these groups together, and applying the term "Libyan" to them, one fails to appreciate the nuances of the Egyptian texts used to describe these various groups and the unique historical interaction which each group had with ancient Egypt. This nuance, however, is only visible by examining the context associated with individual terms. Having established the context in which the ethnonyms

are found, it is possible to study the terms themselves. To this end the following chapter will examine the nomenclature associated with the groups under study. It will begin by examining the etymologies of the group names themselves and then progress to examine the personal names of the actors associated with the various ethnonyms.

Chapter 6: *E Pluribus Unum*?

One of the main features of foreign identity in ancient Egypt are the numerous names used to describe foreign groups. The way in which a group is identified by its name is usually the result of one of two scenarios: either the name is one given to a group by outsiders (exonymic), or the name is derived from within the group (endonymic) and is used both by the group as well as by outsiders. As Sparks points out:

> Exonyms generally focus on some distinguishing feature of the named group as viewed from the "etic" perspective (outsider's point of view). Especially frequent in these names is a focus on geographic distinctiveness (as in the case of the *Sea-peoples* described in Egyptian texts) or on cultural distinctiveness, as seen in the case of the *Shasu*, a name coined with reference to their nomadic lifestyle (if Egyptian in origin) or to their vandal tendencies (if West Semitic in origin)
> [Sparks, 1998, 107 note 44]

Within these two scenarios the names given to a particular group are often associated with a particular language. Thus, in exonymic naming, the ultimate name of the group is derived from the language of outsiders and applied to the group who –most likely – do not apply the same name to themselves in their own language. Contrarily, endonymic names appear as foreign loan-words in the languages of outsiders who may not share a common language with the subject group. In a few instances, there exists a third naming process whereby the name applied to the particular group (Group A) by an outside group (Group B) is derived from the language of Group A – and is, therefore, "foreign" to Group B - but is not the endonymic form applied by Group A to itself. A perfect example of this latter form of nomenclature which is neither purely endonymic nor exonymic is found in the name of Egypt itself which is used by the Greeks (Group B) to describe the Egyptians (Group A) and, although ultimately derived from the Egyptian *Hawt-Ka-Ptah* ("the temple of the soul of the god Ptah"), is not in fact the endonym used by the Egyptians themselves to describe themselves –who are more likely to refer to themselves as Remetch ("the people") and their land as Kemet ("the black land") or Ta-Meri ("the beloved land").

6.1 The Etymologies of Tjehenu and Tjemehu-Lands

One of the earliest comments on the etymology of Tjehenu-land was Newberry's study (1915, 97ff.) of this term. He concluded that the common occurrence of a substance known as Tjehenu-oil was "olive oil," and by consequence, Tjehenu-land was "olive land." His hypothesis rests largely on the tenet that "countries were often named by the Egyptians, as by other peoples, after the chief product of the land" (Newberry, 1915, 97). Thus, Lower Egypt was "Flax land," Middle Egypt "Reed-land," Syria "the land of the Netjer-(wood)-pole" and Nubia "Bow-land" (ibid). Similarly, Tjehenu-oil was the product of "olive land."

These conclusions were thoroughly criticized by Ludwig Keimer (1931, 121ff.). Although Keimer didn't suggest an alternative hypothesis for the origin or nature of Tjehenu oil, he was wholly against the idea that "Tjehenu oil" was the product of olive trees (ibid, *passim*). One of Keimer's main arguments was that to know what this product of Tjehenu land was, one would have to know where precisely to locate Tjehenu-land (ibid, 132). On this latter point, both authors follow Sethe's interpretation of the "Tjehenu Palette" (1913, 78) in agreeing that Tjehenu – being the earliest named foreign group was ipso facto proximal to Egypt and therefore immediately west of Egypt in North Africa.

Keimer points out that olives are not native to Egypt (1931, 123) and even less so to the fringes of the western Delta and Northern Coast (ibid) where Newberry chose to place his "olive-land" (1915, 97). This position has more recently been confirmed by paleo-environmental studies in the region, which suggest that the wild olive is native only to regions above the 32 parallel (Zohary and Hopf, 1993, 39 map 15). Only once it is domesticated, can the Mediterranean olive grow south of this parallel, as they are currently found. Indeed, while olive trees are common in modern Egypt, olive-trees only began to be imported into Egypt during the New Kingdom (Keimer, ibid.). However, because Keimer remained of the opinion that Tjehenu-land must be in Libya, he also remained at a loss for a suggestion for which product might constitute "oil from Tjehenu-land." Consequently, it has become common in the literature on the subject to refer to Tjehenu-oil as "Libyan oil."
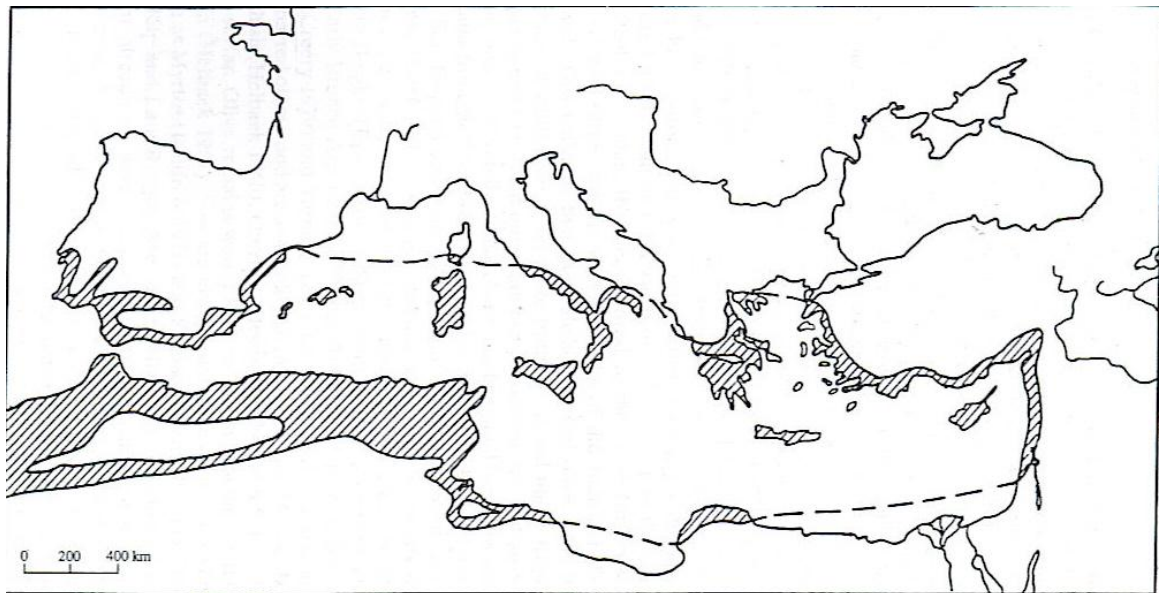
**Map 4 – natural distribution of Olea europaea around Mediterranean
[Zohary and Hopf, 1993, map 15]**

A more recent discussion into the etymology of Tjehenu-land is found in Posener who suggests:

> Voici une possibilité: *Tmhw* n'a pas d'étymologie égyptienne satisfaisante. Ce doit être le nom que se donnaient des Libyens. Au contraire, *Thnw*, premier attesté, s'explique bien par l'égyptien. Il vient de la racine *thn* "étinceler" qui décrirait le desert avec son aveuglante lumière, habitat des Libyens. On peut penser que, pour commencer, les Egyptiens ont déformé légèrement le nom de leurs voisins occidentaux pour lui donner un sens dans leur langue. Ils on adopté ensuite *Tmhw*, tout en gardant *Thnw* notament dans le style noble. (1987, 51f.)

Though ingenious, there is no evidence in support of this explanation. There is no evidence that the "ethnic" term Tjehenu was derived from the Egyptian perception of the "luminous" aspect of the desert. Nor does such an exonymic explanation work well with a population group. Why, for instance, were these supposed people of the Western desert, the Tjehenu, named after the aspect of the desert itself, while the nomads of the eastern desert, the Shasu, were named after a qualitative aspect of their culture, namely their nomadism?

Along a different line of reasoning, Colleen Manassa has recently proposed that the nomenclature of the Tjehenu and Tjemehu was derived from geographic and linguistic differentiations:

Tjehenu is most likely a geographically-based term for northern Libyan groups, Tjemehu apparently refers to any nomadic group inhabiting the western desert. Like the linguistically based designation Aamu for Western Asiatic Semitic speakers, it is possible that Tjemehu is a reference to the Berber language shared by geographically dispersed Libyan groups. (2003, 83)

The primary problem with all of these etymologies, however, is that they are either anachronistic or – in Manassa's explanation - presume prior knowledge of the language being spoken. The Egyptian word Tjehen "to be bright," and the substance "Tjehenu-oil," could both be derived from association with the earlier attested Tjehenu-population and Tjehenu-land which is the earliest form attested. As such Tjehenu-land could just as easily be an endonymic nomenclature which was later adopted by the Egyptians to refer to a particular type of oil (imported from said region) and later references to "brightness" derived perhaps from some physical quality associated with this region or population – or indeed, from a *different* etymological root altogether.

Consider two possibilities: If Tjehenu-land is exonymic (derived by the Egyptians) and Tjemehu-land is endonymic (derived by the Tjemehu themselves), then it is quite possible that these two terms refer to the same place. In such a scenario, however, it becomes impossible to determine the scribal reasoning behind the choice of two different names when such terms are found together (i.e. Sinuhe, Execration texts). If the two terms are endonymic, however, the proposition that these two terms refer to the same place becomes much less likely and the necessity for scribal differentiation becomes much clearer.

The assumption that Tjemehu and Tjehenu are basically the same group of people, which is found in previous scholarship, largely negates the question of ancient identity as it begins with the presumption that this identity is already known. While there are many similarities between Tjehenu and Tjemehu lands, there are also significant differences which can be gleaned about these places through an analysis of their use within Egyptian texts and ultimately suggest that

Tjehenu-land and Tjemehu-land were two separate and discrete entities known to the Egyptians as outlined in the last chapter.

6.2 The Etymologies of Rebu and Meshwesh-lands.

Unlike the names for the Tjehenu and Tjemehu, the etymologies for the Rebu and Meshwesh have received little scholarly attention. As these names do not have any cognate in Egyptian, it can be concluded that they reflect, most likely, a purely endonymous process. Moreover, while these two groups are related iconographically in Egyptian art they are also clearly differentiated from one another in Egyptian texts and represent unique ethnic groups.

The terms Tjehenu, Tjemehu, Rebu and Meshwesh, therefore, are perhaps best understood as individual endonymic terms which entered into the Egyptian language to describe these various groups, whose original language cannot be discerned. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the four groups all spoke the same language. Indeed, the disparity between these groups is perhaps best illustrated in the fact that individual members of all of these groups are also attested within the Egyptian epigraphic record. The handful of personal names associated with specific Tjehenu, Tjemehu, Rebu and Meshwesh individuals, further exemplifies the disparity between these groups as none of the extant names appear to be shared between these groups.

6.3 Expression of ethnic identity in personal names found in Egyptian Sources (3000 -1000 BC)

For generations, the study of personal names within the onomastic record of Egypt as well as surrounding areas has been a major focus of scholarly research. From these studies, not only are proper "Egyptian" names identifiable, but the extensive record of personal names which are known from western Asiatic languages (i.e. Akkadian, Hittite, Hurrian, Hebrew, Phoenician) provide a significant source with which to make comparisons and attempt to find cognates within the Egyptian sources (Ward, 1994, 65). Unfortunately, while the onomastic traditions of Egypt, the Levant, Greece and the Aegean are well

documented, comparable traditions in North Africa and Nubia are obscured by the late development of writing in these areas. As Ward points out,

> We know that Libyans and Nubians lived in Egypt and that some Libyan and Nubian personal names are preserved in Egyptian texts, but the names as originally written down in those languages are lost to us. (Ward, ibid).

With specific reference to "Libyan" names, Ward comments

> The earliest Libyan names as written in a local language appear in Punic texts… from Hellenistic and Roman times. *One cannot use these later languages as comparative material for African names found a thousand years earlier in Egypt's New Kingdom*. (Ward, ibid. emphasis mine)

Despite these words of caution Ward later identifies a variety of names found at Deir el-Medina as "Libyan" – based entirely through the association between certain names of people identified elsewhere in Egyptian texts as "Rebu." Indeed, most scholars who have had occasion to write on this subject begin from the very point of departure against which Ward cautions against. It has become a matter of conviction within modern scholarship that the proper names associated with the so-called "Libyans" can be associated with Berber – a language which does not appear in written form until the First Millennium BC. Le Page Renouf pointed out concerning retrospective projection when applied to linguistics:

> Egyptologists sometimes talk as if it were possible by the Berber of the nineteenth century to explain words found in ancient hieroglyphic texts. It is like trying to interpret the Rig-Veda by Rumanian or Bas-Breton. With philology of this kind we may, to our own satisfaction, prove anything we like. (1891, 601)

The identification of foreign names in Egyptian texts relies on three complementary phenomena. Firstly, foreign names tend to be written with a throw-stick determinative; secondly, they tend to have non-Egyptian consonantal structure; and third, they tend to include meaningless weak consonants (Ward quoted in Saleh, 2007, 61). Moreover, foreign names should not make sense in Egyptian. By definition, a name which is understandable in Egyptian is more likely to be "Egyptian." Contrarily, an incomprehensible name in Egyptian is most likely foreign. That said, there are certain examples of Egyptian nicknames

which often exhibit odd consonantal structures and often include strangely placed weak consonants common to otherwise "foreign" names (Saleh, 2007, 61). In assigning a "foreign" identity to personal names, therefore, it is necessary in the first instance to establish the fact that such names are not "Egyptian." In examining the following names, therefore, it is clear that many of the so-called "Libyan" names have, in fact, antecedents in Egyptian, have possible Semitic cognates, or are derived from possible languages unknown.

6.3.1 The personal names of the Tjehenu

6.3.1.1 Wesa, Weni, Khut-ef-es

Located next to the smiting scene in Sahure's mortuary temple are three figures – a girl/woman and two boys – who are depicted watching the king smite the figure labeled Haty-c Tjehenu. While this latter figure is not provided with a proper name in this scene the three figures watching him are listed as Wesa, Weni and Khut-ef-es. Though depicted as "foreigners" in their costume, their names would suggest that they were – at least to some degree- "Egyptian." The woman's name Khut-ef-es, "she who protects her father," is based on a clear Egyptian construction and has numerous parallels in Old Kingdom Egyptian nomenclature (Ranke, 1935, 267). Similarly, the boy in front of Khut-ef-es, Weni, has a similar "Egyptian" name which is equally attested from the Old Kingdom (Ranke, 1935, 79) where it is attested as both a proper name as well as a nickname for a man from the Old Kingdom called Khedjedji (ibid). Indeed, the only name from among the trio of Wesa, Weni and Khut-ef-es who does not appear to be a proper "Egyptian" name is Wesa. Unfortunately, as this name is otherwise unattested, it is equally impossible to identify its possible origins.

Two of the three individuals in Sahure's tomb, therefore appear to have proper "Egyptian" names and it is impossible to say either way about the third. The scene itself, however, appears to have become somewhat legendary in Egypt and was copied by Sahure's successors in the Old Kingdom and as late as the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty (see above figs.10-12). In all copies if this scene, the names of these three individuals remained the same. By their names alone,

therefore, there is nothing to suggest that these individuals were not "Egyptian." At the same time, however, they are illustrated using "non-Egyptian" iconography. Much of the identity of the figures involved depends on the historicity of this scene. One could suggest that, because Khut-ef-es and the boys Wesa and Weni have Egyptian names, that they were Egyptian

6.3.1.2 Kamu

A reference to a fourth individual identified as "Tjehenu" is found in the Old Kingdom Chephren Quarries, located to the far south of Egypt (on the modern Egypt-Sudan border). The term appears in a rather unique context, being inscribed on a mason's gad. The short inscription on this object reads simply "Kamu; Bow Watch; THNW" (G.W. Murray, 1939, 109; G.W. Murray, 1953, 106). The original interpretation of this object was that Kamu referred to an otherwise "unknown royal lady" of the Fourth Dynasty, that "Bow watch" was the name of the labour gang, and that the final term, which was interpreted as "Southern Libyans" referred to the "ethnicity" of the labour gang.

Caton-Thompson, following Murray's original article and quoting this object referred to the *Tjemehu* being employed at the site (Caton-Thompson, Kharga Oasis, 1952, 50). Yet Murray, writing in a review of Caton-Thompson's book states that the "ethnic" term written on this object is not Tjemehu, but THNW. Undoubtedly this error was largely on account of the fact that this object has never been properly published.[24]

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[24] Unfortunately I have not been able to track down this object and am therefore unsure of the exact orthography of this last term, or indeed of its present whereabouts

Many similar, Egyptian names to "Kamu" are attested from all periods of Egyptian history (see Ranke, 1935, I, 337ff.) and it is quite possible that this individual had an "Egyptian name." There is, however, no evidence that this reference is to an otherwise unknown royal lady of the Fourth Dynasty and Kamu is attested as both a male and a female name (Ranke, ibid). It seems plausible that the individual named Kamu, mentioned on the mason's gad, was associated with the labour gang "Bow Watch" and that his (or her) ethnicity was "Tjehenu."

There is no evidence to suggest, however, that Kamu "the Tjehenu" was native to the region in which the mason's gad was found or that the Tjehenu were indigenous to the region around Chephren's Quarries. Indeed, all that can be said about this object for certain is that it most likely belonged to an individual associated with a stone-mason gang working in the region of Chephren's quarries and that either Kamu himself or the gang in general were in some way associated with the term Tjehenu.

6.3.2 The Personal name of the Haty-a Tjehenu (?)

6.3.2.1 Hedj-Wawsh(i)

A fifth personal name associated with the Tjehenu is found in Mentuhotep II's smiting scene from Gebelein (see above, fig. 13). In this scene, Mentuhotep is illustrated smiting an individual in the midst of a procession. Written next to the person being smitten by Mentuhotep II is the inscription "the Haty-a Tjehenu Hedj-wawsh."

Fig. 49 – Inscription next to smiting scene, Gebelein [Naville, 1910, pl.1]

This combination of signs has been interpreted by Habachi as a reference to the Haty-a Tjehenu's proper name (1963, 38). Within Egyptian art from throughout the Dynastic Period, however, there are – to my knowledge – no other instances where "the smitten" is provided with a proper name. Nor are there any parallels to this particular name in Egyptian or to such a proper name among other "ethnic" groups. Within Egyptian ideology, however, it would be unusual, in any case, to 'immortalize' the quintessential enemy of the Egyptian king, the Haty-a Tjehenu, by way of providing him with a personal name.

Within the topos of the smiting scene the Haty-a Tjehenu is clearly illustrative of an enemy of Egypt. In providing a name for this character, therefore, the sculptors of Mentuhotep II's Gebelein scene would have provided the opportunity for eternal life to this figure. Such a proposition is anathema to Egyptian culture and the treatment of enemies

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For the ancient Egyptians, the name was essentially the key to everlasting life and it was only through the recitation of ones name by the living that the dead could continue to live (Doxey, 2001, 490). As Doxey points out, "Enemies… were designated primarily through derogatory epithets, causing their names to remain unspoken" (2001, 490). Considering these facts, it is particularly curious that it has been suggested (Habachi, 1963) that the Egyptian scribe supposedly recorded the proper name of the *Haty-a Tjehenu*.

6.3.3 The Personal names of the Tjemehu

6.3.3.1 Ankh

Throughout Egyptian history there are numerous individuals with the proper name "Tjemehu" or the female equivalent 'Tjemehyt" (cf. Lange and Schäfer, 1902, 280f; Bruyère, Del-M 8, iii, 1933, 114). While the name is clearly related to the name of the region to the west of Egypt, it is also commonly found as an epithet of the goddess Hathor (Meeks, 2006, note 464) and as such is commonly found as a woman's name, particularly at the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina (Ranke, 1935, 391 nr. 7; Bruyere, 1933, 29,101, 114, 117, 118; Bruyere, 1952 45).

In the entirety of the onomastic tradition of Egypt there is only a single mention on a Middle Kingdom Stela from Abydos of an individual identified both by name and with the ethnonym Tjemehu (CG 20255; Lange and Schäfer, 1902, 274f). According to the caption, the mother of stela's owner, Imnakht, was "the mistress of the house, Bebi" whilst his father was called Ankh, Eg. "Life" (though his name is often written ⚲〰️⊗ , possibly ankh-en-niut (?) "life of the city") who was himself the son of a woman named Mesut. The name Ankh is well attested as both a male from all periods of Egyptian History as well as a female name from the Middle Kingdom (Ranke, 1935, 62.19). Ankh, however, may not have been Egyptian by birth, and his son refers to him as 𓎛𓏏𓋹⊗𓆼𓏤𓊖𓂧𓂧𓏭 "his father Ankh(-n-niut), the Tjemehu, and whose mother is the mistress of the house Bebi." An alternative possibility also

exists, however, and the name could conceivably not be a reference to the ethnonym "Tjemehu" but to the aspect of Hathor-Tjemehu. As such, Imnakht's father may not have been ethnically distinct, but was merely named after the goddess Hathor with the name "(Hathor-)Tjemehu-lives."

With regards to the integration of "foreigners" into Egypt, this stela is particularly interesting. Firstly, it is the only record in the entire prosopographical tradition of ancient Egypt to mention perhaps an individual who identifies himself as "Tjemehu. " Moreover, his wife, Bebi is almost certainly an Egyptian woman (Ranke, 1935, 95). Indeed, apart from the possible epithet indicating his identity as "Tjemehu" there would be nothing within this stela to suggest that any of the individuals mentioned thereon were anything other than "Egyptian." Contrarily, if Ankh's name is actually read "Ankh-Tjemehu" and referential to an epithet of the goddess Hathor, then there is nothing which would positively make him "foreign." The reference to "Ankh, the Tjemehu" therefore might be a red-herring. His name suggests he is "Egyptian," his family suggests he is "Egyptian" and the context in which he is mentioned suggests he is "Egyptian." To force a "Tjemehu" identity onto him, therefore, may be both unwarranted and uncalled for.

6.3.4 The Personal Names of the Rebu

Starting from the reign of Merneptah, we are provided with at least three names which are associated explicitly with the epithet "Rebu." The most prominent two individuals are Meryey and his father Dyd(y).

6.3.4.1 Dydy

The name Dydy is common in Egyptian texts throughout the New Kingdom. The earliest attestation of this name is found in the New Kingdom Theban Tomb (TT200) dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III/Amenhotep II. In this context, the figure called Dydy is referred to as the messenger of the king in all the foreign lands, the overseer of the desert west of Thebes, the Chief of the Medjay, and soldier of the ship "Beloved of Amun" among others (Colin,

1996 [vol. II], 114). Another person with this name is attested at Amarna and a third is known from Medinet Habu (Colin, ibid.).

As early as the Middle Kingdom, a similar name is attested (Kitchen, 1991, 88ff.). Kitchen has demonstrated how this latter name, who is provided with the ethnonym *Aamu*, is almost certainly cognate with a similar Amorite name, Dawdaya, and the Hebrew names Dodi, Dodo, and David (ibid).

The name Dydy – or variants thereof – is very common throughout the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. There is at least one instance (Papyrus Wilbour, A44, 17) where a Sherden individual is also known by the name Dydy from Ramesses V's reign (Ward, ibid.; Cavillier, 2005, 71) while numerous individuals by this name are known from the records at Deir el-Medina. None of the latter group, however, are associated with any ethnonym (Ward, 1994, 78f.) and at least some of these individuals could in fact possess a proper "Egyptian" name based on the geminating root of the verb *rdi*, 'to make' (Ward, 1994, 79). Indeed, Colin has pointed out the name Dydy might also be found in the Punic –and therefore of Semitic origin - names Dida, Didda, Duda, and Dido (1996, 177).

6.2.4.2 Meryey
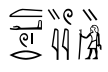
Like his father, Dydy, Meryey's name is "Libyan" solely on the grounds that it is associated with the ethnonym "Rebu." In Merneptah's inscriptions the name is written in various forms:
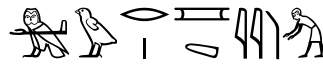
 (Karnak, line 13; KRI IV, 3:16)

 (Karnak, line 41; KRI IV, 7)

 (Israel Stela, line 9; KRI IV, 15:3)

⎯⎯ (Israel Stela, line 9; KRI IV, 16:6)

⎯⎯ (Israel Stela, line 18; KRI IV, 17:6)

⎯⎯ (Karnak copy of Israel stela, line 27, KRI IV, 17:7)

Additionally, at Medinet Habu the name Meryey ⎯⎯ (KRI V, 24:14; from Colin, 1996, II, 45) is written with a determinative of a figure wearing a plumed-headdress which most closely resembles that worn by various Sea-People groups. This may be indicative of the Egyptian scribe associating this name with the wider body of the "Sea-Peoples" over whom Meryey had been leader.

In Bates' attempt to find a Berber cognate for the name Meryey, he produces the following argument:

> The initial element MR is that seen later in the North African names as Marmaridae, Massamarus, etc. In the Libyan inscriptions of the west it occurs either free, MR, or reduplicated, MR-MR, or in combination as above MR-W.(1914, 80)

These cognates were also pointed out more recently by Colin (1996, 64). All of these examples, however, post-date the name Meryey by millennia and as such cannot be used to suggest the "indigenous Libyan" character of this name in Egyptian texts. The closest cognates to the name Meryey from the New Kingdom period to be found in Ranke's *Personennamen* are a few individuals whose ethnic identity is not known:

⎯⎯ (m. NK, Florence Ushabti 2074; Ranke, 1935, 163 nr. 4)

⎯⎯ (m. NK, Ranke, 1935, 163 nr. 10)
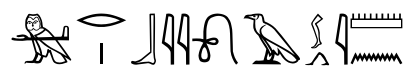
𓅂𓏏𓊔𓅓𓈖𓅓𓏭𓏭 (fem. Dyn. 18, Berlin Pap.9784; Ranke, 1935, 163 nr. 9)

𓅂𓂋𓏏�𓏭𓏭 (m. Dynasty 20, Pap. Turin; Ranke, 1935, 163 nr. 5)

A single individual, contemporary to Ramesses II, whose identity as a Hittite king is known,
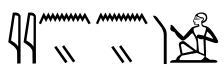
𓎛𓂋𓏏𓆪𓏭𓂋) "Murshili[sh]" (Dyn. 19, Ranke, 1935, 163 nr. 8)

as well as a much later, Kushite Period (Twenty Fifth Dynasty) "Nubian" whose name is written
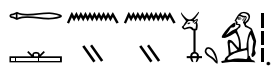
𓅆𓏏𓃀𓏏𓏭𓆙𓅓𓀭𓈖 (m. Dyn. 25, Urk. III 104 Z.7; Ranke, 1935, 163:3)

6.3.4.3 Yenini

A third individual whose ethnicity as a Rebu is known from the Twentieth Dynasty is found uniquely in the documents relating to the events known as the "Harem Conspiracy" from the end of the reign of Ramesses III. The records of the subsequent trial of the key personages involved in this plot are recorded in the Papyrus Lee and Rollins and the Turin Judicial Papyrus. One of the minor personages who is mentions among the accused in the Turin Judicial Papyrus is referred to in the court documents as "the great criminal, the Rebu, Yenini, formerly butler" (Turin Judicial Papyrus 4:15; KRI V 356:6; BAR, IV, sec. 440).

The name 𓇌𓈖𓈖𓏭𓀀 ("Yenini"), is known exclusively from this reference and it has no cognate in other texts. A unique quality of the Harem conspiracy records, however, is the fact that many of the names listed therein are, in fact pseudonyms. The chief defendants in the trial, for instance, are referred to in the

documents as Mesedsuere ("Re hates him") and Binemwese ("Wicked in Thebes"; cf Breasted, BAR, IV, sec. 421) as well as Peynok ("the serpent"; BAR, IV, sec. 429 note c). It is possible that Yenini's name therefore is not "truthful." It is possible, for instance, that the name by which he his described in these documents is based on the Egyptian word "Greeting!" (*nyny;* Faulkner, 2002, 126) and might therefore reflect his role in the harem (i.e. "The Greeter"), rather than his "ethnic" identity as "Rebu." Alternatively, it is possible that the name is a form of the Semitic word *anina*, possibly "to sing or play the flute" (Hoch, 1994, 72f. nr. 81), which is attested in Papyrus Anastasi IV 12.2 where it is written ⸻.

Because of their association with the Rebu, the personal names Dydy, Mariyu and Yenini have, historically, been interpreted as "Libyan." Consequently, attempts have been made to find modern Berber cognates with which to associate these names. Such a methodology, however, begins with a presumption regarding the origins of these people themselves as well as a presumption regarding the language in which their names were written. While further study into these names may shed additional light onto their linguistic origins, on the currently available evidence there is little which can de definitively be determined in this regard.

6.3.5 The Personal names of the Meshwesh

The text of Year 11 at Medinet Habu and its accompanying scenes provide us with at least three names, Mesher, Meshesher and Kapuer, relating to the Meshwesh. In Ranke's *Personnennamen*, however, only the name Meshasher is listed as "Libyan" (1935, 166, 6).

6.3.5.1 Kapuer

The name Kapuer, ⸻, is only attested in Egyptian sources from Ramesses III's reign at Medinet Habu. He is described as the father of Mesher and Meshesher. Because of his association with the Meshwesh, earlier scholars

presumed that his name was in some way representative of "Old Berber." Oric Bates, for instance, suggested the etymology of this name in the following way:

> Personal name, masc. suggests √KBR, the B being a natural equivalent of Egyptian PP. √KBR as in akabbar, pl. ikabbaren (subst. masc., Zuawa), "claws", "talons." Hence, the name would have the force of "the render" (1914, 80).

Bates' identification of the name Kapuer as Berber is dependent in the first instance on the Meshwesh being located in "Libya." Moreover, Bates erroneously transcribes the name Kap-pw-er with a double p, which is not in fact present in the writing of this name in Egyptian.

As a nomenclatural construction however, Ka-pu-er, has a precedent in Egyptian names from the Old Kingdom through to the New Kingdom. Specifically, Ranke (1935, 339) lists a series of Egyptian names based on the construction Ka-pw-DN where the last element is the name of an Egyptian deity. In most examples from Egypt, the deity's name is positioned in front of the rest of the construction. In all of Ranke's examples however, the deity in question is Egyptian (i.e. Ptah, Anubis). The possibility presents itself, therefore, that Ka-pw-er/el is formed on a similar construction but that the last element is a foreign deity (and, as such not placed at the head of the construction as per the Egyptian examples) possibly associated with the god named "El."

While Bates sought the origins of Ka-pw-er/l's name in cognates derived from modern Berber, it cannot be proven that the language which the Rebu were speaking in the 13th Century BC was related to modern Berber. Moreover, while one could attempt to find cognates for this name in modern languages, it is equally questionable whether the association of the name with nouns that are not necessarily proper names is a viable methodology.

Within the prosopographical record of ancient Egypt itself, the construction of the name Ka-pu-DN is not uncommon. It is possible therefore that the scribe responsible for writing Ka-pu-er's name was translating it into "Egyptian." As such, it is possible that the name, as it is preserved, is not an indication of the

original language from which it was derived. Consequently, an attempt to equate this name with cognates in the modern or ancient world may be fundamentally flawed.

6.3.5.2 Mesher and Meshesher

Masher , Ka-pw-el's son, has been presumed to be a "Libyan" name through its association with the Meshwesh. To date, however, there has been little study into this name or to its possible origins. Phonetically, the name has very close parallels with the Semitic name Misha-el which means "Who is God's" (Strong, Concordance, 2007, 1526 H4332).

In Egyptian sources, the Semitic name Mishael is attested as early as the Middle Kingdom execration texts where it is written (Hoch, 1994, 494; Posener, 1940, 71 [E13]). It is possible, therefore that Ka-pw-el's son is provided with the New Kingdom orthographic form of a name which dates back at least a thousand years earlier.

Mesher also appears to have had a brother who had a similar sounding name, Meshesher.

Known only from Ramesses III's battle against the Meshwesh in his Year 11, Meshesher is illustrated on both illustrations of the battle at Hawt-sha at Medinet Habu. Although he is often presumed to be the same individual as Mesher (Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 62f.) this identification would appear to be countered by the text accompanying the depiction of battle on the inside wall of the first court where the death of Meshesher, the son of Ka-pu-el, upon the battlefield appears to be described:

> Mashasharu, son of Kapuer, their [chief], joined [--large lacuna---] spread out on the ground. The hand [----- lacuna---] cast down beneath His Majesty's feet. His sons, his family, and his army, they all came to grief. His eyes ceased (even) to behold the orb of the sun-disc." (KRI V, 61:11-13)

It is perhaps on account of his defeat and death at the hands of Ramesses III that Meshesher is neither illustrated nor referred to in the victory scene on the north side of the doorway in the First Court where both Mesher/Mishael and his father Ka-pu-el are found.

Apart from their association with the Meshwesh, there is little which can be inferred from the names Mesher and Meshesher. While these names do not appear to be part of the prosopographic record of "Egyptian" names, like that of their father, Kapuer, there has been no previous analysis into the origins of these two names. One of these names, Mesher, is conceivably similar to the Semitic name Mishael, though further work into this possible association is required. As with the above names, it is possible that the names Mesher and Meshesher are Egyptian corruptions of names and might as such be unintelligible. Apart from their unique association with the ethnic group known to the Egyptians as "Meshwesh" there is little which can be derived from these two names.

6.3.5.3 Meshken

Though commonly associated with the Rebu names, Dydy and Meryey, the name Meshken, , has perhaps closer affinities to the names of the Meshwesh chiefs beginning as it does with the initial *mesh-*. Like the mention of Meryey at Medinet Habu, the name Meshken – who is only attested at Medinet Habu - is written with a determinative depicting a man with a plumed headdress suggesting an association with the "Sea Peoples."

In attempting to associate this name with Berber, Bates came up with the following solution:

> The initial element here, Mesh, is the Old Berber filiative Mes-, as seen in the names Mas-syli, Mas-sasyli, Mas-sinissa, Mas-iva, Mas-tigas, Mas-timan, etc. The second element √Kn, is easily recognizable as √GN, "sky" as in igenni (Zuawa), "cloud", agenna (B. Mzab, Rif, Tuat), "sky," "heaven". The name therefore means "son of heaven" and occurs in classical times as Misagenesm a name borne in the west by a son of Masinissa. (1914, 80)

Recently, F. Colin has pointed out many of the philological flaws found in Bates'
initial argument (1996, 17), though he maintains that the name Meshken is
"proto-Berber" in origin. Such a supposition, however, requires in the first
instance prior knowledge that the language from which the name Meshken is
derived is related to "Berber."

6.3.6 Presumed "Libyan" names**.**

6.3.6.1 Ker and Kenel

Within the prosopographical record at Deir el-Medina, there are numerous
individuals named Ker or Kener who are descended from - or otherwise
associated familialy with - individuals called Dyd(y). Because of their
association with individuals called Dyd(y), these last two names are presumed to
be "Libyan" (Ward, 1994, 74ff.). As Ward points out, "The name Kener appears
to be Libyan, though that supposition can be supported only indirectly. We have
no individual specifically identified as 'the Libyan Kel' (as we have 'the Nubian
stonemason Trki' … or 'the Canaanite Bsy')" [Ward, 1994, 74].

According to Ward, "Two details, both from Deir el Medina, point to a Libyan
origin [of the names Kener/Kel]: Kel, son of Amennakht, is shown with two
plumes in his hair after the Libyan fashion; and Kel, son of Penduau, was the
grandson of Dydy, a demonstrably Libyan name (Ward, 1994, 75). Regarding
the first element, Ward further comments that Ker is "shown with two Libyan
plumes in his hair which were effaced in favor of the label 'workman Kel' … in
neither [published photograph] are the plumes visible in the photographs, but
Bruyere [who initially published the photos] was quite definite about their
presence" (Ward, 1994, 80).

In an effort to demonstrate the "foreignness" of the name Ker, Ward points out
the fact "that Ker/Kenel is not Egyptian [because] well over half its occurrences
use the throwstick determinative" (Ward, 1994, 75). However, it is quite difficult
to assign a specific "ethnic" group to this particular name since, as Ward points

out, "names based on the consonants k+r/l can be found in all linguistic groups" (Ward, 1994, 78). Indeed, Ranke lists a similar name Ker-Baal as "Semitic" (1935, 346:19), the name κήλ is well attested in much later Greek inscriptions where it is associated with Phoenicians (Winnicki, 2009, 287), while Ward makes reference to various forms of the name Ker whose names are possibly "Egyptian" as they "never use the throwstick" in their orthography (Ward, 1994, 77). The only aspect which makes the names Ker and Kenel "Libyan" therefore is through indirect association with individuals who have names known to be used by the Rebu (specifically Dydy), or with individuals who have been classified as "Libyan" via an exegesis of their poorly preserved iconography.

6.3.6.2 Canine Names

In addition to the various personal names associated with the Meshwesh, Rebu, Tjemehu and Tjehenu, there exists a selection of names associated with the canine companions of the ancient Egyptians which, it has commonly been assumed are not Egyptian but "proto-Berber."

The earliest illustration of named dogs is found on a stela of Intef I dated to the First Intermediate Period which illustrates this monarch and his five hunting dogs. As early as 1889, G. Daressy – following Maspero (quoted in Maspero, 1899, 136) - proposed the hypothesis that all of Intef I's dogs had Berber names – yet failed to provide any justification, historical reasoning or otherwise for this identification (Daressy, 1889, 80).

A decade later, the Berberologist, R. Basset, followed Daressy's proposition and concluded that one of Intef's dogs, Abaqr, did have a Berber name meaning "the greyhound" (quoted in Colin, 1996, 22). Following suit, Bates regarded these names in the following way: "These names are transcribed in hieroglyphics and of the five one is certainly and another probably Old Berber. The certain one is Abaqer, which represents the Berber BQR, as in abaikur (Tamashek) 'greyhound'" (Bates, 1914, 80f.). This "Libyan" identification of the name Abaqer was equally followed by Janssen (1958, 176) and Fischer (1980b, 82).

A second of Intef's dogs, Teker or Tekel, has also been given a name whose roots have been sought in Berber. Daressy, for instance, identified the name of Teqer as

> 'On se sépare de tout, excepté de lui' pour l'inséparable telle est la périphrase par laquelle l'égyptien traduit un nom dérivé de la racine berbère DKL ,être joint.' Ami se dit *amdouki, amdakkal, ameddouka*l dans les dialectea kabyles (1889, 80).

Following Daressy's lead, Maspero equally attempted to equate the dog name Teker with a Berber root and identified this name related to the term for „la marmite ardente, bouillante" (1899, 136) and found the Berber cognate:

> Le mot écrit [hieroglyphs] taqarou, par le graveur égyptien, signifiait *marmite, poêle, plat à faire cuire*, dans le dialecte des Berberes voisins de l'Égypte (1899, 136).

Despite this etymological explanation, Maspero does not provide any reason as to why Intef's dog would be named after crockery. More recently Frederic Colin has pointed out regarding the dog's name Teqer,

> Pour procéder par l'absurde, on observera qu'un des chiens s'appelle Tqr, ce qui peut très bien se lire tkl et qui, vocalize tèkèl, rapelle irrésistiblement le nom [Teckel] du "basset allemande" [en français; "dachshund" in English] (1996, 22).

A similar "absurd etymology" for Intef's dog, Teqer, could equally associate it with the ancient Greek word, τίγρις ("tiger"). Philologically, however, the equation of the name Abaqer with the Tamashek word for "greyhound," the equation of the name Teqer with the Berber word for "frying pan," the French word for "dachshund" or the ancient Greek word for "tiger" all rely on the retro-projection of much later terms onto a much earlier contexts. The difference is merely one of the length of time differentiating the later nouns from the much earlier Egyptian word. In both instances, however, one cannot claim that either of these terms was employed by the Egyptians in the naming of their dogs in the Second Millennium BC.

The "proto-Berber" identity of the canine nomenclature is based, in the first instance, on the belief that these names are not "Egyptian." The first aspect which has to be addressed therefore is whether the names are, in fact foreign. One aspect which might be used in favour of the fact that the dogs do not have foreign names is the absence of a throwstick or other determinative to indicate "foreignness." As Ward points out, however, the absence of this orthographic item is not ipso facto representative of an "Egyptian" name (1994, 63).

Unlike human names, however, dog names do not necessarily follow the same rules of nomenclature. Indeed, one could rightly question why Intef's four other dogs were provided with proper "Egyptian" names and one dog in particular was given a "Berber" name. Similarly, one could ask why some of the dogs were given pet-names – one appears to be called "blacky" (*Kemet*) - and the one Berber dog be given the name of a genus of dog "greyhound."

The possibility must exist in the case of dogs' names that these are similar to human nicknames found in the Egyptian record. While both Janssen (1958, 178ff) and Fischer (1961, 152-153) have identified Egyptian canines who have names similar or identical to human names as classified in Ranke's *Personennamen*, the majority of dog names in ancient Egypt have names with no cognate among human names. One reason for this might be due to the way people tend to name their dogs. Many modern dog names would never be given to humans but could easily be representative of attributes of the dog, i.e. "fluffy," "barky."

One possibility for the name *Abaqer*, therefore, is in fact neither "Egyptian" nor "(proto)-Berber" but is simply an onomatopoeic construction. In English and French, for instance, the sounds which dogs make, "bark," "yelp," "aboyer," "japper" are clearly onomatopoeic. It follows that Abaqer's name could be based around the sounds which the dog made, "Aba" (similar to the French word for the same sound) and "qer" (possibly an Egyptian rendering of the sound "grrrr…"), though these do differ from the two words for "bark" which are known in Late Egyptian, "behen" and "wehweh" (Fischer, 1980, 79 note 7)

If a "foreign" name is sought, then one could equally argue that the name is based on the Semitic word "Ab(a)" meaning "father" combined with the onomatopoeic word "qer" or "Aqer" meaning, perhaps, something like "growl" producing the name "the father of growls." Similarly, the name Teqer(w), could be derived from the same onomatopoeic root *qer* and might simply be called "growler" – which, coincidentally, is an equally good etymology for the later Greek word for "tiger" and which might be attested in a Greco-Roman Period in Egyptian texts (Ranke, 1952, 185 and 370:18) where it is written .

6.4 Discussion and Analysis

Without evidence to the contrary, one must assume that the names adopted by the Egyptians to refer to the groups known as Tjehenu, Tjemehu, Rebu and Meshwesh, were not names derived from the Egyptian language. While some of these terms may have been incorporated into Egyptian and refer to other lexicographical terms such as the use of Tjehenu to refer to "faience or brightness" or Tjemehu to refer to "rejoice," none of these terms can be interpreted as being originally "Egyptian." As such, they must all be considered endonymic to their particular groups. Just as one cannot claim in more recent history that the Vandals were names after the fact that they "vandalized," nor can one claim that the Tjehenu were named after the fact that they were "luminous" or that the region in they lived was "bright." Similarly, one cannot claim that the Rebu were "Libyans." One can only be reminded of the warning provided over a century ago by Peter Le Page Renouf regarding the use of such retro-projection in the interpretation of words: "With philology of this kind we may, to our own satisfaction, prove anything we like." (1891, 601)

With regard to personal names, the first problem is identifying whether they are "foreign," that is to say, "non-Egyptian" and the second problem is to determine the language from which they are derived. Some of the earliest names associated with the Tjemehu and Tjehenu groups are clearly Egyptian in form.

From the New Kingdom, it is clear that certain names are found exclusively with certain groups and the names of the Meshwesh are not found associated with the Rebu and vice versa. The origin of many of these names must remain in doubt, however, until it is clear in what language they represent. The strong possibility is that, based on current knowledge of ancient languages of the Eastern Mediterranean, all of the personal names associated with the Rebu and Meshwesh are generally associated with the Eastern Mediterranean naming tradition. Some of the Meshwesh names such as Ka-pu-el seem to have Egyptian-style, theomorphic names based on a Semitic deity, El. Similarly, the name Masha-el, could easily be a direct transcription of the Semitic name Misha-el.

Previous efforts, such as Bates', to find cognates of these names among modern Berber languages begin from a position which presumes the "Libyan" identity of all of these individuals in the first instance and attempts to prove this through convoluted and by no means sound methodological argument. Indeed, the arguments presented by Bates fail to take into account alternative possibilities as to the linguistic origins of the names as well as the underlying nuances associated with the manner in which the ancient Egyptian recorded, transcribed, and possibly translated foreign personal names on Egyptian monuments.

Chapter 7: (In)culturating the "Other"

In understanding the manner in which ethnic identity is expressed in the past, the third main category of evidence is the archaeological record. The material remains of past people are often as varied as the people themselves. Killbrew notes that

> Defining ethnicity based on material culture in modern-day societies has often proved challenging for social scientists. Even greater obstacles are encountered when archaeologists attempt to discern ethnicity and ethnic boundaries based on very incomplete material record of the past (2005, 9).

In general, therefore, ethnic identities can only be identified in the archaeological record through quantitative and qualitative comparisons between assemblages. While broad cultural forms can be observed quite easily, understanding the ethnic identity of the people who both manufactured them and used them (who may not, in fact be one and the same) can be difficult.

In the eastern Mediterranean, the study of archaeological assemblages has an extensive history and typology. The principle pieces of evidence which are often used in archaeological discussions of ancient ethnicity and identity revolve around four key pieces of material culture. Namely, the variety and class of artifacts manufactured, used, and/or traded by a population; the architecture associated with domestic and cultic functions associated with a population; the burial rites, customs and architecture associated with a population; and the dietary phenomena and foodways associated with a population. These four factors have been used repeatedly in studies of the interaction of groups and the creation of group boundaries and ethnic identities in studies to both east of Egypt in Syria-Palestine and the South of Egypt in Nubia. Specifically, previous studies have focused on the regions of Northern/Lower Nubia and southern Canaan in the New Kingdom.

In Lower Nubia, between the First and Second Cataracts, the New Kingdom Egyptian administration appears to have been geared towards active colonization

and acculturation of the local C-group population (Tyson Smith, 2003, 84). Beyond the Third Cataract, in contrast, there is no evidence of Egyptian colonial sites and any emphasis by the Egyptians towards acculturating the local population seems minimal (Tyson Smith, 2003, 94).

A similar geographic division paralleling Egyptian interaction is attested in southern Canaan. While the northern limit of Nubia is defined by its border with Egypt at the First Cataract, the southern/western boundary of Canaan is equally defined by its border with Egypt. The northern boundary of Canaan, however, is commonly defined rather nebulously as "Lebanon, southern Syria" (Killbrew, 2005, 94). That said, there does appear to have been a political, cultural, and social boundary within "greater Canaan" at the Jezreel Valley. As Killbrew notes:

> This valley seems to mark an internal border that separates southern Canaan from northern Canaan, the latter being more closely affiliated with cultural developments in Syria and northward. This cultural border is reflected not only in the historical texts of the Period [i.e. Late Bronze Age], but also in the ceramic assemblages north and south of the Jezreel Valley, where regional differences do appear. (2005, 138)

Thus, while exact parallels cannot be drawn between the Egyptian administration of Southern Canaan and that in Northern Nubia (Killbrew, 2005, 54), they are both classic examples of areas where there is historical evidence for the interaction of multiple ethnic groups and whose archaeology has been actively interpreted as indicative of the interaction between two or more ethnic groups.

By far the most common artifact found on archaeological sites in the Eastern Mediterranean is pottery. Its presence at sites is instrumental in assigning both a relative date, the population responsible for its manufacture and the creation of a historical narrative to account for its appearance at a given site. While form typologies continue to be refined throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and Sudan, it has been the prerogative of archaeologists to define and refine typological sequences in these regions over the past two hundred years.

Along the Nile corridor, both Egyptian and Nubian pottery were produced from Nile silt clay. Whilst chemically the same, there are significant differences in their manufacture, design and use within these two cultures. Egyptian pottery, for instance, tended to be mass-produced on the wheel, while Nubian pottery was hand-made and labour-intensive. Moreover, Egyptian pottery was generally utilitarian in character, while Nubian pottery was high quality blacktopped red polished wares (Tyson Smith, 2003, 34). To the east of Egypt, in Syria-Palestine, the potter's clay was obtained from altogether different sources and forms and functions were equally varied.

In identifying the interactive boundary between two (or more) groups within the archaeological record, therefore, it is common to begin with the separation of artifacts –particularly pottery – within the archaeological record and assign "cultural" types to them. Often, it is quite possible to identify quantifiable changes over time which may reflect historic changes of the occupation of a site by one or another group.

The quantification of the various cultural assemblages at the site of Askut in Nubia, for example, would suggest that interaction between Egyptians and Nubians was limited during the Middle Kingdom, increased exponentially during the Second Intermediate Period when the fort was under the Kerman administration and declined again in the New Kingdom when control reverted to the New Kingdom Egyptians (Tyson Smith, 2003, 114). As Tyson Smith points out, however, "relying on simple overall percentages of Egyptian and Nubian style artifacts alone homogenizes the archaeological record, potentially masking the dynamics of contact and interaction" (2003, 101).

Nubian cook-pots at Askut, however, are dis-proportionally represented at the site and increase in their proportion of the assemblage over time (Tyson Smith, 2003, 116). Because of the nature of their use, it has been suggested that the presence of Nubian Cooking pots within the Askut assemblage is not merely the result of trade (ibid, 2003, 116). The frequency of Nubian cook-pots is an initial factor in establishing a unique cultural identity for this population. As Tyson

Smith points out, however, "they could simply reflect the Nubian servants or even wives cooking for their Egyptian overlords" (2003, 119).

In addition to pottery, the tool and jewelry assemblages found at Askut point to the majority being produced in Egypt with a small minority being made of local Nubian materials and representative of local, largely "Kerman" forms (Tyson Smith, 2003, 101ff.). On the one hand, both of these types of objects –on account of their size and portability – could merely represent trade between the Egyptian garrison and the surrounding "foreign" population. On the other hand, it has been suggested that both of these types of artifacts carry important symbolic value and might, as such, be indicative of an underlying "ethnic" identity of the user (Tyson Smith, 2003, 106; ibid, 110).

To the east of Egypt, the pottery repertoires as well as the core materials are equally distinct from those found in Egypt. The relative conservative nature of the assemblages in southern Canaan, however, is also helpful in identifying the appearance of new groups in the region. For much of the New Kingdom, southern Canaan was under the direct political control of Egypt which resulted in significant "Egyptianization" of the pottery assemblage. Killbrew comments that:

> the very 'Egyptian' nature of Egyptian-style locally produced ceramics and architecture at these sites attest to the presence of significant numbers of 'envoys' at several key sites (e.g. Tel Beth-Shean, Deir el-Balah), who were sent by pharaoh to serve in Canaan as administrators or military personnel, along with Egyptians who provided services for the Egyptian population stationed in Canaanite cities or settlements
> (Killbrew, 2005, 11).

In Canaan the interaction of "ethnic" groups was not only between Egyptians and indigenous peoples, but added to the mix were the colonizing activities of the Aegean-descended populations – most notably, the Philistines. As Killbrew points out:

> The non-local origin of the Philistines is reflected in their Aegean-inspired material culture, including ceramic typology and technology,

> foodways, architecture, cultic practices, and city planning.... The locally
> produced Aegean-style pottery... differs from the indigenous ceramic
> tradition in its shape, decorative style and technological features...
> Within several generations these ceramic traditions developed
> independently and began to acculturate with the pottery repertoire of the
> surrounding regions. (Killbrew, 2005, 14-15).

Indeed, the relatively abrupt appearance of Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery at sites in southern Palestine/Canaan has been interpreted as an "ethnic marker" of the Philistines in this region at the beginning of the Iron Age (Killbrew, 2005, 219).

The second major "marker" of ethnic identity in the archaeological record is the discrete construction of buildings associated with a particular cultural group. One of the main aspects of the archaeological footprint of the imperial Egyptian systems of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages is the exportation of "Egyptian"-style architecture to regions beyond the "cultural center" of Egypt to the regions south of the First Cataract and east of the Pelusiac-branch of the Nile.

To the south of Egypt, thirteen Middle Kingdom fortresses are known from Lower Nubia and were continuously occupied (to a lesser or greater extent) between the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom. As a product of the imperialist Middle and New Kingdom Egyptian administrations, it is not surprising that these forts' Middle Kingdom architecture is purely "Egyptian" in design. Nor is it surprising that Egyptian artifacts dominate the material assemblage at these sites (Tyson Smith, 2003, 101). In addition to their semiotic function of illustrating the materialization of pharaonic power in Nubia (Adams, 1977; quoted in Tyson Smith, 2003, 76), this fortified network also functioned in a more pragmatic role.

On the one hand the fortresses allowed the centralized Egyptian state to conduct military operations in the south while providing an impressive bulwark against any concerted attack moving along the most accessible corridor into Egypt proper – the Nile. On the other hand, they assisted riverine and over-land trade, monitored local population movements, and controlled access to the mineral rich hinterland (Tyson Smith, 2003, 76).

Similarly, to the east of Egypt, the imperial Egyptian administration is equally identifiable through its particularly "Egyptian-style" architecture which has been identified at sites throughout the region of southern Palestine (Killbrew, 2005, 58f.). In addition to fortresses, the "Egyptian" style architecture of Canaan is reflected in "Egyptianizing" features of temples (Killbrew, 2005, 63) as well as "typical" Egyptian "center-hall houses" (ibid, 58).

The third significant marker of "ethnic" identity commonly found in the archaeological record is burial practice. Ironically, the way in which a person was buried is perhaps the greatest indication of how they and their community identified themselves in life. Burial rites and the manner in which the body is treated after death are, in many aspects, culturally specific. In Egypt, Nubia and the Near East, the diachronic change in burial practices is well recorded. The diversity of ways in which communities bury their dead need not detain us. What is important to note, however, is that it is commonly accepted that there is a degree of homogenization in the treatment of the dead within "ethnic" communities though variation is often witnessed between individuals of different social and economic standing.

In some instances, "foreigners" within a community are accorded burial rites in line with their "foreignness." Thus, within southern Canaan, "nonindigenous funerary practices reflect Aegean, Cypriot, Anatolian, and Egyptian influences, and their numbers increase in frequency during the fifteenth to the early twelfth centuries BCE… [These] funerary customs most likely represent the arrival of small numbers of foreigners who, in most cases, probably assimilated into the indigenous population" (Killbrew, 2005, 110). If one's burial is a reflection of one's identity, however, there can be no evidence as to the degree to which one "assimilated" to the surrounding population without further evidence. Indeed, within Egypt itself the exact opposite appears to be the case at First Intermediate Period "Nubian" cemetery at Gebelein

Archaeologically, the "Nubians" buried at Gebelein were accorded a completely "Egyptian" burial (Fischer, 1961b, 44). Conversely, however, the funerary stelae which identify the persons interred depict and describe them as non-Egyptian.

They are typically depicted in Nubian fashion and occasionally identified on the stelae as "Nehesyu."

The final significant marker of "ethnic" identity in the archaeological record is the identification of discrete dietary features within assemblages. As David Lipovitch has stated:

> [it] is widely recognized, ethnic groups will often maintain their native cuisine, even as they assimilate otherwise with the indigenous culture (2008, 147).

To the east of Egypt where populations are historically known to have had dietary restrictions, attempts have been made at identifying "ethnic" groups through examination of faunal remains. In a comparative analysis across five sites (three from the Aegean and two from the Levant), Lipovich concluded that "The Iron I evidence from Tel Miqne-Ekron in Israel, while suggesting some similarity with Aegean culinary practices, perhaps more revealingly, differs significantly from its Late Bronze Age predecessors in a manner that supports the possibility of Aegean influence" (2008, 158). This change in cuisine at "Philistine" sites in southern Canaan has also been noted by Killbrew who states:

> Changes in cuisine mark the transition from the Late Bronze Age to Iron I levels at Philistine sites, signaled both by faunal evidence and the appearance of Aegean-style table wares and cooking pots… [there is] an increase in pork consumption that has not been observed at contemporary sites in Canaan outside the southern coastal plain (i.e. Philistia). (Killbrew, 2005, 219)

Similarly, at the site of Askut to the south of Egypt, chemical analysis of cooking vessels suggest that the cuisine being prepared in them was chemically and, by implication, culturally different from standard "Egyptian" food (Tyson Smith, 2003, 120f.). By implication, therefore, the users of the Nubian cooking pots were creating "Nubian" dishes and, ultimately asserting their "Nubian" identity (ibid). The questions regarding this assemblage, therefore, are numerous. Is it indicative of a local, permanent "Nubian" population on the site? Had the "Egyptians" on the site "gone native?" or were there some local delicacies in the local cuisine which could only be properly prepared in the appropriate, locally-

made pots (for either taste-quality or ritual significance)? In Tyson Smith's opinion, the high concentration of Nubian cooking pottery is evidence for "Nubian" women practicing traditional Nubian food-ways in what is considered to be an otherwise "Egyptian" male dominated site (2003, 189ff).

Internally, ethnic groups are composed of individuals. Thus, identifying ethnic identities in the past is commensurate in identifying past individuals (Tyson Smith, 2003, 202). Within the archaeological record, therefore, a problem exists in identifying ethnicity. Material remains, by definition, broadcast their use by one or more individual actors and are equally the product of the society of individuals which produced them as they are of the society of individuals which consumes them. Yet these two societies need not be identical. An individual who uses a particular artifact is not necessarily the same individual who created said artifact. Thus the women who used Nubian cooking pots at Askut need not have been, by definition, "Nubian." Just as my use of a Japanese manufactured computer to write this thesis does not make me Japanese. As Stuart Tyson Smith points out:

> There is a tendency to frame studies of ethnicity in terms of groups rather than individuals, and to view individual variation as epiphenomena, but the situational nature of ethnicity means that individual action is critical to the formation, maintenance, and transformation of Ethnic identities. Ethnicity often reflects individual choice more than adherence to inflexible tradition… Ethnic groups may attempt to portray a uniform face to outsiders, but internally they can have divisions and a surprising degree of heterogeneity (Tyson Smith, 2003, 188).

The search for ethnic identity amid the archaeological record alone, therefore, is a daunting task. In theory, however, if one can isolate a discrete material culture, a discrete architectural tradition, evidence of a unique diet and discrete funerary practices, then one can –in theory –produce evidence for a discrete ethnic population. This task, however, becomes even more difficult when, as in the case of the archaeology to the west of Egypt in North Africa, sites are poorly dated, poorly documented, and heavily disturbed. Added to this problem are the names which are commonly attributed to archaeological assemblages.

It is common within archaeological literature to apply a "cultural" name to an archaeological assemblage. These names often reflect the region in which the assemblage was produced (i.e. "Egyptian"), the peculiar artifacts found within the assemblage (i.e. the "Beaker" culture), the modern location in which the assemblage was initially found (i.e. "Neanderthal"), or the presumed association between the archaeological assemblage and groups identified in the historical record (i.e. "Minoan"). The application of a name to material culture assemblages can be advantageous when describing, contextualizing and discussing them. Contrarily, names can be poorly chosen and create confusion between the historic and archaeological records. In the case of the so-called "Libyans," this is particularly true since the archaeology associated some of the populations currently identified as "Libyan" may not in fact be reflected in the archaeology of "Libya." As Alessandra Nibbi once pointed out:

> No evidence of the people who are portrayed under all the names we have been translating as Libyan has been found in the deserts so far and it is very likely that the basis of our search for them there is not sound. By using the term Libyan instead of westerner, we are creating in our minds an ancient country and nation comparable to present-day Libya. But this does not correspond to the facts we have so far. (Nibbi, 1986, 73)

The following will focus on the archaeology which has been conducted to the west of the Nile Valley and Delta and the way in which ethnic identity is manifested in this record. It will be divided, roughly into two parts. The first will focus on the archaeology of the oases and the second on the archaeology of the North Coast.

Broadly speaking, the area to the west of the Nile Valley and Delta can be divided into three distinct regions: the southern oases region which includes the two major oases of Kharga and Dakhleh, the minor oases of Kurkur, Dunqul, Sheb, Selima, as well as the Gilf Kebir and Uweinat in the south-west corner of modern Egypt; the northern oases region of the Wadi Natrun, Bahariya, Farafra and Siwa oases; and the North Coast along the Mediterranean Sea which can be divided into Marmarica in the east and Cyrenaica in the west.
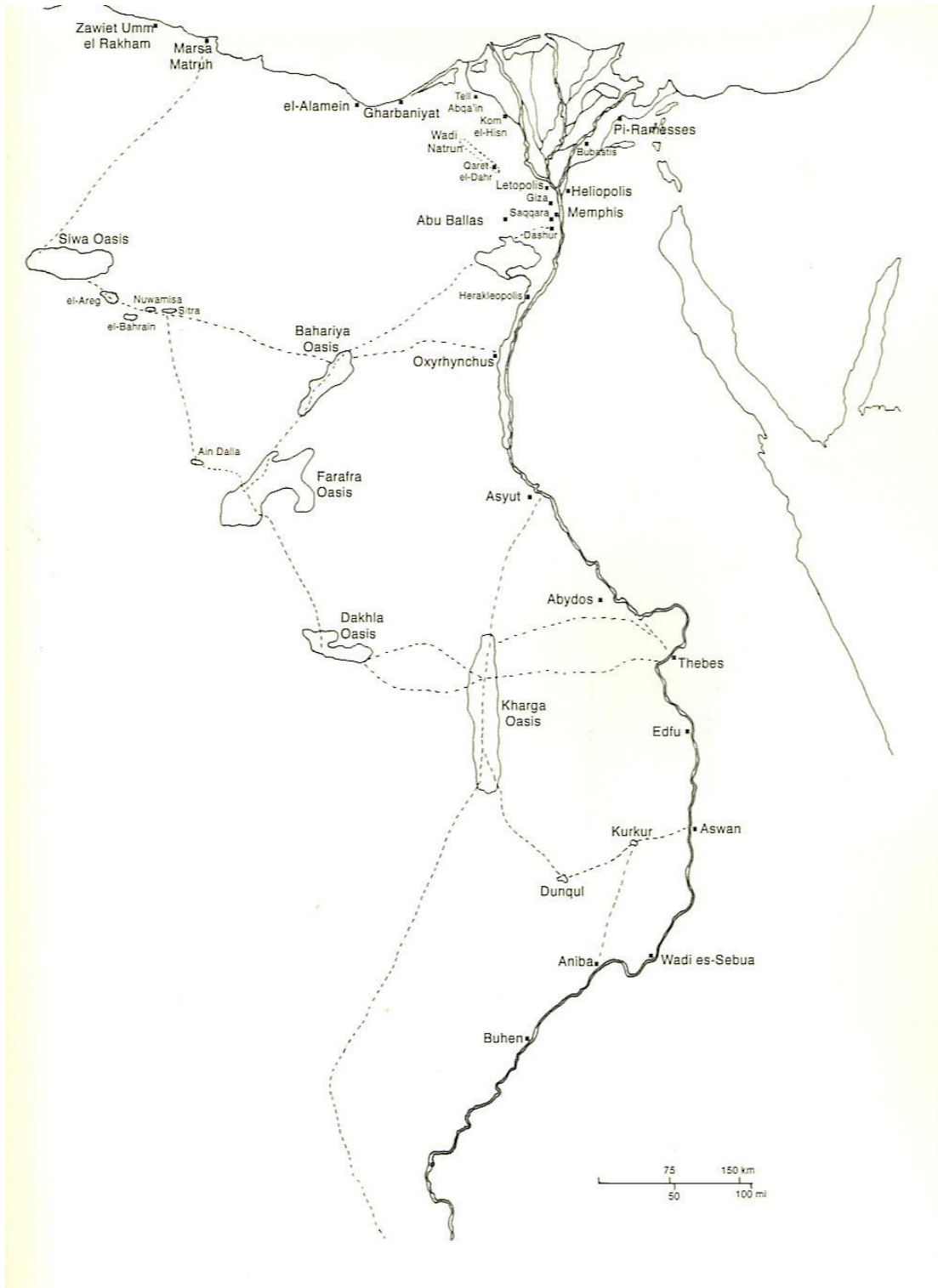
Map 5 - The Egyptian oases [from Manassa, 2003, pl. 1]

Each of these regions has a unique history relating to the contact with Egypt, and in many cases a unique archaeological record. Whilst contact may have existed between these two regions, and, in modern times desert routes link the five major

oases of the western desert (Siwa, Bahariya, Farafra, Dakhleh, and Kharga) with the Nile Valley, it could not have occurred with great ease. The desert between the areas is one of the most arid and inhospitable environments on the planet, offering a natural barrier to widespread communication within the region, forcing contact to exist only within narrow and well defined corridors in which water is accessible for travel.

7.1 Early inhabitants to the west of the Nile: Neolithic Archaeology

10,000 years ago, the area that we now call the Sahara was a lush savannah land. Hunter-gatherers roamed the area in search of prey and camped next to lakes, which dotted the region. Rainfall throughout North Africa was sufficient and not infrequent. Then, about 8,000 years ago (ca. 6,000 BC) climate patterns started to change. The monsoon rain-belt which had been responsible for the last wet phase of the Saharan-savannah started to slowly migrate southward towards its present location between the tropics. The result of this climatic shift was increased aridity throughout North Africa. The palaeo-lakes slowly dried up leaving behind them the playas found throughout the Sahara today.

Archaeologically, there is evidence for Palaeolithic and Neolithic populations living throughout North Africa. Similar Neolithic assemblages are well attested throughout the Nile Valley, Delta and Fayum, where they are dated to between ca. 6391 BP – 5160 BP (4440 BC – 3200 BC; Wendorf & Schild, 1980, 265; For Fayum dates see Banks, in Wendorf & Schild, 1980, 310, also Willett, 1971, 348; for Nile Valley (Merimde) see Flight, 1973, 533). Along the Nile, the Neolithic assemblages gave way to the pre-Dynastic cultural units of the North and South (ca. 4000-3200 BC). By the turn of the Third Millennium BC, the proto-Egyptian state had been formed, creating the foundations of a unified cultural unit which extended from the Mediterranean Sea to the First Cataract.

To the area west of the Nile Valley, a fairly well documented earlier Neolithic period is attested from the central Sahara extending as far as the Atlantic between the Fourth and Third Millennia BC (see Appendix F). Indeed, some of the earliest traces of pottery anywhere in the world, dating from the 10th

Millennium BP are found scattered across sites of the Sahara (Garcea, 2008, 69; Wendorf & Schild, 1980, 265). Along the north coast of Africa, the pre-pottery Capsian-Neolithic tradition, located in modern-day Algeria and Libya, has been radiocarbon dated to between 5300 BC (El Bayed, Algeria) and 2900 BC (Haua Fteah, Cyrenaica; see Willett, 1971, 348-349). Yet, around the time when the Egyptian state began to form (ca. 3150-3000 BC), the Neolithic groups in the regions closest to the Valley, that is to say Marmarica and the southern oases would seem to disappear completely from the archaeological record and only reappear once the Egyptians began to explore and exploit these regions.

7.2 The Southern Oases

An example of such a population disappearance is found in the small depression located almost due south of Kharga oases called Dungul oasis. Here, during field work in the mid 1960's, a cultural unit was identified as the "Libyan Culture" by a university of Utah team headed by James Hester and Philip Hobler (1969, 1). This cultural unit was defined as

> A prepottery incipient Neolithic [cultural unit] from sites containing (in single phase sites apparently in good association) elements of both the "Bedouin Microlithic" and "Peasant Neolithic" cultures as defined by Caton-Thompson (1952). The culture so defined has a wide geographic range and can be identified as far west as Gebel Oweinat (Hester and Hobler, 1969, 1)

Most of the Dunguli "Libyan" population's material cultural assemblages are found along the edges of the Dungul or nearby Playas. On account of this depositional phenomenon, it has been suggested that the climate must have been sufficiently wet to provide some vegetative cover on the playa suitable for floodwater farming or pastoralism (Hester and Hobler, 1969, 31-32, 49). The "Libyan" cultural unit in this oasis has been dated to between 6000 and 5000 BC, a date confirmed by a single associated radiocarbon date of 5,950 +/- 150 BC (Hester & Hobler, 1969, 126).

Whilst the material culture associated with this cultural unit is very early, and evidently predates any possible "historic Libyan" population, its inclusion here is

required if only on account of the fact that the finds associated with this cultural group have been used to corroborate evidence for "historical Libyans" from the North Coast (see White, 2002b, 67 n. 45). Methodologically this correlation should be treated with suspicion, since almost 3000 years –and almost 2000 kilometers - separate these two assemblages.

There is no evidence that this "Libyan" cultural unit continued to exist in Dungul Oasis much beyond 5000 BC. Indeed, when the playas started to dry up, the population most likely moved on southward or to better watered areas in the desert (Hester and Hobler, 1969, 165).

To the north of Dungul oasis, in the region of Kharga Oasis, a unique Neolithic cultural unit seems to have developed between ca. 5450 BP (3500 BC) and 4650 BP (2700 BC), and would appear to be contemporaneous with the Nagada IIC through to the Early-Dynastic Period in the Nile Valley.[25] Following this brief cultural florescence, however, there is almost no evidence for continued human activity in the oasis throughout the Dynastic period in Egypt, until the conquest of Egypt by Persia in the Sixth Century BC, though recent surveys in the region by a Yale University team have begun to change this perception.

Located almost due west of Kharga, the oasis of Dakhleh has been inhabited almost continuously for the last 12,000 years. By around 6000 years ago, the oasis was home to a seasonally migratory Neolithic cultural unit called the "Bashendi Culture" (McDonald, 1999, 118ff.). It appears, however, that by around 5000 BP the Bashendi unit gave way to a more sedentary Neolithic cultural unit named the "Sheikh Muftah" Cultural Unit (McDonald, 1999, 129).

7.2.1 The Sheikh Muftah.

The archaeological sites associated with this group have been documented over the past thirty years by Mary M.A. McDonald as part of the ongoing Dakhleh Oasis Project. Like the Khargan Neolithic, the Sheikh Muftah assemblage

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[25] One of the more recent publications on the subject of Egyptian chronology would place the year 2700 as contemporary with the 2nd Dynasty king Ra-Neb (Hornung et al., 2006, 490).

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appears to be largely the product of an entirely "local" tradition (McDonald, 1999, 124). Associated finds, including copper objects and Nilotic ceramics have been used to support the idea that this population had some contact with the Pre-Dynastic/Early Dynastic cultures of the Nile Valley (McDonald, ibid).[26] To date, however, the only evidence for the "Sheikh Muftah" cultural unit is attested from surface finds of pottery and lithic material.

The pottery associated with Sheikh Muftah sites is all classified as handmade, with a few coil-built forms (Hope, 1999, 217). Three main types of fabric are found associated with Sheikh Muftah assemblages: "coarsely, sand-tempered fabric with gritty surface, a finer sand tempered fabric with smooth surface and a range of sand-and-shale tempered fabrics with inclusions of fine and medium size"(ibid.). The most common forms are bowls, though a few jars have been found, and many exhibit perforations made after firing which may have been for suspension (Hope, 1999, 218).
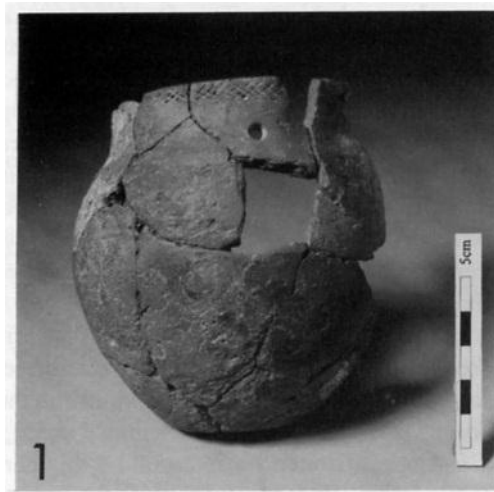
Fig. 50 – Jar from Sheikh Muftah site 31/420-C10-2
[From Hope, 1999, 220 fig.1]

The presence of copper objects on a significant number of Sheikh Muftah sites might well suggest a relative date for this cultural unit as contemporaneous with (Early) Dynastic Egypt. However, the "preferred" date for this cultural unit is contemporaneous with the "Late Old Kingdom" as suggested by McDonald (1999, 126).

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[26] presumably acquired through trade with the Nile Valley, since there are no known sources of this metal in the Western Desert.

Sheikh Muftah pottery has been found associated with "late Old Kingdom" material on 13 separate sites in Dakhleh oasis (Hope, 1999, 221). Only one of these, however, has been published as a stratified site (Hope, 1981, 233; Macdonald, 1999, 126). The presence of two cultural units (Old Kingdom Egyptian and Sheikh Muftah) in the same context does not, necessarily point to their contemporaneity. Instead, it is equally probable that the single occurrence of Sheikh Muftah and Old Kingdom material in a stratified context - which occurred just above virgin soil - was at one time a surface scatter as are most of the Sheikh Muftah sites (Macdonald et al., 2001, 4). Similarly, much later Roman material is often found in the same surface scatters (McDonald, 1999, 123). This suggests that all of the people during all of these time periods were interested in or were using the same resources. In the case of the oasis, the most precious resource would undoubtedly have been water. It is not surprising then, that most of the archaeological finds are found in the vicinity of spring vents (where the subterranean artesian water breaks through to the surface) or on the edges of former wetlands (McDonald, 1999, 125) The presence of Old Kingdom sherds, therefore, is not an indicator of Sheikh Muftah-Old Kingdom Egyptian interaction, *per se*, but of a reliance on the very same aquatic resources by the two different, and by no means contemporary groups.

As an "ethnic" group, the Sheikh Muftah population is difficult to identify in the archaeological record. They are defined entirely by their material culture whose date is poorly defined and whose source of manufacture is even more poorly identified. There are, to date no "Sheikh Muftah" burials, no "Sheikh Muftah" buildings and no evidence of a "Sheikh Muftah" diet. While the Sheikh Muftah are clearly present by their material culture, the most dominant "ethnic" presence in the region is, by far, that expressed by the Egyptians.

7.2.2 "Egyptians" in the southern Desert.

Undoubtedly, the most significant archaeological finds in the Dakhleh depression are the various settlements, which attest to the region being inhabited by persons who had extremely close contact with Nilotic Egyptians from at least as early as

Dynasty 4 and continuing through to the Roman Period (For a non-technical summary of this occupation see Thurston, 2004; for detailed analysis, see the various reports of the ongoing Dakhleh Oasis Project). Whilst members of this population were perhaps "native" to the oasis; there is very little which can be used to distinguish them from their Nilotic counter-parts in the material culture record. Almost all of their pottery appears to be Egyptian in form, although often made in local materials (Marchand, 2003,115), burials are in "Egyptian" fashion (Giddy, 1987, 174ff.), and Egyptian style names of the inhabitants are not uncommon (Fischer, 1957, 224f.; Giddy, 1987, 174ff.;). There is very little therefore which can distinguish the "Egyptians" living in remote Dakhleh oasis during the Old through New Kingdoms from their Nilotic counterparts.

For Egyptians to live in Dakhleh oasis, however, they would only have been able to reach it by travelling through the intermediary Kharga Oasis. Yet despite this travel requirement, to date, there is only meager Egyptian material found throughout Kharga oasis and no "indigenous" material has so far been identified (Giddy, 1987, 164f.).

The Old Kingdom Egyptian presence in Kharga is attested by a single bowl found at Mata'na Pass by Caton-Thompson (Giddy, 1987, 165), as well as a single Old Kingdom graffito from the Darb Ayn Amur which links Kharga and Dakhleh oases (Rossi and Ikram, 2002, 142f.). Similarly, a Middle Kingdom presence in this oasis is equally elusive and restricted to a single inscription mentioning the 3rd regnal year of an unnamed king (Giddy, 1987, 165). Finally, New Kingdom evidence for this oasis is largely restricted to mentions of an "oasis" in texts from the Nile Valley, and these could be as much a reference to Dakhleh as to Kharga (Giddy, 1987, 164f.). Recent surveys in the region by a Yale University team, however, have uncovered evidence for a New Kingdom settlement in Kharga at the site of Umm Mawagir.

Murray has suggested that, by the Sixth Dynasty, Kharga "hardly deserved the name of Oasis" (1965, 72), and, quoting Caton-Thompson, suggested that major cultivation of this particular depression was not undertaken until the Persian

Period when technology had advanced enough to sink deep bores to obtain the artesian water (Murray, ibid).

Thus, despite the lack of archaeological evidence retrieved from Kharga oasis pertaining to human occupation in the oasis during the Dynastic period, the epigraphic evidence attests to the fact that it was not wholly unknown to the Egyptians. Indeed, from the time that the Egyptians controlled Dakhleh oasis, they must have controlled Kharga oasis since the only direct supply line to the former is through the latter. Yet Kharga's role would appear to have been, perhaps, a watering point for caravan routes on the way to Dakhleh rather than a habitation for any sizeable population.

The reasoning behind the Egyptian desire to provision a colony so far into the desert at Dakhleh Oasis is complex. There is, however, an increasing amount of evidence to suggest that Dakhleh was not an end-point of Egyptian expansion. Instead, it would appear that the Egyptian colony in Dakhleh was a way-station on a caravan route which linked the Nile Valley with Central Africa.

In addition to the settlement sites, excavations in Dakhleh have also uncovered clay tablets whose texts, mention "the pottery intended to prepare the way" (Kuper, 2000, 373; Posener-Krieger, 1992, 45). It has been suggested (ibid) that the provisioning of a route into the desert, the "Oasis Road," with water-stations was possibly one of the main responsibilities for the governor stationed at Dakhleh. Over the past century, this route through the desert has slowly been emerging from the sands.

In 1916 John Ball discovered a pharaonic pottery dump 200km southwest of Dakhleh at the site of Abu Ballas (Ball, 1927, 122). Although largely looted over the 90 years since its discovery, it is clear from both the pottery which has been studied as well as associated inscriptions that the site was in use during the Old Kingdom (Kuper, 2001, 801).

The presence of this pottery dump led the Hungarian explorer Lazlo Almasy to propose the possibility of a caravan route between Dakhleh and Kufra (Kuper,

ibid). Yet such a supposition was largely quashed by an English expedition to the Gilf Kebir in 1939 who suggested that such a route was an impossibility owing to the fact that the region between the two was "closed by desiccation ca. 2500 BC" (Bagnold, Myers, Peel and Winkler 1939, 288).   Over the past 20 years, however, a string of almost 30 "staging-posts" with significant pottery dumps have been found by the desert explorer Carlo Bergmann stretching from Dakhleh to the Gilf Kebir (Kuper, ibid). Moreover, Hieroglyphic inscriptions at some of these site, such as those found at Site Khufu 01/01 ("Redjedef's Mountain (of water)"; Kuper and Föster, 2003), attest to the fact that a desert caravan route was being provisioned from as early as the Fourth Dynasty.

Map 6 -The routes leading south-south-west into modern Chad and south-west to Kufra from Dakhleh Oasis [Kuper, 2002, fig. 23]

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The presence of "Sheikh Muftah" pottery at sites along this road (Kuper and Förster, 2003, 28) suggests that it may have been used by people other than Egyptians, whilst Ptolemaic pottery suggests that this route was extremely long-lived (Kuper, 2001, 801). Indeed, there is evidence that the route had an exceptionally long life and modern Bedouin pottery in the region suggests that the same (or very similar) route may have been in use until as late as the Eighteenth Century AD (Harding King, 1928, 245).

A recent discovery of an inscription found 30 km south-west of Dakhleh dated to the Old or early Middle Kingdom (Kuper, 2001, 801) mentions an expedition of an Egyptian high official Meri, who traveled along the track south-west of Dakhleh en route to meet the "Oasis dwellers" (Kuper, ibid). It is possible, though by no means certain, that these "oasis dwellers" are the same as those mentioned in the Admonitions of Ipuwer who "come with their festival offerings, mats and [skins], fresh *rdmt*-plants, the fat of birds" (Lichtheim, 1974, 152). The precise location of these "oasis dwellers" is unclear, but it has been suggested (Kuper, ibid) that they inhabited Kufra oasis, some 600 km. from Dakhleh, on the other side of the Great Sand Sea.

The most likely route to link these two regions, however, is not a straight path through the treacherous sandy region of the Great Sand Sea, but a route around it. Such a route would almost certainly head out south-southwest of Dakhleh towards the Gilf Kebir and then turn north-west to Kufra. It is precisely this route, or at least the first half of it, which is suggested by the trail of "staging-posts" linking Dakhleh to the Gilf.

It seems almost certain therefore that, contrary to Bagnold et al. a road *did* exist linking the Dakhleh depression with Kufra oasis via the Gilf Kebir. The road is particularly useful as it generally skirts the Great Sand Sea along its eastern/southern limit and could be traveled, provided there was enough access to water.

The ancient Egyptian presence in the south west corner of modern Egypt is only currently coming to light. Recent epigraphic evidence has been found in this region which mentions the toponym Yam (Clayton, De Trafford and Borda, 2008, 129ff.). The inscription, dated to the early Middle Kingdom by the presence of a cartouche of Mentuhotep depicts two individuals groveling before the king with the caption "Yam, bringing in [cense] (*senetjer*)."
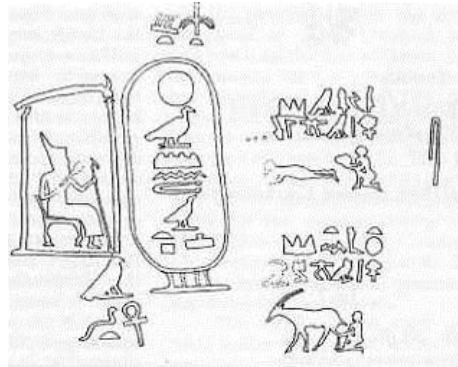
Fig. 51- Line drawing of Gebel Uweinat inscription mentioning Yam bringing incense (top left) [from Clayton, Trafford and Borda, 2008, 129]

Whilst this inscription does not give much in the way of concrete proof for the location of Yam, it does perhaps suggest that the road leading to the south-west of Dakhleh was one of the routes which ultimately led to the land of Yam and was possibly similar to the one used by Harkhuf during the Old Kingdom. The depiction of Yamites so far into the desert, casts serious doubts as to the location of Yam being in the vicinity of the Nile as is currently assumed (O'Connor, 1986; Zibelius, 1980, 242) and suggests that a road to this fabled land may have passed through the Uweinat region, nearly 500 Km. to the west.

The primary route leading to the Gebel Uweinat and Gilf Kebir invariably passes through the Dakhleh-Kharga depression. As was pointed out by Giddy, there are at least 13 main starting points along the Nile for routes leading to the Kharga depression, stretching from Beni Adi in the North to Edfu in the south (Giddy, 1987, 5ff. & Map II), with the shortest route, the Girga Road, starting from the Abu Sighawal Pass in the oasis and debouching in the vicinity of Abydos (160

Km).[27] This last route is favourable to all others in that it has a water supply at a point just before leaving Kharga at Gebel Ghennima, making the total trip across the remaining waterless plateau only ca. 120 km (Giddy, 1987, 7). It is perhaps not surprising therefore, that from at least the 18th Dynasty the Nomarch of Thinis (near Abydos) also held the title of *Hry-tp Wehat* "overseer of the oasis" (Fakhry, 1974, 59), as he controlled the quickest routes to this oasis region.

Map 7 – Routes to Kharga Oasis from the Nile Valley
[Giddy, 1987, Map II]

Perhaps the most accessible starting point for this route through the Kharga-Dakhleh depression, however, begins in the vicinity of Armant. From at least the New Kingdom, Armant was the most important terminus of a caravan route from the Western Desert (Wilkinson, 1995, 208). Graffiti in the limestone cliffs behind Armant, however, attest to generations of travellers passing over it from the Predynastic period onwards, and the route may well have been one of the unnamed starting points of Harkhuf's journey (Lichtheim, 1975, 23ff.).

It is also in the vicinity of Armant that significant amounts of material culture,

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[27] Note: route length starts from Kharga town in roughly the middle of the modern oasis.

known as "Saharan culture" have been found. This material culture assemblage is possibly indicative of a much more profound process which attests to Armant's role as the terminus of an East-West trans-Saharan trade network.

7.2.3 The "Saharan Culture"

During the 1930s, excavations at Armant directed by Mond and Myers began to uncover evidence for a material cultural group which had closest affinities to material coming out of the deep Sahara. Specifically, "the same pottery" was found at Gebel Silto in the west Tibesti, and other samples were known from Tighammar in Algeria (25° 43' 4" N 4° 34' 0" E) located on roughly the same latitude as Armant. Significantly, it is not solely the decorative scheme which necessarily binds these sherds together, but also their similarity in paste/fabric and temper (McHugh, 1975, 55). This fabric is not made of Nile Silt, and would appear to be the product of "foreign' (that is, "non-Egyptian") manufacture. The excavators, therefore, named this material "Saharan Culture."
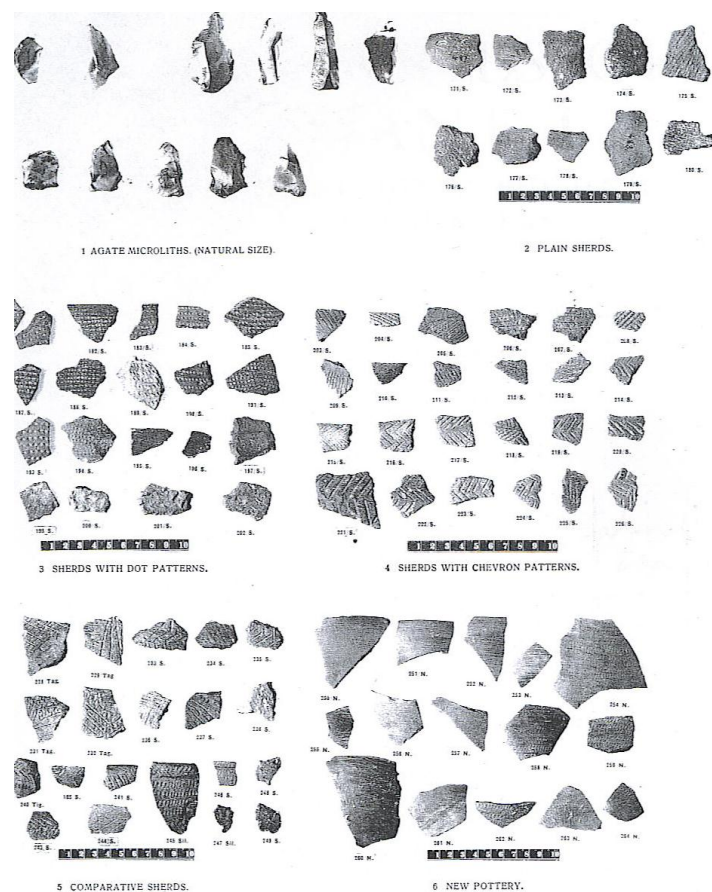
Fig 52 – Saharan Culture artifacts [Mond and Myers, 1937, pl. LXXIV]

The "Saharan Culture" as described by Mond and Myers at Armant was characterized as being different from both Nubian "C-Group" and "Pan-Grave" sherds, as well as anything found in the Egyptian repertoire (Mond and Meyers, 1937, 267). Rather confusingly, the year following the publication of their report on Armant, Myers suggested the complete opposite (Bagnold et al., 1939, 288). On the suggestion of W.B. Emery, they acknowledged that the sherds "bear close resemblance to early C-Group of Nubia (dated to the VI Dynasty)… and were related to a sealing-wax-red ware of Egypt made between the IIIrd and VIth Dynasties" (1939, 288). Yet they still maintained that "the true connections of this culture are to be found in the Sahara" (1937, 268; Bagnold et al., 1939, 288) and that the closest spot in which "the same pottery" had been found was Gebel Silto near Bilma west of Tibesti in modern Niger (Bagnold et al., 1939, 288).

In their report on the site of Armant, Mond and Myers suggested "an early date" for this pottery based on the following four points:

1) the fact that the site is distant from the present cultivation;
2) evidence for extensive erosion not shared by Predynastic or Roman artefacts in the region;
3) absence of Predynastic or Dynastic objects in the settlement, and no fragments of this pottery in sites of other periods; and
4) agate microliths found on the surface in proximity to the material (Mond and Meyers, 1937, 268), although their actual stratigraphic association with the "Saharan Culture" material remains unknown.

Opinions about the date of the ceramic material have ranged from ca. 3000 BC by Petrie to 800 BC by Huzzayin, based on the association of the sherds with polished-stone axes (Mond and Meyers, 1937, 271). Similarly, Bagnold et al. seemed to prefer a date closer to the mid-third millennium BC (1939, 288f.). To date, so far as I am aware, no analytical tests have been done on these sherds to rectify this dating problem, many of which were lost during the war (McHugh, 1975, 52). More recently, it has been suggested by Kemp that the "Saharan Culture" sites date from the Old or Middle Kingdoms based on the presence of Egyptian styles of pottery at Saharan Site 15 (Kemp in Trigger, Kemp, O'Connor

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and Lloyd, 1999, 118). This is precisely the period during which the Egyptians held significant control of the Kharga-Dakhleh depression and were actively maintaining routes to the Gilf Kebir.

Just before the outbreak of the Second World War, R.A. Bagnold, O.H. Meyers, R.F. Peel, and H.A. Winkler set out on an expedition to the Gilf Kebir in the south-west corner of modern day Egypt. The purpose of their mission was to uncover evidence relating to this mysterious "Saharan" material culture. In the course of this expedition they identified "identical pottery" to that found at Armant in the vicinity of Uweinat (Bagnold et al., 1939, 288). Located some 800 km from Armant, the discovery of "Saharan Cultural" material at Uweinat provided a minor link between the occurrence of this material in the Nile Valley and the regions much further to the west where this material had also been discovered.

The closest parallels for this pottery come from central Africa, specifically the region of Chad (Tibesti, Silto), Algeria (Tighammar), and Mali (Tabourareg) (Mond and Meyers, 1937, 270). Placed in the context of the above discussion of a caravan route leading from the banks of the Nile into Central Africa, via the oases of Kharga, Dakhleh, and Uweinat, it is possible that there was a trans-Saharan trade network running from the Nile at least as far as the Gilf Kebir/Uweinat region, but perhaps extending even further west.

While the "Saharan" pottery provides a glimpse into a possible trade network linking southern Egypt with Central and western Africa, it does not provide much in the way of "ethnic" identity. The sherds can at best be described as poorly dated, none are known from stratified contexts and all were found on the surface of the desert. While their composition suggests a non-Nilotic origin, the true origin of these sherds remains unknown as does the society which produced them.

Geographically, both the Sheikh Muftah and Saharan ceramic materials are confined to the regions of the southern oases. In the oases located to the north of

the Kharga-Dakhleh depression, the only archaeological material recovered to date suggests a purely "Egyptian" occupation.

7.3 The Northern Oases

The first direct evidence for "Egyptian" activity in the northern oasis region directly west of the Nile Delta - which was clearly under Egyptian administrative control from a very early period - is found in the Middle Kingdom didactic text of *The Eloquent Peasant*. The protagonist of this story starts his six day journey to Herakleopolis Magna (modern Ehnasaya, south east of the Fayum) from the Wadi Natrun, located to the west of the Delta (Lichtheim, 1974, 170 and 182 n.1).

Archaeologically, evidence for a Middle Kingdom structure in the Wadi Natrun area was partially excavated by the Natrun Salt and Soda company in 1933 and again by Ahmed Fakhry in 1939 (see Fakhry, 1941, 840f.). So far as I am aware, no further work at this site has been conducted since Fakhry's initial investigation, which identified the rectilinear structure on this site as a "fortress" (ibid).

Plan of the fortress.
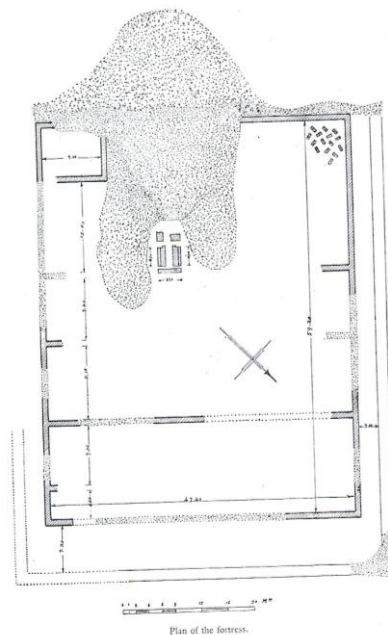
Fig. 53 –Rectilinear structure excavated by Fakhry in the Wadi Natrun [Fakhry, 1941, pl. CXIV]

The identification of this structure as a "fortress," however, is not without its problems. The complex is clearly rectilinear comprising an internal structure which has been sub-divided and which is surrounded, at a distance of 7.2 meters on its North East side and 3 meters along its north side, by a ditch (Fakhry, 1941, 845). The internal structure appears to have the dimensions of 40 meters by 59 meters. Unlike other forts, there is no evidence for domestic construction, storage areas or other typical architecture associated with a garrison. The only inscribed blocks published from this site merely contain the heavily eroded cartouches of Amenemhet I on granite blocks (Fakhry, 1941, 846). From the New Kingdom through the Late Period Fakhry suggested that this structure functioned as a temple (Fakhry, 1941, 847). Indeed, there is very little from the published material relating to Fakhry's "fortress" which suggests that functioned as such during the Middle Kingdom.

The presence of this "Egyptian" structure, whatever its function reinforces the idea that this region was under full Egyptian control from a roughly contemporary period as the Middle Kingdom text suggests. Moreover, judging from associated finds, in and around the Wadi Natrun, this region remained firmly within the Egyptian sphere of influence throughout the New Kingdom and into the Roman Period (Fakhry, 1941, 840).

To the south west of the Wadi Natrun, the oasis of Bahariya came under Egyptian control as early as the Middle Kingdom (Hawass, 2000, 101). By the Eighteenth Dynasty, the region was controlled by the "governor of the Northern Oasis" (Giddy, 1987, 162; Hawass,2000, 104).

Of the "inner" oases, Farafra is both the largest and most isolated. The only positive reference to its exact geographic location in the western Desert between the oases of Dakhleh and Bahariya is found in an inscription from the temple of Edfu (II 44, 47, 50) where it is referred to as *Ta-Iht*, "cattle land" which, it has been suggested, is evidence for a cult of Hathor in the region (Fakhry, 1977, 113). The only cultural remains which have so far been discovered in this oasis all date to the Roman Period and no Pharaonic monuments, nor objects of local indigenous manufacture, have so far been found in this depression (Fakhry, ibid;

Giddy, 1987, 164). While it has been implied through retro-projection of the term Ta-ihet onto all earlier references to this term in Egyptian texts, that the Egyptians were aware of this oasis as early as the Old Kingdom (Edel, 1956, 67), to date no material has come to light in support of this argument and the possibility must exist that the Egyptians knew of multiple places which they called "cattle-land."

The oasis of Siwa is one of the most remote areas in both ancient and modern Egypt. In earlier times, it took a caravan almost eight days to reach from the coast (Vivien, 2007, 305). The oasis appears to have been almost completely unknown to the ancient Egyptians prior to the 26th Dynasty. According to Fakhry, "to date, no monument of the Old Kingdom or Middle Kingdom – or even the New Kingdom – has been found in Siwa… the oldest monuments in the oasis dates from the reign of King Amasis." (1973,77). With the exception of a handful of flint artifacts associated with the Neolithic Fayyum B Culture (Fakhry, 1973) and a piece of Shell Tempered Ware found in this oasis who's date is almost certainly Graeco-Roman (Hulin, 1989, 115; also see below), no objects of indigenous manufacture or dating to the Bronze Age are known from this distant oasis.

7.4 Summary: Ethnic identity in the archaeology of the oases

Evidence exists for sizeable Paleolithic and Neolithic populations in the oasis region with a material culture similar to that found contemporaneously along the Nile. The gradual desiccation of the region to the west of the Nile, however, over the millennium or so which preceded Egyptian involvement in this region, either significantly reduced the local population or, like the rest of the Saharan populations, drove them southwards. Thus, by the time that the Egyptians established themselves in Dakhleh in the Old Kingdom it is probably fair to suggest that much of the local population very quickly became fully integrated into the Egyptian state/cultural apparatus, thereby masking their indigenous cultural aspects.

For the most part, therefore, the major ethnicity expressed by the archaeological record of the oases is "Egyptian." The only aspects of non-Egyptian material culture which have been recovered from the region west of the Nile and contemporary with Egyptian expansion in the region are found in the Sheikh Muftah assemblages from Dakhleh oasis and from the oasis road and the Gilf Kebir as well as the "Saharan culture" pottery found in many of the same places as well as at the site of Armant and in the far west of North Africa. To date, no burials in the region have been attributed to either cultural unit. While it has been suggested that the Sheikh Muftah pottery is a product of Dakhleh oasis, there has yet to be any convincing evidence concerning the provenience of the clay. On the other hand, "Saharan culture" pottery has been discovered as far away as Central Africa. It is not clear however whether Saharan culture material is related to the Sheikh Muftah pottery found along almost the same route and which would appear to be roughly contemporary. This is a problem to be addressed in future research.

With such limited information there is very little which can be said concerning the expression of ethnic identity of non-Egyptians in the oasis region to the west of the Nile. It seems likely, however, that the Egyptian settlement at Ain Asil in Dakhleh Oasis was not *simply* a colony in the middle of a desert. Most likely, it played a significant role in funneling the trans-Saharan trade routes into Egypt. Specifically, the outpost at Ain Asil controlled, and was undoubtedly responsible for, the provisioning of the "Abu Ballas" road leading to the Gilf Kebir and Uweinat regions to the south west. The ultimate terminus of this road probably stretched even further into the heart of Central Africa, and possibly led to the fabled land of Yam.

This hypothetical trans-Saharan route could be further reinforced by the presence of so-called "Saharan Culture" and "Sheikh Muftah" ceramic material found at various points along this caravan route: at the Egypt terminus, Armant; at the "mid-way" points of Dakhleh Oasis and the Gilf Kebir; and, in the case of "Saharan culture" pottery in the region of Chad, Algeria and Mali. Unfortunately, this material remains ill-defined date-wise, and further research into resolving this problem is certainly needed.

If it were possible to combine the Egyptian outposts, caravan routes, and foreign pottery possibly originating in Central Africa and found at key points along this route, then there may have been Egyptian trade-routes leading into Central Africa and, Central African products arriving along the banks of the Nile. What is less clear, however, is whether this trade was the product of or influenced by the presence of Egyptians in the region, and what the cultural identity of those non-Egyptian people was. Within the iconographic record of ancient Egypt, however, the few depictions of "Oasis dwellers" (Giddy, 1980, pl. I; Davies, 1943, pl. XV) closely resemble images of certain "Nubian" groups from the New Kingdom (Vercoutter, 1980, figs. 4 and 6)

The Egyptians, therefore appear to have been active throughout the oases to the west of the Nile from a very early period and distinctive "Egyptian" material is attested throughout this region. While elements of non-Egyptian cultural groups are attested in the southern oasis region, there is no indication in the northern oases of "indigenous" material culture or other "foreign" populations.

The opposite can be said to have occurred along the North Coast of Egypt. In this region, despite the very late arrival of Egyptians (and other 'foreigners' from the Eastern Mediterranean), the presence of properly dated contexts have allowed for the discovery of material culture which can be dated to the Late Bronze Age. Yet much of the interpretation of this evidence is based on the fundamental assumption that the region being excavated is, in the first instance, the "home-land" of the so-called "Libyans."

7.5 The North Coast.

Along the North Coast, the Egyptian presence is conspicuous by its relative absence. Apart from a very short lived occupation at the fortress site of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (hereafter contracted to ZUR) located some 300 Km. west of modern-day Alexandria there is a significant lack of any Egyptian activity anywhere along the North Coast for all periods.

Generally speaking therefore, the Egyptians tend to have had much less interest along the north coast than the southern oases and south-western trade-routes. To date four sites – Bates' Cemetery, Bates' Island, Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and Haua Fteah - have been excavated along the north coast and numerous surveys conducted in an effort to identify an indigenous, non-Egyptian presence along this coastline. Three of the sites excavated are all found within 25 km. of the modern town of Mersa Matruh in Egypt, while the fourth site is located in modern in the Gebel Akhdar of modern Libya (Map 7).
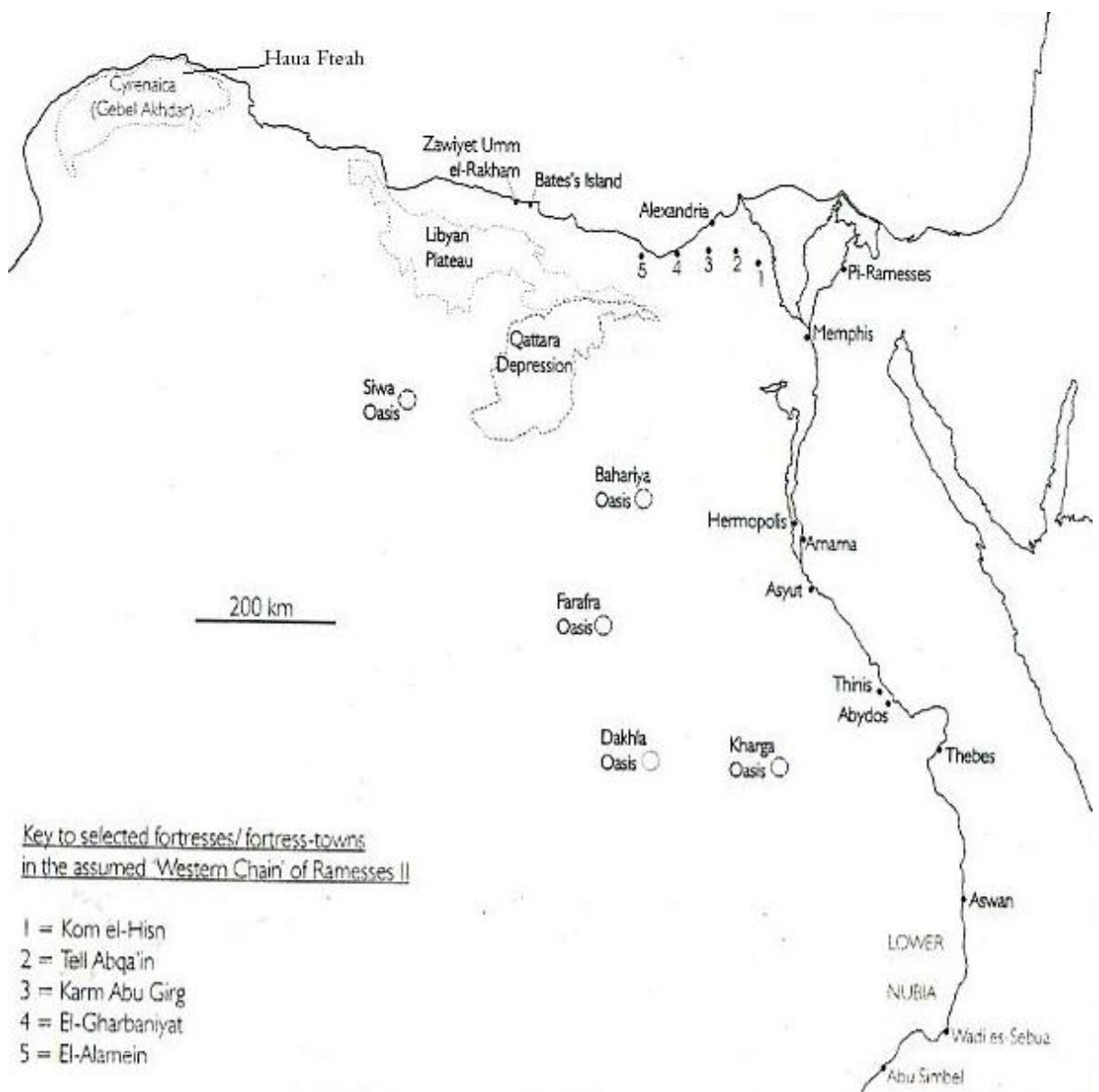
Map 8 - locations of Bates' Island, Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and Haua Fteah [adapted from Snape, 2003, 95 fig. 6.1]. Note: Bates Cemetery is a couple kilometers east of Bates' Island.

7.5.1 Bates' "Libyan" Cemetery

In the winter of 1913-1914, Oric Bates and W.J. Harding King, carried out a "brief archaeological survey" in the vicinity of Mersa Matruh (Bates, 1915, 158). According to his account, Bates uncovered five archaic graves "about two miles east of the coastguard barracks… on a small limestone spur" (1915, 158) which were dug 30-40 cm into the limestone. Of these five "graves," only two had actual burials which were described by Bates as follows:

> The bodies, although both so oriented as to have the heads east, lay on different sides and in different degrees of contraction, thus showing a careless departure from a presumably rigid primitive canon (Bates' posthumous *African Studies* (1927) quoted by Hulin, 2002, 87; though clearly derived from the earlier report by Bates in *Ancient Egypt* (1915), where it appears almost verbatim)

The contents from the two intact graves (labeled by Bates as A.1 and A.2) included:

- a basalt jar (registry number: A.1/1)
- a basalt vase (A.1/R.1)
- two heavily fragmented pottery jars (A.1/R.2 and A.2/R.1)
- an intrusive snail's (*Helix nucula*) shell (A.1/3)
- 5 *Iridina* shells (A.1/2; A.1/R.3; A.1/R.4; A.2/1 and A.2/2), although the modern nomenclature for this genus is *Mutela* (Reese and Rose [Matruh II], 2002, 104)

Additionally, a "spheroidal lump of purplish conglomerate" identified as a "palette" (A.2/R.2) was found "in the earth" between graves A.2 and A.3; along with a red-painted "Red ware" pottery vessel (A.2/R.3) in the same location. Finally, several sherds of pottery (A.1/R.0), with traces of a greenish-black slip on the outside (of which one was incised) were found on the surface of grave A.1 (according to Bates: "apparently weathered out of the grave," 1915, 162).
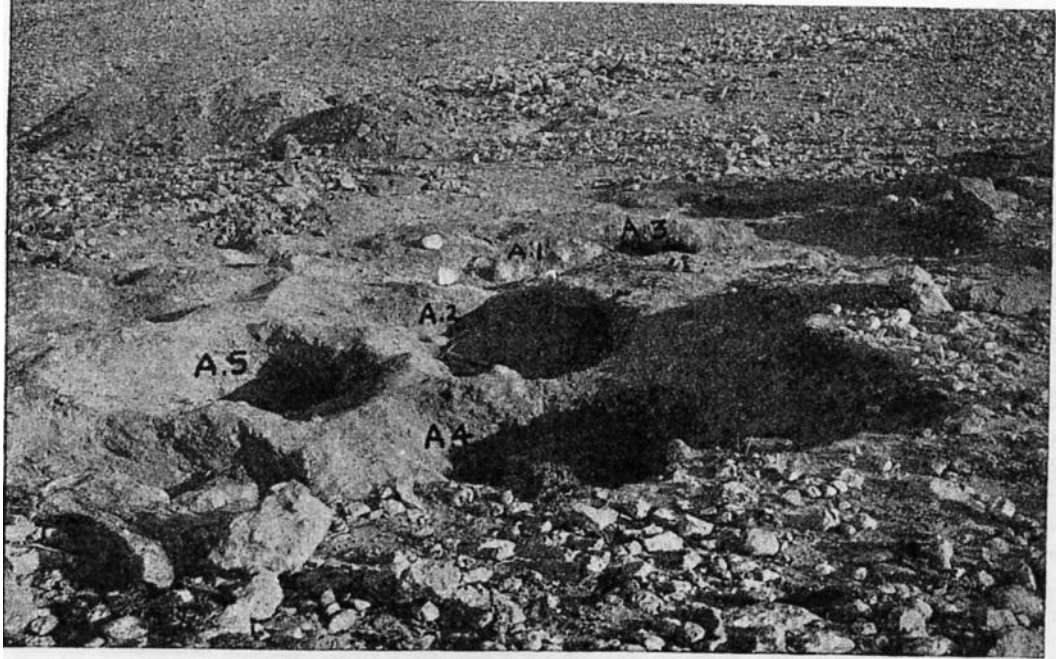
Fig. 54 – Photograph of "Bates' Cemetery" showing positions of five graves, possibly facing north (?) [from Bates, 1915, 159 fig. 2]

7.5.1.1 The Pottery from Bates' Cemetery

The surface sherds (A.1/R.0) found "weathered out of the grave" A.1 have, in the intervening 90 years since their discovery, gone missing (White, 1994, 32), and their current location remains unknown.

The missing sherds are described simply as made of a "sandy, black fabric" (Bates, 1915, 162), and a single one of these is described as being incised.
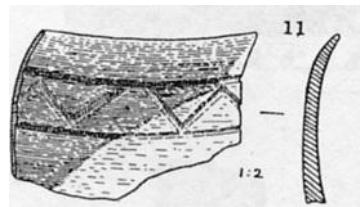
**Fig. 55 – Surface Sherd A.1/R.0, location unknown
[from Bates, 1915, 162 fig.11]**

On the basis of incised decoration described by Bates on one of these sherds, this corpus of surface sherds has been associated with the locally produced Shell Tempered B ware by Donald White, the excavator of Bates' Island (1994, 37).

More recently, Linda Hulin identified the incised sherd as being of locally made Marmaric Fabric 1 fabric type (Hulin, 1999, 67), only to later re-evaluate her position and describe this sherd as Marmaric 2 fabric type (2001, 70). Yet all of these associations have been made without access to the sherd in question and rely entirely on Bates' description of these surface sherds. These are, unfortunately, considerably vague. This description only loosely matches Hulin's most recent description for Marmaric 2 as "Dark grits and crushed shell visible throughout, plus large charcoal inclusions" (1999, 12). Any further discussion of these particular sherds, which relies at best on conjecture, should wait until their location is known, and they can be studied accurately.

In addition to the now lost A.1/R.0 sherds "weathered out of the grave," grave A.1 also produced the terracotta jar A.1/R.2 which was described by Bates as "soft, fairly coarse buff ware, with minute white inclusions." It was found scattered as broken fragments "from the central filling of the grave." Unfortunately its precise find spot is not indicated on the plan provided by Bates (1915, 161 fig. 4), though it may perhaps be presumed to have been found somewhere between the body (in the north half of the grave) and the south wall of the same grave. There is no clear indication in Bates' description of how jar A.1/R.2 was associated with burial A.1 and it is questionable whether this vessel can even be used to date this grave.
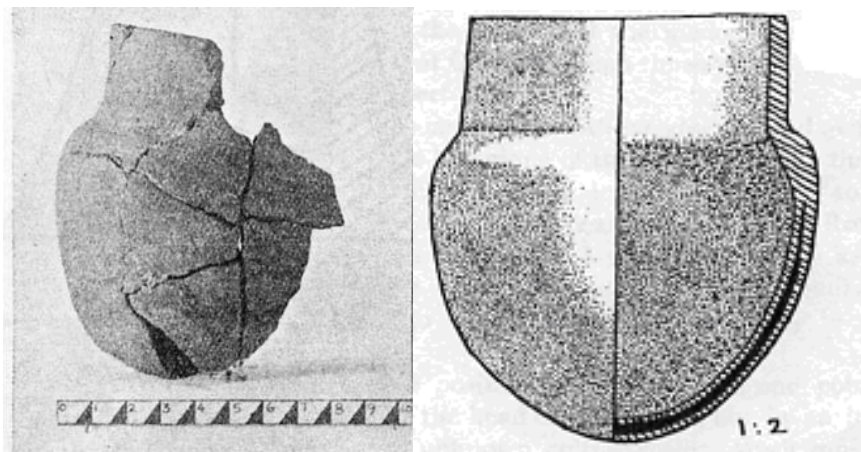
**Figs. 56 and 57 - "Terracotta" Jar A.1/R.2, photograph (left) and line drawing @ 1:2 scale (right)
[from Bates, 1915, 163 (photo) and 165 (drawing)]**

Unlike the sherds A.1/R.0, the present location of vessel A.1/R.2 in the Peabody Museum is known. In 1992, this particular vessel was dated via Thermo-luminescence analysis at the University of Durham and the date of between "the beginning of the present and 2000 BC" was obtained (White, 1994, 34). Unfortunately these results are so vague as to be virtually meaningless in dating this grave. As Hounsell points out, "the wide span of these dates means in reality very little can firmly be stated about the date of these wares or the graves they were found in" (2002, 63). Following this analytical test, no further research has been done on vessel A.1/R.2, and it is not known how the fabric of this vessel relates to that of the other vessels from this site or of other fabrics known in the region.

Like grave A.1, the second grave (A.2) also yielded a fragmentary jar registered by Bates as A.2/R.1. This vessel is of similar form to that from grave A.1, though with a flatter bottom and slightly more flaring rim. Like its brethren from grave A.1, there is no way of knowing exactly how the fragments of jar A.2/R.1 are associated with the burial, since they were described by Bates as being similarly found "scattered through the central filling" (Bates, 1915, 163). The matrix of vessel A.2/R.1 was described by Bates (1915, 163) as a "fairly hard uniform grey ware, black inside."
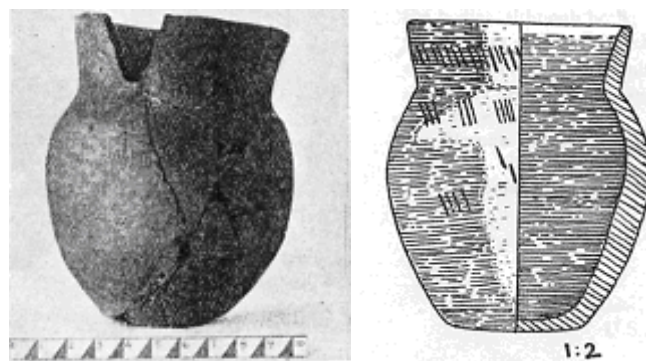
Figs. 58 and 59 –Terracotta Jar A.2/R.1, photograph (left) and line drawing @ 1:2 scale (right) [from Bates, 1915, 163 fig. 16 (photo) and 164 fig. 17 (drawing)]

Similar to A.1/R.2 (above), jar A.2/R.1 was also tested by the thermoluniscence lab at the University of Durham in 1994, and obtained the broad date of between 3000 and 1000 BC (Hulin and White, 2002, 91). Therefore this vessel could be

considered slightly earlier than A.1/R.2. The use of this evidence as a means of dating these burials, however, should be treated with due caution.

The third complete jar (A.2/R.2) was found in "the earth halfway between A.2 and A.3" (Bates, 1915, 164). Its accession number as A.2 therefore is slightly misleading - especially since, according to Bates' photograph of the site (above, fig. 57), the grave A.1 is equally found between A.2 and A.3, albeit slightly more to the north.[28] Moreover, there is no indication from either the photographs or Bates' records that Bates actually excavated in this area and the jar could easily have come from the surface (or just below) along with the so-called "palette."[29] A.2/R.2 is listed simply as "Red ware, not hard" by Bates, who indicated further that it had red paint along the outside (1915, 164).
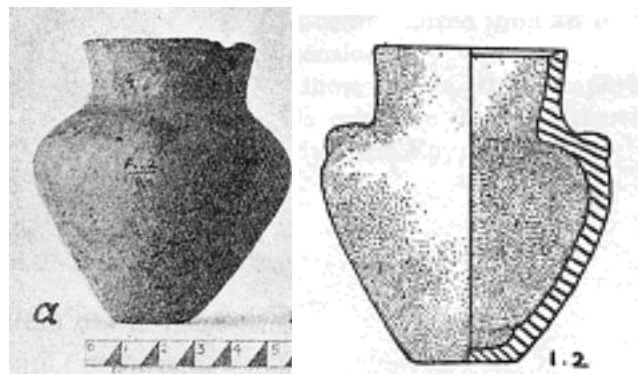
Figs. 60 and 61 – Terracotta Jar A.2/R.2, photograph (left) line drawing @ 1:2 scale (right) [from Bates, 1915, 163 fig. 19a (photo) and 164 fig. 20 (drawing)]

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[28] Although no legend is provided for this photograph to indicate north, it can be deduced from the following.: The long shadows in the photo suggest that the sun was either setting or rising when the picture was taken, meaning that the view must be either to the south (if the sun were rising) or north (if it were setting). However the fragments of bone which can just be made out in grave A.2 suggest that the view must be to the North-Northwest of the site.

[29] It is perhaps suspicious that Bates' impulse to excavate in this area began precisely to the N, E, and W of "the area between A.2 and A.3" where the palette and jar were found. And it could be that these two objects, found on or near the surface, were what initially drew his attention to the site. The corollary to this is clear: He did not excavate to the south of "the area between A.2 and A.3" because finding A.3 empty, he believed the "cemetery" to extend to the west (past A.1 and A.2), hence his excavation of A.4 and A.5 which proved to be equally empty

7.5.1.2 The basalt vessels from Bates' Cemetery

In addition to the four ceramic vessels discovered by Bates and Harding-King in the "cemetery" they also uncovered two Basalt vessels from the A.1 grave. Unlike the pottery which was found largely on the surface or in the fill, the basalt vessel A.1/1 was clearly found in situ associated with the burial A.1 "placed between the chin and throat" (Bates, 1915, 162). Bates describes these vessels as follows:

> The two stone vessels A.1/1 and A.1/R.1 are identical in substance and technique, though not in form, with some of the finest stone vessels of Old Empire Egypt (1915, 165).

Yet it is not within the Old Kingdom (ca. 2686-2181 BC) that Bates dates these burials but – for no apparent reason - 200 years later "to a period between 2000 and 1500 BC" (1915, 165).
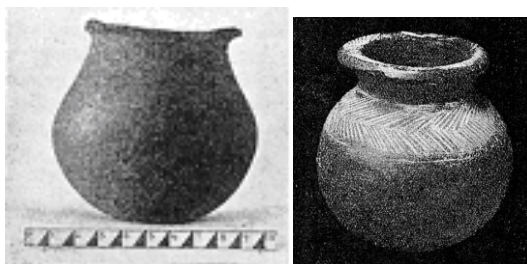
Figs. 62 and 63 – Bates' basalt jar A.1/1 (left) [from Bates, 1915, 163 fig. 7], and Petrie's unprovenanced basalt jar (right) [from Petrie in Bates, 1915, 167 fig. 25]

The date obtained for these basalt vessels was largely the work of Petrie, who provided an appendix to Bates' original article (Petrie, 1915). Petrie dated both of these vessels to the 12th Dynasty. However, on examination of Petrie's method, his dates appear rather arbitrary and fraught with circular logic.

Petrie claims, for instance, that an unprovenanced jar (fig. 66, above) is "not of Egyptian type" and has much affinity with Bates A.1/1. He then makes a direct link to both of these being of "Libyan" origin by making the circuitous statement that the decoration found on his "non-Egyptian" example is "akin to the line decoration of the pottery in the first prehistoric age of Egypt, which is Libyan in

origin" (Petrie, 1915, 166). Yet, despite not being of "Egyptian" type, Petrie's "non-Egyptian" vessel is "like the globular vases of the XIIth Dynasty, though they have smaller necks" (ibid). From this, he concludes that Bates' A.1/1 and his "non-Egyptian" vessel should be dated to "a period between the VIth and XIIth Dynasties, or perhaps in the XIIth Dynasty" (ibid.).

Thus the dating of Bates' burial A.1 is based on a spurious relationship with an unprovenanced jar of similar, though by no means identical form, which might – or might not -- have some affinities with the "globular jars" of the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty, but also with pre-Dynastic jars which may, or may not, have originally been of "Libyan" origin.

The other basalt vessel, A.1/R.1, is even less informative for dating its associated grave since it was found in "the filling of the grave, ca. 35 cm south of the left knee, 5 cm deep" (Bates, 1915, 162). Again in his addendum to Bates' article, Petrie points out that the form of this vessel - which he describes as "a peculiar form" - is "quite un-Egyptian" (Petrie, ibid.). Again, rather unconvincingly, Petrie dates this form to the Twelfth Dynasty. The comparative piece (UC 15746) which Petrie makes reference to as being an altered form of Bates' A.1/R.1 was subsequently dated by him to the Predynastic period (Petrie, 1905, 216). The same Predynastic date (ca. 3000 BC) was adopted more recently by el-Khouli for both of these objects (1978, 720), while a similar basalt vessel (EA64354), dated to the Third Millennium BC is compared with Bates' vessel A,1/R.1 by Shaw and Nicholson (2008, 207f.) .
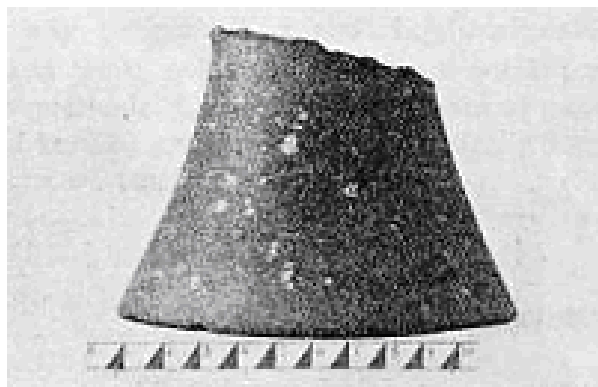
Fig. 64 – Bates' basalt vessel A.1/R.1 [from Bates, 1915, 163 fig. 12]

The basalt used to make these vessels, however, is not local to the Marmaric region. The nearest source of basalt to Bates' "Libyan" Cemetery is the Fayyum, where the only known Egyptian basalt quarry is located (Aston, Harrell, Shaw, 2000, 23). This quarry appears to have been in operation only during the Old Kingdom, from possibly the Third to the Sixth Dynasty (Aston et al, ibid.).

Basalt, however, is not a rare material in the eastern Mediterranean and it is found in Egypt, Jordan, and Syria as well as in the western Fezzan region of modern Libya. It is not, however, (to my knowledge) found in the Marmaric region. There is no reason to presume, therefore, that these vessels must have originated in Egypt, based solely on their material or on their form.

To date, no analysis of the material of these vessels has been undertaken to chemically determine their source and all that can be determined with any degree of certainty is that the source of this material is not local to the Marmaric region or the surrounding desert highlands.

Moreover, if these vessels were coming from Egypt, it would be even more odd for them to be of such a late date as the Twelfth Dynasty suggested by Petrie. Basalt was commonly used in the production of stone vessels in Egypt from the Late Predynastic period until the Sixth Dynasty and was rarely used thereafter, though it did have a resurgence in use during the Late and Graeco-Roman Periods (Aston, Harrell, Shaw, ibid.). From this information, therefore, it seems more likely that the date of this grave is either very early (Predynastic-Old Kingdom), or very late (Late through Greco-Roman periods). Allowances should, of course, be made for the possibility that earlier vessels made from such a durable material could have a very prolonged life or could have easily been reused and, as such would further confuse the dating of the associated grave.

Thus, the basalt vessels from Bates' Cemetery are as vague in helping to narrow the date of this site as is the pottery. Similarly, the material - though evidently not local – is not rare enough to suggest a place of manufacture for these objects without further tests.

7.5.1.3 Expression of Ethnic Identity at Bates' Cemetery

Having had as his stated purpose "to search for Libyan remains" (1915, 158) in the year following the publication of his *Essay on the Eastern Libyans*, Bates was enthusiastic about the prospect of uncovering native "Libyan" tombs. There was apparently no doubt in his mind that these two graves represented "native Berber interments dated between 2000 and 1500 BC" (White, 1994, 32), which hinted at a "whole primitive culture, hitherto quite unknown, and as rich, presumably, as that of Predynastic Egypt itself" (Bates, 1915, 165).

However, with such an uncritical approach to this excavation lies the first problem in identifying "ethnic groups" archaeologically. Eventually, one has to ask whether these burials are "Libyan" because they display the burial customs associated with this cultural and ethnic group otherwise identified as "Libyan"; or are they "Libyans" because they were simply "found in Libya". According to Bates, the answer lies firmly with the latter and he states:

> It is hardly to be questioned that these burials are of Libyan origin: the objects associated with them are neither Egyptian or Minoan, and the locality in which they were found lies well within the Libyan sphere (1915, 165).

A more thorough analysis, however, could equally conclude that many of the associated grave goods have a distinctly "non-Libyan" origin. The five *Iridina/Mutela* shells found within these graves, for instance, almost certainly originated in the Nile Valley (Reese and Rose, 2002, 104). Similarly, the basalt vessels are also likely to have originated closer to the Nile, if not the Levant, while the origin of the pottery has yet to be determined.

The probable "Egyptian" or "non-Libyan" source of these materials has often been used to infer trade-relations between Nilotic Egyptians and the "Libyans" (Reese, 220, 104). Such an hypothesis, however, requires an a priori a belief that these individuals are "Libyans" in the first instance. Indeed, similar graves containing basalt vessels with the deceased are found in Early Dynastic burials in Egypt (cf. el Mahasna H.129; Ayrton and Loat, 1911, 24 & pl. XXI), while those

containing similar Nilotic shell are found among the "Pan-Grave Culture" in the vicinity of Egypt (cf. Wainwright and Whittemore, 1920, pls IV and VIII). Moreover, common pre-Dynastic Egyptian burial practice was to place the body "lying on its side facing the rising sun in the east" (Hawass, 2000, 134), which is not that dissimilar to the manner in which Bates described these two burials.

Finally, of the remaining pottery, there is no discussion of its place of manufacture or form-typology in the literature and it is merely *assumed* to be local. Yet all three jars and the fragments from the surface scatter appear to be made, according to Bates' description, from at least three different fabrics.

To date, there has been a lack of interpretative work in associating the ceramic material uncovered by Bates with the more recently discovered Marmaric fabrics in the region. The lone exception to this rule is the only sherd currently inaccessible to anyone, A.1/R.0. The fact that this sherd is missing, has undoubtedly allowed unbridled speculation as to its identity. As such, the "missing sherd" has been variously classed as Shell Tempered B, Marmaric 1 or Marmaric 2 fabrics. A more fruitful exercise would certainly be to attempt to classify the presently known sherds and vessels into the modern typology from the Marmaric coast.

As was pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, pottery is often an important indicator of ethnic identity on archaeological sites in the Eastern Mediterranean. The pottery from Bates' cemetery however, can only be classified, at best, as "non-Egyptian." In both form and fabric there is nothing inherent about this pottery which makes it either indicative of the Bronze Age or of "Libyans" since there is no comparative material with which to associate it.

Moreover, none of the pottery from Bates' Cemetery was found in situ in the two graves and its use as an indicator of the "ethnic identity" of the interred should be treated with suspicion. At least two of these vessels (A.1/R.0 and A.2/R.2) were either indicated in the original report as found on the surface or it can be inferred that such was the case. The remaining two vessels (A.1/R.2 and A.2/R.1) were found as "scatters in the fill," which might also suggest proximity

to surface. Such surface finds could have any of a number of depositional histories. They could, for instance have been left as grave offerings, and therefore through their indirect association with the grave itself be used as dating evidence. Alternatively, they could just as easily have been dumped at the site at a much later date, and have no actual relation with the interred.

On account of the poor provenience of these pottery vessels Bates was not able to use them as a means of dating the site. Instead, when Bates first published his "Libyan" cemetery in 1915, the primary dating evidence for this site was obtained from the Basalt vessels which were clearly associated with one of the interred. Whilst the deposition of these vessels may indeed be located in "Libya," there is nothing about the use of basalt within the burials to suggest that the interred was "Libyan."

Establishing the ethnic identity of the two individuals buried on an outcrop overlooking the Mediterranean Sea is no simple task. First, there is at present no firm evidence regarding the date of these burials and they could easily have been interred at any time between the Third Millennium BC and the Second Millennium AD. Second, there are no comparable burials found in the vicinity. As such, it makes it very difficult to suggest that these burials belong to a wider "Libyan" burial custom.

While both the identity and the date of Bates' cemetery remain un-established, the quest to identify Bronze Age "Libyans" along the Marmaric Coast remains an ongoing pursuit, and more recently teams from the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Liverpool have claimed to have uncovered similar evidence in the Marmaric Region.

 7.5.2 Bates' Island and Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham

Almost 70 years after Bates' publication of the "Libyan Cemetery" at Mersa Matruh, the University of Pennsylvania Museum returned to the area of Bates' initial excavations. Between 1985 and 1989, they excavated what was believed to be the remains of a Late Bronze Age "revictualing station" at the site of Bates

Island near the modern town of Marsa Matruh dating, roughly, to the middle of the 15th Century BC (White, 2002). The site of Bates' Island, previously known as the "Island of the Jews" (White, 2002, 1) is located almost midway along Egypt's coast between Alexandria and Sollum.
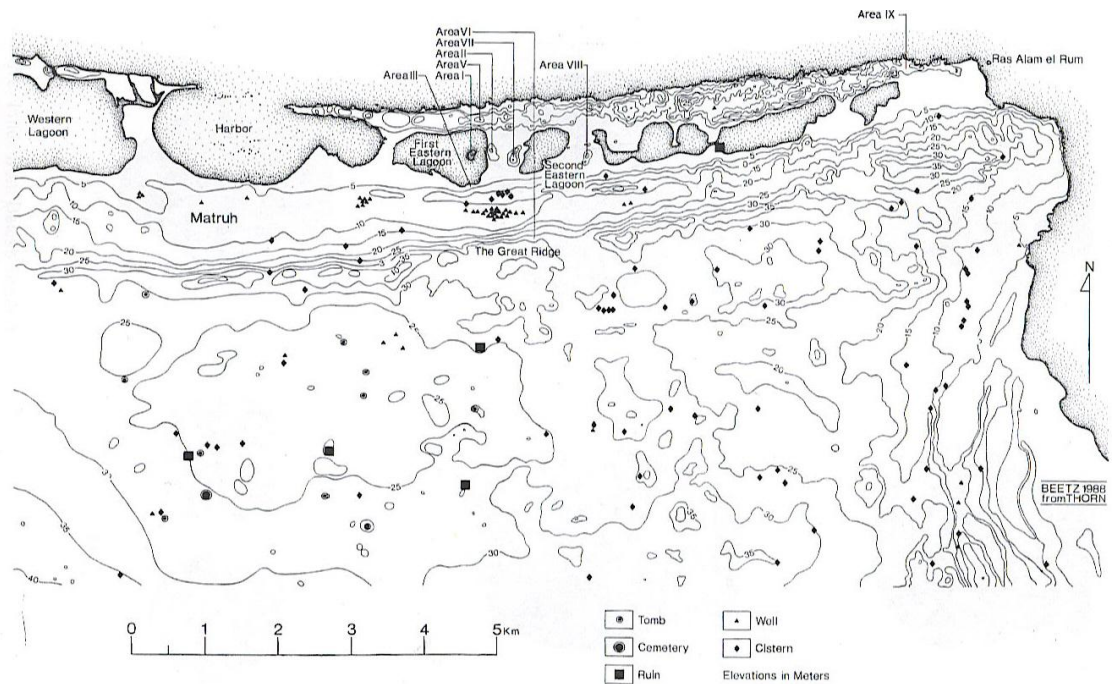
Map 8 - Bates' Island and Matruh Region [from White, 2002 Plan 4]

Based on the evidence from Bates, the Pennsylvania team set about attempting to uncover more evidence of this Late Bronze Age "Libyan" society. To this end, they meticulously brought to light "three and perhaps even four classes of Late Bronze Age Libyan artifacts" (White, 1994, 34). These included: several types of hand made pottery, stone tools, ostrich eggshell fragments and bronze artifacts.

An almost identical "Libyan" assemblage was found at the Ramesside Fortress (late 13th Century BC) of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (ZUR), roughly 25 Km. to the west of Bates Island. Originally identified in 1946, ZUR was excavated by Habachi in the 1950s, again by the EAO in 1991 and, since 1994 by a team from the University of Liverpool (Snape and Wilson, 2007, 1ff.). These most recent excavations, which are by far the best published, have claimed to uncover

evidence for a local "Libyan" population associated with a phase soon after the abandonment of the fortress around 1200 BC.

The evidence for the "local" occupation of ZUR was presented in, an as yet unpublished, PhD thesis by Fiona Simpson (University of Liverpool, 2003). Like the evidence from Bates' Island, the "local Libyan" population at ZUR is identified on the basis of material culture, which included: stone tools, ostrich eggshell fragments, hand-made pottery, and an attempt to re-smelt copper. Additionally, this "Libyan" presence is suggested at this site by the presence of eight "crudely constructed" stone huts.
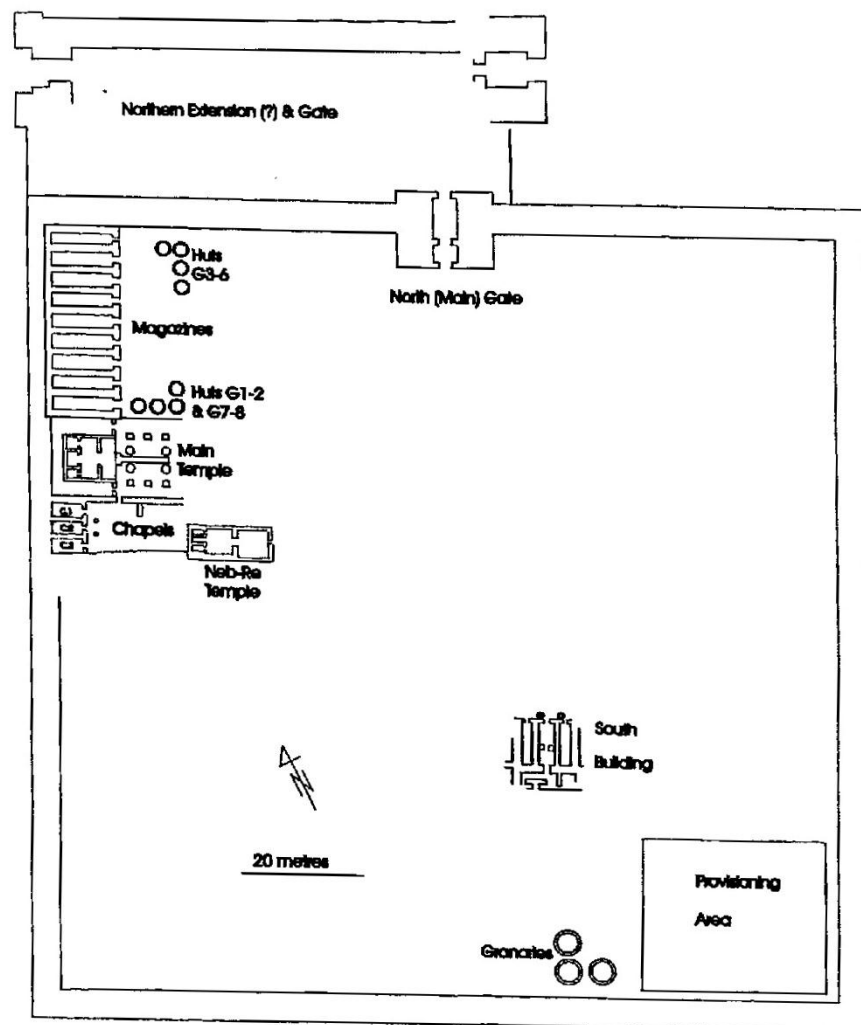
**Fig. 65 – fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham
[From Simpson, 2002, fig. 1.3]**

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Although separated chronologically by almost two centuries, the similarities between the assemblages of Bates Island and ZUR provide good reason to discuss them together.

7.5.2.1 Local "Libyan" wares from Bates' Island.

One of the most common indicators of indigenous "Libyans" being present at Marsa Matruh comes from a type of pottery classified as "Shell Tempered Ware" (though in earlier reports this is listed as "Marmaric ware.") According to White:

> A series of surface scatters of poorly dated Marmaric Ware sherds recovered along the lagoon system [which] could be argued to indicate the presence of Libyan pastoralists in the vicinity of Bates' Island perhaps as early as the time of its Late Bronze Age occupation (White, 2002, 26)

In this context, it is not clear whether White is referring to the Marmaric Shell Tempered Wares (A-C) or the more elusive Marmaric Wares (1 & 2) both of which were classified by Linda Hulin (1987, 1999, 2001, 2002). It has recently been suggested by Hulin that the term "Marmaric ware" be reserved for reference to LBA assemblages in the region, while Shell Tempered Wares A-C be used for later Graeco-Roman and Bedouin wares. A closer examination of the final report of Mersa Matruh, however, suggests that all of the so-called "Marmaric Ware sherds" found in the vicinity of Marsa Matruh are of the Shell Tempered (A-C) variety (Hulin, 2002 [Matruh I], 91-101). As such, almost none of this "local" pottery would therefore appear to date to the Late Bronze Age. In fact, in the conclusion to their report on the excavations at Bates Island, Hulin and White admit that "Libyan pottery has not been found on the island itself" (2002, 171).

Shell Tempered Ware has been classified into three types: A-C. According to Hulin's typology of this fabric "the boundary between Shell Tempered A and B may be more apparent than real if, as is possible, the difference is due to variable firing conditions" (Hulin, 2002, 94). The three fabrics are described by Hulin as follows:

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Shell-Tempered A is a hard, reddish yellow fabric (7.5YR 7/6); the more common Shell-Tempered B is also hard but a light brownish gray (10 YR 6/2); fabric C is a light gray or brown; the core crumbles easily, and the shell has been ground finely, resembling fibers in asbestos sheeting (Hulin, 2002, 94)

In terms of form, Hulin describes these vessels in the following manner:

Fabrics A and B derive from handmade, apparently round-bellied jars, The rim is plain or squared off, the neck flares sometimes extremely and the base is flat… Fabric C is represented by a handmade round-bellied jar with flaring neck; the rim is plain (Hulin, 2002, 94).

In total, 29 sherds of ST A, 22 sherd of ST B and 7 sherds of ST C were catalogued by the Bates' Island excavation team. The dates for this ceramic material however are highly inconclusive. Hulin has preferred to date this material based largely on associated material. Shell Tempered A and B wares which were found exclusively on the surface (Hulin, 2002, 94) were dated by Hulin to the "late Roman Period, because they were frequently but not invariably found in association with such sherds during surface survey" (2002, 95). Her date for Fabric A would appear to be partially confirmed by an unguentarium of Fabric A dated to the First Century AD currently in the Royal Ontario Museum (Hulin, 2002, 95). Similarly she dates Fabric B to the Seventh Century AD based on parallels found at Benghazi, Tocra and surface survey in the vicinity of ZUR (Hulin, 2002, 95).

The mid-First Millennium AD date for STB would also appear to be partially confirmed by a thermoluminescence date obtained from a STB sherd (White, 1994, 37).[30] From a total of six samples, only two yielded what White refers to as "usable dates" (1994, 37). The first was dated to between AD 800 and AD 1300 and the second dated to between 500BC -1100 BC (sic; White, 1994, 37). It would appear that these dates are "usable" only in as much as they prove White's hypothesis that Shell Tempered B is not contemporary Bedouin pottery (ibid).

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[30] It might be inferred from the article which also mentions the Thermoluminescence done by the University of Durham, that these sherds were equally tested at this facility, though this must remain conjectural.
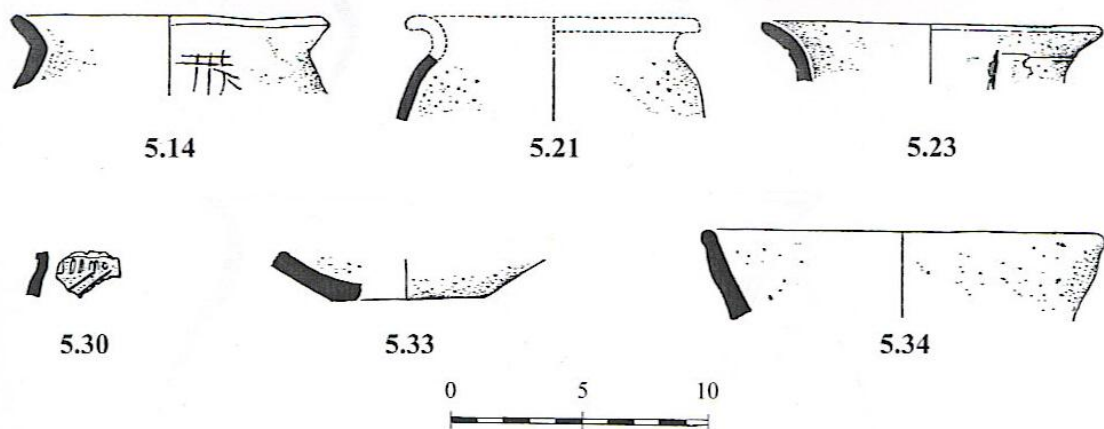
Fig. 66 – Shell Tempered Wares A and B from Bates' Island
[Hulin, 2002 I, 96 fig.5.4]

In contrast to the antique nature of Shell Tempered A and B wares, Shell Tempered C ware has been dated by Hulin to the 19th Century AD. Hulin describes this ware as coming, on the one hand, exclusively from excavated contexts (2002, 94), yet at the same time it has been described by White as "being embedded in the depression's ca. 0.05m. thick sand crust" (2002, 92) which would suggest a surface collection.

It has been suggested that the clay source used for the late Roman Period and Modern Shell Tempered A-C wares might easily be derived from the clay beds at the Wadi Aghib (Hulin, 1989, 115). To date, however, no analytical tests have been conducted on this material to confirm this origin. Indeed, the presumed "local" nature of this pottery production is clearly biased as Hulin herself admits stating that "Shell-tempered fabrics appear but rarely in publications of North African sites of the Hellenistic or Roman period, and they are always characterized as local" (Hulin, 2002, 94).

A second class of pottery discovered at Bates' Island are three "Black Coarse Ware" sherds which were originally described as "presumably local LBA Libyan origin" (White, 1994, 36), of which only one (85I-P-99) was discovered in a secure LBA context (White, ibid.). All three examples are handmade forms. Hulin describes these pieces as:

Black Coarse Ware fabric varies from a dark reddish brown (2.5 YR 3/4) to a pale brown (10YR 6/3). With a gray core (2.5 Y N/) core, when present. The jars are covered with a finely burnished slip, varying in colour from a pale brown (10YR 6/3) to a very dark gray (10YR 3/1).

White has suggested a parallel between these sherds and "two Pre-Greek Libyan Grey-black sherds… from the area of the "House of the Propylaeum" west of Cyrene's agora (White, 1994, 36).
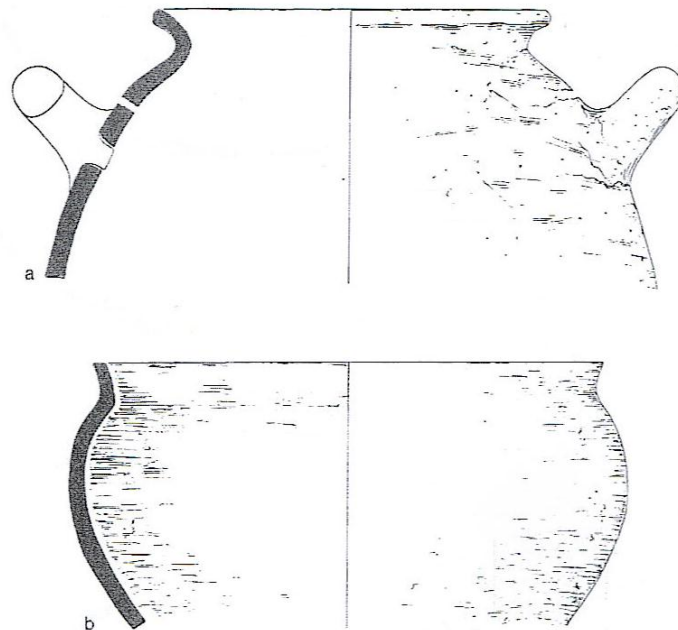
Fig 67 – Black coarse ware from Bates' Island. Jar 85I-P-64 (above) and Jar 85I-P-99 (below) [Hulin, 1989, 122]

At least one of these vessels, 85I-P-64, was later re-categorized in the final publication as a Cypriot Coarse ware cooking vessel (Matruh cat. 8.102; Hulin, 2002, vol. II, 32 and pl. 7); another, 85I-P-52, originally described as a "horned" handle or rim fragment (White, 1994, 36; Hulin, 1989, 121) was described in the final publication as a "slab" of Egyptian marl/silt mix (Matruh cat. 8.48, Hulin, 2002 II, 25 and pl. 6). It follows that the elusive third sherd, 85I-P-99 which to my knowledge was not published in the final report from Mersa Matruh and is the only one found in a securely dated LBA context is equally Cypriot or Egyptian in manufacture.

7.5.2.2 Local "Libyan" wares from ZUR

Although abundant in the vicinity of Bates' Island, Shell Tempered Wares do not seem to occur in any quantity in the region of the Fortress at ZUR, only 25 km. away. The absence of this material in this area was interpreted by Hulin as a sign "in keeping with what has been argued [as] the fortresses' anti-Libyan defensive role" (2002, 93). A more convincing reason, however, for the lack of ST ware in the vicinity of ZUR would be that all of this material postdates the occupation of ZUR by more than a millennium (see above).

Despite a lack of Shell Tempered Ware, a significant amount of a similar hand-made fabric named "Marmaric Ware" was discovered at various locations throughout the fort at ZUR (Simpson, 2002) as well as the adjacent hinterland (Hulin, 2001; Hounsell, 2002). This material has been classified as "Marmaric Ware" (by Hulin) and "Libyan Ware" (by Hounsell) and has been securely dated to the Second Millennium BC and the occupation of the fortress at Zawiyet Um el-Rakham (by Simpson).

As of 2003, 13 'Marmaric Fabric 1' sherds (Simpson, 2002, 66 and *intra*) 86 'Marmaric Fabric 2' sherds (ibid) and 3 pieces of unidentified local "Libyan Wares" had been documented from the fort at ZUR. Additionally, two sherds of Marmaric 2 ware have recently been discovered at el-Greya (WMCS 46) in modern Libya during a surface survey of the Western Marmarica region around Kambut (Hulin, Timby and Mutri, 2009, 181).

It is primarily this corpus of 102 sherds, as well as the presence of ostrich eggshell fragments at the site of ZUR which has been used to promote the idea of an indigenous population inhabiting the area around the fort (Simpson, 2002, passim).

Simpson has suggested that the local Marmaric fabrics found in stratified New Kingdom levels are Marmaric 2 type. As such, she has suggested that "Marmaric 2 fabric is firmly dated to the New Kingdom and the Late Bronze Age and

possibly to confirm that Marmaric 1 ware also dates to this period" (Simpson, 2002, 48).
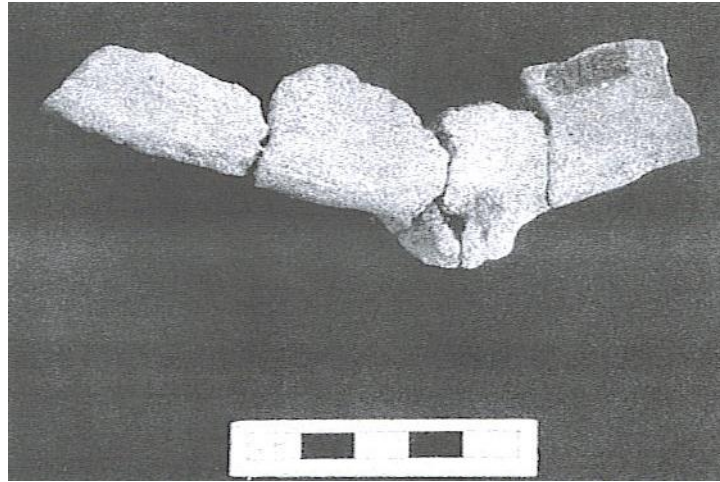
Fig. 68 – Lug-handled Marmaric 2 ware vessel from vicinity of ZUR [Hulin, 2001, 69 fig. 3a & b]

In terms of form as well as fabric, there are clear differences between Marmaric Fabric 1 & 2 wares. One piece of Marmaric 1 ware found by Hulin in a survey in the vicinity of ZUR was a handmade "bag-shaped jar" (Hulin, 1999, 12; 2001, 67) while another handmade piece from the same region appears to be a handmade juglet or jar (Hulin, 2001, 67; Simpson, 2002, 44).

Shapes of Marmaric 2 fabric are - like Marmaric 1 - all handmade forms and appear to fall into three broad shapes: flat-bottomed bowls, lug-handled bowls and flat-bottomed jars with slightly everted rims (Simpson, 2002, 46)

As Simpson points out:

> No identical forms are shared between [vessels] found in the desert around the site [of ZUR] and those found at the fortress other than a flat-bottom…Although this similarity is interesting, it is not strong or individual enough to suggest that a common form existed (Simpson, 2002, 47)

Whilst it has been suggested that the late Roman Period and Modern Shell Tempered A-C wares might easily be of local origin with the clay beds at the Wadi Aghiba as a possible source (Hulin, 1989, 115); there is almost no

evidence to suggest that Marmaric Wares 1&2 necessarily, are of local manufacture, nor, according to Hulin, are these wares related to the much later Shell Tempered wares (pers. Comm.. 18 Sept. 2008)[31]. In fact, Hulin suggests that these wares (decoratively, if not physically) are possibly derived from Garamantean traditions (Pers. Comm., 18 Sept., 2008), which might suggest that they originated almost 2000 Km. away, in the Libyan Fezzan.

7.5.2.3 Egyptian and Eastern Mediterranean wares at Bates' Island

While there is little to no evidence for "locally" manufactured Late Bronze Age ceramic material at the site of Bates' Island, there is significant ceramic presence of pottery manufactured in the Aegean and the rest of the eastern Mediterranean from this site.

In total, 23 fragments of Late Bronze Age Aegean/Mycenean-manufactured pottery were recovered from this site (Russell in White, Matruh vol. II, 2002, 1), while a single fragment of a widemouth pot of Anatolian manufacture was found (Hulin, 2002, 42).

Similarly, 24 Cypriot white slip wares, 21 Cypriot Base Ring Wares, 4 Cypriot monochrome cup fragments, 6 Cypriot White Shaved juglet sherds, 5 Cypriot Red Lustrous spindle bottle sherds and 2 Cypriot Bichrome Wheelmade sherds were recovered (Russell, 2002, 2ff). In addition, Cypriot coarse wares "comprise 81% of the pottery from the upper levels between S118 and S121, and 78% of the lower levels; 84% of the pottery from the upper levels of the area between S121 and S126a and b, and 100% of the lower" (Hulin, 2002, 28). All of this material suggests an occupation of the site during the LH III A period, ca. late Fifteenth – early Fourteenth Centuries BC (Russell, 2002, 5).

Much less abundant at the site of Bates' Island are Canaanite wares. According to Hulin, these "comprise 47% of the sherds from the collapse levels from S102,

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[31] with the caveat that they "represent different strands of a broad Libyan tradition"

although they are absent from the occupation levels… They occur most frequently in the storage areas in the Northern Cluster" (2002, 39).

Finally, comprising 17% of the overall ceramic assemblage at Bates' Island were Egyptian wares (Hulin, 2002, 20). Apart from six individual exceptions, all of the Egyptian pottery forms from Bates' Island were simple flaring bowls with flat or gently curved base and a plain or vertical rim (Hulin, ibid; Hulin and White, 2002, 172). The ubiquitous nature if this form, which is not a "transport shape," suggested to Hulin and White that there must have been an Egyptian garrison or other administrative institution in the vicinity of the island (2002, 173). Perhaps not surprisingly, a similar assemblage is attested at the Egyptian garrison fort of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham located on the outskirts of modern Mersa Matruh.

7.5.2.4 Egyptian and Eastern Mediterranean wares at ZUR

Egyptian wares are fairly abundant at the Egyptian fortress site of ZUR. Within the area of the stone circles at ZUR, Simpson recorded eight complete Egyptian vessels (2002, 220), and 36 vessel fragments (ibid, 221f.).

Along with Egyptian and locally produced pottery, there was also significant traces of pottery manufactured elsewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean discovered in the vicinity of the stone circles as well as the magazines at ZUR (Snape, 1998, 1082). From the area of the stone circles, Simpson lists 1 complete Mycenean pilgrim flask and 2 complete Canaanite amphorae (2002, 220) along with 7 fragments of Canaanite amphorae, 2 fragments of Mycenean pilgrim flasks and four fragments of Cypriot ware (Simpson, 2002, 221f.). Similarly, Snape records three coarse ware stirrup jars and seven Canaanite amphorae from Magazine 1 (1998, 1082). From this material, Snape concluded:

> The presence of this material does suggest a major reason for the site's existence: as a first port of call for trans-Mediterranean traders whose navigational 'target' could be the headland of Ras Abu Laho which, when rounded, has a clear sight of the beach just north of the ZUR fortress,

from which it could (with walls possibly 8-10 meters tall) be seen. (1998, 1082).

7.5.2.5 Bronze working at Bates' Island and ZUR

The second item which has often used as a means to identify Bronze Age Libyans in the Marmaric region is the presence of Bronze objects. While no Bronze objects have been published from the excavations at ZUR, the excavations at Bates' Island produced 2 barbless arrowheads of likely Cypriot manufacture (White, 2002, 48), 1 bronze chisel, 1 flat blade, 15 bronze pins (or possible nails, fishhooks or awls; White, ibid), 2 small bronze pointed blades (or nails; ibid), 1 large sailcloth needle, and 3 bronze fishhooks (White, 2002, 48-50). As the raw metallic resources to produce these items are not present in any significant quantity along the north coast (Simpson, 2002; Bates, 1914), they must have been imported to the region by the Mediterranean merchants.

It has largely been assumed that "the most valuable items for the coastal Libyans to obtain would have been bronze tools and weapons" (Barker, 1996, 104). Moreover, it is generally believed that the "Libyans" were completely ignorant when it came to bronze working. Referring to metallurgy on Bates' Island, Conwell remarks that

> [There] is evidence that metal-working took place [on Bates' Island]. On the assumption that this skill was not known to the nomadic Libyans, the Bates' Island bronze workers must have been foreigners
> (Conwell, 1987, 33).

In a similar vein, referring to the same site, White states

> What is worthy here is the almost certain fact that the Libyans lacked the basic resources and technologies needed for extracting and refining gold, silver, copper, and tin. They are, furthermore, generally thought to have been incapable of shaping metal artifacts, including bronze, to any degree (1994, 37).

Finally, Simpson, referring to ZUR,

> [an] unsuccessful attempt to remelt copper tools, indicate[s] that the squatters had a very poor level of metallurgical capability and a lack of

knowledge in how to produce a crucible and perform simple remelting tasks. The fact that this was not an Egyptian attempt is compounded by the fact that the crucible is crudely made of local fabric" (Simpson, 2002, 451).

Simpson's evidence to substantiate claims that "Libyans" were incapable of simple remelting tasks is in the form of a single crucible (ZURG6E/14) found in an "industrial" area immediately south of circular structure G6 (Simpson, 2002, 60). This object is described by Simpson being made of either Marmaric Fabric 1 or 2 and 1.5 cm thick (Simpson, ibid).

The exterior of the crucible is *7.5YR* 7/6 (yellowish red); the core is 2.5YR 7/8 light red; the interior is 1OYR 5/2 (greyish brown); and the rim is 1OYR *7/6*(yellow). The variations in fabric colour and the darker core a gain suggest differential firing. The fabric is extremely porous, tempered with crushed shell, grit, small amounts of grog, and post-firing marks indicate that a large amount of chaff was used as temper. The vessel is handmade (Simpson, 2002, 60).

The surface of this vessel is later described as having "a slightly vitrified appearance and small copper 'lumps' [sic] adhering to its surface" (2002, 194), which is, according to her, indicative of a failed attempt to remelt copper.

Fig. 69 – Crucible fragments (ZURG6E/14) from ZUR
[Simpson, 2002, fig. 2.18]

None of these factors, however, seem to be indicative of an "inability" to remelt copper - as is proven from the nearby site of Bates Island where nineteen crucible fragments were recovered from various contexts of which thirteen are described as having either "slag," "greenish metallic residue," or "droplets of metal" adhering to the surface (White et al., 2002, 187ff.). Indeed there are least three crucibles (9.35, 9.44, 9.45) found at Bates Island which are described in similar terms to that found by Simpson at ZUR.
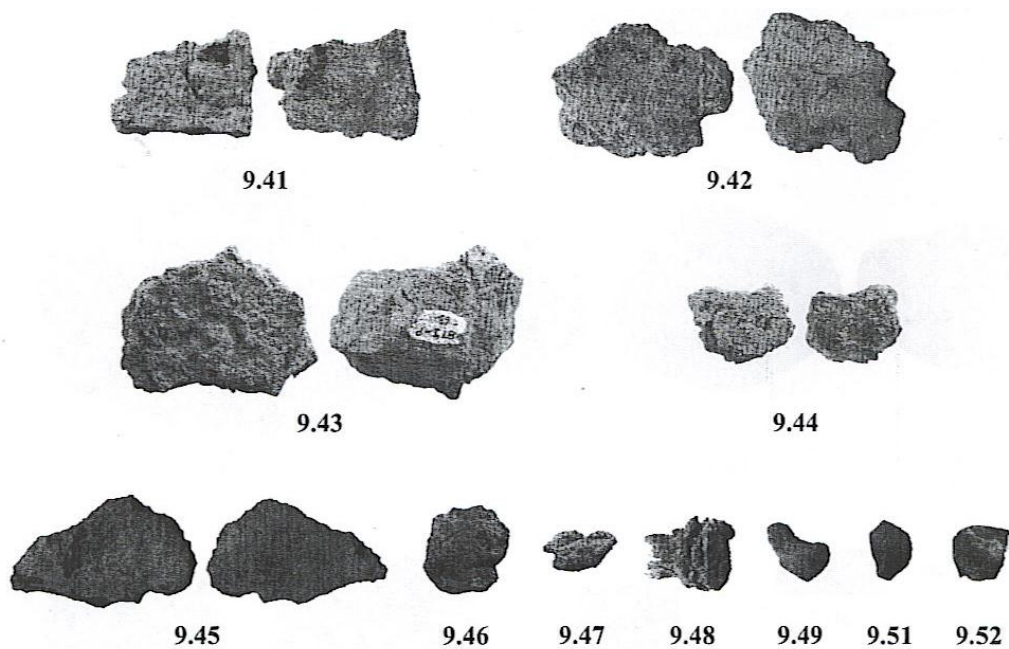
Fig. 70 Crucible fragments from Bates' Island [White, 2002, pl. 10]

Crucible 9.44 from Bates' Island, for instance, is described as 3.7 cm long, 2.8 cm wide and 1.6 cm thick and "Outer convex surface coarse brown clay, with shell or lime inclusions. Inner surface displays traces of intense burning with grains of metal adhering" (White, 2002, 53). The remnants of metallic slag upon the inner surface of crucibles would appear to be a normal aspect of crucibles and metal processing. It is not, as Simpson has suggested, indicative of a "very poor level of metallurgical capability" (2002, 451).

Whilst the crucible from ZUR is made from ceramic which can be classified as "non-Egyptian" material, its presence in an otherwise Egyptian fort, suggests that an Egyptian could just as easily have created and/or used this object as any other "local" or "Eastern Mediterranean foreigner," using locally available materials. However, there is to date no evidence as to the source of the material used to make this crucible and it is simply assumed that it is "local." Indeed, Simpson is not very clear as to the material of this crucible which is described as either Marmaric 1 or 2. This suggests that the only identifying feature of the fabric was the presence of shell inclusions and similar fabrics are clearly used as crucibles

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in the vicinity of Bates' Island where they might easily be associated with the largely Cypriot presence on the island.

If the crucible from ZUR is used as evidence for "Libyan" activity at the site, there is nothing to suggest that the local "Libyans" were ignorant of metallurgy. However, there is nothing to suggest that the Egyptians themselves or other Mediterranean merchants present at the site could not have created or traded for this crucible, a point which is borne out by the presence of similar crucibles at Bates' Island which possessed an equally identifiable "Egyptian" as well as a "Mediterranean" presence.

7.5.2.6 Stone tools at Bates Island

With regard to the stone tools, the excavators at Marsa Matruh were more guarded about their one-to-one association with local "Libyan" groups than with the subsequent artifacts. In describing the flaked stone industry at Matruh — of which 9 examples were found over the course of the excavations — White says

> It makes more sense to assign the manufacture of the island's flaked stone tools to the Bronze Age Libyans, if not the Matruh region's 13th Century BC Egyptian occupants, rather than to an Aegean source (2002b, 54).

The reason for such an association with either the "Libyans" or the "Egyptians" is that the source of all of this material (basalt, chert, and flint) is found, according to White, in the Fayum and surrounding Western Desert (White, ibid). Three of these Late Bronze Age objects, however, were originally reported as being made of obsidian (Simpson, 2002, 342; White 1994, 34-36) which is not found in the Western Desert and which would have had to have been imported from Anatolia or the Levant. In the final report, White suggested instead that these tools were made of basalt, though it appears that this suggestion is made only in order to claim that they were of "local" manufacture (White, 2002, 54). Of the overall assemblage of nine flaked stone tools, only five – including two of the three possible obsidian/basalt flakes, 2 chert flakes and a single chert sickle-blade - were from securely dated Bronze Age contexts, the others being from the

surface or post-Bronze Age contexts (1994, 36). With such a small assemblage, any associated interpretations need to be treated with due caution.
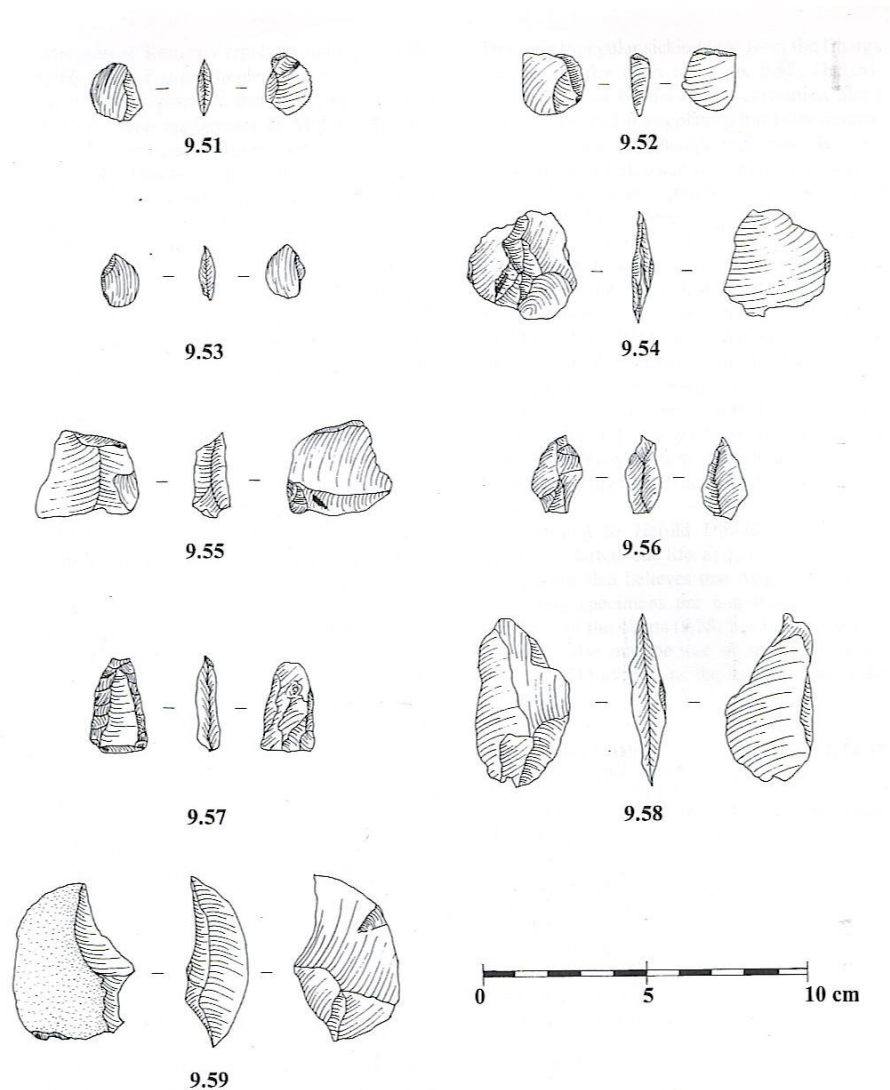
**Fig. 71 Flaked stone tools from Bates' Island Mersa Matruh
[White, 2003, fig. 9.1]**

What makes these tools "Libyan" according to White is "the similarity to Neolithic flint assemblages reported on the Cyrenaican coast, and in the Tripolitanian desert" (White, 1994, 36), as well as at sites in Egypt's western desert as far south as the second cataract (White, 2002b, 56). Yet he is equally quick to point out the fact that "The difficulty lies in relating the earlier material on the island when the latest of these cultures date anywhere from 1500 to 4500 years before the Late Bronze Age occupation of the island" (White, 2002, 56). Thus, while the material used for these tools is apparently "Egyptian," their

Neolithic quality suggests "Libyan." As Simpson has demonstrated from the site of ZUR, however, flint tools continued to be used by the Egyptians along the North Coast at the site of ZUR two centuries after the abandonment of the settlement at Bates' Island.

At least one of the stone tools from Bates' Island, 9.57, a trapezoidal sickle blade is very similar to Egyptian tools found at ZUR (see Simpson, 2002, fig. 6.7) and Deir el Medina (see Simpson, 2002, fig. 6.9)

7.5.2.7 Stone tools at ZUR

Two types of worked stone occur at the fortress of ZUR. The first is associated with an "Egyptian" occupation and is generally comprised of sickle blades. The second is associated with a "Libyan" phase and is defined largely by the re-working of the sickle-blades into more "pastoral tools" (Simpson, 2002, 451) which Simpson defines as notched flakes, scrapers and borers (2002, 342). Yet the exact distinction between these two phases is largely one of function. Simpson's thesis, therefore, is based largely on the belief that the Egyptians were solely interested in agriculture and therefore produced sickle-blades, and that the "Libyans" were interested in pastoralism and therefore changed the sickle-blades left by the Egyptians into "pastoral" tools (2003, 400).

Such an hypothesis does not allow for the diversification of either the Egyptian or "Libyan" life-ways. Whilst this assemblage undoubtedly shows "a more detailed appreciation of Late Bronze Age lithic technology within the wider Capsian tradition" (Simpson, 2002, 454), it is not completely evident that the flints belong to, or are representative of, a specifically 'local' "Libyan" cultural unit.

Indeed, much of the "pastoral" tool-set found at ZUR has parallels from sites in Egypt where they are representative of Egyptian manufacture. Thus, the scrapers at ZUR are comparable to those found at Qantir (Simpson, 2002, 344); the borers are similar to those found at Ain Asil and Amarna (Simpson, 2002, 352). The main evidence to support Simpson's thesis that these were the product of

"Libyan" pastoralists is the fact that they are "much smaller and cruder… the crudeness of the scrapers within Magazine Six [at ZUR] is suggestive of lesser flint working skill" and are therefore according to Simpson *ipso facto* not Egyptian (Simpson, 2002, 344).

One could easily argue, however that when the Egyptians arrived at the fort and found that there was only a limited amount of arable land, they could have turned many of their sickle blades into "pastoral" tools. The fact that both sickle and pastoral tools exist in the same context, and that the latter were clearly made from the former could suggest this. Indeed, Rogers has cautioned that "functional replacement carries the least weight in assessing cultural transformations in contact situations" (quoted in Tyson Smith, 2003, 106).

7.5.2.8 Ostrich eggshell at Bates' Island and ZUR

The fourth material object which has been used at both the sites of Bates' Island and ZUR to suggest that presence of a local "Libyan" population is the discovery of ostrich eggshells on both these sites. Economically, ostrich eggshells were a significant trading commodity around the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Sites in Greece, Crete, Cyprus, Italy, and Spain all have evidence for trade in ostrich eggshells (these have been enumerated more thoroughly in White, 2002b, 69 n. 78 and Karageorghis, 1985, 371ff.). Archaeological investigation of ship wrecks off the southern Turkish coast, such as at Gelidonya and Ulu Burun, have recovered complete specimens of ostrich egg shells (Conwell, 1987, 33; White, 2002b], 61).

According to Bates, the North African ostrich was found in the Marmarican region until relatively recently (1914, 29). Only a century before Bates completed his work on the *Eastern Libyans*, ostrich tracks were observed in the vicinity of Siwa by Browne (in 1806), and near Bahariya by Sononi (mid 19th Century), whilst during the first quarter of the 19th Century flocks of ten to fifteen ostriches were observed by the Prussian general Minutoli between Alexandria and Siwa (Bates, 1914, 29 n. 3). More recently, photographs of ostriches and a large clutch of their eggs were taken in "Libyan Desert" as late as

the 1930s (Wright, 1997, 38 fig. 5). While ostriches in the ancient world were indigenous to both Africa and Asia (Laufer, 1926, 12; Karageorghis, 1985, 378; Potts, 2001, 182) the presence of un-modified ostrich eggshells at both the sites of Bates' Island and ZUR have been used as evidence for "Libyans" in the region.

According to the principal excavator of Bates' Island, Donald White,

> The presence of [ostrich egg] shell fragments on [Bates'] island effectively proves that the LBA (Late Bronze Age) Libyans associated with the island's foreign occupants or that they, the Libyans, at least occasionally crossed over the lagoon from the mainland to visit the island, whether with or without invitation being difficult to say (White, 1994, 36)

Yet, White had previously noted that:

> The lagoon's water-level across the sand bar connecting the island to the shore [would be] at just over a man's head. This would have afforded the Late Bronze Age occupants a real measure of protection from the local pastoral Berber-Libyan population *who cannot be presumed to have been readily attracted to swimming or boating*. (White, 2002, 26, emphasis mine)

It is evident from the final report that their total number was no more than 60 fragments [of which the largest fragment was little more than 6.6cm X 7.6cm (White, 2002b, 63); it should be noted that Conwell (1987, 31) erroneously gives these measurements in millimeters (mm)]. The combined surface area of all of these fragments "is hardly enough to wrap half the surface of an average ostrich eggshell" (White, ibid). Despite this paucity of evidence, White contends that these shell fragments represent the remains of 10 or 11 complete specimens (White, 2002b, 61), and indicate that "their handlers were simply careful not to break a valuable exchange commodity" (ibid.).

Whilst ostrich eggshells were collected in more abundance at the site of ZUR than at Bates' Island, no complete specimens were found. According to Simpson,

large quantities of ostrich eggshells have been found in almost all quarters of the fortress, but particularly in the Egyptian residential and domestic quarters (K), where they have been found in association with fires and ovens, and in the area of industry around huts Gl-8 (2003, 417).

The total surface area of the egg fragments found in association with "squatter activity" around huts G1-8 amounted to only 2-3 complete eggs (Simpson, 2002, 193), though it can be assumed from the abundance throughout the site that these objects were not uncommon at the fortress.

Similar to the assemblage at Bates' Island, the ZUR assemblage represents a certain degree of pan-Mediterranean trade as is evident from the significant Eastern Mediterranean pottery at the site (Simpson, 2002, 220ff.; Snape, 2003, 104). With the presence of ostriches so close at hand to the inhabitants of ZUR, it is perhaps not inconceivable that the Egyptian garrison was trading in this luxury commodity with the passing merchants.

7.5.2.9 Expressions of Ethnic Identity at Bates' Island and ZUR

The evidence from the Marsa Matruh region is poor in identifying Bronze Age "Libyans." The major aspect of material culture which has been used to reinforce the idea of "Libyans" in the region of Bates' Island is the presence of ostrich eggshells and a handful of flake tools.

It has often been assumed that trade in ostrich eggshells could only have been possible if the "Libyans" were acquiring eggshells from a great distance and essentially "bringing them to market" along the coast (White, 2002b, 61). The proximity of Bates' Island to the ostriches' natural habitat during the Bronze Age and as late as the early 20th Century, however, does not make this product the exclusive trade of supposed "Libyans," but allows for the possibility that the Bronze Age Mediterranean merchants or Egyptians were also exploiting this resource. The presence of undecorated ostrich eggshells – which in other archaeological sites would be considered an "ecofact" rather than an artifact – suggest little more than the presence of *ostriches* in the region. The use of

eggshells to suggest indigenous human populations in an environmental niche in which ostriches are naturally found is completely illusory and irrational.

If ostrich eggshells do not imply indigenous populations, the presence of a half-dozen flake tools at Bates' Island does little more to reinforce the presence of this otherwise unobservable population. Significantly, there is nothing within this minute tool-set which cannot be explained by the presence of Egyptians or Eastern Mediterranean merchants on the site. Indeed, the *visible identities* at Bates Island are uniquely those associated with Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean. While one cannot claim that the presence and/or ratio of Cypriot, Egyptian, Canaanite, Anatolian and Mycenean pottery is necessarily indicative of Cypriots, Egyptians, Canaanites, Anatolians or Myceneans inhabiting Bates' Island; it does suggest that the *only two* population groups who were involved in the trading activities at Bates Island were associated with these various groups. Contrary to the opinions of the excavators of Bates' Island, *there is absolutely no evidence of a local indigenous presence* in the vicinity of the Island during the Bronze Age. The presence of the "potentially hostile natives" at Bates' Island exists *in theory* only and, on the basis of the present evidence (or lack thereof) it must be considered a poorly constructed theory.

In contrast, the material cultural assemblage at ZUR suggests an interaction at this site between Egyptians, Mediterranean traders of obscure origin (possibly Cypriot, Anatolian, Mycenean or Levantine), and a population which produced Marmaric 1 & 2 wares. On the one hand, it is possible that the "Marmaric Ware" from the vicinity of ZUR was manufactured locally. Local production, however, does not necessitate "locals" and, if such is the case, then the "local" pottery at ZUR could equally have been the craft of the Egyptian garrison as much as it could be that of "local Libyans." Admittedly, the forms of this Marmaric pottery are not "Egyptian" which would favour a non-Egyptian production.

Unfortunately, the clay source used for Marmaric 1 & 2 wares remains unknown. It has tentatively been suggested by Hulin that a resemblance exists between Marmaric 1 & 2 pottery and the pottery associated with Garamantean traditions almost a thousand miles away in the central Fezzan. This might suggest that the

Egyptian fort was located at the "Egyptian" end of a caravan route, and that this pottery, may be the material remains, not of a pastoral-nomadic society living in proximity to the fort, but of a long-range caravanning society which was interacting with both Egyptians and Mediterranean merchants at the Egyptian administered trade "hub" of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham.

7.5.3 Haua Fteah Cave, Cyrenaica

Located within the northern slope of the Gebel Akhdar in Cyrenaica, the cave site of Haua Fteah, located eight km east of the port town of Susah in modern Libya and one km inland from the sea, has a commanding view — 200ft above the present sea-level — over the Mediterranean coast (McBurney, 1967, 3), and documents over 80,000 years of almost continual habitation at the site (ibid, 14). The site has particularly well documented, undisturbed strata from the Paleolithic through to the early Neolithic Period. Indeed, the importance of the site can be seen in the early dates (5000 +/- 250 BC) it has produced for the introduction of cattle husbandry in North Africa (McBurney, 1967, 171). In contrast, however, the period of the Bronze Age at Haua Fteah, and the evidence which it has produced for the presence of "historical Libyans" is in many respects very uncertain.

One of the main problems in identifying the Late Bronze Age levels at Haua Fteah is the massive disturbance of the upper levels of the site. The top-most levels of the site (level I-III) were once the remains of a Greco-Roman wooden structure (possibly a shrine according to the excavator, McBurney) which was destroyed by fire at an unknown date. The foundations of this Graeco-Roman structure, as well as a pair of Hellenistic burials in proximity to it disturbed much of the interface of the earlier levels III through VI (McBurney, 1967, 274). Because of this disturbance, there is a significant amount of late Hellenistic and Roman pottery - labeled simply "classical" by McBurney in his inventory list, and neither illustrated nor described in the text - between levels III, IV, V and VI.

7.5.3.1 Dating the Bronze Age at Haua Fteah

The entirety of the "historic Libyan" period at Haua Ftah is dated from two radiocarbon dates obtained from the transition layer between V and VI (2300 BC +/- 500; McBurney, 1967, 274) and one from the transition layer between levels IV and V (1600 BC +/- 500; ibid). At 1σ, the date range for level V/VI would be 2800-1800 BC and at 2σ between 3300-1300 BC; while the range for level IV/V would be between 2100-1100 BC (1σ) and 2600-600 BC (2σ).

More recently, the date range of level V/VI has been refined by two dates published by Willett (Willett, 1971, 348-349) from level VI at Haua Ftah. One of these (NPL-40) gives a date of 3850 BC +/- 108 (at 2σ between 4066-3634 BC), and the other (NPL-41) gives a date of 2910 BC +/- 97 (at 2σ between 3104-2716 BC). Thus, level VI at Haua Fteah can be fairly well dated to the fourth through to the early third millennium BC with a certain degree of confidence. Similarly, the date of Level III has been dated to the Third Century BC and, according to McBurney, "the pottery from the *base* of level III can hardly be much older than 250 BC (+50-200), but the top of IV may well be pre-Classical" (1967, 274 n.3, emphasis in original). One can extrapolate from these dates, therefore, that evidence of "Bronze Age Libyans" must be found between the Third Millennium BC layer of Level VI and the Third Century BC layer of Level III.

Thus, if level VI is clearly dated to the fourth/early third millennium BC and level III is clearly dated to the third century BC, the obvious question is whether levels IV and V represent depositional deposits of the intervening 3,000 years. The latter, level V is described by McBurney as "a relatively thin sedimentary body of lenticular shape filling a depression in [layer VI]. It is the last of the truly prehistoric formations *in situ*" (1967, 273).

While McBurney claims that levels V and VI are in situ prehistoric levels, he also claims to have found 139 "classical" sherds in these same levels (See McBurney, 1967, inventory sheet III) which account for almost 90 % of all "classical" sherds found by McBurney on the site. McBurney's description of

this level suggests "this intrusion is mainly to be associated with the disturbance caused by two burial pits of the latter age" (1967, 298). According to his report,

> A burial of [Hellenistic] date, and no doubt much digging in connection with the foundations in question [i.e. of the wooden shrine], have effectively disturbed any visible layering within the body of III and IV, and even their mutual subdivision is only clearly visible on the South Face" (1967, 274)

Oddly, single occurrences of "Classical sherds" continue through to Layer X and must be considered intrusive, whilst "handmade sherds" abruptly end at level VIII,X. Indeed, the total number of sherds found below the "classical" horizon at level III is 259 "handmade sherds" and 143 "classical" sherds.

Yet despite all of these inherent problems in the Haua Fteah report, McBurney is confident that the "historic Libyans" are to be identified with the cultural assemblage from the disturbed strata between levels VI (dated to the Third Millennium BC) and levels III (dated to the mid-first millennium BC; 1967, 310).

It is from the disturbed context of level IV therefore, that McBurney obtained a radiocarbon date which has often been cited as "proof" to reinforce claims of populations of "Libyan" extraction along the north coast of Cyrenaica for the entirety of the Bronze Age (McBurney, 1967; White, 1994, 37; Simpson, 2000, 99; Hulin, 2001,76). The uncalibrated radiocarbon date which he obtained from level IV/V was published by him as 1600 +/- 500 BC. At 1σ this gives a date range of 2100-1100 BC and at 2σ, 2600-600 BC.

This means that the *entirety* of the "historic" Libyan population in Cyrenaica has been dated from a single radiocarbon date which spans *the entire* Bronze Age period and was obtained from the disturbed layer IV/V at Haua Ftah. Methodologically, it is meager evidence for formulating any hypothesis concerning Bronze Age "Libyans" at the site. Whilst it seems likely that level VI (ca. 2900 BC) is separated from level III (ca. 250 BC) by almost 3,000 years, it is more difficult to interpret the dates from level IV/V as "proof" for people

visiting or inhabiting the site in the interim period. Even less secure is any argument concerning the identity or cultural background of these people.

The evidence from Haua Ftah should be treated, therefore, with a high degree of caution. The broad range which these dates provide at 2σ interval, can be used to provide as much "proof" for people inhabiting this region in the mid-third millennium (2600 BC) as they do for people in the region during the mid-seventh century (600 BC), by which time Theran settlers had arrived on the shores of Cyrenaica and founded the Battid kingdom as described in Herodotus (IV.150ff.).

Despite the problems of the dates and disturbed stratigraphy at Haua Ftah, the mean date of 1600 +/- 500 BC, has often been quoted to reinforce the idea of an indigenous Neolithic/Late Bronze Age population living in the region (McBurney, 1967; White, 1994, 37; Simpson, 2000, 99; Hulin, 2001, 77). This date and the associated material, has further been used in comparison with finds from Marsa Matruh (White, 2002b, 61)

7.5.3.2 Finds from Haua Fteah

The inventory lists in the Haua Ftah publication enumerate 139 "Classical" sherds between levels I and VI (inclusive), and 207 "handmade" sherds within the same levels. McBurney classified the "classical sherds" as "90% intrusive" within levels IV and V (1967, 311), despite the fact that they account for 59% of the total ceramic assemblage from these two levels (100 out of a total of 170 sherds). Thus, if *all* "classical sherds" found below level III are "intrusive," then this would leave only 6.5% of the recorded "classical" sherds found at Haua Fteah (10 out of 153) as being located in a non-disturbed stratigraphic sequence (i.e. those sherds found in strata I, II, III only).

Table 5: Summary of McBurney's Inventory Sheet III (1967)

Layer/Level	# Classical Sherds	# Hand-made Sherds
I, II, III	10	5
IV-V	100	70
VI	39	132
VII, VIII	1	38
VII, IX, X	0	1
VIII	1	17
VIII, X	0	2
IX,X	1	0
X	1	0
Total	153	265
% of Total	36.6%	63.4%

McBurney neither describes nor illustrates the "classical" sherds from Haua Fteah. His description of the hand-made pottery from levels III-V (i.e. dated sometime between 3000 and 300 BC), however, is as follows:

> [There] is a sharp decrease in burnishing from nearly 100% in the earlier [level VI] to 23 out of 67 or 34% in the later. Colouring remains much the same and so does the use of shell combined with grit for tempering, but firing shows a higher proportion of fully oxidized fabrics… A new technique also makes itself noticeable for the first time in the treatment of the exterior. This is a clearly intentional roughening by means of coarse horizontal tooling (McBurney, 1967, 311).

In describing the forms of this pottery, McBurney observes:

> At least one new form can certainly be detected. This is a rounded – possibly globular – jar with a curved, strongly inverted lip and some rim thickening (McBurney, ibid).

In addition to the hand-made pottery found in levels V through III, McBurney also lists in his inventory sheet III, but does not describe elsewhere, the presence in Levels IV-V of a single miscellaneous shell, a single worked (?) marine shell, 1 possible ground stone, 2 hammer stones, 1 painted flint tool, 34 backed blades, 5 burins, 7 end-scrapers, 5 scrapers, 7 boring tools, 3 miscellaneous pressure

flaking tools, 4 large trimmed blades, 8 medium trimmed blades, 56 miscellaneous utilized pieces, 15 cores, 1 burin spall and 5 miscellaneous flint pieces.

Also found between Levels V and III were a single bronze disk with traces of intaglio design and a socketed iron spear-head (McBurney, 1967, pl. IX.10 nos. 7-8). The former, it had been suggested without evidence by McBurney, was imported from Egypt (McBurney, 1967, 328); while the latter is presumed by the excavator to be part of local "Libyan" assemblage (McBurney, 1967, 328; though elsewhere he claims that this piece was "anciently intruded" ibid, pl. IX.10 no. 8).
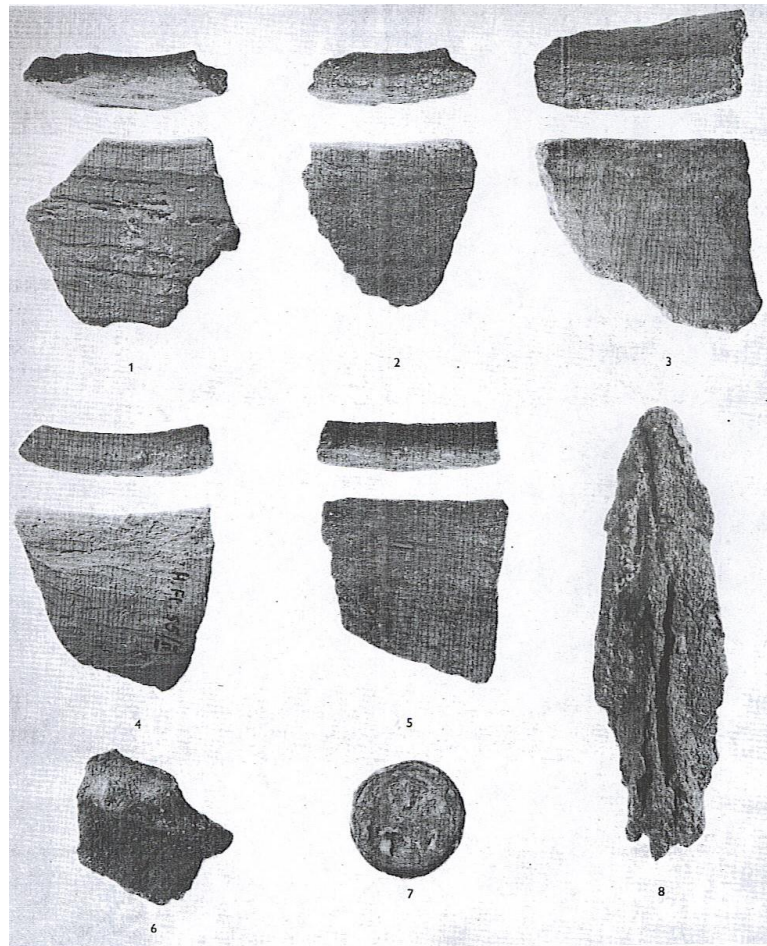
Fig 72 - Finds from Haua Fteah, Level IV [McBurney Plate IX.10]

7.5.3.3 Expressions of Ethnic Identity at Haua Fteah

Archaeologically, the Bronze Age Libyans at Haua Fteah are known exclusively from a single, heavily disturbed level (IV) at this site from which a single uncalibrated radiocarbon date suggests that level IV at Haua Fteah is to be dated to a date somewhere in the range spanning the entire Bronze Age from 2600 and 600 BC (at 98% confidence). This does not mean that Level IV spans the entire range, but merely that there is as much probability that the "true" date for this level is to be found around 2600 BC as it could be around 600 BC.

The material culture associated with this poorly dated population is reflected entirely in the assemblage of hand-made pottery and worked stone tools. This pottery is clearly derived from earlier forms found in lower strata at this site and can be used therefore, to suggest a local ceramic tradition. Unfortunately, McBurney does not give much in the way of description of this ceramic repertoire. According to McBurney, this pottery is described as

> relatively thin-walled round-bottomed vessels of moderate size [which] continued in vogue among the poorer classes until Greek times, although the earlier type of burnished finish gradually gave way to a coarser surface. There is also some evidence of an improvement in firing (McBurney, 1967, 312).

From what information which does exists, however, there is very little to compare this pottery in form or fabric with other diagnostic pieces found along the North Coast. At least two of Bates' pottery vessels discovered at his cemetery site were flat-bottomed in form – contra McBurney's "round bottom" forms at Haua Fteah - and similar flat-bottomed vessels are the most common "local" Late Bronze Age form found along the North Coast of Marmarica.

7.5.4 Surveys along the North Coast

Since the 1960s there have been surveys conducted along the North Coast with the explicit aim of uncovering evidence for Late Bronze Age indigenous occupation in the region. The first of these was conducted in Cyrenaica by

Theresa Howard Carter (1963); in the 1970s, Vickers and Reynolds conducted a similar survey in Cyrenaica (Leahy, 1985, 52); while more recently a survey has been conducted in the hinterland of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham by Dan Hounsell (2002). All of these surveys, however, failed to uncover remains which could be explicitly dated to an indigenous population of the Late Bronze Age (Leahy, 1985, 52; Hounsell, 2002). The general conclusions reached by these investigators was primarily, that the Late Bronze Age Libyans were largely nomadic populations and that, as Carter put it, "the distinguishing features of the ancient Libyans are almost entirely limited to perishables" (1963, 27). Similarly, Vickers and Reynolds reported:

> For all the attention devoted to the Bronze Age in Cyrenaica in recent years, there has been remarkably little to show. The Pennsylvania expedition of 1962 set out with the declared intention of seeking traces of Bronze Age Libyans, but failed to find any at all. A gem and a sherd from Cyrene were said by S. Stucchi to be Late Minoan, but J. Boardman has shown that they are respectively an Island gem and a fragment of an East Greek bowl. Indeed, the only discovery that can with any certainty be dated to the Bronze Age has been a Late Minoan seal found in an archaic level at Tocra (Vickers and Reynolds, 1972, 29).

It is often assumed that the "Libyans" were an aceramic culture whose remains were limited to perishables (Carter, 1963, 27), yet this is based almost entirely on a lack of evidence rather than an analysis of the evidence which does exist. Indeed, ceramics are well known throughout the eastern Sahara from at least the Eighth Millennium BC, and there would appear to be a "local" tradition which continues throughout this region as is evident from the Sheikh Muftah and "Saharan" assemblages in the south as well as the Marmaric and Shell Tempered wares at ZUR, Bates' Island, Bates' Cemetery, and Haua Fteah.

7.6 Discussion and Analysis

Egyptian interest in the region to the west of the Nile Valley and Delta can be defined as sporadic at best. The southern oasis region of Kharga and Dakhleh are undoubtedly the most developed area in the region and were certainly under Egyptian control from at least Dynasty 6 if not earlier (Giddy, 1987, 166f.). By way of contrast, the North Coast has only limited contact with Egypt throughout

Egyptian history. Evidence for a Egyptian presence in Marmarica is attested archaeologically for a brief period during Ramessses II's reign (Thirteenth Century BC), though no evidence for contact with Egypt is attested further west, in Cyrenaica, until the establishment of the Battid Dynasty in this region in the Seventh Century BC.

In 1914, Bates was convinced that he had uncovered two "Libyans" buried atop a ridge to the east of the town of Marsa Matruh. Yet 94 years on, through careful re-examination of his evidence, this suggestion would appear less convincing. There is nothing inherent about the burials in Bates' Cemetery which should classify them as "Libyan," or indeed dated to the Bronze Age. Whilst it is true that these individuals are buried to the west of Egypt, there is no indication that their associated material culture can be classified as wholly "non-Egyptian" (contra Petrie). Indeed, on closer examination it would appear that a significant proportion of this material- the riverine shells and the basalt vessels could have originated in Egypt, if not further east in the Levantine coast or deep to the south west in the Libyan Fezzan.

The dates for these burials remain problematic. The poorly documented excavation leaves sufficient questions about the association of the pottery found with the individuals buried. From the records, it seems likely that some, if not all of this pottery was collected either on, or close to, the surface. As such, it is no surprising that much of it is described in similar terms to the modern Shell Tempered Ware C of which these might be representative samples (though this has yet to be confirmed). The association with Shell Tempered C ware is reinforced further by the similarity in shape between jars of this fabric and the basalt jar A.1/1 found under the chin of burial A.1. Whilst these associations might suggest a late date (Greco-Roman) for this burial, they might equally suggest a much earlier (Pre-Dynastic-Old Kingdom) for this same interment. *What is least likely, however, is Bates' and Petrie's initial claim that these graves dated to between 2000 and 1500 BC.* There is simply no evidence for this. Moreover, the TL dates which are normally cited in support of this date are, at best accurate to within a factor of +/- 1000 years, and as such, the use of these

dates as "evidence" for the dating of these burials should be treated with due caution.

The site of Bates' Island in Marsa Matruh provides evidence for occupation of this site by people who were involved with the Eastern Mediterranean trade circuit in the Fifteenth Century BC. The presence of an indigenous population at this site, however, is poor and is based almost entirely on inferences made from the presence of ostrich eggshells. Although locally manufactured pottery has been found in the region around this site, it is from a much later date and cannot be used as evidence for "Bronze Age Libyans." On the present evidence, one cannot claim that a population other than the Egyptians or Mediterranean merchants was present at the site of Bates' Island during the Fifteenth Century BC. The only site along the North Coast which has produced tactile evidence for populations other than the Egyptians and Mediterranean merchants is the briefly occupied fortress site of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham.

"Local" pottery called Marmaric ware 1 & 2 has been found in securely dated contexts within the site of ZUR as well as in surface scatters in the surrounding hinterland and as far west as el-Greya in modern Libya (Hulin, 2009, 181). Unfortunately, very little is known about this material or its place of manufacture. It has been tentatively suggested that this material could be related to Garamantean ceramic traditions which are known from about the First Millennium BC. If such is the case, then it is possible that the location of manufacture of Marmaric 1 & 2 wares is not in fact in Marmarica, but on the other side of the Great Sand Sea. Significantly, this material appears to be completely distinct from the forms and fabrics of pottery vessels found at Bates' Cemetery, Haua Fteah, and Bates' Island.

The evidence from Haua Fteah cave and other Cyrenaican sites, which have also been used in support of Bronze Age "Libyan" populations is inconclusive. Whilst the site is clearly important for its Palaeolithic and early Neolithic strata, evidence from the Bronze Age levels (III-VI) has been compromised by later Greco-Roman disturbances. Moreover, the radiocarbon dates which were obtained from the disturbed levels, should be treated with caution not only

because of this disturbance but also because they were obtained when this method of dating was in its infancy - an aspect which is reflected by the broad date range +/- 500 years obtained from the single sample from this site.

It is not entirely clear if or how Marmaric 1 & 2 ceramic tradition fits with the ceramics, such as the Sheikh Muftah and "Saharan Culture" discovered on the southern trade-routes linking the Nile, the Gilf Kebir and the Central Sahara. A comparison of these would suggest that they have some features in common. Broadly speaking they would all appear to overlap to some degree chronologically (to the mid second millennium BC); they are all hand made forms; and there might be some similarities in paste and temper, although more work needs to be carried out on this problem.

In identifying ethnic identities in the archaeological record to the west of Egypt an interpretational problem arises. It is clear, for instance, that persons of Egyptian descent and ethnicity were inhabiting the regions of the western oases as early as the Old Kingdom and the North Coast as early as the Thirteenth Century BC. The problem, however, is identifying indigenous, non-Egyptian ethnicities in these same regions. Much of this problem is based largely in the poorly dated contexts from which this material is found. Most of the Shell Tempered, Sheikh Muftah and Saharan Culture sherds have all been found in surface scatters. In these instances, these sherds have been dated largely on the presence of other sherds found in the assemblages.

Secondly, indigenous manufacture is assigned largely through comparison with Egyptian material. It can be noted for instance that of the 8 "factors" which suggested to Simpson that "Libyans" inhabited ZUR, 5 are prefaced by her with the epithet "crude," and two are described as simply "incompatible with the Egyptian inhabitants." "Libyan" therefore is, by definition, exemplary of crude, non-Egyptian manufacture in contrast to the more elegant Egyptian material. In themselves, these qualitative features of the material record do not necessarily suggest "Libyans." While it remains true that the fabric and forms of this indigenous material is clearly differentiated from Egyptian styles, there is as yet no conclusive evidence as to where this raw material was being obtained – a clue

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which would undoubtedly provide some idea of the geographic location of the people responsible for its manufacture.

Part III: Communities in Diaspora

Chapter 8: The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt

The previous four chapters of this thesis have all been concerned with the manner in which ethnic identity is expressed in iconography, epigraphy and archaeology when the populations under study lived outside of Egypt. At some point during the middle of the Twelfth Century BC, under Ramesses III's reign, the Egyptians resettled the groups known as the Rebu and Meshwesh into Egypt. From this period onwards, these two population groups are no longer referred to as existing outside of Egypt but are only ever referred to as existing inside of Egypt. Until the last mention of the "Chief of the Rebu" Tefnakht in the Eighth Century BC, the Rebu and the Meshwesh populations can be considered to be in diaspora within Egypt.

The term "diaspora" is perhaps more commonly found in historical studies as referring to the dispersal of Jewish populations throughout Europe, the Near East, and Africa in the aftermath of the Babylonian Exile in 586 B.C (cf. Encyclopedia Britannica, 2010, 68). More recently, in a North American context, the term "diaspora" has been used to refer to the dispersal of primarily sub-Saharan African populations into the Americas, Europe and Asia. Both definitions share the common idea that "diaspora" is the forcible dispersal of ethnic groups beyond their original "homelands." The term is ultimately derived from the Greek meaning "to scatter" (Liddell and Scott, 2001, 195). In this manner it is a semantically appropriate term with which to refer to the later period of Rebu and Meshwesh history who were forcibly removed by Ramesses III from their original "homelands" and required to live in Egypt – a territory which, at the beginning, would have been alien to them.

It was not uncommon within the imperial systems of the ancient world to relocate entire population groups or segments thereof from one part of an empire to another. Perhaps one if the earliest attested diasporas in Egypt is the archaeological evidence relating to Nubian Mercenaries at Gebelein. Similarly, a

diaspora of persons of Syro-Palestinian origin were settled in the eastern Delta by the end of the Middle Kingdom. This large "foreign" population within Egypt, may have given rise to the succeeding "Hyksos Period." It is not entirely certain that this latter Period should be considered a "diaspora" event, however, since there is some evidence (particularly from much later references in Josephus) that the final stages leading up to the "Hyksos Period" may have been, at least in part, preceded by an armed invasion which resulted in political suzerainty (Leahy, 2001, 549f.).

In contrast, while there is evidence of an "invasion" of Egypt by the both the Rebu and the Meshwesh during Merneptah's and Ramesses III's reigns, the resulting military action did not result in their immediate conquest of Egyptian territory nor, ultimately, their attainment of political hegemony within Egypt. Ironically, both of these latter factors are a direct result of Egyptian imperial policy during the Twentieth Dynasty.

As two discrete communities in diaspora within Egypt, the Rebu and Meshwesh navigated their own expressions of ethnic identity. At times this resulted in complete "Egyptianization" of individuals, at other times it resulted in the unique expression of their "foreignness" or an amalgam between the two. The following, therefore will examine the way in which these diverse expressions of ethnic identity changed, mutated and amalgamated in Egypt from the end of Ramesses III's reign until the conquest of Egypt by the Kushite king Piye in the Eighth Century BC.

8.1 Historical background: The resettlement of Meshwesh and Rebu in Egypt during Ramesses III's reign.

Following their defeat at the hands of Ramesses III, two contemporary historical documents record the deportation of the Rebu and Meshwesh groups into Egypt. The most extensive record regarding this event is found in the "historical" colophon at the end of the Papyrus Harris:

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Behold, I will inform you of other things done in Egypt since my reign. The ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ ("Rebu") and the ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ ("Meshwesh") were dwelling in Egypt, having plundered the cities of the western shore, from Memphis to Qarabana. They had reached the great river on both its banks. They it was who plundered the cities of Egwowe during very many years, while they were in Egypt. Behold I destroyed them, slain at one time. I laid low the ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ ("Meshwesh"), the ⟨hieroglyphs⟩ ("Rebu"), the Esbet, the Keykesh, the Shai, the Hes, and the Beqen; they were overthrown in their blood and made heaps. I turned them back from trampling the border of Egypt. I carried away those whom my sword spared, as numerous captives, pinioned like birds before my horses, their wives and their children by the ten-thousands, their cattle in number like hundred-thousands. I settled their leaders in strongholds in my name. I gave them captains of archers and chief men of the tribes, branded and made into slaves, impressed with my name; their wives and their children were made likewise. I led their cattle into the house of Amon; they were made for him into herds forever (BAR IV, sec. 405).

The overall "historicity" of the Papyrus Harris passage would appear to be confirmed through a contemporary reference to the deportation of Rebu and Meshwesh found on a stela dedicated to Mert Seger at Deir el Medina (see above page 17). Significantly, with the exception of the Onomasticon of Amenope (see Appendix C & D), all further mentions of Rebu and Meshwesh groups in Egyptian texts indicate that both these groups were resident in Egypt for the remainder of the New Kingdom.

Following Ramesses' deportation of the Rebu and Meshwesh into Egypt, they are not heard of again until the very end of Dynasty 20, when they begin to appear in the records of the workmen at Deir el-Medina. In the surviving necropolis journal texts record the presence –and in some cases absence – of the Rebu and Meshwesh. The presence (or absence) of these two groups commonly resulted in work stoppages. In earlier studies, such as that conducted by Černy (1975), it was assumed that the two groups were menacing the workman which resulted in work stoppages (Černy, 1975, 616f.; Lesko, 1989, 154; Kitchen, 1990, 22; van Dijk, 2000, 308; Ritner, 2009, 4). One such reference to these work stoppages is attested on the third day of Akhet in Year 13 of Ramesses IX.

In this example, the *Day Book* records the absence of the Rebu at the workman's village:

 (KRI VI, 564:14-15)

"Inactivity of the workmen, they have not seen the Rebu here, who were bringing rations to the city" (translation by author)

The passage seems to imply that it was the responsibility of the Rebu to bring provisions to the workmen. A similar passage describing the workmen receiving goods from the Rebu is found in an undated (and unpublished) fragment from the Necropolis Journal:

> The wood-cutter Khonsu-mes, paid (?) Amun-wa, for that which he obtained from the Rebu (Haring, 1992, 73)

As Haring has pointed out, the arrival of the Rebu in one entry coincides with the New Year's Feast (Haring, 1992, 75), while another coincides with the festivities of the Opet festival in Thebes (1992, 76). The presence of Rebu might, therefore be tangential to the work stoppage. Indeed, their arrival might have everything to do with the fact that the festivities were taking place in the city in the first instance.

Haring's work on these texts have shown that "the events [i.e. arrival of Rebu and Meshwesh]… seem to have been borne by the Thebans very passively. We hear of no conflicts or reactions of the authorities" (1992, 77). Indeed, it would appear that much of the history which has been written regarding this fragmentary period of history has been done through the projection of the Egyptian topos of a bellicose encounter with the Rebu and Meshwesh as depicted on the walls of Medinet Habu onto the interpretation of the texts of the Day Books (for full references to mentions of Rebu and Meshwesh in this source, Appendices C and D)

The textual references to the Rebu and Meshwesh from the Workmen's Village at Deir el-Medina provide a historical link between the encounters which the Egyptians had with these two groups as depicted on the walls of Medinet Habu and the later references to these groups in the Third Intermediate Period (see below). Important to the discussion of ancient ethnic identity, it is clear that the workmen were differentiating between these two groups. Haring points out "that the necropolis workmen distinguished [between the Rebu and Meshwesh] is very well possible just because they use these words within one and the same document" (1992, 79).

The continued differentiation between the groups known as the Rebu and the Meshwesh by the scribes of Deir el-Medina suggests that these groups were recognizable to the workmen at Deir el-Medina as two discrete groups. As such, one can only presume that these two groups continued to express their ethnic identity in some way – possibly this was visible through dress and ornamentation, though it could equally have been established more discretely through the continued use of language as well as, perhaps, distinctive group and personal names. This ethnic differentiation within Egypt continued after the dissolution of the New Kingdom and continues to be evident to a greater or lesser extent in the iconographic, epigraphic and archaeological record associated with the Third Intermediate Period.

8.2 The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt.

The collapse of the New Kingdom at the death of Ramesses XI (ca. 1070 BC) saw Egypt reverted from a centralized administration to a state divided into two largely autonomous regions with southern Egyptian administration in the hands of the High Priests at Thebes and northern Egyptian administration in the hands of the Deltaic Twenty-First Dynasty - the successors of the Ramesside kings. Within little over a century, the Twenty First Dynasty itself came to an end and the Egyptian throne passed to the founder of the new Twenty-Second dynasty, Sheshonq I. For the better part of the last one hundred and fifty years, the "ethnic" identity of Sheshonq I and his Twenty-Second and Twenty-third

Dynasty successors have been presumed to be "Libyan" and it has become generally known as the "Libyan Period" of Egyptian history (Leahy, 1985; Ritner, 2009).

8.3 The Iconographic Record of the Third Intermediate Period.

The decentralization of the political power in the aftermath of the New Kingdom had a profound effect on both internal Egyptian society as well as Egypt's external relationships. The foreign campaigns commonly depicted by the Egyptians of the New Kingdom are no longer attested during the subsequent Third Intermediate Period, nor are there references to the concept of the world divided into three parts. The Egyptian world of the New Kingdom had experienced a fundamental paradigm shift, the response to which saw Egyptian society turn inwards.

This inward refocusing of Egyptian society is particularly evident in Egyptian art where the exploits of the king, particularly illustrations of him on campaign in foreign lands are no longer the centre of attention (though the classic "smiting scene" of Maat triumphing over Isfet is still attested, cf. Sheshonq I; Epigraphic Survey, Bubastite Portal, pls. 2ff.). Instead, the majority of Egyptian art from this period is more reflective of non-royal individuals and, specifically individuals' relationship with the gods. There is an increased rise in attestations of personal religious practice (Ritner, 2009, 5) and the majority of the extant art from the Third Intermediate period is found in donation and funerary stelae which depict non-royal individuals offering directly to the gods (Saleh, 2007, passim).

Just as Egyptians from earlier periods were easily identifiable in Egyptian art by their hairstyle, costume and attributes, the practice of illustrating Egyptians in the Third Intermediate Period continues. Saleh describes contemporary Third Intermediate Period Egyptian costume in the following way:

> Men typically wear loose, often transparent and pleated cloaks over a white knee-length kilt held in place with some sort of sash. The kilt can be simple, plain, and short; or it can be a more elaborate triangular kilt… most cloaks cover both shoulders… the sleeves are generally more

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"angular" as opposed to the more "rounded" sleeves of women's cloaks (Saleh, 2007, 24)

Within this art, foreigners are no longer the "Other" outside Egypt, but are often illustrated as practitioners of Egyptian religious practice within the theocratic state. As such, they are not easily distinguished from other Egyptians. In her study of 117 funerary stelae from Thebes, Heidi Saleh notes:

> It is difficult to detect from the visual evidence alone the presence of ethnically distinct Libyans or any non-Egyptian ethnicity among the elite of the Theban community… The individuals were all shown as having Egyptian ethnicity even though the stelae date from the so-called "Libyan Period." There are no visual non-Egyptian ethnic markers manifested on these stelae. (Saleh, 2007, 26)

In the south of Egypt around the Thebaid, therefore, the extant art does not distinguish between "Egyptian" and "foreign." By contrast, in the north of Egypt from Memphis to the Delta, the "Chiefs of the Rebu," "Chiefs of the Rubayu," "Chiefs of the Meshwesh" and "Chiefs of the Ma" were identifying themselves in art through an iconography which has previously been interpreted as illustrative of these groups' "foreign" identity (Yoyotte, 1961, 138f.; Saleh, 2007, 26, 81).

8.3.1 The Iconography of the "Chiefs of the Rebu" and "Chiefs of the Rubayu"

In the aftermath of the Twenty-First Dynasty, a number of records attest to the fact that individuals who identified themselves as "Chiefs of the Rebu" were in control of the majority of the western Delta. In contrast to the 300-plus images of Rebu individuals depicted on the Twentieth Dynasty monument at Medinet Habu, there are, to date, only 9 individuals known from monuments dating to the first half of the First Millennium who have been identified as "Rebu." Of these, eight are illustrated on votive stelae were they are depicted offering to the gods. The ninth, Ankh-Hor, is not in fact illustrated in the stele which mentions him which depicts, instead, the king Sheshonq V offering to the Apis Bull (Malinine et al., 1968, pl. 12, nr. 37).
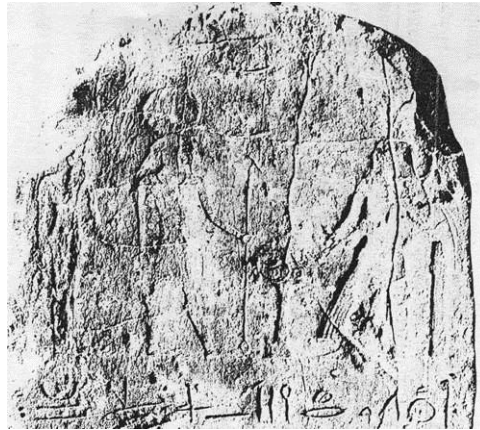
**Fig. 73 – Donation stela of Niumate[ped] Hermitage Museum 5630
[from Touraiev, 1912, pl. 1]**
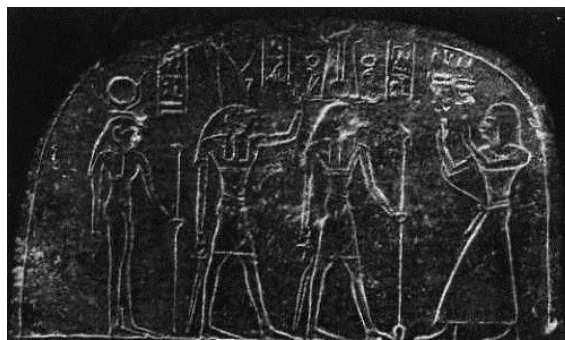
**Fig. 74 - Stela of In-Amun-nif-nebu. Moscow Museum of Fine Arts 5647
[from Lourie, 1951, fig. 1]**
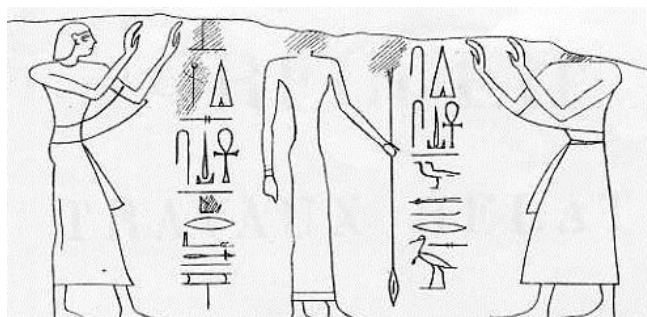
Fig. 75 – donation stela of Ker. Cairo JdE 30972 [from Müller, 1906, pl. 88]

Fig. 76 Stela of Tjerpet, EA 73965 [Taylor, 2002, 344]
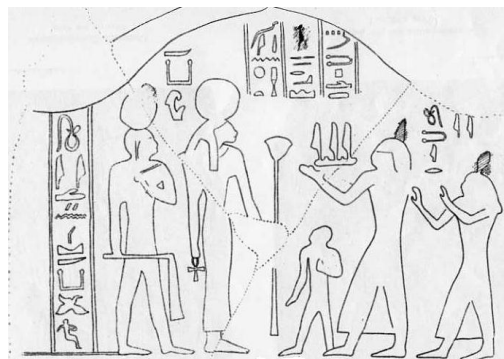
Fig. 77 – Stela of [Ne]mateped B [from Spiegelberg, 1920, pl. 5]

**Fig. 78 - Stela of Titaru, Son of Didi. Brooklyn Museum 67.119
[from Kitchen, 1970, fig. 4]**
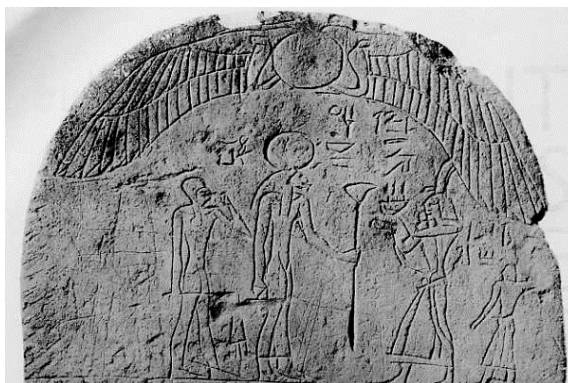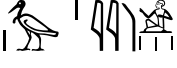
Fig. 79- Stela of Rudamun [from Berlandini, 1978, pl. 49]
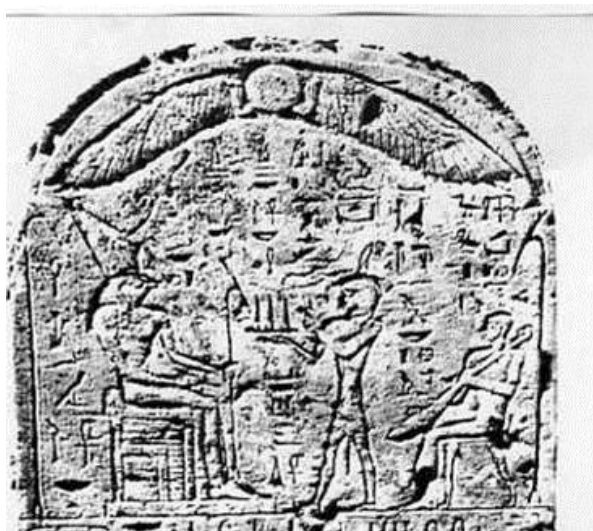
Fig. 80- Stela of Tefnakht [Yoyotte, 1961, fig. 1]

With the exception of the depiction of In-Amun-nif-nebu (above fig. 77), the distinguishing feature of the "Chiefs of the Rebu" is the vertical-plume-headdress in land-donation offering scenes. In the rest of their costume, the "Chiefs of the Rebu" are depicted no differently from contemporary "Egyptians." While the vertical-plume is attested among illustrations of two of the "Chiefs of the Rebu" at Medinet Habu (MH VIII, pl. 600; MH V, pl. 317), it is not a common feature of New Kingdom depictions of Rebu. While the vertical feather might be a throw-back to the iconography of the "Chiefs of the Rebu" depicted centuries earlier, the iconographic contexts of these stelae, specifically the offering of land control to distinctly Egyptian gods, suggest that the individuals involved were "Egyptian."

The most common Egyptian gods depicted on the stelae of the "Chiefs of the Rebu" are Sekhmet and Heka. With the exception of Tjerpet who is referred to as "Chief of the Rebu," Niumateped B, Titaru (?) son of Dydy (Kitchen, 1970, fig. 4) and Rudamun (Berlandini, 1978, pl. 49) are all three referred to as "Chiefs of the 𓈖𓂋𓄿𓏥𓇋𓏏 ("Rubayu")." Although historically considered to be using a variant spelling of 'Rebu' (Yoyotte, 1961, 143; Kitchen, 1970, 64f.), the orthography of this title "Rubayu" and is clearly distinct from the orthography of 𓂋𓃀𓅱 "Rebu" (for variations of this writing see appendix C). In addition to an orthographic differentiation, the two terms would appear to be semantically differentiated based on the determinative used. The "Chiefs of the Rubayu" appear to have been responsible for a population group while the "Chiefs of the Rebu" appear to have been responsible for a territory.

The origins of the word "Rubayu" [32] are unclear. Iconographically, however, the images of the "Chiefs of the Rubayu" do not appear to be significantly different from "Chiefs of the Rebu" with the exception that the latter are only ever depicted in illustrations associated with Sekhmet. Indeed there is some evidence, from the stela of [Ne]mateped B that one could be both "Chief of the Rebu" and "Chief of the Rubayu." Similarly, from the stelae associated with Ker and Tefnakht, there is evidence that one could be both "Chief of the Rebu" and "Chief of the Ma." Indeed, in Tefnakht's stela, he is depicted with a headdress which seems to incorporate the vertical plume associated with the Rebu and a horizontal plume which is commonly associated with the "Chiefs of the Ma."

8.3.2 The iconography of the "Chiefs of the Ma" and "Chiefs of the Meshwesh"

One of the earliest illustrations of an individual with the title "Chief of the Ma" is a Serapeum stela belonging to an individual called Pediset dated to the reign of Sheshonq III (IM 3749). In this stela, Pediset is illustrated offering to the Apis

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[32] it is certainly possible –and semantically appropriate in the context of worshippers of the leonine goddess Sekhmet –that the term Rubayu is derived from the Semitic word for "Lion" (*Lubayu*; Hoch, 1994, 202) which is well attested as early as the Amarna Period (Hess, 1993, 102; Moran, 1992, 382), and continues to be used as a word for "Lion" in the Hebrew Bible (Strong, 2007, 1519 no. H3833)

Bull and accompanied by his two sons. His costume is similar to that of his two sons and is generally "Egyptian" in style. Iconographically, he is distinguished from his sons, however, through a distinctive horizontal-feather headdress which identifies him as "Chief of the Ma."

Fig. 81- Stela of "Chief of the Ma, Pediset" and his sons adoring the Apis Bull, Serapeum Stela IM 3749 [Malinine et al, 1968, pl. 7 fig. 21]

The same Pediset was depicted thirty years later on two additional stelae from the Serapeum (IM 3736, IM 3697) commemorating the burial of the Apis Bull in Year 2 of king Pimay from the Serapeum.

Fig. 82- Serapeum stela IM 3736 [Malinine et al., 1968, pl. 8 fig. 23]

Fig. 83- Serapeum stela IM 3697 [Malinine et al., 1968, pl. 8 fig. 22]

In both stelae, Pediset is facing left and is illustrated adoring the Apis Bull and the goddess of the west and he is followed by his son who is identified as "the Sem-priest and great of the Chiefs of the artisans of Ptah, Harsiese, born of the great one of the Harem in Memphis (Men-nefer), Stateriret." Iconographically, Pediset is illustrated similarly to his son Harsiese on both stelae. Both are depicted wearing long, transparent, wide-sleeved robes over a short kilt and a panther's skin. This latter article is typically the costume associated with Sem-priests. Indeed, the only significant difference between the iconography associated with Harsiese and Pediset is that Pediset, like the previous stela, is illustrated with a horizontal plume on his head.

In all three of his stelae from the Serapeum (IM 3736, IM 3697 and IM 3749) Pediset is illustrated in an identical manner with a horizontal feather on his head. In the earliest of these stela IM 3749 (dated to Sheshonq III; above fig. 84), Pediset is referred to only as "Great Chief of the Ma," while in the two later contemporaneous stelae IM 3736 and IM 3697, this same Pediset is referred to as both "Chief of the Meshwesh" and "Chief of the Ma." As Saleh has pointed out, of the 105 "Libyan Period" votive stelae from the Serapeum, these three stelae of Pediset are the only ones which on iconographic (i.e. feather) and textual (i.e. titulary) grounds suggest that the donor was of "non-Egyptian, Libyan origin" (Saleh, 2007, 81).

On account of the similar style of dress and particularly the horizontal feather in all three stela and the fact that Pediset is referred to alternatively as "Chief of the

Ma" and "Chief of the Meshwesh," it has been presumed, since the late Nineteenth Century that these two titles are identical and that Pediset was "Libyan" in origin. The equation between the terms "Meshwesh" and "Ma" can be traced back to an article published Vicomte de Rougé in the first edition of the periodical *Mélanges d'archéologie egyptienne et assyrienne* (1873). In this article de Rougé attacks the idea, proposed by Lauth three years earlier (in 1870), that the title "Great Chief of the Ma," as found on the Stela of Piye (Piankhy) should be translated as "vassaux des Asiatiques." De Rougé did not so much refute Lauth's earlier suggestion with a rational argument against it, as simply suggest an alternative: namely, that the title "Chief of the Ma" was an abbreviation of "Chief of the Meshwesh." De Rougé's only sources to corroborate the suggestion were the three stelae of an individual named Pediset from the Serapeum at Saqqara. Indeed these three monuments remain the only evidence which mention the titles "Chief of the Meshwesh" and "Chief of the Ma" being held by the same individuals. Moreover, while other "Chiefs of the Meshwesh" are known from this period (see Appendix), Pediset remains the only one who is illustrated. It is the iconography found within Pediset's three stelae, therefore, which has contributed to the identification of "Chiefs of the Ma" as being little more than an abbreviation of the title "Chiefs of the Meshwesh" and most current Egyptological sources conform to this hypothesis by referring to the "Chiefs of the Me(shwesh)."

This association, however, is based entirely on an anachronism. Indeed, for the majority of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, a proper chronology of the kings of the Third Intermediate Period was lacking. The chronology for this period was only properly codified a century after de Rougé, when Kitchen first published his book entitled *The Third Intermediate Period* in 1973. Unbeknownst to de Rougé, Pediset's stela dating to Sheshonq III's reign antedates his two stelae dating to Pimay's reign by almost 30 years. Pediset's earliest title therefore must be considered to be "Chief of the Ma" and the iconography associated with this title predates the mention of his title "Chief of the Meshwesh" by twenty-six years, according to Kitchen's chronology (1996, table 6). Pediset's iconography as the "Chief of the Ma" must therefore be considered as anterior to his iconography as "Chief of the Meshwesh." Thus,

while there is no indication the he held the title of "Chief of the Meshwesh" as early as Year 28 of Sheshonq III there is conversely no evidence that he ceased being "Chief of the Ma" at some point prior to Year 2 of Pimay.

Logically, it is not possible for the iconography associated with Pediset's title "chief of the Meshwesh" to be used as evidence for this iconography among the "Chief of the Ma" and ergo be used to support the flawed argument that all "Ma" are "Meshwesh." Instead, when approached historically, Pediset's iconography *must be interpreted* as being associated with his earliest title "Chief of the Ma." As such, while he acquired the title "Chief of the Meshwesh" at a later date, his iconography as "Chief of the Ma" remained unchanged. Thus, in Pediset's most recent stela (IM 3736) although he is identified solely as the "chief of the Meshwesh" his iconography implies that he remained "Chief of the Ma."

Indeed, with no other iconographic evidence to support the idea that Pediset's iconography was that of the "Chief of the Meshwesh" the hypothesis that the horizontal plume is indicative of said title must be abandoned. While documents do exist from the Third Intermediate Period which mention other bearers of the title "Chief of the Meshwesh" (see Appendix D), none of these illustrate the bearer himself. Contrarily, there are significant other examples which illustrate individuals in like manner to Pediset with a horizontal plume who are referred to exclusively as "Ma" – without any indication that they are "Meshwesh." The best example of this is found in the lunette of the victory stela of Piye.
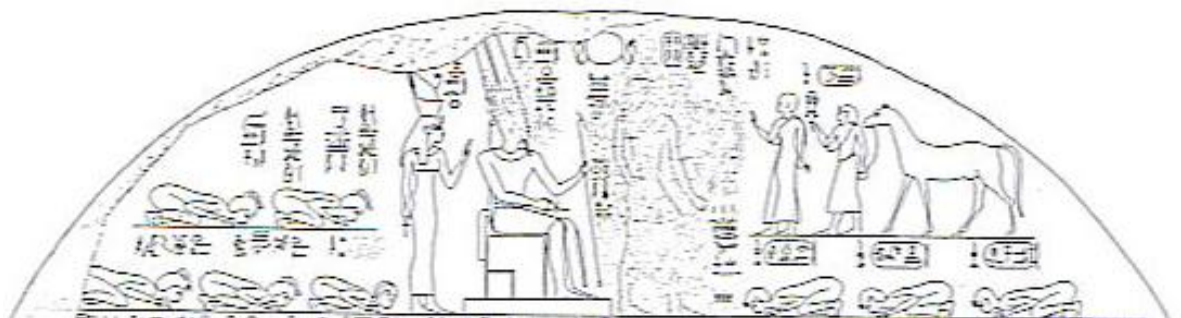
Fig. 84 – Lunette of Piye stela with four "chiefs of the Ma" wearing horizontal plume on the left [Clayton, 1999, 191]

The Piye stela clearly illustrates a group of individuals who are labeled as "Chiefs of the Ma" illustrated with the distinctive horizontal plume found in Pediset's earlier Serapeum stelae. Unlike Pediset's monuments, there is no evidence that any of these individuals were also given the title "Chief of the Meshwesh." It follows, therefore that, like Pediset before them, the iconography associated with the individuals on the Piye stela identifies them as nothing other than "Chiefs of the Ma."

Similarly, a stela [Brooklyn 67.118] of the "chief of the Ma" of Mendes illustrates this figure offering land to the gods Harpocrates, Osiris, Banebdjed and Hatmehir and depicts the "chief of the Ma" wearing the horizontal plume associated with this title.

Fig. 85 Detail of chief of the Ma of Mendes [De Meulenaere and Mackay, 1976, fig. 106]

While feathers are attested among the Meshwesh of the New Kingdom – particularly the "sword bearers" - these are all illustrated as vertical plumes, not horizontal (see above fig.39). Until further evidence regarding the iconography of the Chiefs of the Meshwesh is forthcoming, it is methodologically more sound to suggest that the Horizontal-plume headdress found throughout the art of the Third Intermediate Period is indicative of the title "Chief of the Ma" title alone. It is from such a line of the "Chiefs of the Ma" (and not "Meshwesh") which the first kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty were descended.

8.3.3 Royal Iconography during the Third Intermediate Period.

Before he was crowned king of Egypt in the middle of the Tenth Century BC, Sheshonq I was the "Chief of the Ma" Sheshonq B (Kitchen, 1996, sec. 90). Iconographically, once in power, the kings of Dynasties Twenty-Two and Twenty-three retained, and perpetuated, the royal iconography of the New Kingdom and Twenty-First Dynasty. While it has recently been claimed by Ritner that "Sheshonq and his descendants were not reticent in their preference for ethnic names, titles and feathers" (2009, 5), this seems to be a misconstruction of the extant record. Indeed, according to Leahy:

> The impression of complete Egyptianization is given by the royal iconography adopted by the Libyans, from which no change in the status or function of kings is discernible. There is no trace of costume in which the Egyptians had earlier depicted them and, in contrast to the Kushite Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, no modification of royal appearance (1985, 57)

While it seems likely that Sheshonq B, as "Chief of the Ma" would have been accustomed to wearing the horizontal-plume headdress of his office, there are to date no images of him from the time that he held the title "Chief of the Ma." Once in power, however, Sheshonq I legitimized his authority by adopting all of the trappings of royal iconography. With the exception of his "foreign" sounding name, there is nothing to suggest that Sheshonq I was not an "Egyptian" king.

Indeed, the "foreignness" of the kings of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasty, has been much debated in the literature. On the one hand, it has been claimed that Sheshonq I, while foreign by descent, was by the time he ascended the throne purely "Egyptian" (Edwards quoted in Leahy. 1985, 51). Contrarily, it has been claimed that the retention of the "barbarous" foreign names by the kings of this period, indicate the degree to which they had failed to acculturate (Leahy, 1985, 55) into Egyptian society. Whichever position is taken, it is obvious from the epigraphic record of Egypt from this period that Sheshonq's family had resided within Egypt for five generations before he became king. In order to appreciate more fully the nuances of identity within the so-called

"Libyan Period" it is necessary to examine the traces of extant evidence in the epigraphic record which remain.

8.4 The Epigraphic Record of the Third Intermediate Period

In recent years, there has been an increase in studies relating to Egypt's Third Intermediate Period and specifically on the social and cultural aspects of the so-called "Libyan" Period. The inherent "Libyan" identity of this period has affected discussions regarding both the cultural and political dimensions of this period. Leahy for instance, states that "after an initial attempt to adapt to the Egyptian system, the Libyans reverted to the political structure with which they familiar – a loose confederation reinforced by family alliances and appointments, not a centralized monarchy" (Leahy, 1985, 59). Similarly, the development of Abnormal Hieratic in the Theban Region contemporaneously with the appearance of Demotic in Northern Egypt, have been suggested by Leahy as evidence for the "ethnic division of Egypt" (1985, 59).

One of the main arguments for a "Libyan" identification of this period, however, is the belief that the use of long genealogies which are found during this period are the remnants of an otherwise unattested "Libyan" custom. Leahy describes these genealogies in the following manner:

> The long genealogies which provide the onomastic evidence reveal a related manifestation of Libyan custom. These genealogies, which with rare exceptions do not occur earlier, are characteristic of the age and permit the establishment of extensive family trees to a degree quite impossible at earlier periods. They do not, in my opinion, reflect the need for an 'anchor' in time of insecurity so much as the immortalization in stone of the emphasis on lineage which so often forms an important element of oral tradition in non-literate societies [Leahy, 1985, 55].

One of the most important genealogies of this the Third Intermediate Period is found on the Pasenhor Stela from the Serapeum at Saqqara.

8.4.1 The Pasenhor Stela

The Pasenhor Stela commemorates the death of the Apis Bull in Year 37 of Sheshonq V and was erected by a priest called Pasenhor (Harpeson of earlier

sources) and lists the genealogy of this Pasenhor for sixteen successive generations tracing his ancestry back through the first four monarchs of the Twenty-Second Dynasty.

Fig 86 - Pasenhor Stela [from Malinine et al, 1968, pl. 10 nr. 31]

Important to the "ethnographic" study of the Third Intermediate Period, this genealogy gives the name of the ultimate ancestor of the first four kings of the Twenty-Second Dynasty as [hieroglyphs] Tjehen-Buyuwawa (visible in middle of third to last line on the stela). Because of the mention of the term Tjehen(u) in Tjehen-Buyuwawa's name, it has commonly been translated as "the Libyan, Buyuwawa." On account of his ancestor having the title "Tjehenu"

associated with his name, the first king of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, Sheshonq I, is often considered "Libyan" by descent and the entire Dynasty which succeeds him has been identified as "The Libyan Period" in Egypt. As Le Page Renouf commented over a century ago:

> It seems now to be almost an article of faith among Egyptologists that the kings of the Twenty-Second dynasty were of Libyan origin. Dr. Stern, who first turned the current in this direction, drew one of his inferences from the name of one of its ancestors [Tjehenu-Buyuywawa], which he understands to mean "Libyan Buyuwawa." This is a gross mistake of translation, yet it has been repeated by almost all who have had occasion of late to speak about this portion of history [here citing Maspero's *Histoire Ancienne*] (Le Page Renouf, 1891, 601-602).

Renouf (1891, 602), then goes on to enumerate the various reasons why the term, Tjehenu, should not be read as "Libyan." His most forceful point is that "if Tjehen had been meant as 'Libyan,' the determinative would have been different and the place of the word would also have been altogether different" (ibid). Indeed if this were an ethno/toponym (i.e. man from "Tjehenu-land") it would have been more common to insert a throw-stick or foreign-land determinative next to Tjehenu to imply this function. Indeed, as was discussed in the previous sections, there is the possibility that the translation of the term "Tjehenu" with "Libya" may not be wholly sound. Similarly, Renouf might be right in suggesting that the placement of this term, if it were being used as adjective modifying Buyuwawa, would –most likely- have occurred *after* the proper name. In the Papyrus Harris, for instance, an individual is referred to as *Arsu Kharu* or "Arsu, a Syrian" (BAR, IV, sec. 398). Renouf ultimately concluded that the term Tjehen preceding Buyuwawa signified "splendid of nature" (1891, 602). Over the course of the succeeding twenty years, the works of Breasted, primarily contributed to the acceptance of the title Tjehen in Tjehen-Buyuwawa as "The Libyan, Buyuwawa." The arguments in favour over this identification, however, were never fully expounded and were followed uncritically by Bates (1914, 227 note 3), but was commented on more fully by Hölscher (1955, 67), who equally identifies Tjehen with "Libya."

Whilst Renouf's objections might be valid, there is another anomaly associated with the name Tjehenu in the context of a proper name. Namely, that the form already exists as a well-established woman's name in Egyptian with the following orthographies:

Tjehen ⬚⬚⬚ (Bergmann, RT 6, 1885, 133; Ranke, 1935, 393 nr. 16), ⬚⬚⬚ (ibid, 134; Ranke, 1935, 393 nr. 16),[33] ⬚⬚⬚ (ibid), ⬚⬚⬚ (ibid), or variants ⬚⬚⬚ (Ranke, 1935, II, 393, nr. 16), ⬚⬚⬚ ("Tihenut";CG 22051; Lefebvre, ASAE XX, 1920, 57), ⬚⬚⬚ ("Tihenut"; musToulouse 49.267; Ramond, stele Egyptiennes, 1ff.) ⬚⬚⬚ ("Tiheni"; Louvre C61; Ranke, 1935, 393 nr. 18), ⬚⬚⬚ ("Tihenw"; CG 22142; Ranke, 1935, 393 nr. 19), ⬚⬚⬚ ("Tjehen"; Lefebvre, 1920, 58) ⬚⬚⬚ ("Tihenetet"; ASAE 15, 200-202; Ranke, 1935, 393 nr. 20), and ⬚⬚⬚ ("Atehenet, daughter of the goddess"; Chassinat, RT 9, 1903, 51).

The above examples suggest that the name Tjehen/Tihenu/Atehenet and variants are not uncommon names in Egyptian sources from the Middle Kingdom onwards, with most examples occurring during the Greco-Roman period. All of them, however, are female names. While this feminine nomenclature was pointed out by Stern as early as 1883 (Stern, 1883, 20), he chose – despite the clear lack of foreign-land and/or throw-stick-determinative and in spite of the closest cognate being a woman's name on a sarcophagus in Vienna known to him (ibid) – to interpret the term "Tjehenu" in Tjehenu-Buyuwawa as a toponym (Stern, ibid).The identification of Tjehen-Buyuwawa being "Libyan" therefore, remains as conjectural today as it was in Le Page Renouf's time.

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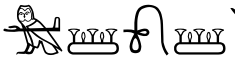
[33] See also CG 47522
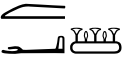
8.4.2 The origins of the Chiefs of the Ma.

The earliest monument associated with the "Ma" in the Third Intermediate Period is the Abydos stela of Sheshonq B dated to Psusennes II. This stela which was initially published by Blackman (1941) under the title of *The stela of Shoshenk, Great Chief of the Meshwesh*, does not in fact make a single reference to the "Meshwesh." Instead, the two protagonists on the stela, Sheshonq B (the future king Sheshonq I) and his father, Nimlot, are only ever referred to as "Great Chief of the Ma."

As was pointed out in the above section on iconography, the equation of Ma with Meshwesh can be traced back to the Nineteenth Century article by de Rougé. This premise was further developed by Yoyotte. Following de Rougé, Yoyotte proposed that the term "Ma" was simply an abbreviation of "Meshwesh" which had undergone a type of evolutionary progression from

 (Yoyotte, 1961, 123 note 2).

Whilst perfectly plausible, there is not enough evidence to prove such a progression. The last term, merely a throwstick, could simply refer to any "foreign group" and whilst many "Chiefs of the Ma" were also the "Chiefs of foreign groups", the two titles need not be the same. Similarly, the second penultimate term is not known from any datable records and is only attested from an undated coffin of Sheamenimes (Berlin 7478) from Thebes. Finally, the second term, , is in fact one of the earliest attested forms of the name and is attested on the Topographical List of Tuthmosis III (see above, page 133).

The idea of such a neat evolutionary progression from Meshwesh to Ma therefore is difficult to accept from much of the available data which suggests an inversion of what might be expected. In contrast, however, there is a similar

evolutionary progression which can be attested for the Ma as derived from the New Kingdom term Medjay.

The Medjay are known from a very early period in Egyptian history who initially inhabited the region of the Eastern Desert (Shaw and Nicholson, 2008, 199). While the term was probably ethnonymic at the beginning, from at least the New Kingdom, the Medjay were known principally as a police force throughout the Nile Valley and the ethnic identity associated with this term earlier on appears to have been lost (Frood, 2007, 192).
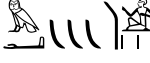
Mentions of Medjay occur frequently in the records throughout the New Kingdom. From Ramesses II's reign, the Medjay are also known to have produced extensive genealogies such as that attested by Amenemonet, the "Chief of the Medjay" whose monument enumerates 25 of Amenomet's relatives.

Fig. 87 – Amenemonet genealogical statue [from Lipinska, 1969, 45 fig. 3]

The Medjay are also well attested in the records of the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina. Beginning in Dynasty 20, however, the scribes of Deir el-Medina began to truncate the term Medjay in their hieratic texts. This started with the elimination of the last characters of their name, presumably to make it faster to write the word. Next, the scribes began to write the first signs followed by short-hand ligatures:

 (Ostracon CG 25589. Temp. Ramesses III; Černy, Ostraca hieratique, CGC vol. 87/89, 1935)

 (Pap. DeM 4; Temp. Ramesses V; KRI VI, 265:9)

 (Pap. Turin 2021; Temp. Ramesses XI; KRI VI, 742:11)

By the end of the New Kingdom, funerary cones from the region around Thebes also attest to a change in title associated with the Medjay. Whereas in earlier texts they were often provided with the title *Hry-Medjay* "Overseer of the Medjay," evidence from the funerary cones suggest that towards the end of the New Kingdom some of the ranks of the Medjay became *wr*-medjay or "Chief of the Medjay" (cf. Davies, 1957, nrs. 158, 280, 524) as is attested for instance by "the chief of the Medjay Rury" (Davies, 1957, nr. 158)

At the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty, the stela Sheshonq B refers to himself in one instance as . Whilst this orthography was considered "accidental" by Blackman (1941, pl. Xa), it may have been the scribe's attempt to interpret Sheshonq's identity as "Medjay" and is similar to the form associated with this term found at the workmen's village.

As "Chief of the Me[djay]" as opposed to "Chief of the "Me[shwesh]" Sheshonq I's title may well have privileged him over others to take over the throne of Egypt after Psusennes' death in addition to being father-in-law to one of Psusennes' daughters (Kitchen, 1996, 115 sec. 90). The most likely scenario in understanding the transition between these two dynasties is that Sheshonq already held a significant power base. The state which emerged out of the anarchic Dynasty 21 was, therefore, most likely forged not through the politicization of previously, otherwise unattested "tribal" identities [associated with the Meshwesh] (Ritner, 1990, 104) but through a shift to the most logical centralized source of power in the form of a "police state" [associated with the

Medjay]. The names associated with the "Chiefs of the Ma" therefore, may be derived from their identity as Medjay rather than Meshwesh.

8.5 The prosopography of the Third Intermediate Period

It has recently been stated as a foregone conclusion, that the personal names associated with the kings of Dynasty Twenty-Two and Twenty-Three are "Berber" in origin (Ritner, 2009, 2). Previously, Leahy had cautioned against this identification, stating:

> The transmission of actual features of the Libyans' languages into Egyptian is difficult to assess simply because we know nothing of them and have only, very much at second best, the modern Chadic-Berber group for comparative purposes (Leahy, 1985, 60).

Similarly, Colin has pointed out that the underlying logic may well be tautological:

> Tout bien pesé, la proposition [que les noms des rois du XXII and XXIII Dynaste son "Libyen"] est quelque peu tautologique: des pharaons considérés comme des "Libyens" (*Tehenou*) portent des noms étrangers, donc vraisemblement libyens… ou libyques; la dernière equation est tirée du postulat implicite que les *Tehenou* parlaient la même langue que les λιβυες (1996, 19).

While this "Libyan" position has been primarily used to refute earlier suppositions into the apparent "Assyrian" origin of the same names, the underlying scholarship in support of the "Libyan" identification of the kings of the so-called "Libyan Period" is not wholly sound. These two aetiological positions will be outlined below.

8.5.1 The Theory of the "Asiatic" Origin of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasty.

The earliest explanation developed to explain the etymologies of the various names of the kings of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties was to equate them with known contemporary names and Semitic words. Thus, the name Sheshonq was interpreted as meaning "the man of Shushan" or Susa (in

modern day Iran); Nimlot was interpreted from the Semitic meaning "the leopard"; Takelot was interpreted as related to the Zend term for "tiger" or possibly from the verb "to help" as found in the contemporary name "Tiglath-pilaser"; Finally, Osorkon was interpreted as a form of Sargon a well attested name in Assyrian and Babylonian sources (Petrie, 1905, 232).

In his volumous history of Egypt, published shortly before Petrie's own, Wallis Budge sums up the arguments against the "Semitic origin" of the names of the kings of the Twenty-Second Dynasty,

> Dr. Brugsch… asserted in an unqualified manner that the names *"Takeloth, Usarkon, Nemaroth*, represent in the Egyptian form and writing the names *Tiglath, Sargon*, and *Nimrod*, so well known in Assyria." It was, however, soon seen that none of these three names was Semitic, and the argument that the dynasty was Semitic, because the names were supposed to be Semitic, therefore fell to the ground. In the cuneiform inscriptions the work "Tukulti," from which the Hebrews made "Tiglath," never stands alone, but always forms *part* of a name, e.g. Tukulti-Ninib, Tukulti-pal-e-sharra; the name Nimrod is only known to us from Genesis x.8,9, and from Arabic legends, and has not as yet been identified in the cuneiform inscriptions; and the first character, ua, in the name Uasarken, is sufficient to show that we are dealing with a non-Semitic name. All doubt as to the origin of the XXIInd Dynasty may now be set aside, for we know that its first king was a descendant of a Libyan family, and that his family belonged to the famous Mashauasha tribe of the Libyans (Budge, 1902 [reprint 1968], 62, emphasis in original)

Thus, while Budge criticized the "unqualified manner" in which the assertions of the "Semitic" origin of these names have been made, he equally asserts –in a similar "unqualified manner" –that these names are ultimately "Libyan" in origin. In this respect, however, Budge was not alone and the hypothesis of the "Libyan" origin of the kings of the Twenty-Second Dynasty can be traced back to the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century.

8.5.2 The theory of the "Libyan" origin of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties.

The first to propose the Berber origin of the kings of the "Libyan" Period was Ludwig Stern in 1883. Stern's evidence for the "Libyan" origin was based largely on the fact that the ancestor of Sheshonq I was Tjehen-Buyuwawa. Stern

was the first to suggest the reading of this name as "the Libyan" Buyuwawa despite the fact that he was fully aware that Tjehenu was a well-attested woman's name in Egyptian sources (1883, 20). Stern reinforced his "Libyan" hypothesis by identifying a series of unattested gods and goddesses embedded within the names of various personages from this period. Thus,

> *Uasar-kn* zerlegt sich in *Uasar* (Osiris?) und *kn* (σαγon Diener?), welches letztere auch in *Maša-kn*, dem Namen eines libyschen Haptlings, ersheint. *Maša-kn* enthält offenbar denselben Stamm wie *Maša-šar*, der Name eines andern Häuptlings, und manche von den Alten überlieferte libysche Personennamen, wie Μάσσης, Μάσσάγης, Massinissa, u.a., und mag immerhin an das heutige libysche messi (Gott) erinnern. Der Name einer libyschen Göttin *šahtatait* oder *šahtt* ist uns in dem Eigennamen �⌝ erhalten, den ein Statue der Sammlung Posno aus der Zeit XXVI Dynasty liefert (Rev. Eg. II, 64). Der Name *Bkt-urnr* "die Dienerin Urner's" (LD III. 202, g) enthält wohl ebenfallseine ausländische Gottheit, aber es ist zweifelhaft, ob sie eine libysche ist. *Tk-rat* ist vermuthlich wie *Nama-rut* gebildet, hat aber mit Tiglath-(pilesar) nichts zu thun, weil dies kein Name, sondern nur die Hälfte eines Namens ist; der erste Theil *Tk-* scheint der zweite in *Psm-tk* zu sein, zu dem Ebers das Femininum *Ta-sm-tk* belegt hat. (Stern, 1883, 25)

Stern's hypothesis regarding the "Libyan" identity of the kings of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties, however, did not gain wide acceptance until Max Müller published a brief article 25 years later in which he produced "Berber" cognates for the royal names of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasties.

Müller's logic for the underlying Berber origin of the kings of this period is presented in the following manner. Firstly, he stated that there is an Egyptian woman's name *tnt-sa-r-ke-na* whose first syllable *tnt* is to be equated with the Egyptian demonstrative *ta*. He translates this woman's name as "the one of Sarken" ("die des Sarken," Müller, 1908, 361) and claims that "Sarken" is a proper masculine name belonging to either a god or a hero ("[Sarken] ist also ein Nom. prop. masc., wahrscheinlich ein Gottes – oder Herosname" Müller, ibid). He then equates this name with the well attested royal name from the period, Osorkon (Wa-sa-r-ke-n), and claims that similar to the Egyptian demonstrative *ta-*, *Wa-* is the Berber equivalent, making the Osorkon's name to mean "the one

of [the god/hero] Sarken" (Müller, 1908,. 362). Similarly he described the name Takelot as being derived from a divine name ("ein Element tkr stecken, das vielleicht wieder einen Götternamen enthalt" Müller, 1908, 362).

While ingenious, there is simply no evidence for the name "Sarken" or "Takelot" as a god or hero anywhere else in Egyptian literature nor, as far as I have been able to find, in the Berber pantheon. Indeed, all of Müller's assertions of Berber/"Libyan" origin rely on the names being associated with otherwise unattested god-names and the presumption that these gods must be "Berber." It has been demonstrated elsewhere, that one of the marks of a poor philological decipherment is the number of otherwise unattested god and hero names found in a text. As Simon Singh has pointed out:

An informal test for the accuracy of a decipherment is the number of gods in the text. In the past, those who were on the wrong track would, not surprisingly, generate nonsensical words which would be explained away as being names of hitherto unknown deities (1999, 239).

 It would appear that the same can be said for the "Berber-origin" theory of the so-called "Libyan Period" which relies entirely on the possibility that the name Osorkon is founded on the Berber definite article *Wa* combined with a hitherto unknown Berber deity "Sarken."

While Sarken is not attested in Berber, a similar heroic/divine name *is attested* in the personal names in the Amarna Letters. Specifically, there are 16 occurrences of the name Sarru-ke-en in these texts (Hess, 1993, 142 number 150). This individual has been identified as "a heroic warrior in an epic about his military expedition to Burshakhanda" (Hess, ibid). Yet if the name Osorkon is based on the root of the Semitic hero Sarru-ke-en, then one is at a loss to explain the initial *Wa-* in his name as a "Berber" element.

The names Sarken/Salken/Sharkeny/Salkeny also appears as a proper name elsewhere in North Africa (Colin, 1996 [vol. I], 70). All of them, however, are found in Neo-Punic inscriptions (Colin, ibid) and thus, not only post-date the

appearance of Osorkon in Egypt by centuries but are also implicitly associated with the Phoenician presence along this coast. These same Neo-Punic inscriptions were used by R. Caminos in defence of the "Libyan" identification of the name Osorkon:

> At one time thought to be of Asiatic origin, the name Osorkon and all the obviously foreign names of the Bubastite royal family are at present regarded as of Libyan lineage by practically every scholar. Conclusive philological evidence is wanting, but the Libyan theory has been considerably strengthened, at least in so far as the names Osorkon and Takelothis go, by a bilingual inscription from Thugga giving the name *Urskn* in Numidian and Phoenician, and by a text from the same site with the name *Tklth* in Numidian (Caminos, 1958, 12-13)

The idea that the names Osorkon and Takelot are autochthonous to "Libya" based on their appearance in Phoenician inscriptions in North Africa centuries after their appearance in Egypt is symptomatic of the retro-projected history associated with all discussions of so-called "Libyans." In fact, when the bilingual inscription from Thugga was first published by Halévy in 1874, there was no mention of the autochthonous origin of the name Osorkon (Oursachoun in Halévy, 1874, 89ff.):

> . סכן*Sachoun* est notoirement un dieu phénicien. Il figure dans le nom de Sanchon-iaton = Sachon a donné (1874, 91f.)

The original interpretation of the bilingual inscription of Thugga, therefore, was that the names referred to on this monument were perfectly good *Phoenician* names. According to Halévy, as von Beckerath and Colin have pointed out, there is in fact another possibility for the etymology of the name Osorkon. Namely, that the names associated with the kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty are, in fact, corruptions of "Egyptian names."

8.5.3 The Theory of the "Egyptian" Origin of the Twenty-Second and Twenty-Third Dynasty.

The "Egyptian" origin of the names associated with the kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty has most extensively been suggested with the name of Osorkon. It has been suggested, for instance, that Osorkon is a reinterpretation of the name

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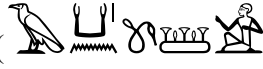
of the Egyptian god Osiris (Colin, 1996, 61; originally suggest by Stern, 1883, 25 see above). The name *Wasir-kn* could thus read, "Osiris is strong" (von Beckerath, quoted in Colin, ibid). Alternatively it could be a play on the Egyptian word *Wsr* ("to be strong") and may read "*Kn is strong*" (Colin, 1996, 63). Von Beckerath also hypothesized that the name Osorkon could mean something like "the strong (*wsr*) and powerful (*kn*) [one]," or "Osiris (*Wsir*) is powerful (*kn*)" (quoted in Colin, 1996 [vol. I], 63).

Far from being a "foreign" name based on an otherwise unattested "Libyan" god, it is possible that the name of Osorkon is in fact a reinterpretation of an *Egyptian* god or Egyptian terminology. The curious writing of the name Osiris in this context may be a result of the contemporary vocalization (Leahy, 1985, 60) of this divine name at this time or, possibly, the interpretation of this Egyptian divine name by a non-Egyptian group. There is no evidence within this name, however, to suggest that this "non-Egyptian" group was "Libyan" by descent or origin or that these names used by these groups were "Berber," "proto-Berber," or otherwise related to a North African origin. Regardless of their origin, many of the names associated with the kings of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties are attested among the "Chiefs of the Ma."

8.5.4 Personal names of the Chiefs of the Ma

To date, approximately two dozen individuals are known to have held the title "chief of the Ma" dating the first half of the first millennium BC. Of these, almost all are provided with either proper "Egyptian" names (Nes-Khebit, Pediset, Harsiese, Hornakht, Smendes, Djed-Hor, Djedamenefankh, Pekrur, Pedikhons, Iufero, Patjenfy) or named after contemporaneous kings of Egypt (Sheshonq, Takelot, Pamy, Pedubast). To date only two "Chiefs of the Ma" have a "foreign" name (Akanosh). The name Akanosh is listed by Ranke as both a "Libyan" (1953, 411) and a "Nubian" (1935, 48 nr. 19) name, and it is perhaps relevant in this regard that both individuals attested with this name at Sebennytos are attested from the time of the Kushite invasion onwards (Kitchen, 1996, Table 22).

8.5.5 Personal Names of the Chiefs of the Meshwesh

Of the five attested "Chiefs of the Meshwesh," two (Takelot and Sheshonq) are named after the kings of the period, two (Pediset and Ankhhor) have perfectly good "Egyptian" names, and only one ("Akanosh") is given a "foreign" name of unknown origin (see above).

8.5.6 Personal Names of the Chiefs of the Rebu

The names of the "Chiefs of the Rebu" can be divided into two groups: those that adopt "Egyptian" names (In-Amun-nifnebu, Ankh-Hor, Tjerpet, Tefnakht) and those whose names continue to appear to be "foreign" (Niumateped, Titaru). Significantly, the Chiefs of the Rebu appear to maintain a philological link with the names of their predecessors in the New Kingdom as is evident in the continued association which this group has with the name Dydy. Significantly, the names of the Rebu are differentiated from those associated with either the Meshwesh or Ma.

The only name which appears to have been shared between the Rebu and the Ma during the Third Intermediate Period is the "Egyptian" name Ankh-Hor ("Horus lives") who is attested as a "Chief of the Rebu" under Sheshonq V (at the burial of the Apis Bull in Sheshonq's 37th Year) and as the son of a "Chief of the Ma," Djed-Amen-ef-ankh, in Mendes under Piankhy. The very close contemporaneity of these two monuments (within 5 years of each other) makes it possible that these two individuals are actually one and the same person who, like Ker and Tefnakht, held both titles of "Chief of the Ma" and "Chief of the Rebu."

8.5.7 Personal Names of the Chiefs of the Rubayu

Unlike their contemporaries, the Ma with whom the royal line was associated, none of the "Chiefs of the Rubayu" were named after the kings of the Period. The one possible exception to this rule is the mention of the "chief of the Rubayu, Rudamun" (Berlandini, 1978, 147ff.) who was a contemporary of the

Twenty-Third Dynasty king of the same name (Kitchen, 1996, sec. 146). In this instance, however, King Rudamun (ca. 757-754 BC; Kitchen, 1996, table *3) is attested on the throne of the Twenty Second Dynasty within a decade of the "Chief of the Rubayu" Rudamun (745-740; Kitchen, 1996, table *21A) and it is therefore unlikely that the latter was named after the former.

While many of the names of the kings and regional potentates of the Third Intermediate Period have non-"Egyptian" names, it is not entirely apparent, on the basis of the extant evidence what the origin of these "foreign" names might be. While these names have historically been associated with "Libya" the grounds on which this association rests are not entirely firm. More important than identifying the origins of the names themselves, however, is a discussion of how the individuals, despite their foreign names, integrated, acculturated and penetrated Egyptian society. The degree to which this is apparent is perhaps best witnessed in the complete lack of a unique material record associated with these groups in the archaeology of the Third Intermediate Period.

8.6 The Archaeological Record of the Third Intermediate Period.

This now brings us back to the topic which originally prompted this study as mentioned in the introduction: the expression of ethnic identity in the material culture of the Third Intermediate Period.

In our present state of knowledge, it is impossible to identify various discrete "ethnic" groups within the archaeological record of Egypt's Third Intermediate Period. While there are clear indications of cultural change within the Third Intermediate Period as witnessed in new developments in writing (demotic, abnormal hieratic), iconography and political organization (Leahy, 1985, passim), the archaeological record from this period does not exhibit the same degree of innovation (Leahy, 1985, 56). As Leahy points out:

> The most obvious argument, albeit a negative one, in favour of the rapid and complete acculturation of the Libyans in Egypt is that there is no trace of any distinctive material culture which might be associated with them (1985, 56)

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In terms of quotidian material culture, the styles, forms and materials used for the pottery from the Third Intermediate Period exhibit clear development from earlier indigenous, Egyptian New Kingdom forms (Aston, 1996, 67). Similarly, the treatment of the dead by means of mummification not only continued, but reached new heights of technical sophistication (Leahy, 1985, 61). Indeed one of the only major changes within the archaeological record from this period is the fact that, in the words of Leahy, "the physically isolated necropolis of earlier Egyptian history [i.e. the Valley of the Kings] is abandoned in favour of interments within the precincts of a temple" (Leahy, 1985, 61). Regarding this obvious change in burial custom witnessed between the New Kingdom and the so-called "Libyan Period," Leahy states that

> The changes in funerary practice must therefore represent a different attitude to the dead… This outlook is new, and at the very least, compatible with the customs of a (semi)-nomadic people who habitually buried their dead where they fell without ostentation or prior concern (1985, 62).

A recent critique of Leahy's statement concerning the "Libyan" origin of the funerary practices of the so-called "Libyan Period" has been by Sheldon Gosline (1995). After studying much of the available published material relating to burials in North Africa outside Egypt, Gosline concluded that:

> There is little evidence from Cyrenaica, or elsewhere in North Africa for the origins of the particular tomb construction found at the Libyan Period royal necropolis at Tanis. However, in the Egyptian Delta, not far from Tanis itself, there was a tradition of burials within the temple precinct of Tell el-Daba, which dates back at least to the Hyksos Period, and probably was influenced by the much earlier Buto Culture. In a layer dating to +/- 1680 or +/- 1660 BC, the Austrian expedition supervised by Manfred Bietak uncovered family cemeteries with vaulted tombs, surrounding the temple area… As additional evidence for a local tradition of royal burials in or around temple precincts, two 13th dynasty pyramidions were found near Tell el-Daba… While this evidence is scant, all indications point to the fact that studies in the Egyptian Delta would be more a more fruitful direction for future research concerned with searching for the origins of the royal burial practices identified with the Libyan Period in Egypt. (Goseline, 1995, 15)

The archaeology of the Third Intermediate Period reflects the difficulties in identifying foreign elements within the material culture of diasporic communities. While social and cultural changes are visible within the historic record at this time, these changes do not appear to be reflected in the archaeological record. In the overall material cultural assemblage from the Third Intermediate Period, there is little which suggests any form of radical departure from earlier forms. Instead, most of the pottery appears to be a continuation of Late New Kingdom forms and vessel types. Indeed, the only major "cultural" phenomenon which is visible in the archaeological record of this period is the abandonment of the Valley of the Kings in favour of interment in the Temple Precincts of Lower Egypt. Whilst this has previously been interpreted as indicative of a "Libyan" custom, such a statement is based entirely on negative evidence and ignores the fact that this same custom has a long history within the region in which it is found.

8.7 Discussion and Analysis

After two hundred years of living in Egypt, the Rebu appear to have largely acculturated to Egyptian society and cultural norms. The handful of examples which illustrate the "Chiefs of the Rebu" from this period are consistent in illustrating these individuals in "Egyptian" style dress, making Egyptian land offerings to "Egyptian" gods, on stelae written in the "Egyptian" language many of whom have "Egyptian" names. The only distinguishing feature of their dress is the use of the vertical plume which appears to have been indicative of a badge of office and might have been derived from the couple New Kingdom illustrations of the "Chiefs of Rebu" at Medinet Habu who are depicted with a similar plume.

In Egyptian art and illustrations of the "foreign" Other, the Third Intermediate Period in Egypt witnessed a dramatic paradigm shift from the earlier New Kingdom. The world was no longer easily divisible into thirds; "foreigners" were no longer the enemies outside Egypt to be crushed and repelled by the might of the king; and the king was no longer the intermediary to the gods. Instead, the Third Intermediate Period saw Egypt turn in on itself; people who were once

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considered "foreign," now controlled large areas of Egypt and commemorated themselves by making offerings directly to the gods.

The iconography of the various chiefs from this period, tend to illustrate persons in "Egyptian" fashion with plumed-headdresses. The Chiefs of Rebu-land and the Rubayu-people are distinguished through a vertical plume, while the "chiefs of the Ma" are distinguished through a horizontal plume. While the "Chiefs of the Rebu" may well be related to New Kingdom individuals of similar name who were settled in the western Delta following Ramessses III's deportation, the "Chiefs of the Ma" are an otherwise unattested group, whose origins with the Meshwesh are contentious at best. It is from the "Chiefs of the Ma," however, that all of the kings of the period are descended. While all illustrations of the "Chiefs of the Ma" depict them with horizontal plumes, once the individuals from this group attained the throne of Egypt little differentiation can be discerned between them and earlier royal cannons. Within this conservative royal iconography, therefore, the only distinguishing "foreign" aspects are the names themselves.

The names of the kings of Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period are the only identifying characteristic of the underlying "foreign" nature. Their origin, however, is contested. Once thought to represent "Semitic" elements, they have more recently been identified as "Libyan," while the possibility also exists that they are foreign corruptions of Egyptian names. As such they may illustrate as much the assimilation of these individuals into Egyptian culture as they represent them as beacons of "foreignness." Following earlier Egyptian tradition, many of the royal names are attested among the "Chiefs of the Ma" and "Chiefs of the Meshwesh." Significantly, however, royal names are not attested among the "Chiefs of the Rebu or Rubayu" who generally retain their own unique personal names. Despite the retention of foreign names and titles, particularly among the "Chiefs of the Rebu" which may suggest an underlying rejection of "Egyptian" norms and customs, the physical remains of the Third Intermediate Period suggest an otherwise unattested acculturation.

Admittedly, more work –specifically in the western Delta- may yet change the picture of the archaeology of Egypt during the Third Intermediate Period. What does exist to date, however, suggests that there was almost no change in the physical material culture of Egypt which cannot be explained through simple historical progression. Evolution of forms is easily traced to earlier examples. Even the changes in burial practice which have, traditionally, been interpreted as "foreign" have precedence within Egypt itself. In sum, foreigners are unidentifiable in the extant archaeological record.

The Third Intermediate Period, therefore, illustrates the continuation of earlier "foreign" cultural forms within Egypt, the development of new cultural forms, and the sustainability of older Egyptian forms. Moreover, it illustrates the manner in which individuals living in diaspora within Egypt navigated their own personal identity while mediating between their earlier "foreignness" and their new found "Egyptianness." It also illustrates the problems inherent in applying terminology to specific cultural forms. What, for instance, should be considered "Egyptian" during the Third Intermediate Period and what should be considered "foreign"? Is an individual whose family had resided in Egypt for centuries still considered foreign because of his name? And at what point do ethnic identities become racial and vice versa?

General Conclusion

This present thesis has endeavoured to examine the way in which ethnic identity is observable in the past and the manner in which expressions of identity change over time as groups interact, migrate and evolve. Specifically, its focus has been on the identifiability of the groups currently interpreted as "Libyan" in Egyptological literature and the manner in which the ancient "Libyans," the ancient Egyptians and modern scholarship have interpreted these groups. At its core, the study of non-Egyptians within an Egyptian context is the study of difference and, specifically the difference between two social and cultural groups.

In order to place this thesis within a larger theoretical framework of socio-cultural difference, it began by briefly outlining the concepts of society, culture, race, and ethnicity and the manner in which these concepts contribute to our understanding of group identities in the recent and distant past as well as the applicability of these modern concepts to understanding ancient populations. Within the history of the theoretical framework outlined here, group differentiation has been established in one of two ways either through the application of "racial" identifiers, or in more recent times through the application of "ethnic" identifiers. While many of the underlying, biological characteristics of the former have been applied to the latter, the main difference between these two means of classifying groups is that "racial" classification is applied to the subject by party outside the group, while "ethnic" classification is, largely, the result of a process of self-identification.

The applicability of the underlying, modern, western concepts of "race" and "ethnicity" to describe the manner in which past populations understood the populations which surrounded them have been scrutinized. While one could argue that aspects of the concepts which would be identifiable in the modern world as "race" and "ethnicity" are visible in the ancient world, the modern formulation of these concepts makes the direct applicability of these terms to the ancient world questionable. That said, one could equally argue that these modern

western terms are perhaps more applicable to modern discussions and interpretations of the ancient sources rather than to the sources themselves. Specifically, one can demonstrate how the modern term "Libyan" found within Egyptological literature fits into the framework of applied "racial" identities versus expressed "ethnic" identities.

To Egyptologists of the mid Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries, the quintessential "Libyan" within the Egyptian record was the chief of the group known to the Egyptians as the "Rebu." Phonetically, the Rebu group was easily identifiable with "Libya" while the costume of the Rebu – particularly the penis-sheath as depicted in a drawing by Lepsius – reinforced the inherent "African" qualities of this group. Out of the identification of the penis-sheath wearing Rebu as "Libyan" emerged the subsequent identification of all penis-sheath wearing groups as "Libyan" regardless of whether the Egyptians identified them as Rebu or not. Through this methodology, the history of the "Libyans" has been written in Egyptological literature over the past century. From this it has permeated into the literature concerning the art, history and archaeology of Egypt and North Africa.

Over the course of the past century, however, two potential flaws to the manner in which "Libyan" identity is currently understood have emerged. Firstly, it has been demonstrated in this thesis that the image on which so much of later scholarship had been based, specifically Lepsius' image of a Rebu-man wearing a penis-sheath was flawed in the fact that, in actuality, this individual is not depicted wearing such a garment. Thus, if the Rebu do not wear the penis-sheath, it is methodologically flawed to suggest that individuals who do wear this garment are "Libyans" since implicit in the argument is an association with the Rebu.

Secondly, the common methodology of the Nineteenth Century which attempted to find cognates between ancient Egyptian terminology and those found in much later Graeco-Roman sources in order to establish the geographic origins of the populations described in the earlier Egyptian sources has been questioned in recent years. Specifically, this methodological formula has been questioned in

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regard to the geographical origins of the so-called "Sea-Peoples" in ancient Egyptian sources who are historically contemporaneous with the Rebu. To date, this methodology has not been questioned with regard to the Rebu or the groups with whom they have been identified as "Libyan." The methodological principles at play with the identification of the Rebu as "Libyans," however, is essentially the same as that found in discussions of the identity of "Sea Peoples," which has been questioned. Consequently, this thesis has attempted to follow a similarly critical methodology in addressing the identities of the so-called "Libyan" groups.

By not beginning the discussion of ancient identity through the presumption that the groups under study are "Libyan," therefore, it is easier to explore more nuanced identities for all of the groups involved. The primary aim of this thesis, however, is not to question whether these groups are "Libyan" or not (though this question, by implication, must enter the discussion). Instead, it is an attempt to allow the groups currently aggregated by this modifier to express their own identity to the degree to which such is possible within the constraints of the extant datasets. Ultimately, the result of this methodological experiment is the emergence of a distinct possibility that some of the groups which have been studied in this thesis project variances from the historical or geographic requirements by which they may be properly classified as "Libyan."

Towards this end, the body of this thesis has been divided into two parts which reflect the history of the groups involved and their relationship to Egypt. The first section focused on the earlier period of the history of these groups in which Egypt encountered them outside Egypt. The second section of this thesis focused on the later history of these groups in which the primary sources suggest that these groups were living in diaspora within Egypt after having been resettled in Egypt by Ramesses III. In both sections, however, the way in which ethnic identity is expressed by the groups themselves is consistently illustrated through the iconographic, epigraphic and archaeological records.

Within the iconographic record of ancient Egypt up to the end of the New Kingdom, the Egyptian artists typically divided the "outside" world into Three

Foreign Races. Two of the "races" are easily identifiable as "Nubians" living in the south and "Syrians" living in the north. The "Third Race," whose members include individuals from the territories of Baket and Basher (otherwise unknown), as well as the "arch-enemy" referred to as the Haty-a Tjehenu are illustrated in the Old Kingdom with long-hair, a pointed beard, cross-bands across their chests, a uraeus-like head-band, an animal's tail and a penis-sheath. While this figure may have, in his inception, been an "historic" figure known to the Old Kingdom Egyptians, by the end of the Old Kingdom, he had become an icon of the king smiting the foreigner. Within the Egyptian mindset, therefore, the image of the Haty-a Tjehenu ceased to be an "historic" figure and became, instead the topos of the king's ability to destroy the powers of Isfet.

Following its brief use as one of the Three Foreign Races, this particular iconography is never again used to illustrate this motif. Instead, by the New Kingdom, a new figure characterized by his short-hair, distinctive side-lock, long colourful cloak and wearing either a kilt or a penis-sheath is the commonly used stereotype in Egyptian art to illustrate the "Third Race."

In addition to their use for illustrating the "Third Foreign Race," the New Kingdom image of the side-locked individual is found in a series of "historic" scenes. At the end of the Amarna period, side-locked individuals are illustrated bringing ostrich products to Egypt. From Horemheb's reign onwards, however, the stereotypical image of a side-locked individual is used to depict a series of enemies against whom the Egyptians illustrate themselves in combat. Within these scenes, some iconographic variation, which may have been representative of Egyptian understanding of socio-political differentiation among the groups, exists in Egyptian illustrations.

Certain iconographic features, particularly the use of the penis-sheath, found in these scenes have historically been used in other methodologies to infer the origins, specifically North African origins of the groups themselves. Such an approach, however, is little more than "racial profiling." On account of this, there is little definitive information regarding the groups' identities which can be determined through the iconography alone. Further information regarding the ethnic identities of these groups, however, can be found through an examination

of the contexts in which the names associated with the iconography are found in the epigraphic record.

The earliest term associated with the iconographic record is "Tjehenu." References to this term are attested as early as the Pre-Dynastic Period and the dawn of Egyptian history. Apart from vague references to this land "in the west," there is nothing specific in the early mentions of Tjehenu-land as to its exact location vis-à-vis Egypt and it has merely been assumed that the early mention of this territory implies its proximity to Egypt. All references to this population in the Old Kingdom, however, suggest that the only contact which the Egyptians had with this group and territory was the arrival of Tjehenu-people into Egypt. While the records are not explicit in this manner, it appears that the Egyptians never actually ventured into this land or were even aware of its exact location which passed into contemporary mortuary literature as being a land on the Western Horizon.

During the Middle Kingdom, references to Tjehenu-land are found alongside mentions of a territory known as Tjemehu-land. The latter location is known from the Old Kingdom onwards and is consistently located immediately west of Egypt in North Africa. Moreover, references to Tjemehu-land are consistent in identifying this territory as being accessible to the Egyptians overland. While recent scholarship has attempted to claim that the Old and Middle Kingdom Egyptians confused the terms Tjemehu and Tjehenu, from the examination of the extant evidence this conclusion does not appear to be sustainable and the evidence points rather to the suggestion that the ancient Egyptian scribe was aware of a differentiation between these two lands.

The Egyptians had significant and increased contact with the group they identified as Tjehenu throughout the New Kingdom. References to the Tjehenu through the New Kingdom become much more explicit in referring to the actions and treatment of this group by the Egyptians but much more erratic in placing this group on the ground. The territory of "Tjehenu" is referred to as existing in "the west" while a similar sounding name is attested to the south of Egypt in Nubian topographical lists. An analysis of the contexts in which the term

Tjehenu is found from the New Kingdom suggests that the Egyptians perceived the population called "Tjehenu" as being associated with various areas in addition to their location "in the west" which raises questions as to the extent to which this group can be definitively described as "Libyan."

In contrast, references to Tjemehu-land, where these exist, remain constant in locating this territory in the same manner as Old and Middle Kingdom sources. The most significant reference to the territory of Tjemehu is found at the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham dated to Ramesses II's reign which mentions explicitly that the fortress was built "upon Tjemehu-land."

Within five years of Ramesses II's death, Tjehenu-land had been sacked by an invasion by a coalition force of "Sea Peoples" headed by a group of people known as Rebu. While references to the Rebu are attested as early as Ramesses II's reign, the main encounter with this group which survives from ancient Egypt is Merneptah's account of his defeat of the Rebu-coalition force in his year five. Merneptah's victory over this coalition forced the leader thereof, Meryey son of Dydy, to flee into Tjemehu-land. While previous interpretations of Merneptah's texts have implicitly translated Rebu by "Libyan," these texts do not contain evidence as to where the Rebu or their allies originated, but simply where the Egyptians encountered this coalition force.

By Ramesses III's reign, the Rebu again appear to be associated with a coalition which comprised the groups called Sepedu and Meshwesh in the three main battle scenes depicted at Medinet Habu. Previous interpretations of the latter two groups have described these groups as "Libyan" on account of their association with the Rebu. It was suggested here that the Sepedu might be a global term used by the Egyptians to refer to the people described in modern scholarship as "Sea Peoples," there is little which can be used to corroborate this position since the term is only ever attested at Medinet Habu. In contrast, the Meshwesh-group who have also been identified as "Libyan" on account of their association with the Rebu are known from mentions at Medinet Habu as well as outside this temple.

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An analysis of the contexts in which the terms Tjehenu, Tjemehu, Rebu and Meshwesh are found in Egyptian sources up to Ramesses III's reign is perhaps more informative in understanding the manner in which the Egyptians interpreted the nuances of these terms than using a methodology which assumes that the term "Libyan" is applicable to all of these groups. Within the broader theoretical framework, therefore, the application of such a collective modifier to these groups results in the categorization of ancient populations which inhibits one's ability to perceive ethnic diversity which may potentially exist.

In addition to contextualizing the terminology of particular foreign groups, the epigraphic record also provides a series of personal names associated with these foreign groups. On the basis of the assumption that all these groups are presumed to be "Libyan," attempts have been made to find cognates for these names in modern Berber. By not applying the "Libyan" mask, however, it becomes apparent that some of these potential "Libyan" names are "Egyptian," could possibly be "Semitic," or fit into the prosopographical record of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A nuanced understanding of the possible history and geography of the groups as found in the iconographic and epigraphic record makes the search for the material remains associated with these groups somewhat problematic. Historically, the archaeology of the region to the west of Egypt (i.e. "Libya") has had as its mandate to search for the remains of ancient Egyptian activities in the region as well as bring to light the archaeological remains of the indigenous populations (i.e. "Libyans"). With the possibility that some of the groups currently identified as "Libyans" are not to be found in "Libya," one is left with the probability that the archaeology of "Libya" does not definitively represent the physical remains of the groups currently identified as "Libyan."

The majority of the physical remains found to the west of the Nile Valley are indicative of the presence of Egyptians in the region. From as early as the Old Kingdom, Egyptians appear to have settled the region of Dakhleh oasis where they established a settlement at the site of Ain Asil. By the Middle Kingdom, an Egyptian presence is attested in the Wadi Natrun and the northern oasis of

Bahariya. By the New Kingdom, physical remains of ancient Egyptians are present in Kharga oasis as well as along the North Coast as far west as the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. In the latter region, the Egyptian material remains are found in close association with material culture which originated throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. While the latter is not necessarily evidence for people of Eastern Mediterranean origin being present along the North Coast, it is minimally indicative that trade between various Eastern Mediterranean communities was reaching this part of modern-day Egypt and quite possible that some of it was brought by Eastern Mediterranean traders.

In contrast to the Egyptian and Eastern Mediterranean remains, the physical remains of the material culture associated with indigenous North African populations to the west of Egypt are meagre. Sheikh Muftah pottery and lithics have been discovered in the vicinity of Dakhleh oasis and the "Oasis Road" leading south-west of Dakhleh, "Saharan" pottery and lithics have been discovered at sites between Armant and Algeria, Shell Tempered Ware is found along the North Coast of Egypt, while Marmaric Wares are found almost exclusively in the vicinity of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham. It is unclear, however, if or how any of this material culture is related. Moreover, just as the Eastern Mediterranean wares along the North Coast cannot be taken as indicative of specific ethnic groups, the indigenous pottery found at "Egyptian" sites to the west of Egypt could equally be indicative of trade and are, therefore, not necessarily indicative of "locals." Indeed, apart from pottery and lithics, there exists to date, no evidence of indigenous domestic or religious architecture, nor traces of indigenous cuisine, nor burials which can conclusively be dated to the Bronze Age at any of the sites discussed. It is difficult, therefore, on the basis of the present evidence, to refer to the indigenous material culture discovered to the west of Egypt as being indicative of an ethnic group. It is hoped that further work in this area will allow further light to be shed on this subject.

On account of the fact that some of the so-called "Libyan" groups seem not to have inhabited Libya, it is not surprising that scholars have been hard pressed to find concrete evidence for "Libyan" activities in the so-called "Libyan Period." The actors involved in this period, namely the Rebu and Meshwesh, are certainly

related to their New Kingdom counterparts of the same names. However, the defining iconographic features of these groups from the New Kingdom, the penis-sheath and side-lock, are nowhere to be found on illustrations of these groups from the Third Intermediate Period. From the few illustrations of the "Chiefs of the Rebu" which exist, it appears that the Rebu largely assimilated into Egyptian culture and, apart from a feather associated with their headdress, there is nothing to differentiate their iconography from that of contemporary "Egyptians." To date there are no illustrations of individuals who bore the title "Chief of the Meshwesh" from the Third Intermediate Period who are also not associated with the "Chief of the Ma." The evidence from this period suggests that one could hold the title "Chief of the Ma" concurrently with the titles "Chief of the Rebu" or "Chief of the Meshwesh." Indeed, there is no evidence that Sheshonq I was "Chief of the Meshwesh" and all records to him prior to becoming king refer to him only as "Chief of the Ma."

Previous scholarship into the Third Intermediate Period has generally conflated the term Ma with Meshwesh, and have therefore assumed that Sheshonq I was "Chief of the Ma(shwesh)" and ultimately related to the Maxues of Herodotus. This conclusion, however, is derived from a conflation of sources relating to an individual named Pediset who held both titles. When approached chronologically, it is clear that Pediset's title of "Chief of the Ma" precedes any mention of him as "Chief of the Meshwesh." The iconography of him with a horizontal plume, therefore, is uniquely indicative of the former title.

The personal names associated with this group, however, have produced a series of speculations. Earlier scholarship identified "Semitic" elements in the names of the Third Intermediate Period kings of Egypt. More recent scholarship has identified these same names as "Libyan" in origin and has attempted to equate the names of the kings of this period with Numidian or Punic names attested hundreds of years later in modern day Tunisia. Such a methodology, however, presupposes that the latter names are "indigenous" and that the former names are "Libyan." A third hypothesis as to the royal names of the Third Intermediate Period is that they are, in some instances, corruptions of Egyptian names. Until

further evidence is forthcoming, therefore, the origins of the names and their associated meaning must remain conjectural.

Significantly, while both the "Chiefs of the Ma" and "Chiefs of the Meshwesh" adopt either "Egyptian" names or royal names, there is no evidence among the extant records of the Rebu –with the possible exception of Rudamun - that the Rebu adopted the royal names of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third dynasties. Similarly, with the exceptions of Ankh-Hor, Ker, and Tefnakht who held the joint titles of "Chief of the Rebu" and "Chief of the Ma," and have "Egyptian" names many of the remaining "Chiefs of the Rebu" and "Chiefs of the Rubayu" have "foreign" names which are unattested among the Ma, Meshwesh or kings of the period.

In the iconographic and epigraphic record of the Third Intermediate Period, therefore, it is clear that persons of non-Egyptian origin were residing in Egypt. While they generally portrayed themselves iconographically as "Egyptians," both their names and titles suggest a "foreign" identification. While these individuals are accessible within the "historic record" of ancient Egypt, however, they are all but absent in the contemporary archaeological record which records little variation from earlier uniquely "Egyptian" forms. It is acknowledged, however that future work, specifically in the Delta may yet change the picture expressed in the currently extant archaeological record.

The Third Intermediate Period, therefore, illustrates the degree to which previously "foreign" elements within Egyptian society assimilated and acculturated into "Egyptian" forms as well as retained certain features of earlier, non-Egyptian cultural traits as they negotiated their identity as members of diasporic groups living within Egypt.

It is from within this historical setting, however, that the origins of the Greek term "Libya" should be sought. Like the rest of the "Sea Peoples" with whom they are associated, the origins of the Rebu are equally mysterious. Similarly, as with many of the "Sea Peoples," the region in which this group ended up can be established with certainty. Just as the Peleset were settled along the Philistine

coast to the east of Egypt, the Rebu were ultimately settled in the western Delta. It is within this context that the Greeks ultimately came into contact with this group and derived the name Libues to refer to the region to the west of Egypt and North Africa, generally.

In the end, while the Rebu certainly gave their name to "Libya," the evidence suggests that neither they, nor some of the groups with whom they have traditionally been associated, considered themselves to be "Libyan." Nor, it can be argued, did the Egyptians consider all these groups to be "Libyan" with all the historic and geographic connotations which that term has come to possess. Egypt's encounter with the West, therefore, is as much a reflection of modern Western scholarship's historiography and application of modern modifiers to describe and interpret the ancient Egyptian record as it is a history of ancient Egypt's encounter with foreign groups whom the Egyptians described as originating "in the West."

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List of Abbreviations

ASAE - Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Egypte

BAR – Breasted, *Ancient Records*

BIFAO - Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale

BSFE - Bulletin de la Société Française d'Egyptologie

CdE – Chronique d'Égypte

DAFI - Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran

EA –Egyptian Archaeology

HAS- Harvard African Studies

JAH- Journal of African History

JARCE –Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt

JEA – Journal of Egyptian Archaeology

JNES –Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JSSEA- Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities

KRI – Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*

LD - *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*

LS –Libyan Studies

MDAIK- Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo

MH – Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*

OLP - Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica

PRAI –Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland

PSBA – Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology

RdÉ – Revue d'Égyptologie

RIK – Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*

RT - Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes

SAK - Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur

ZÄS -Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde

ZDMG - Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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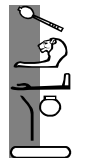
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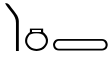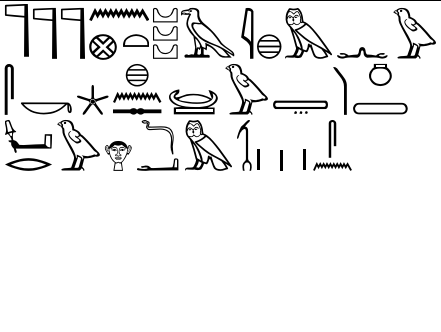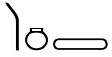
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Appendix A: Tjehenu in Egyptian sources
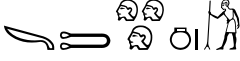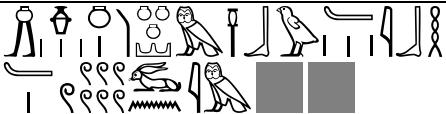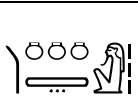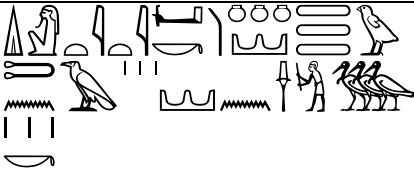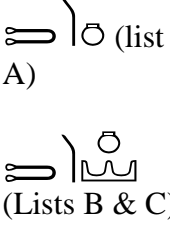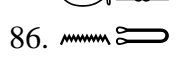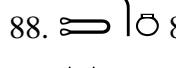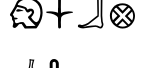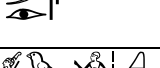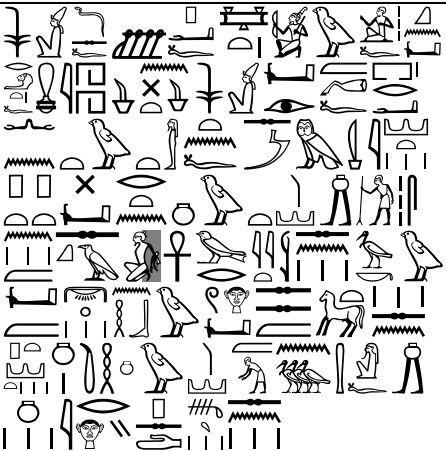
Date	Orthography	Context (Hieroglyphs)	Translation	REFS
Predynastic				
Dyn. 0		[Tjehenu Palette]	[Tjehenu?]	Sethe, 1914, 57
1st Dyn. (Narmer)		[Narmer Docket]	"Narmer smiting Tjehenu"	Quibell, 1900, pl. 15, 7; Galassi, 1942, 29 fig. 8; Newberry,1915, 99 fig. 3
1st Dyn. (Narmer) [mAshmolean E3915]		[Same as Last?]	"Narmer smiting Tjehenu"	Baines, 1989, 475 fig. 5
Old Kingdom				
4th Dyn. Sneferu			"Tjehenu"	Fakhry, 1961, 77 and fig. 58
4th Dyn. Sneferu (CF4 r.M.1)			(Wilkinson): "what was brought from Tjehenu: 1100 live captives and 23,000 (?) 'small cattle.'"	Wilkinson, 2000, 235 & pl. Fig. 9
5th Dyn. Sahure [mCairo Ent. 39531]			"Smiting the Haty-a Tjehenu"	Borchardt, 1913, pl. 1
5th Dyn. Sahure [mCairo Ent. 39531]			"Words spoken by [the goddess of the West]: 'I give to you [i.e. the king] the Haty-a Tjehenu'"	Borchardt, 1913, pl. 1
5th Dyn. Neuserre [mCairo			"Lord of Tjehenu"	Von Bissing, 1923, pl. 13

57110]				
Dyn. 5 Djedkare-Isesi [now destroyed]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Smiting [Tjehenu?]	Swan Hall, 1986, fig.19
5th Dyn. (Unas) [Pyramid Text Spell 301, line 455c]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Faulkner): "Arise, O great float-user, as Wepwawet, filled with your power, having gone up from the horizon! Take the *wrrt*-crown from the great and mighty talkers who preside over [Tjehenu] and from Sobek, Lord of Bakhu."	Sethe (1908), 234; Mercer (1952), 101; Faulkner (1969), 90.
6th Dyn Meryenre [Pyr. Text Spell 570, line 766]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Mercer): "O gods of the Lower Sky, imperishable stars, which traverse the land of [Tjehenu.] which are supported by their Djam-scepters."	Sethe (1908), 295; Mercer (1952), 232; Faulkner (1969), 224
6th Dyn. Pepi I [Pyr. Text, Spell 570, line 659]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Mercer): "N. is your fourth, O gods of the Lower Sky, imperishable stars, which traverse the land of [Tjehenu.], which are supported by their Djam-scepters."	Sethe (1908), 296; Mercer (1952), 232; Faulkner (1969), 224.
6th Dyn. Meryenre [Pyr. Text, spell 570, Line 767]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		

Date / Source	Transliteration	Hieroglyphs	Translation	References
6th Dyn. Pepi I [Pyr. Text, Spell 570, line 770]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		Sethe (1908), 296; Mercer (1952), 232; Faulkner (1969), 225.
6th Dyn. Meryenre [Pyr. Text, Spell 570, Line 768]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		
6th Dyn. Pepi I [Pyr. Text spell 570, line 770]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Mercer): "N. is your fourth, O gods of the Lower Sky, imperishable stars, which traverse the land of [Tjehenu.], which are supported by their Djam-scepters; just as N. is supported, with you, by a Was-acepter and a Djam-scepter, by command of Horus, hereditary prince and king of the gods"	Sethe (1908), 296; Mercer (1952), 232; Faulkner (1969), 225
6th Dyn. Pepi II [Pyr. Text, spell 665C, line 1915a]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Faulkner): "The six door-bolts which keep Tjehenu out are opened for you; your iron scepter is in your hand that you may number the slayers, control the Nine Bows and take the hand of the imperishable stars."	Jequier, 1933, pl. 28; Mercer, 1952, 284; Faulkner, 1969 (supplement), 31; Faulkner, 1969,276
Miscellaneous Old Kingdom				
O.K. (Chefren?)	*THNW*	[unpublished]	"Kamu; Bow Watch; THNW"	G.W.Murray. 1953, 106
Middle Kingdom				

11th Dyn. Mentuhotep II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	The Haty-a Tjehenu, Hedjwawshi	Daressy, 1894, 42; Naville, 1910, pl. 1 Habachi, 1963, 38 and pl. 11
11th Dyn. Mentuhotep II mCairo temp 24.5.28.5]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl (Habachi): "Setetiw, Setjetiw, Tjehenuyu"	Daressy, 1893, 26; Fraser, 1892-93, fig. xv; BAR I, sec. 423 H; Naville, 1910, pl. 1; Habachi, 1963, 39 and pl. 11
12th Dyn.	[hieroglyphs] (Koenig) [hieroglyphs] (Hannig 2006, 2750 is erroneous)	[hieroglyphs]	"Chiefs in Tjehenu, every Tjemehu and their leaders"	Koenig, 1990, 113 & 118, 119.
12th Dyn.	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Chiefs in Tjehenu, every Tjemehu and their leaders"	Sethe, 1926, 59 and pl. 22
M.K. Coffin Text spell 594	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Blue Faience from T."	Vercoutter, 1947, 148 n.1; de Buck, 1956, VI..213.f ; Faulkner, 1978, 192
M.K. CT Spell 647	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"I the lord of the deserts who make green the valleys in which are the Nubians, the Asiatics and the [Tjehenu]. I have entrapped the Nine Bows…"	Faulkner, 1977, 222.; De Buck, vol. VI (1961), 268.
M.K. Sinuhe R15	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. "He was bringing back living captives of Tjehenu (Hetimu/ from Tihenu)	Blackman, 1932, 5
M.K. Sinuhe OB 10	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. "He was bringing back living captives of Tjehenu"	Blackman 1932, 5

Anomalous Middle Kingdom Examples

12th Dyn. Amenemhet III Wadi Hammamat Inscription 43	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	Transl. (Breasted): "opening the land of the Asiatic" Transl. (Doxey) "One who opened the land of the Libyans"	Doxey, 1998, 285; Couyat & Montet, 1912, 48; Breasted (1906), BAR I, S. 707
M.K. Sinuhe C 3	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	Transl. "He was bringing back living captives of Hetimu"	Blackman, 1932, 5
M.K. Senwosret III	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	Transl Breasted: "bringing for him the good products of Tjehenu, by the greatness of his majesty's fame"	Breasted, BAR I, sec. 675; Lepsius, Denk. II, 136a; Doxey, 1998, 285; Couyat & Montet (1912), 50

New Kingdom [Eighteenth Dynasty]

18th Dyn. Geographical List in Gurna tomb 13	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs: numbered 1.–11.]*	"[Lost?], Ta-Shemu, Sekhet-Iam, Ta-mehu, Pedjtiu-She, Tjehenu., Iuntiu- Set, Mentiu of Asia, Naharin, Keftiu, Minos, Upper Retenu"	L. D., III, 63.
18th Dyn. Hatshepsut	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	Transl. (Breasted): "Thou shalt strike the Tjehenu., thou shalt smite with the mace the Troglodytes [Iwntiw-setet]"	Naville RT 18 (1894), 95 & pl. 1 (not numbered); Naville, 1898, pl. 57;

		[hieroglyphs]		BAR II (1906), sec. 225.
18th Dyn. Hatsheptsut	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Breasted): "I brought the tribute of [Tjehenu.], consisting of ivory and 700 tusks, […lost…]"	Sethe, 1906, 373; Breasted BAR II (1906), S. 321
18th Dyn. Hatshepsut	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	The Iuntiu and Tjehenu are overthrown.	Naville, 1908, pl. 160
18th Dyn. Hatshepsut	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (Naville)	Tansl. (Leitz): "Die sich in [Tjehenu] befinden";	Naville, 1901, pl. 114; Leitz (2002), 286
18th Dyn. Tuthmosis III "Poetical Stela" line 19	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Breasted): "I have come, causing to smite the Tjehenu, the isles of Utentyew are [subject] to the might of thy prowess."	Sethe, Urkunden II.8, 617; Breasted, BAR II, sec. 660
18th Dyn. Tuthmosis III	[hieroglyphs] (list A) [hieroglyphs] (Lists B & C)	86. [hieroglyphs] 87. [hieroglyphs] 88. [hieroglyphs] 89. [hieroglyphs] 90. [hieroglyphs] 91. [hieroglyphs] 92. [hieroglyphs] 93. [hieroglyphs]	"Kenset, Taw-setiw, Tjehenu, Huat, Djadjas, Tep-nekheb, Bash, Mairis"	Sethe Urk.III.11, 800; erroneously transcribed in Sethe (1926, 25); Daressy, 1898, 115
18th Dyn. Tuthmosis III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Caminos): "The king himself took to the road, his valiant soldiers in front of him like the scorching breath of fire: a victorious king, achieving with his mighty arm, a man of action who has no equal, who slays the foreign lands, tramples Retnu, and carries away their princes as captives, their chariots wrought in gold and yoked to their horses. The envoys of the foreign lands of T. bow down to His Majesty's might, the tribute thereof	Caminos, 1974, 50 & pls. 60-62; BAR II, sec. 413

Date		Hieroglyphs	Translation	Reference
			upon their backs…”	
18th Dyn. Amenhotep III		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	“Hau-nebut, Shat, Ta-shemu, Sekhet-Iam, Ta-mehu, Pedjtiu-Shu, Tjehenu, Iwntiw-setet, Menitiu of Asia”	Fakhry, 1943, 473
18th Dyn. Amenhotep III Geographical List in Gurna Tomb 8		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.	“[Hau-nebu?], Shat, Ta-Shemu, Sekhet-Iam, Ta-Mehu, Pedjtiu-She, Tjehenu., Iuntiu-Set, Mentiu of Asia”	L.D. III, 76
18th Dyn. Amenhotep III			Horus, who provisions his boat (?) with bows (iwntiw) from Ta-Setet, warriors (Mentiw) from Setjet, and oils (*Hatt*) from Tjehenu, pressed (?) from [trees?/fruit?] in the garden of the house of Apet, which you effectively carried off from there	Gayet, 1894, plate 12 fig.52 (fig. 54)
18th Dyn. Amenhotep III			Transl. (Petrie): “I turn my face to the west and work a wonder for thee, I make thee seize the Tjehenu They remember not”	Petrie,1896, 25 & pl. 12; Spiegelberg, 1898, 43 & 47; BAR II, sec. 892
18th Dyn. Amarna Period		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.	Transl. “Babylonia, Kush, Naharin, Irem, Kef[tiu], Iuntiu-Set, T., [men]tiw of Asia, Shasu”	Aldred, 1968, fig. 32

Miscellaneous [Eighteenth Dynasty]

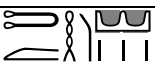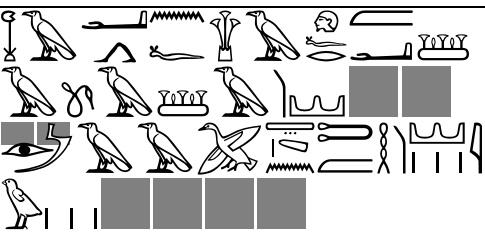|				
N.K. unknown date; 18th-19th Dyn.		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.		Fakhry, 1937 57 & fig. 18.
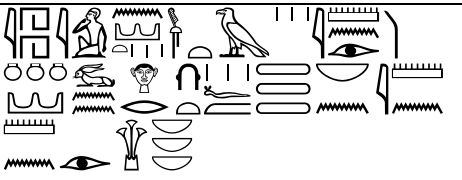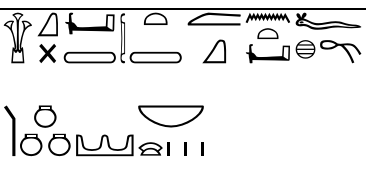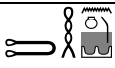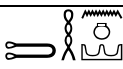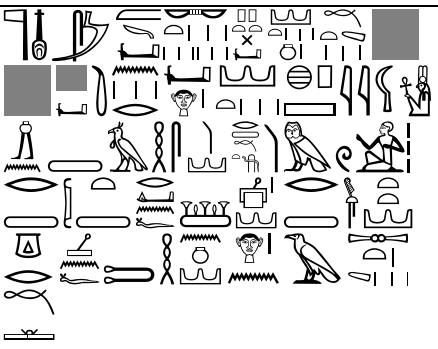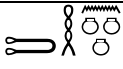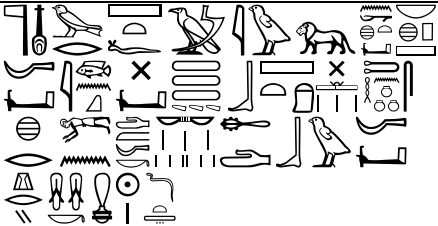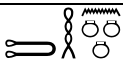
New Kingdom Nineteenth Dynasty
(Seti I)

19th Dyn. Seti I [Karnak Topographic List]		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.	"Ta-Mehu, Hau-nebut, Shat, Sekhet-Iam, Pedjtiu-She, Tjehenu, Iuntiu-Set"	KRI I, 28:2
19th Dyn. Seti I [Karnak Topographic List]		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.	"Ta-mehu, Hawut-nebu, Shat, sekhet-iam, Pedjetiu-shu, Tjehenu, Iuntiu-Set, Mentiu of Asia"	KRI I, 31:10
19th Dyn. Seti I Karnak campaign scene			Transl. (Breasted): "Retenu comes to him bowing down, the land of Tyhy. on its knees. He establishes seed as he wishes in this wretched land of Kheta"	KRI, I 18:12; BAR III, sec. 147
19th Dyn. Seti I Karnak campaign scene			Transl: "[lost]… as living captives in the country of Tyhy. by the might of his father Amun"	KRI I, 22:8
19th Dyn. Seti I Karnak campaign			Transl. "Great Ones of the foreign lands of Tjehenu"	KRI I, 23:11

scene				
19th Dyn. Seti I [Speos Artemidos, line 11]			Transl. (Fairman & Grdseloff): "He smites the [Iwntiw], he overthrows the Tjehenu., and [sets his frontier where he will]"	KRI I 42:13; Fairman & Grdseloff, 1947, 23-24.

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Ramesses II

</div>

19th Dyn. Ramesses II		1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Transl. (Kitchen): "[lost], Shat, Mentiu of Asia, Pedtiu-She, Tjehenu, Sekhet-Iam,"	Kitchen KRI II, 184:5-10
19th Dyn. Ramesses II		(3 terms lost) 4. 5. 6.	Transl. (Kitchen): "ta-[lost], [lost], [lost], Mentiu-[lost], Pedjtiu-She, Tjehenu"	Daressy,1894, 51; KRI II, 187:10;
19th Dyn. Ramesses		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. (Vercoutter) 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.	"Hau-Nebut, Shat, Upper Egypt, Sekhet-Iam, Lower Egypt, Pedjtiu-She, Tjehenu, Iuntiu-Set, Mentiu of Asia."	Vercoutter, 1949, 111; KRI II, 151: 15

		(Kitchen)		
19th Dyn. Ramesses II		1. 2. 3. 4. 5.	Transl. (Kitchen): "Hau-nebu, Shat, Sekhet-Iam, Northern Egypt, [Tjehenu], [lost], [lost], [lost]"	KRI II 169:10
19th Dyn. Ramesses II		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.	"Lower Egypt, Hau-nebu, Shat, Sekhet-Iam, Pedjetiw-shu, Tjehenu, Iwntiw-Setet, Mentiw-nw-setet"	Vercoutter 1949, 114
19th Dyn. Ramesses II		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8.	Transl. (Kitchen): Led by Amun: "Southern Egypt, Despicable Kush, Atir, Armiu, Miu, Irem, Tjehenu, Iuntiu-Seti"	KRI II, 163:1-10
19th Dyn. Ramesses II		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.	Transl. (Kitchen): "Tjehenu, Naharina, Babylonia, Hatti, Keftiu, Asiya, Shat, As[s]ur, Pedjtiu-She"	Kitchen, KRI II 192:8
19th Dyn. Ramesses II [Liverpool City Museum 1966.159]		1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.	"Haut-Nebu, Shat, Upper Egypt, Sekhet Iam, Lower Egypt, Pedjtie-shu, Tjehenu, Iwntiw-seti, Mentiw of Asia, wretched Hatti"	KRI VII, 98:10
19th Dyn. Ramesses II			Transl. (Kitchen): "… who plunders Nubia [Ta-setet] by valour, who destroys Shasu-land, lord of Crowns […lost…] who reduces the	KRI II 465:6

			land of Tjehenu to non-[existence]…"	
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. Kitchen: "Nebty Ruler, Protector of Egypt, curbing the foreign countries (Nubia, Tjehenu, Asia)"	KRI II 612:10
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl (Kitchen): "Acclamation of the western countries for Amun, Maker of Tjehenu; That dread of him last in all lands, for Amun Maker of Hau-Nebut (Kitchen has "Remote Countries")"	KRI II, 627-667
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. Breasted: "Capturing Nubia [Ta-setet] by his valour, wasting Tjehenu, Lord of Crowns"	BAR III, sec. 448 (note b); KRI II, 409: 14
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl (Kitchen): "The good god, slaying Tjehenu, powerful in strength, great in renown"	KRI II, 199: 13-14
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "Good god who slays the Nine Bows, who tramples down the foreign countries of the northerners […lost…] puissant against the foreign countries, a swordsman valiant like Montu, who carries off the land of Nubia (Setet) to the Northland, the Asiatics (Aamu) to Nubia, he has placed the Shasu in the west land, and has settled the Tjehenu on the ridges (or sand-banks)"	KRI II, 206:14-16; BAR III, sec. 457
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl (Kitchen): "Master of the sword, who rounds up the rebellious lands, Tjehenu is fallen to your sword and the Nine Bows are slain under your sandals, like Re daily, for ever and ever"	KRI II, 196:14; BAR III, sec. 465
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl (Kitchen): "Master of the sword, who	KRI II, 209: 9-10
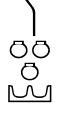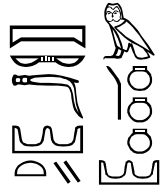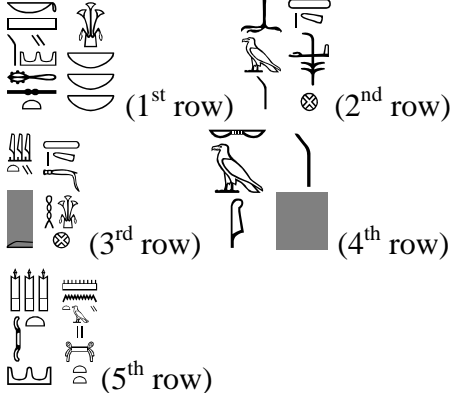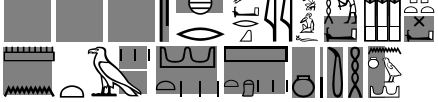
			Translation	Reference
		[hieroglyphs]	rounds up the rebellious lands, Tjehenu is fallen to your sword and the Nine Bows are slain under your sandals, like Re daily, for ever and ever"	
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl (Kitchen): "[There come the chiefs?] of the lands of Tjehenu, in submission to the might of His Majesty, bearing great marvel(s) and bringing every good thing from the choiciest of the countries, fresh Timber, ivory without limit to them, abundance of sending sheep and goats in herds (?), to where this God is. Being what Tjehenu has brought to him, through the valour and victory…"	KRI II, 217:4-5
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (KRI VII, 46) [hieroglyphs] (from traces visible on Habachi plate)	"Good and Valiant god, destroying Tjehenu(t)"	KRI VII, 46:10; Habachi 1980, 16 & pl. 5a.
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl (Kitchen): "[There come the chiefs?] of the lands of Tjehenu., in submission to the might of His Majesty, bearing great marvel(s) and bringing every good thing from the choiciest of the countries, fresh Timber, ivory without limit to them, abundance of sending sheep and goats in herds (?), to where this God is. Being what Tjehenu has brought to him, through the valour and victory…"	KRI II, 217:5
19th Dyn. Ramesses II Tanis Rhetorical Stela XII	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "[…who smites?] Tjehenu […lost…]"	KRI, II 407:6

	Hieroglyphs (name)	Hieroglyphs (text)	Translation	Reference
19th Dyn. Ramesses II			Transl. (Kitchen): "Your sword shall protect Egypt, and your boundary be wide, you plunder Syria [Kharu] and Nubia [Kush], Tjehenu and the Shasu, and the Isles in the midst of the Great Green"	KRI II 404:5-6
19th Dyn. Ramesse II			(possible translation) "bringing as supplants (lit. "those who bow down"), the foreign land of Tjehenu"	KRI VII, 126:17; Habachi (1980), 18 (3) & pl. 6a; Snape & Wilson (2007), 100 & fig. 5.6:Stela 2
19th Dyn. Ramesses II Tanis Obelisk XXI		(Kitchen)	"[settling] the east with Tjehenu."	KRI II 426:6; Petrie, 1889, pl. 11, nr. 65
19th Dyn. Ramesses II			Transl. (Kitchen): "King of S & N Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, Son of Re, Ramesses II, given life; who devastated the Asiatic chiefs in their (own) land, who has destroyed the heritage of Shasu-land, who made them bring their dues to Egypt eternally and forever. Tjehenu is cast down under his feet, his slaughtering has prevailed over them. He has captured the country of the West, transformed into soldiery, to serve him. He is like Seth in the moment of his power, like Montu on his right hand for fighting"	KRI II, 289:14 – 290:1
19th Dyn. Ramesses II			Transl. (Kitchen): "Sovereign, valiant and vigilant, who plunders (?) Tjehenu, whose victories people remember in distant	KRI II 306:6-7
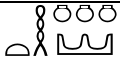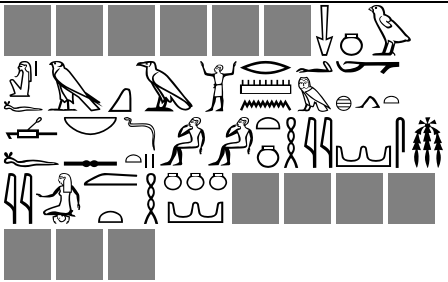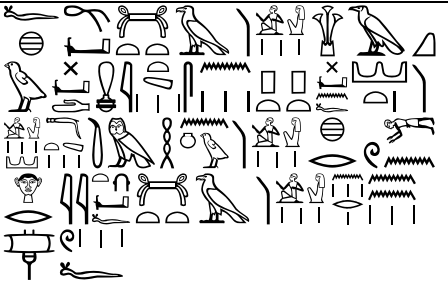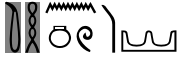
			foreign countries; who tramples down all lands, in valour and victory."	

Merneptah				

19th Dyn. Merneptah [University of Pennsylvania Museum E 13575]			"Haty-a Tjehenu and Iwntiu-Setet"	Swan Hall, Fig. 63
19th Dyn. Merneptah Cairo ("Israel") Stela, Line 10-11			Transl. (Kitchen): "The Tjehenu were consumed in just a year"	KRI IV 15:9; BAR III, sec. 611
19th Dyn. Merneptah Cairo ("Israel") Stela, line 21			Transl. (Kitchen): "Jubilation rings forth in the towns of the Nile Land, they tell of the victories that Merneptah has achieved in Tjehenu."	KRI IV 18:1; BAR III, sec. 616
19th Dyn. Merneptah Cairo ("Israel") Stela, line 26-27			Transl. (Kitchen): "All the rulers are prostrate, saying 'Salaam,' not one among the Nine bows dare raise his head. Plundered is Tjehenu, Hatti is at peace, Carried off is Canaan with every evil. Brought away is Ascalon, taken is Gezer, Yenoam is reduced to non-existence; Israel is laid waste, having no seed, Khurru has become widowed because of Nile-land. "	KRI IV 19:3; BAR III, sec. 617
19th Dyn. Merneptah Karnak inscription,			Transl. (Kitchen): "The despicable, fallen ruler of Rebu, Mariyu son of Didi, has descended upon the land of Tjehenu."	KRI, IV, 3:15-16; BAR III, sec. 579

line 13		[hieroglyphs]		
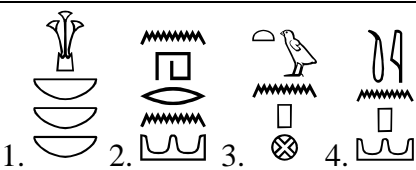
Miscellaneous Nineteenth Dynasty

19th-20th Dyn. [Ramesside ostracon]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[Caption next to smiting scene]: "Every Tjehenu"	Cairo Museum. #? In Room 24. Unpublished ?
19th Dyn.	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. "Overseer of bowmen and overseer of foreigners in Tjehenu-land."	Spiegelberg, 1929, 95.
19th Dyn. Seti I	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (1st row) [hieroglyphs] (2nd row) [hieroglyphs] (3rd row) [hieroglyphs] (4th row) [hieroglyphs] (5th row)	Transl. "Wretched Kush, Hawt-Nebu, Shat, Ta-shemu, Sekhet-[Ia]m, Ta-Mehu, Pedjtiu-She, Tjehenu, Iuntiu-Set, Mentiu of Asia	Kitchen, KRI I, 35:11; Vercoutter (1949), 114
19th Dyn. Seti I	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Smiting the great ones of Tjehenu"	KRI I, 21:8
19th Dyn. Seti I	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		KRI I, 21:7 & Corrigenda KRI VII, 425:4; RIK, IV, pl. 29: line 2

Miscellaneous (Ramesses II)

19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) […traces…] [the land of Libya (Tehenu)] […loss…]	KRI II 475:13 note a
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "[…lost…] his brothers, Horus-high-of-shoulder on [every] side of him. The (twin) children, the T. are caused to be born in T. […lost…]	KRI II 549: 15-16 [JdE 28049]
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "[…lost…] his brothers, Horus-high-of-shoulder on [every] side of him. The (twin) children, the T. are caused to be born in T. […lost…]	KRI II 549: 15-16 [JdE 28049]
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs] (Kitchen) [hieroglyphs] (de Rouge, quoted in Kitchen, ibid, note 1a)	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "Destroyed are the Asiatics, and plundered are their towns, for he has trampled down the Northern foreign countries. The Timehenu/Tahenu are fallen through dread of him, The Asiatics say: 'O! that we had his breath'"	KRI II, 344:15-345:1; BAR III, sec.479
19th Dyn. Merneptah	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Name of town in Merneptah's battle called "Merneptah-who-[lost]-enu which is in Per-ire" [possibly either Tjehenu or Retenu]	KRI IV, 8:3; BAR III, sec. 588
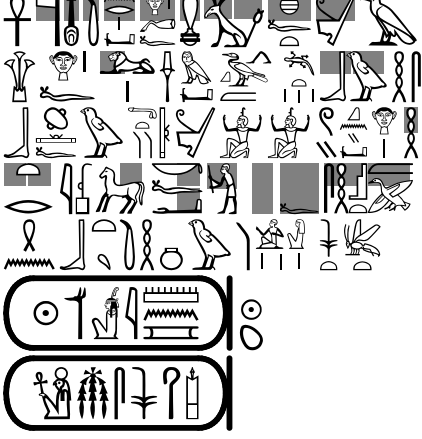
New Kingdom [Twentieth Dynasty]
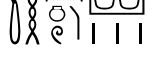
20th Dyn. Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] 1. [glyph] 2. [glyph] 3. [glyph] 4. [glyph]	"Hau-nebut, Naharin, Tunip, Tynep, Ta-mehou, Pabekh, Qedna, Isy, Menous, Sekhet-Iam, Pedjtiu-She, Tjehenu, Sanger (Segerkh)"	Vercoutter (1949, 115); MH I, pl. 43; KRI V, 35:6

		5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. (hieroglyphic signs)		
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 5 inscription, line 1	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	Trans. (Edgarton and Wilson): "Year 5 under the majesty of the Horus: Mighty Bull, making wide Egypt, mighty of sword, strong of arm, slaying the Tjehenu; Favorite of the two goddesses: [great of jubilees like his father Ptah]; crushing the Tjehenu in heaps in their places; Horus of Gold, valiant one, Lord of strength, making a boundary where he will in pursuit of his enemy […lost…]"	BAR IV, sec. 37; KRI V 20:14; MH I, pl. 27; Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, 20.
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 5 inscription, line 20	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	Transl. (E&W): "The multitude rejoices in this land and there is no sorrow for Amun-Re has established his son in his place, so that all that the sun-disk encircles is united in his grasp. The Asiatic (Setjet) and Tjehenu enemies are carried off who were formerly ruining Egypt…"	KRI V 22:4; MH I, pl. 27; E& W, 1936, 23..
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 11	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	Transl. (Edgarton and Wilson): "The Meshwesh (chief) previously before he was seen was coming having	KRI V, 60:7; MH II pl. 80-83; BAR IV, sec. 87; E&W, 1936, 76

Source			Translation	Reference
inscription, line 13			moved away all together, his land with him, having fallen upon Tjehenu who were made ashes…"	
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu Palace Lintel			"smiting the Tjehenu"	[photograph by author]
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 5 inscription, line 3			E&W: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, youthful lord, glistening and shining like the moon when he has repeated birth"	BAR IV, sec. 37; KRI V 21:1; MH I pl. 27; Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 21
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, north tower smiting scene, speech of Amun, line 17			Transl. (E&W): "When I turn my face to the west, then I work a wonder for thee for I make to suffer for thee the lands of the Tjehenu, so that they come to thee in humility, praising and brought low upon their knees at thy battle cry"	KRI V, 97:10-11; Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 111.
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Karnak, Mut Precinct			"Great one of the foreign lands who know not Egypt, which His Majesty brought as living-captives from the foreign land of Tjehenu. by the might …[lost]"	KRI, V, 56:8; Müller, 1906, 122 & pl. 41D; RIK II, pl. 119.
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Papyrus Harris 57, 13			Transl (Grandet): "dont les montants de porte et les linteaux sont en Pierre d'Âyn, munis de porte(s) en pin plaque(s) de cuivre, <afin de> tenir à l'écart les étrangers du Tjehenu., qui avaient l'habitude de traverser leur frontière depuis (le temps) jadis"	Grandet,1994, 305: BAR IV, sec. 355; Erichsen, 1933, 67
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Papyrus Harris 58, 6			Transl (Grandet): don't les montants de porte et les linteaux sont en Pierre d'Âyn, munis de	Grandet (1994), 305; BAR IV, sec. 356; Erichsen,
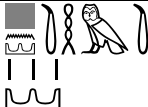
		[hieroglyphs]	porte(s) en pin plaque(s) de cuivre, <afin de> tenir à l'écart les étrangers du Tjehenu., qui avaient l'habitude de fouler leur frontière depuis (le temps) jadis	1933, 67
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Funerary Temple, 2nd Court, E. wall, bandeau	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "Long live the Good god, brave with his sword like Seth when he threatens, powerful lion who charges into multitudes, he does not (even) reckon the sheer mass of a million (or even) two million; valiant upon the chariot span, who captures his [?opponent]s and annihilates the breast of the Tjehenu; and king of S. & N. Egypt, Usimare Meriamun, Son of Re, Ramesses III."	KRI V, 314:5; Med. Hab. VI, pl. 391 A.;
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Karnak, Mut Precinct	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Great ones of Tjehenu. say:…"	KRI, V, 56:12; RIK II, pl. 119; Müller, 1906, 122 & pl. 41E
20th Dyn. Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"[…lost…] like Tihenu […lost…]"	KRI, V, 247:8
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, ext. west wall, north end, lines 1-8	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (E&W): "Then one came to say to his Majesty: 'The T. are in motion. They are making a conspiracy. They are gathered and assembled without number, consisting of Rebu, Sepedu and Meshwesh. Lands assembled to advance themselves, to aggrandize themselves against Egypt…"	KRI V 12:2; MH I, pl. 15 & 16; Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, 7.

			Transl.	Reference
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, int. Second Court, Year 5 campaign			Transl. (E&W): "Rejoice ye to the height of heaven, for my arm has overthrown the Tjehenu, who came prepared, their hearts confident, to lift themselves up (in rivalry) with Egypt."	BAR IV, sec. 54; KRI V 17:6; Ep. Surv. I, 23; Edgarton & Wilson, 1936, 16.
20th Dyn. Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, int. Second Court, Year 5 campaign			Transl. (E&W): "The ruler, beautiful as king like Atum; strong --; repelling the Tjehenu; coming in fury."	KRI V 20: 9; MH I, pl. 26; BAR IV, sec. 56; Edgarton & Wilson, 1936, 19
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 5 inscription, line 2			Transl. (E&W): "Year 5 under the majesty of the Horus: Mighty Bull, making wide Egypt, mighty of sword, strong of arm, slaying the Tjehenu; Favorite of the two goddesses: [great of jubilees like his father Ptah]; crushing the Tjehenu in heaps in their places; Horus of Gold, valiant one, Lord of strength, making a boundary where he will in pursuit of his enemy [...lost...]"	BAR IV, sec. 37; KRI V 20:14; MH I, pl. 27; Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, 20.
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, ext. north wall, east end, return of Ramesses III after Meshwesh war			Transl. (E&W): "Words spoken by the prophets: [Welcome in peace, thou] good god, for thou hast slain the Tjehenu!"	KRI, V, 47:2; MH II, pl. 77; Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, 69
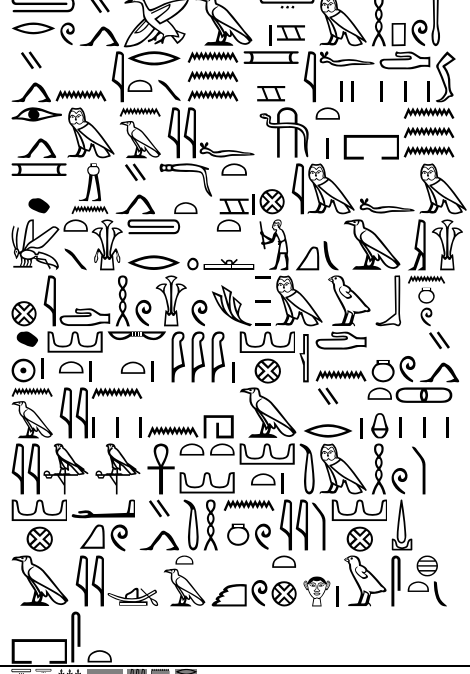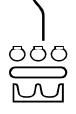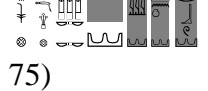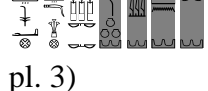
	Hieroglyphs (name)	Hieroglyphs (text)	Translation	Reference
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Osiride pillar base	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	Transl. (E&W): "All plains and all hill-countries of the Tjehenu which are under the feet of his majesty."	KRI V, 102:7, MH II, pl. 118; Edgerton & Wilson, 1936, 146.
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Funerary Temple, 2nd Court, north wall.	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	Transl. (Kitchen): "Long live Horus-Falcon, the Bull strong of arm, piercing of horns, firm-hearted, mighty of strength upon the arena of valour; king great in victories, who knows his power; he views the thick of the battle (-lines) as (mere) grasshoppers; a warrior supremely valiant like Montu, all lands being in fear through dread of him. Sole Lord, valiant (with the) sword, brave in his heart, whose arrow and sword lay low the Tjehenu; King of S. & N. Egypt, [Usimare Meriamun], son of Re, Ramesses III."	KRI V, 315:13; MH. VI, pl. 392 C
20th Dyn. Ramesses IX	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*		Gardiner, 1947, 114* (nr. 238); Zibelius, 1972, 54 (VI F 70) & 184.
		Miscellaneous Twentieth Dynasty		
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)* (Kitchen) *(hieroglyphs)* (RIK I, pl. 21)	*(hieroglyphs)*	Transl (Kitchen): "I turn to the west and work a wonder for you. [I] open [for you the ways of] the land of Tihemti"	KRI V 220:2; RIK I, pl. 21
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*		KRI V, 102:6; MH
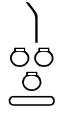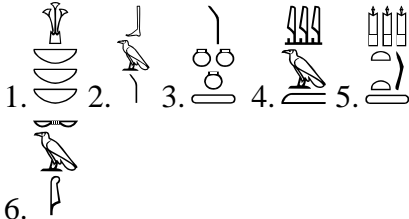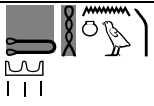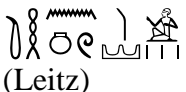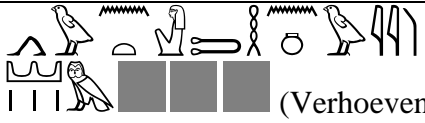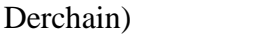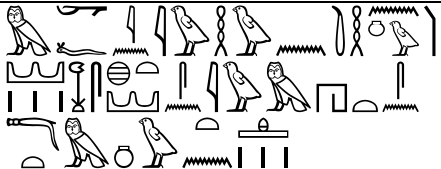
	(kitchen) �⌐ (most likely reconstruction, based on photo by author)			II, pl. 118
N.K.	["iakhekh" = "to grow green"]	According to Gauthier: "Localité mythologique inconnue … le traducteur du ritual funéraire de Paris a rendu ce nom par *Ta-Tjehen* "La terre des Tjehenu"		Gauthier, DG I (1925), 20 BoD, chapter 127

Third Intermediate Period
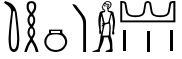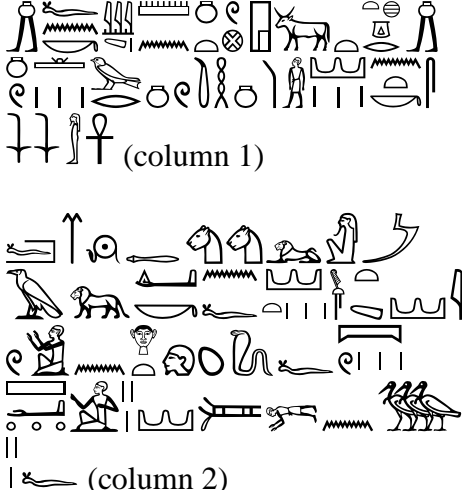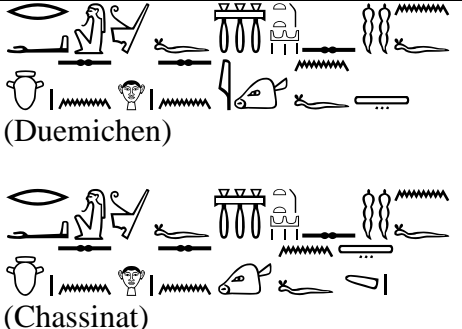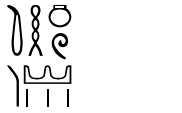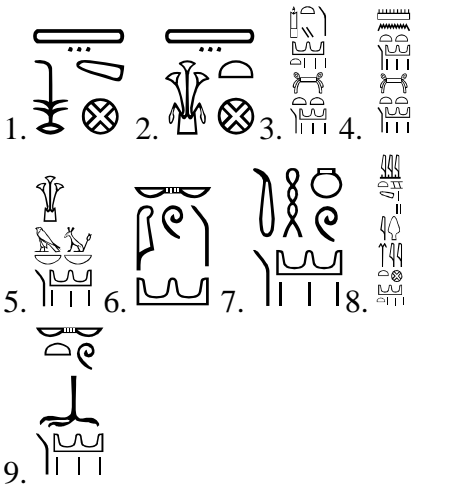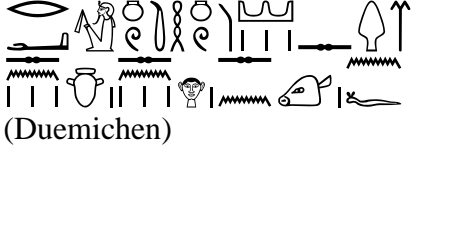
21st Dynasty [Pap.Pushkin 127, column 2,12-3,2]			Transl (Caminos): "I went through the country upon the course of the river, moved quickly over its watery depths, and by means of it I reached the north at Chemmis.I went through the rising grounds and marshes of the Delta and into the east of the land of Pedjtiu-she, went round their sacred wells (?), and then to the west of Tjemehu-land. I went into T. I crossed this part of Egypt through its breadth"	Caminos, 1977, 25 & pls. 5-8
22nd Dyn. Sheshonq I	(Gauthier)	(Müller, 1906, pl. 75) (Champion, 1954, pl. 3)	Transl: "Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt, Iwntiw-Set, [Tjehenu], Sekhet-Iam, Mentiu [of Asia], [Rebu (Vercoutter)/Pedjetiw-Shu? (Champion)], Shat, Hau-[nebut?]"	Gauthier, vol. VI, 1929, 80; Müller, 1906, pl. 86; Vercoutter, 1949, 113 VI; RIK III, pl. 3 & 4

	[photo by Müller, 1906, pl. 86]			
22nd Dyn. Osorkon II			Words spoken by Bastet:[transl Naville] "Thou art rising on the throne of Horus, thou hast smitten the Tjehenu… who come forth from Aten."	Naville, 1892, pl. 17
22nd Dyn. Sheshonq V			Transl: "son of Tjehenu-Buyuwawa	Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter (1968, 30)
24th Dyn. Bakenrenef			"who are among the Tjehenu"	Assman 1969, 125 & 128
25th Dyn. Piye Piankhy Stele, sec. 6, line 11			Transl (Grimal): "ces comptes qu'il a peut-être amenés comme allies, <ses> gardes du corps T."	Grimal, 1981, 24 & pl. 9
25th Dyn. Taharqa [Ny Carlsberg 0790]			Transl (Macadam): "He established the god's revenues, stocked his altars and provided his magazine with men and maidservants, even the children of the chieftains of the Tjehenu."	Macadam, 1949, 9 & pls. 5-6
Saite Period				
26th Dyn. Psamtek I			"Psamtek, smiter of Tjehenu"	Goedicke, 1962, 34 & pl. 1;

26th Dyn.	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.	"Hau-nebut, Shat, T., Sekhet-Iam, Iuntiu-Set, Pedjtiu-She"	Vercoutter, 1949, 112; Fakhry, 1978, 167 & pl. LX. Fakhry, 1939, 429
26th Dyn. el-Kab, Crypt B, line 3	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Verhoeven & Derchain: […loss…] exaltent. Les [Tjehe]nou from their southern regions?"	Verhoeven & Derchain, 1985, 13 & A3 & pl. 7
26th Dyn. el-Kab, Crypt B, line 12	[hieroglyphs] (Verhoeven & Derchain) [hieroglyphs] (Leitz)	[hieroglyphs] (Verhoeven & Derchain)	Verhoeven & Derchain: "voici qu'arrive les Tehenou de […lost…]"	Verhoeven & Derchain, 1985, 15 & D1 & pl. 7; Leitz vol. VII (2002), 489
26th Dyn. Psamtek I	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"[…lost…] in seinem Gefolge: 'Haben sich die Tjehenu ihrer (Wüsten) gebiete verschworen?"	Goedicke, 1962, 36 & fig. 4
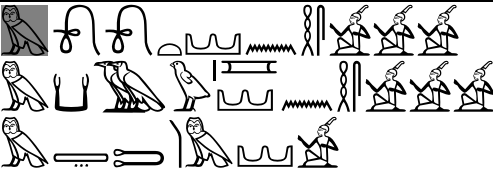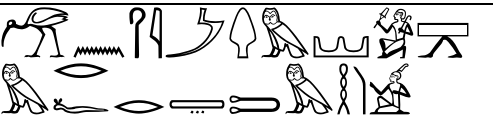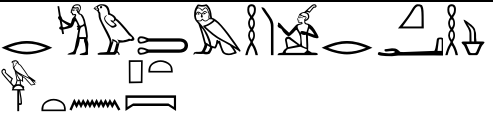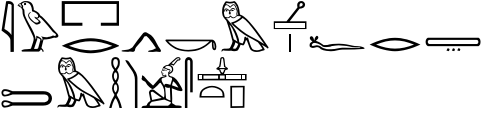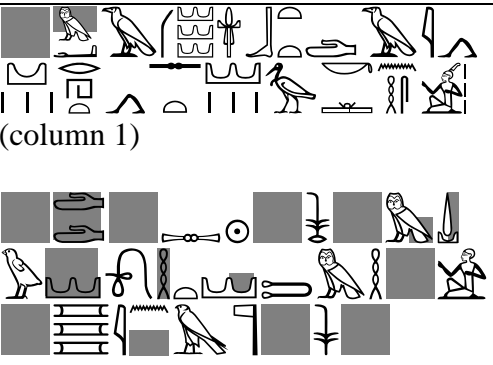
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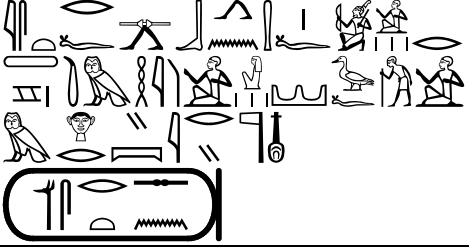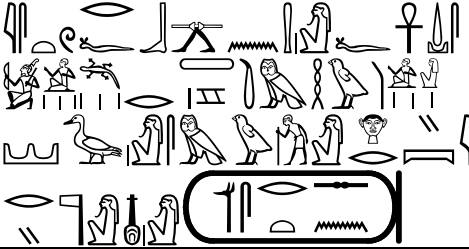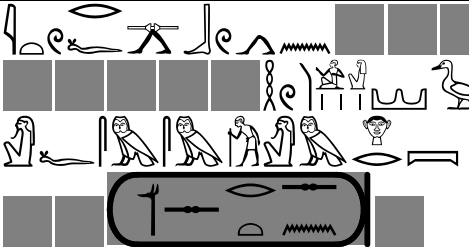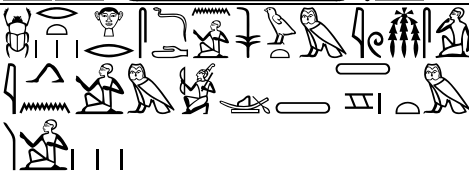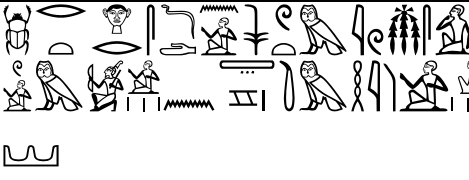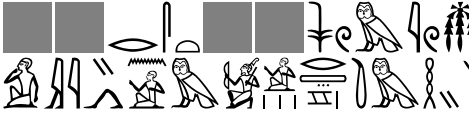
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (column 1) [hieroglyphs] (column 2)	[Translation unpublished]	Morgan et al., 1805, 49.
Ptol. IV	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (Duemichen) [hieroglyphs] (Chassinat)	[Translation unpublished]	Duemichen vol. II, 1866, pl. LX; Chassinat, Edfou II (1918), 13; PM VI, 136 (104).
Ptol. VII	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9.	"Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt, Iuntiu of Nubia, Mentiu of Asia, Hau-Nebut, Pedjtiu-She, Tjehenu, Sekhet-Iamyt, Pedjtiu-Shat	Vercoutter, 1949, 116; Chassinat Edfou VII, 230
Ptol. VII	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (Duemichen)	"I have given to him Tjehenu who assert (?) their hearts to salute him."	Vercoutter 1949, 121; Duemichen vol. II, 1866, pl. LVIIIb ; PM VI, 236 5.(c-d)
Ptol. X	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	He brings the Nine Bows called "Tjehenu" those who are from the land of Napyt [Cyrenaica] and who live off rain-water	Chassinat, Edfou VI, 197; Vercoutter, 1949, 124; Duemichen, vol. II, 1866, pl. XLIXb

Date	Orthography	Context	Translation	Reference
Ptol. XI		(Chassinat)	[Translation unpublished]	Duemichen vol. II, 1866, pl. LVIIIa; Chassinat VII, 230; PM VI, 167
Ptol. XI			"Their terror is among the Hau-nebut, Pedjtiu-She, Shat, Tjehenu all together"	Vercoutter 1949, 135; Edfou, VI, 15 l. 16
Ptol. XIII		(Duemichen)	[Translation unpublished]	Duemichen vol. II, 1866, pl. LIX; PM VI, 231
Roman Pd. (Nero) Pap. Leiden T32			Transl (Herbin): "Tu tiens debout dans la sale-large parmi le choeur des chanteurs, et entends les paroles des Tjehenu."	Herbin, 1994, 55 & 159 & 441.
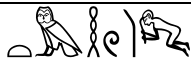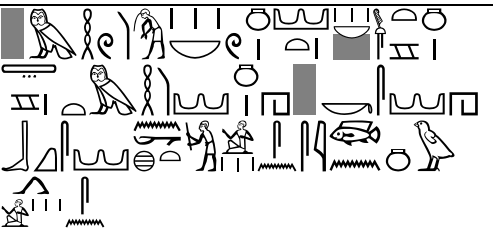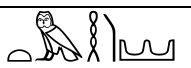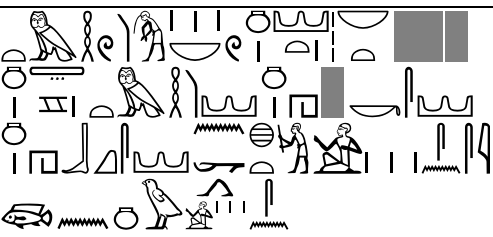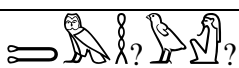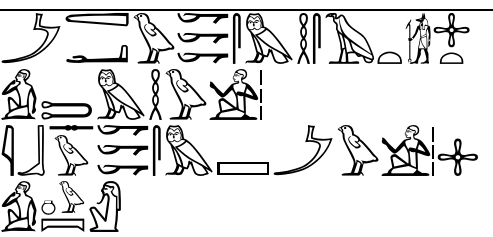
Appendix B: References to Tjemehu in Egyptian Texts

Date	Orthography	Context	Translation	Reference
		Old Kingdom		

6th Dyn., Pepi I [mCairo 1435]	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	"from Wawat nehesiu, from Kaaw nehesiu, and from Tjemehu-land"	Grébaut, 1900, pls. 27 & 28; Lichtheim, 1975, 19; Zibelius, 1972, 1f. (I B b 30) & 184
6th Dyn. Pepi II Harkhuf's Aswan tomb, line 12	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	"I found the ruler of Yam had gone off to Tjmehu-land"	Sethe, Urk. I.2, 1903, 125-126; Lichtheim, 1975, 25; Zibelius, 1972, 2 (I B b 40) & 184
6th Dyn. Pepi II Harkhuf, Aswan, line 12	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	"to smite Tjemehu to the western corner of Heaven"	Sethe, Urk. I.2, 1903, 125-126; Lichtheim, 1975, 25. Zibelius, 1972, 2 (I B b 40) & 184
6th Dyn. Pepi II Harkhuf, Aswan, line 13	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	"I went up after him to Tjemehu and satisfied him"	Sethe, Urk. I.2, 1903, 125-126; Lichtheim, 1975, 25; Zibelius, 1972, 2 (I B b 40) & 184.
Middle Kingdom				
11th Dyn. Nebhepetra-Mentuhotep II Dendera chapel [mCairo JE 46068]	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs, column 1)*	(Habachi): "Clubbing the eastern lands, striking down the hill countries, trampling the deserts, enslaving the Nubians	Daressy, 1917b, 229 & pl. 1; Habachi, 1963, 23; Zibelius, 1972, 8 (III A a 10) & 184

		(column 2)	(Nehesy) … [sic] the hands (?) [sic], uniting Upper and Lower Egypt, the Medjay, the Lybians [sic] and the marshes [sic] lands by the Horus 'Neteryhedjet,' king of Upper and Lower Egypt"	
12th Dyn. Sinuhe (R), line 11-13			(Lichtheim): "His Majesty, however, had despatched an army to the land of the **Tjemehu,** with his eldest son as its commander, the good god Sesostris"	Lichtheim, 1975, 224; Blackman, 1932, 4-6; Gardiner, 1916, 122f.
12th Dyn. Sinuhe (C), lines 2-3				
12th Dyn. Sinuhe (OB3), lines 9-10				
12th Dyn. Sinuhe (B), line 38 [Pap. Berlin 3022]			"when I returned from the expedition to the land of Tjemeh, it was reported to me [the death of the king] "	Lichtheim, ibid, 225 Blackman, 1932, 17; Gardiner, 1916, 134.
12th Dyn. Sinuhe (R), line 61-62 [Pap. Berlin 10499]				
12th Dyn. Sinuhe (OB3), line 38 [Berlin				

Source	Hieroglyphs	Hieroglyphs	Translation	Reference
Ostracon P 12624]				
Middle Kingdom Pap. Leiden I.344			Is it Nubians (Nehesy)? Then we will protect ourselves. There are plenty of fighters to repel the Bowmen. Is it [Timehu]? Then we will turn them back. The Medjay are content with Egypt	Lichtheim, 1975, 161: Gardiner, 1909, 90.
Middle Kingdom Prophecy of Neferti [P. Petersburg 1116 B]			(Lichtheim): Asiatics will fall to his sword, **Timehu** will fall to his flame,	Lichtheim, 1975, 143; Helck, 1970, 52-53
Middle Kingdom prophecy of Neferti [Cairo 25224]			(Lichtheim): Asiatics will fall to his sword, **Timehu** will fall to his flame,	Lichtheim, 1975, 143; Helck, 1970, 52-53
12th Dyn.			"Princes of Tjehenu, All Temehu, and their leaders"	Sethe, 1926, 59 & pl. 22; Zibelius, 1972, 14 (III H 20) & 184;
12th Dyn. (COG 1)	(Koenig) (Hannig)	[sic]	(Koenig): "Les chefs en *Thnw*, tous les *Tmhw*, leurs princes"	Koenig, 1990, 113, 118, 119; Hannig, 2006, 2737
12th Dyn. (BIC 2)	(Koenig) (Hannig)		(Koenig): "Les chefs en *Thnw*, tous les *Tmhw*, leurs princes"	Koenig, 1990, 113, 118, 119; Hannig, 2006, 2737
12th Dyn. [mCairo JE 63955]			"All the Tjemehu of the western countries, of the	Posener, 1939, 315; Posener, 1987, 51 &

Date	Hieroglyphs	Hieroglyphs	Translation	Reference
			land of Tjemehu, of H[…]kes-land, of Hebeqes, their strong men and their runners"	pl. 4-5
12th Dyn. [mCairo JE 63956			"All the Tjemehu of the western countries, of the land of Tjemehu, of H[…]kes-land, of Hebeqes, their strong men and their runners"	Posener, 1939, 315; Posener, 1987, 51
12th Dyn. [mCairo JE 63955]			"All the Tjemehu of the western countries, of the land of Tjemehu, of H[…]kes-land, of Hebeqes, their strong men and their runners"	Posener, 1939, 315; 1987, 53 & pl. 4-5
12th Dyn. [mCairo JE 63956]			"All the Tjemehu of the western countries, of the land of Tjemehu, of H[…]kes-land, of Hebeqes, their strong men and their runners"	Posener, 1939, 315; Posener, 1987, 53 & pl. 4-5
12th Dyn. Coffin Text, spell 398 [CG 28127]			(Barguet): "Ses *Maaw* sont les genies-*Hesmut* qui mangent les Tjemehou." (Faulkner): "Her *Maaw* are the *Hesmet*-monster which	Hannig, 2006, 2737; Faulkner, CT II, 1977, 34; Barguet, CT, 1986, 353; Lacau, 1908, 67; de Buck, 1954, V136
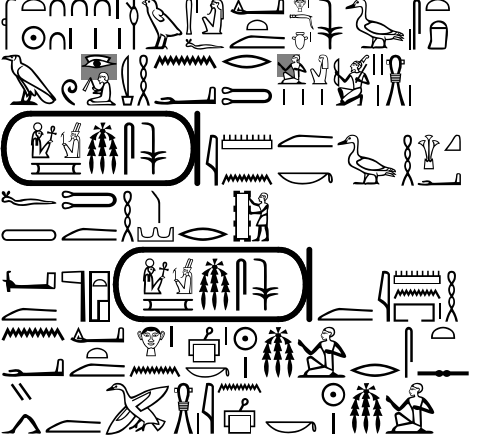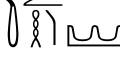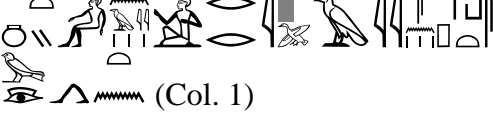
12th Dyn. Text, spell 398 [CG 43004]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	eats the [Tjemehu]"	Faulkner, CT II, 1977, 34; de Buck, 1954, V136
12th Dyn. Coffin Text, spell 398 [New York 12.183.11A]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		Faulkner, CT II, 1977, 34; de Buck, 1954, V136
12th Dyn. CT spell 398 [CG 42826]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		Faulkner, CT II, 1977, 34; de Buck, 1954, V136
12th Dyn. Coffin Text, spell 398 [CG 42950]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		Faulkner, CT II, 1977, 34; de Buck, 1954, V136
12th Dyn. Coffin Text, spell 398	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		Faulkner, CT II, 1977, 34; de Buck, 1954, V136
12th Dyn. [CG 20255]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"His father ankh-Tjemehu, born of the mistress of the house, Bebi"	Lange and Schäfer, 1902, 274f.
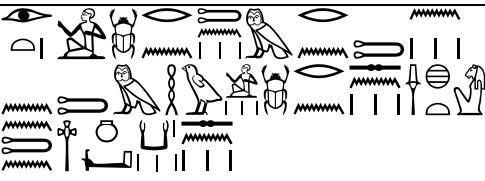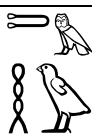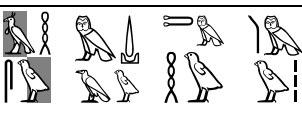
New Kingdom [Eighteenth Dynasty]
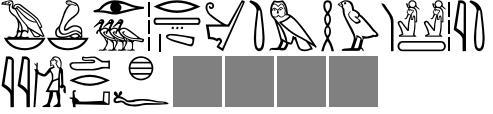
18th Dyn., Hatshepsut	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"King's daughter, King's sister, King's wife, Hnt-Tjemehu"	Newberry, 1915, 101 [1]
18th Dyn., Hatshepsut	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"King's daughter, Ahmose who is called Hnt-Tjemehu"	Newberry, 1915, 101[2]
18th Dyn., Hatshepsut	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"king's daughter, Hnt-	Newberry, 1915, 101
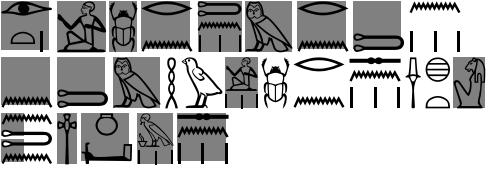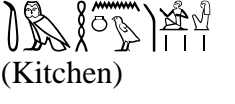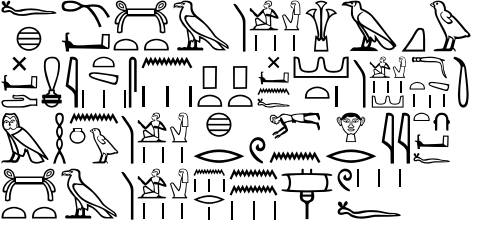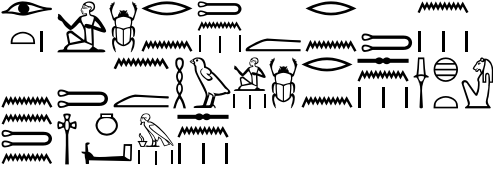
			"Tjemehu"	[3]
18th Dyn., Hatshepsut	[cartouche hieroglyphs]	[cartouche hieroglyphs]	"King's daughter, king's sister 'Ahmose, Hnt-Tjemehu'"	Newberry, 1915, 101 [4]
18th Dyn. Horemheb Karnak, North side of Pylon X	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] 1. [glyph] [2-5 left blank] 6. [glyph] 7. [glyph] 8. [glyph] 9. [glyph] 10. [glyph] 11. [glyph] 12. [glyph] 13. [glyph] 14. [glyph] 15. [glyph]	"[…gar], [nrs. 2-5 not inscribed], Meshwesh, Timhy, Tekhty, Tunip, Qadesh, Qadana, Irky[..], Pahir, Tinay, Irsa"	Zibelius, 1972, 29 (V C a 50) & 184; Legrain, 1914, 41; Giveon, 1971, 19.; Hari, 1964, 259 & pl. XLI a
18th Dyn., Horemheb Karnak, North side of Pylon X	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] 1. [glyph] 2. [glyph] 3. [glyph] 4. [glyph] 5. [glyph] 6. [glyph] 7. [glyph] 8. [glyph] 9. [glyph] 10. [glyph] 11. [glyph] 12. [glyph] 13. [glyph] 14. [glyph] 15. [glyph] (after Legrain)	"[…gar], Hau-nebut, [lost], Naharina, Ta-[lost], Sha-[lost], Hatti, Irtitu, Assur, Meshwesh, Timhy, Tekhty, Tunip, Qadesh, Qadana"	Zibelius, 1972, 29 (V C a 60) & 184. Legrain, 1914, 43. Giveon, 1971, 19.; Hari, 1964, 261 & pl. XLI a

New Kingdom [Nineteenth Dynasty]

19th Dyn. Seti I, sarcophagus BM 29948 & 37927/28]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Horus, Remetch, Aamu, Nehesyu, Tjemehu"	Sharpe, 1841, pl. 63; Hornung, 1980, 176
19th Dyn., Seti I, Sarcophagus BM 29948 & 37927/28]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"I searched my eye, then you came into being in your name of [Tjemehu]! Sekhmet has been created for them, for she is the protector of their souls." (from Piankoff)	Sharpe, 1841, pl. 63; Hornung, 1980, 181;
19th Dyn.	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"I searched my	Hornung,
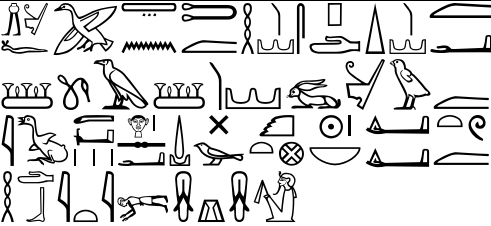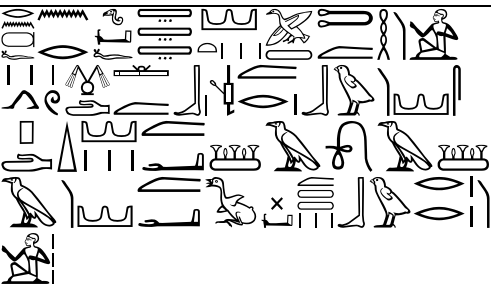
Seti I (SIb) Tomb of Seti I (KV 17), Book of Gates.		[hieroglyphs]	eye, then you came into being in your name of Tjeme[h]u! Sekhmet has been created for them, for she is the protector of their souls." (from Piankoff)	1980, 181
19th Dyn. Ramesses II [mCairo JdE 41403]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "Year 44- His Majesty decreed that the confidant (?) and Viceroy Setau, [justi]fied, be given charge along with the soldiers of the company of Ramesses II, ' Amun is protector of (his) son,' that he should take captives in the land of Tjemehu, to build in the temple of Ramesses II in the House of Amun, together with ordering the sk-officer ramose to raise (a force?) from the company – so, the sk-officer Ramose."	KRI III, 95:13;Zibelius, 1972, 52 (VI D b 20) & 184; Yoyotte, 1951, pl. I.
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (Col. 1)	[…lost…] my Bowmen departed. Their failure to arrive at	[unpublished stela from ZUR, from photograph courtesy of
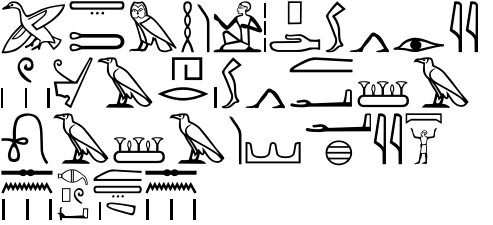
		(col. 2)	"[…lost…] fortresses [against/upon?] the foreign-land of Timehu, the wells which are within them refresh..."	Dr. Penelope Wilson]
19th Dyn. Ramesses II /Merneptah			"Horus, Remetch, Aamu, Nehesyu, Tjemehu"	Hornung, 1980, 176
19th Dyn. Ramesses II /Merneptah			"I searched my eye, then you came into being in your name of Tjemehu! Sekhmet has been created for them, for she is the protector of their souls." (from Piankoff)	Hornung, 1980, 181
19th Dyn. Ramesses II /Merneptah			[above 4 sets of bound prisoners] "Nehesyw, Medjai, Tjemehu, Aamu."	Frankfort, 1933, 71 & pl. 79
19th Dyn. Merneptah, Karnak inscription, line 26			"[…lost…] 'Amun nods in agreement,' it is said in Thebes. He has turned his back on the Meshwesh, and does not even look on Tjemehu-land, as they […lost…]"	KRI IV, 5:7; Zibelius, 1972, 44 (VI A a 150) & 184.
19th Dyn. Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 44		[...lost…]	"[…lost…] among the land of Tjemehu."	KRI IV, 7:8; Zibelius, 1972, 44 (VI A a 150) & 184.
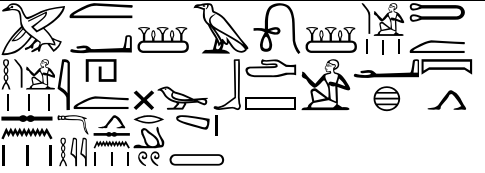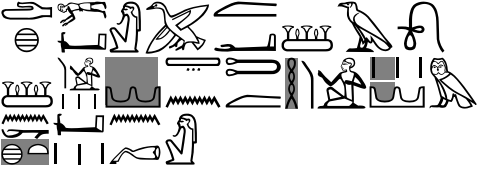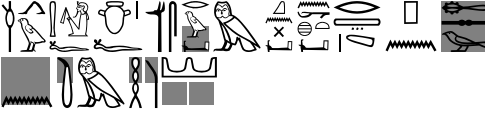
Date/Source	Name (hieroglyphs)	Text (hieroglyphs)	Translation	Reference
19th Dyn. Merneptah Cairo ("Israel stela"), line 4 [CG 34025]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Who shattered the Land of Tjemehu for his lifetime, who put everlasting dread into the hearts of the Meshwesh. He drove back the Rebu who had trodden Egypt…"	KRI IV, 14:4; Zibelius, 1972, 50 (VI D a 30) & 184
19th Dyn. Merneptah, Kom el-Ahmar ("Athribis") stela, line 2 [mCairo JdE 50568]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) "Nebty-ruler, who exercises power against the land of Tjemehu, sovereign who subdues his enemies […lost…]	KRI IV 20:9; Zibelius, 1972, 50 (VI D a 50) & 184
19th Dyn. Seti II Tomb of Seti II (KV 15), Book of Gates	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Horus, Remetch, Aamu, Nehesyu, Tjemehu"	Hornung, 1980, 176
19th Dyn. Seti II Tomb of Seti II (KV 15), Book of Gates	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"I searched my eye, then you came into being in your name of Tjenmehu! Sekhmet has been created for them, for she is the protector of their souls." (from Piankoff)	Hornung, 1980, 181

Miscellaneous Nineteenth Dynasty

Date/Source	Name (hieroglyphs)	Text (hieroglyphs)	Translation	Reference
19th Dyn. Seti I	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (KRI I, 21:12) [hieroglyphs] (KRI VII, 425:5, corrigendum to KRI I, 21:12)		KRI I, 21:12 & KRI VII, 425:5; RIK IV, pl. 29
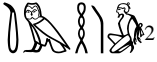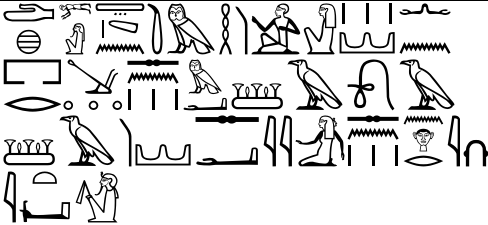
19th Dyn. Seti I (Hornung's SIa) (KV 17), Book of Gates,	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Horus, Remetch, Aamu, Nehesyu, Tjemehu"	Hornung 1980, 176
Seti I (SIa) (KV 17), Book of Gates,	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"I searched my eye, then you came into being in your name of [Tjeme]hu! Sekhmet has been created for them, for she is the protector of their souls." (from Piankoff)	Hornung, 1980, 181
19th Dyn. Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs] (Kitchen) [hieroglyphs] (de Rouge, quoted in Kitchen, ibid, note 1a)	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Destroyed are the Asiatics (*Setetiw*), and plundered are their towns, (for) he has trampled down the Northern foreign countries. The **Te(m)ehenu/Tahenu** are fallen through dread of him, the Asiatics (*Setetiw*) say: 'O that we had his breath!'"	KRI II, 345:1
19th Dyn. Merneptah Tomb of Merneptah (KV 8),	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"I searched my eye, then you came into being in your name of Tjenmehu! Sekhmet has been created for them, for she is the protector of their souls." (from Piankoff)	Hornung, 1980, 181

New Kingdom [Twentieth Dynasty]

			(Kitchen):	KRI V,
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Ext. west wall, northernmost scene, line 11	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	(Kitchen): "He commands him with promised victory, his hand being with him to destroy the land of Tjemehu which has infringed his frontier."	KRI V, 12:6; Zibelius, 1972, 47 (VI A a 230) & 184; MH I, pl. 15 & 16
Ramesses III Habu, Ext. north wall, western most scene end, speech of Amun, line 6	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	(Kitchen): "I open for you the roads to the land of Tjemehu."	KRI V, 13:3; Ep. Surv. MH I, pl. 17
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Ext. north wall, 3rd scene from west end, speech of king, line 4 [Speech of King]	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	"He has carried off the land of Tjemehu, Sepedu and Meshwesh, who were ruining Egypt daily but are now prostrate under my sandals."	KRI V, 14:16; Zibelius, 1972, 47 (VI A a 240) & 184; MH I, pl. 22
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Ext. north wall, third scene from west end, line 16 (erroneously given as line 9 in Zibelius)	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	(Kitchen): "Fear of you has subdued the Nine Bows, and Tjemehu writhes (as in travail)"	KRI V, 15:8 Zibelius, 1972, 47 (VI A a 240) & 184; MH I, pl. 22
Ramesses III Year 5 inscription, line 26)	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	His name and terror of him burn up the plains and hill countries of **the land of Tjemeh. A coalition came together in one**	KRI V, 22:12; Zibelius, 1972, 47 (VI A a 220) & 184; MH I, pl. 27-28
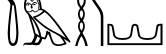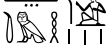
			place, consisting of Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh in the land of Buryw.	
Ramesses III Year 5 inscription, line 30	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"His Majesty had brought a little one from the land of Tjemehu, namely a child, promoted by his two strong arms, and appointed for them to be chief, to provide for their land."	KRI V, 23:2 Zibelius, 1972, 47 (VI A a 220) & 184; MH I, pl. 27-28
Ramesses III Year 5 inscription, line 39	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The Tjemehu back is broken for an era of everlasting."	KRI V, 24:1 Zibelius, 1972, 47 (VI A a 220) & 184; MH I, pl. 27-28
Ramesses III Year 5 inscription, line 41	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The land of **Tjemehu fled, they streamed away, the Meshwesh** hovered, hidden in the land."	KRI V, 24:4 Zibelius, 1972, 47 (VI A a 220) & 184; MH I, pl. 27-28
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Ext. north wall, centre scene, line 18	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The heart of the land of Tjemehu is removed, and the Philistines are in suspense, hidden in their towns."	KRI V, 28:3; MH I, pl. 29
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Funerary Temple, Top of South wing, E. facade	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The king who protects Egypt and curbs the foreign countries, who **destroys the**	KRI V, 297:8; MH V, pl. 355A

			Meshwesh, plundering Tjemehu"	
Ramesses III [prologue text to Year 11 inscription, line 19]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "One who overthrows the **Tjemehu, and devastates the Meshwesh**"	KRI V, 58:7; MH II, pl. 79
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, interior, Year 11 inscription, line 32	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "**The Meshwesh and Tjemehu** were miserable and languishing. They rose up and fled to the ends of the earth."	KRI V, 63:6 MH II, pls. 80-83
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, interior, Year 11 inscription, line 60	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "I have laid low the **Meshwesh and the land of Tjemehu** by victories of my strong arm"	KRI V, 66:12
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Int. First Court, E. wall, north pylon.	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The **Meshwesh and the land of Tjemehu** are pinioned before him, and are assessed, bearing their revenues"	KRI V, 50:12; MH II, pls. 80-83
20th Dyn. Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Ext. west wall, northernmost scene, line 2	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "His Majesty goes forth, stouthearted, in valour and victory, against the miserable land of Tjemehu…"	KRI V, 11:2; MH I, pl. 12 & 14
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Ext. north wall, western most	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Woe to them , the land of Tjemehu!"	KRI V, 13:12; MH I, pl. 17
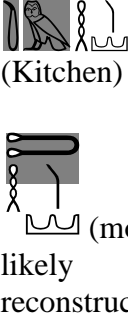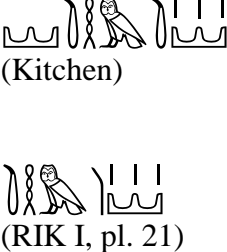
scene, line 16				
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, ext. north wall, second from west, line 7	[hieroglyphs][2]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "felled are the Tjemehu, slain in their places, in heaps before his horses."	KRI V, 14:4; MH I, pl. 18
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Ext. north wall, 2nd scene from west end, rhetorical text above fort	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"presenting captives of the doughty sword of Pharaoh, L.P.H. of the fallen foes from Rebu, in front of the town "Usimare-Meriamun-repels the Tjemehu"	KRI V, 14:13; MH I, pl. 22
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 5 campaign, second court, battle scene	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Overthrown is the heart of the land of Tjemehu- their lifetime and their souls are finished."	KRI V, 16:9; MH I, pl. 19-20
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 5 campaign, presenting Rebu to Theban triad	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "I laid low the **land of Tjemehu, their seed is no more. As for the Meshwesh**, they writhe through dread of me."	KRI V, 20:2 MH I, pl. 26
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 11 inscription, line 32	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Woe to the **Meshwesh and the land of the Tjemehu**"	KRI V, 63:4; MH II, pls. 80-83
Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, Poem of Year 11, line 51	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The king of South and North Egypt, the powerful	KRI V, 71:14; MH II, pls. 84 -86

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[2] Prisoner has feather in hair, and cloak?
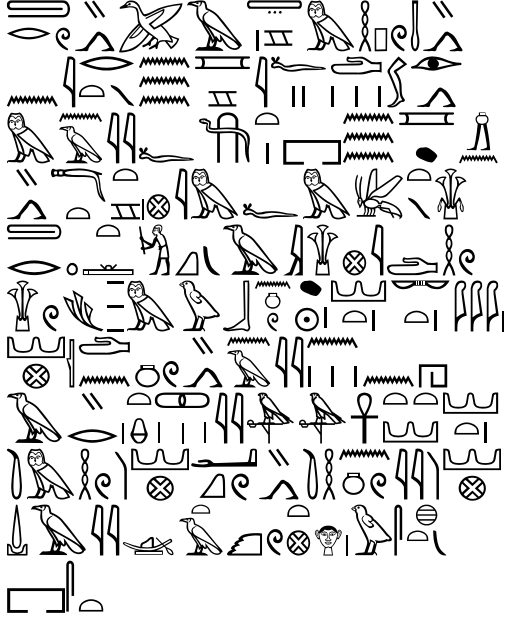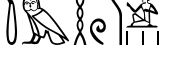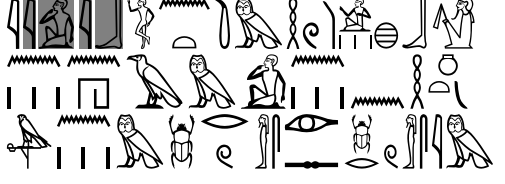
			bull, sharp-horned, who has slain **Tjemehu, and Meshwesh** with his valiant arm"	
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Int., First Court south pylon			(Kitchen): "who devastates the **Tjemehu and Meshwesh**, being made into heaps"	KRI V, 49:14-15; MH II, pl. 62
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Funerary Temple, ext. North wall, bandeau			(Kitchen): "Long live the good god, doughty and valiant, puissant lion who seizes with his claws, who slays **Tjemehu and devastates Meshwesh**, who annihilates the nostrils of the Nine Bows."	KRI V, 302:6; MH III, pl. 181D
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Funerary Temple ext. S. wall between pylons			(Kitchen) "[..lost..] the land of Tjemehu, Djahy being under his sandals."	KRI V, 304:7; MH III, pl. 183C
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Funerary Temple, First Court, north colonnade			(Kitchen): "Long live the good god, **smiting Tjemehu, annihilating the nostrils of the Meshwesh**"	KRI V, 309:16; MH V, pl. 353
Ramesses III Tomb of Ramesses III (KV 11)			"Horus, Remetch, Aamu, Nehesyu, Tjemehu"	Hornung, 1980, 176; Nibbi,1986, 74 fig 34; Hornung, 1990, fig. 109; Gauthier, DG VI,

				1929, 76.
Ramesses III Tomb of Ramesses III (KV 11),			"I searched my eye, then you came into being in your name of [Tjemehu]! Sekhmet has been created for them, for she is the protector of their souls." (from Piankoff)	Hornung, 1980, 181
Ramesses VI Tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9),			"Horus, Remetch, Aamu, Nehesyu, Tjemehu"	Piankoff, 1954, 169; Hornung, 1980, 176
Ramesses IX [CG 25201]			"He makes the foreign lands prostrate: the Tjemehy, Reby, Mashwa \<sh\> together with [Nehesy] Turawi and Irmr"	KRI VI, 662:6; Daressy, 1901, 39
Ramesses IX	(Gardiner)			Gardiner, 1947, 114* (nr. 238); Zibelius, 1972, 54 (VI F 70) & 184.
Ramesses IX	(Gardiner)			Gardiner, 1947, 114* (nr. 238) & pl. XX; Zibelius, 1972, 54 (VI F 70) & 184.

Miscellaneous Twentieth Dynasty

Ramesses III			(Kitchen): "who smashes Naharin, and tramples	KRI V, 284:2; RIK II, pls. 110-111

			Tjehemu" (or "who smashes Naharin and tramples the Tyhy in foreign lands")	
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs] (Kitchen) [hieroglyphs] (most likely reconstruction)	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The despicable chief of [Tjeme]hu whom his Majesty slew."	KRI V, 102:6
Ramesses III, Year 22	[hieroglyphs] (Kitchen) [hieroglyphs] (RIK I, pl. 21)	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "I turn to the West, that I may work a wonder for you. I ope[n for you the ways of the land?] of Tihemti (or "Tyh(y) in foreign lands")."	KRI V, 220:1; RIK I, pl. 21
Ramesses III?	[hieroglyphs] (Gauthier)	(In reality this term is not written on this plaque, contra Gauthier).		Daressy, 1911, p. 58.; Gauthier, 1929, 76.
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"He has plundered the land of **[Tjemehu?], Libu and Meshwesh**, he made them cross the river and brought away into Egypt."	KRI V, 91:5
Ramesses VI Tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9),	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"I searched my eye, then you came into being in your name of [Tjemehu]!	Piankoff, 1954, 169; Hornung, 1980, 181

			Sekhmet has been created for them, for she is the protector of their souls." (from Piankoff)	
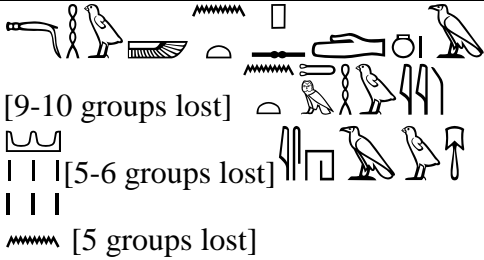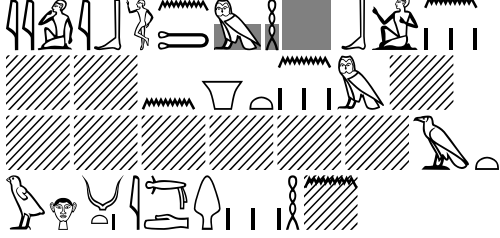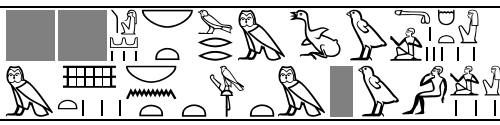
Third Intermediate Period

21st Dynasty line 3,1	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl (Caminos): "I went through the country upon the course of the river, moved quickly over its watery depths, and by means of it I reached the north at Chemmis. I went through the rising grounds and marshes of the Delta and into the east of the land of Pedjtiu-she, went round their sacred wells (?), and then to the west of Tjemehu-land. I went into Tjehenu-land. I crossed this part of Egypt through its breadth"	Caminos, 1977, 25 & pl. 5-6
Takelot Pap. Berlin 3053 XVI, 7	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Quand elle est au desert, nous arrachons pour elle les plumes du dos des autruches, que les Temehou ont tuees avec leurs batons de jet, sous leurs deguisements de depouilles animals"	Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1901, pl. 16; Verhoeven & Derchain, 1985, 23 & L5 & pl. 5
Takelot Pap. Berlin 3053 XVI, 8	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"exultons pour toi! Les Temehou dansent et nous dansons et chantons pour Notre-Dame [apparue] sous la forme qu'elle a	Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1901, pl. 17; Verhoeven & Derchain,

		[hieroglyphs]	"prise quand on l'a trouvee avec Ra en ouvrant l'arbre Iched à Heliopolis"	Voyage (1985), 23 & M2 & pl. 5
Takelot Pap. Berlin 3053 XVIII, 6	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Je proclame aussi ton nom chez les Temehou"	Verhoeven & Derchain, Voyage (1985), 27 & P1 & pl. 6

Kushite Period

Taharqa mCairo CG770	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs, numbered 1–14] (Mariette)	"[Sangar], Hawt-nebu, Sekhet-iam, Naharin, Ta-mehu, Shasu, Hatti, Irtju, Assur, Meshwesh, Aamhu (?), Takhsy, Tunip, Qadna"	Zibelius, 1972, 59 (VII C a 30) & 184; Mariette, Karnak, 1875, pl. 45 a,2.

Taharqa, Gebel Barkal	[hieroglyphs][3]	[hieroglyphs]	"[Smiting?] the Tjemehu"	Kendall, 2004, fig. 24
Taharqa	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"He has slaughtered the Tjemehu, he has restrained the Asiatics (Setet)"	Macadam, 1955, 64 & pl. XI a
Taharqa	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"He has slaughtered the Tjemehu, he has restrained the Asiatics (Setet)"	Macadam, 1955, 64 & pl. XI b

Saite Period

Psamtek I (?) "Mut ritual" text from Crypt B, el-Kab, line 34	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] [9-10 groups lost] [hieroglyphs] [5-6 groups lost] [hieroglyphs] [5 groups lost]	"nous arrachons pour elle les plumes du dos des autruches, que les Temehou ont tuees avec leurs batons de jet, sous leurs deguisements de depouilles animals" (from Pap Berlin 3053 XVI, 8 copy, above)	Verhoeven & Derchain, Voyage (1985), 23 & L5 & pl. 8
Psamtek I (?) "Mut ritual" text from Crypt B, el-Kab, line 35	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"exultons pour toi! Les Temehou dansent et nous damsons [et chantons] pour Notre-Dame [apparue sous la forme qu'elle a prise quand on l'à trouvée avec Ra] en ouvrant l'arbre Iched à [Heliopolis]"	Verhoeven & Derchain, Voyage (1985), 23 & M2 & pl. 8
Psamtek I, Year 10	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Männern und Frauen aus allen distrikten	Goedicke, 1962, 35-36;

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[3] Head of prisoner is either missing or never drawn (see Kendall, 2004, fig. 24)
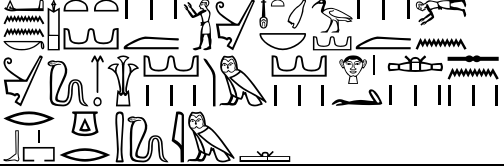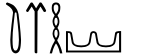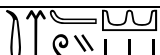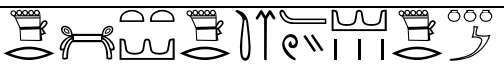
Stela from Saqqara (no registration number), line 3			des Westens, Machimoi (or Medjai) und Tjemehu."	Zibelius, 1972, 61 (VII D a 50) & 184; Vittmann, 2003, 16 & abb. 7.
Psamtek I (Meeks, 2006, 1) Pap. Brooklyn 47.218.84], column XIV, 3			"she celebrates the (divine?)child of Timhet [Hathor]"	Meeks, 2006, 30
Saite Period Berlin Statue [mBerlin 17700]			"Fürsten von *Khas-Tjemehu*"	Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 76; Ranke, 1908, p. 46 & 50
Saite Pd.			"Overseer of Timehu"	Maspero, 1900, 166ff.
Demotic Papyrus CG 31169, col. 1 nr. 21	*t3-sm.t-Tmhi* (Spiegelberg)		"The Libyan Necropolis" or "The Libyan Desert (*smyt*)"	Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 58; Spiegelberg, 1908, 270.

Persian - Ptolemaic Periods

Darius		13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24.	"13. Babylonia, 14. Armenia, 15. Lydia, 16. Capadocia 17. Skudra 18. Assyria 19.Arabia 20. Egypt 21. Tjemehu 22.Nehesyu 23. Maka 24. India"	Roaf, 1974, 139; Zibelius, 1972, 62 (VII D a 80) & 184;
Darius			13. Babylonia, 14. Armenia, 15. [Lydia], 16. Capadocia 17. [Skudra]	Roaf, 1974, 139; Zibelius, 1972, 62 (VII D a 80)

		13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24.	18. [Assyria] 19. [Arabia] 20. Egypt 21. Tjemehu 22.Nehesyu 23. Maka 24. India	& 184; Posener, 1936, 63ff. &186 & pls. 5-6.
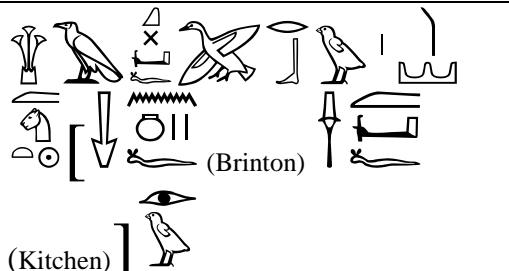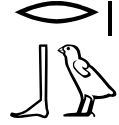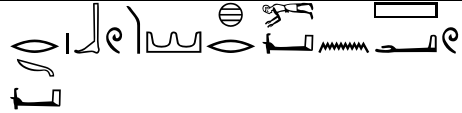
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[translation unpublished]	Chassinat, Edfu I 47, 16; Wilson, 1997, 1164.
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[possibly an error on the part of Gauthier where he gives reference to Chassinat. No trace of this term is evident at this location in Chassinat]	[translation unpublished]	Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 42: [Chassinat Edfou II, 28 (?)]
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[translation unpublished]	Chassinat, Edfou II, 289; Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 42
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[translation unpublished]	Chassinat, Edfou IV, 79,14
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[translation unpublished]	Chassinat, Edfou VI, 24, 8; Wilson, 1997, 1164. Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 42
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[translation unpublished]	Chassinat, Edfou VI, 195; Goedicke, ZAS 88, 1963, 85
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[translation unpublished]	Chassinat, Edfu VIII, 1933, 76, 8; Wilson, Ptol. Lex., 1997, 1164
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[translation unpublished]	Chassinat, Edfou I, 1897, 140; Dumichen, vol. II, 1866, pl. LXI
Ptolemaic	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[translation unpublished]	Junker, ZAS 43, 1906, 104

Date	Orthography	Context	Translation	Reference
				& 116; Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 42
Ptolemaic			[translation see Junker]	Junker, 1906, 104 & 116; Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 42
Ptolemaic			[translation unpublished]	De Morgan et al., 1895, 134 (nr. 176); Gauthier, DG VI (1929), 42
Ptolemaic			[translation unpublished]	Gauthier, DG VI, 1929, 76; Yoyotte, 1961, 146; L.D, IV. 63.c; Brugsch, 1879, 348.
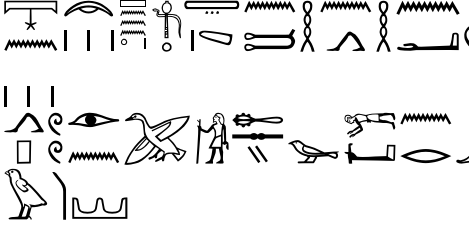
Appendix C: References to Rebu in Egyptian Texts

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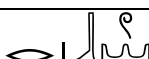
Date	Orthography	Context	Translation	Reference

New Kingdom Nineteenth Dynasty
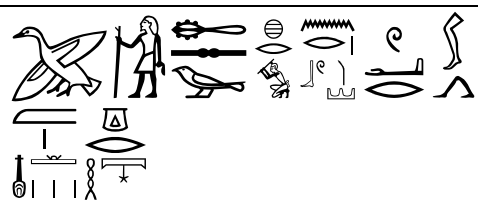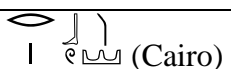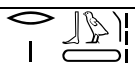
Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (Brinton) (Kitchen)	"… He captured Rebu in his (second?) time…"	Brinton, 1942,163 & fig. 12; KRI II, 475:7
Ramesses II	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "[…lost…] which the fallen ones of Rebu […lost…]"	KRI II, 407:7
Ramesses II/ Merneptah[4] Papyrus Anastasi II (line 3, 4)	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Rebu is fallen to (his) [sic] slaughtering, fallen to his knife"	Kitchen, 1990, 17; KRI II, 289:15-16
Merneptah Temple of Amada, Wall Stela, line 2	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "son of Re, Lord of Crowns, destroyer of Rebu, vanquishing them, Merneptah"	KRI IV, 1:9
Merneptah Temple of Amada, Wall Stela, line 4	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "just when the valiant army of his majesty came to overthrow the despicable chief of Rebu."	KRI IV, 1:12
Merneptah Temple of Amada, Wall Stela, line 4	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"Never shall they leave any people for the Rebu, any who shall bring them up in their land!"	KRI IV, 1:12
Merneptah Karnak Inscription, line 13	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "the despicable fallen ruler of Rebu Mariyu son of Didi, has descended upon the land of Tjehenu"	KRI IV, 3:15-16
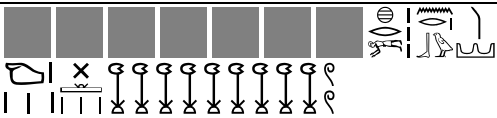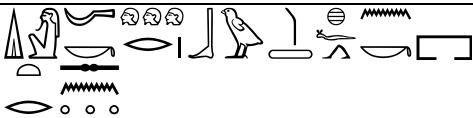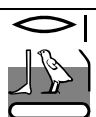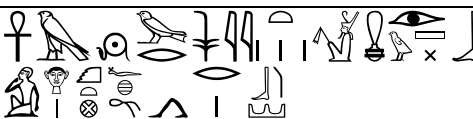
[4] Although events described are under Ramesses II, the document date to Merneptah (Gardiner, 1937, xiv)

		[hieroglyphs]		
Merneptah Karnak Inscription, line 27	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "[…leading?...]the troops at their forefront, to destroy the land of Rebu"	KRI IV, 5:8
Merneptah, Karnak inscription, line 31	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "evening of the third month of Shomu, day 1, on the dawn of engaging in battle with them. So the despicable chief of the Rebu came at the time of the 3rd month of Shomu day 3."	KRI IV, 5:16
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 34	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "see while they fought, the despicable chief of Rebu stood in fear, his mind fainting"	KRI IV, 6:5
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 37	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Now while the despicable chief of Rebu hurried to flee back to his land."	KRI IV, 6:11-12
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 46	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): driving donkeys before them laden with the *qarnati* of the country of Rebu"	KRI IV, 7:12-13
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 48	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "List of prisoners who were carried off from this land of Rebu"	KRI IV, 8:2
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 50	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"the children of chiefs and brothers of the chief of the Rebu"	KRI IV, 8:5

Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 51	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	(Kitchen): [..lost…of the] chiefs of the Rebu, slain"	KRI IV, 8:6
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 56	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	"Sheklesh and Turesh who came as foes from Rebu-land"	KRI IV 8:16-9:1
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 57	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	"Qeheq and Rebu carried off as prisoners"	KRI IV, 9:1
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 57	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	(Kitchen): "Womenfolk of the fallen chief of the Rebu"	KRI IV, 9:2
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 57	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	(Kitchen): "12 Rebu women"	KRI IV, 9:2
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 59	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	(Kitchen): "Chariot-spans which had carried the fallen (chief) of Rebu"	KRI IV, 9:5
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 59	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	(Kitchen): "the children of the [fallen] chief of the Rebu"	KRI IV, 9:6
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 60	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	(Kitchen): "the Meshwesh plunder of His Majesty, LPH, who had fought the fallen ones of Libu"	KRI IV, 9:7
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 67	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	(Kitchen): "The people shall reply: 'all Rebu is conquered'"	KRI, IV, 10:4
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 70	(hieroglyphs)	(hieroglyphs)	(Kitchen): "The Rebu had plotted evil, to do it in Egypt"	KRI IV, 10:12

Source			Translation	Reference
Merneptah Karnak inscription, line 74	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Rebu was like a mere petitioner carried off as captive"	KRI IV, 11:9
Merneptah Israel Stela, line 4	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "He drove back the Rebu who had trodden Egypt" (Cairo Only)	KRI IV, 14:4
Merneptah Israel Stela, line 6	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): The despicable fallen chief of the Rebu fled in the depths of night" (Cairo Only)	KRI IV, 14:10
Merneptah Israel Stela, line 10	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "He has occasioned the minting of a proverb for Rebu" (Cairo Only)	KRI IV, 15:7
Merneptah Israel Stela, line 10	[hieroglyphs] (Cairo)	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "so says every old man addressing his son: 'Woe to Rebu'"	KRI IV, 15:9
Merneptah Israel Stela, line 19	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Mauriyu, the despicable fool, fallen one of Rebu" (Cairo Only)	KRI IV, 17:8
Merneptah Israel Stela, line 19	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Says Ptah concerning the fallen one of Rebu"	KRI IV, 17:10
Merneptah Israel Stela, line 28	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Says Amun concerning the fallen one of Rebu"	KRI IV, 17:11
Merneptah el-Ahmar Stela ("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), recto	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "[…in] fear daily, through dread of him, who reduces Rebu to terror,	KRI IV 20:13

line 6			through fear of him"	
Merneptah Kom el-Ahmar Stela ("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), recto line 12	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The families of Rebu are scattered along the dykes like [mice]"	KRI IV 21:3
Merneptah Kom el-Ahmar Stela ("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), verso line 6	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "…sum]mary of the captures which the doughty arm of Pharaoh, LPH, carried off from the Rebu enemy [….Lost…]"	KRI IV, 22:1
Merneptah el-Ahmar Stela ("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), verso line 9	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "[…lost…] Pi-iru and the mountain of Wepet-Ta. List of them: Children of the despicable fallen chief of the Rebu […lost…]"	KRI IV, 22:4
Merneptah Kom el-Ahmar Stela ("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), verso line 10	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "6 men. Children of chiefs and brothers of the despicable, fallen chief of the Rebu, slain and carried off […lost…]"	KRI IV, 22:5
Merneptah Kom el-Ahmar Stela ("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), verso line 12	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "[…lost…] of families of Rebu, slain whose phalli were carried off."	KRI IV 22:7
Merneptah Kom el-Ahmar Stela ("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), verso line 15	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "total Rebu and Sherden, slain men"	KRI IV 22:10
Merneptah el-Ahmar Stela	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "[…lost…] 35 men. Wives of the	KRI IV 22:11

Source			Translation	Reference
("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), verso line 16			despicable chief of Rebu [12?] women"	
Merneptah Kom el-Ahmar Stela ("Athribis Stela"; JdE 50568), verso line 17	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "[total that was carried off] of the fallen ones of Rebu, various people: 9200 [people]"	KRI IV, 22:12
Merneptah	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "I cause you to cut off the heads of the Rebu, you have destroyed their seed."	KRI IV, 23:4
Merneptah	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(kitchen): Year 5, 2nd Shomu, <day 1>: one came to tell his majesty that the despicable [chief] of the rebu had mobilized the land of Rebu, both men and women, the Shekelesh, and every foreign country with him [… lost…]"	KRI IV, 23:6
Merneptah [Boulaq mus. 445]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(kitchen): Year 5, 2nd Shomu, <day 1>: one came to tell his majesty that the despicable [chief] of the rebu had mobilized the land of Rebu, both men and women, the Shekelesh, and every foreign country with him [… lost…]"	KRI IV, 23:6
Merneptah	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "(long) live the Horus falcon, great in kingship, like Atum, who answers for Egypt, and who ravages	KRI IV, 53:7
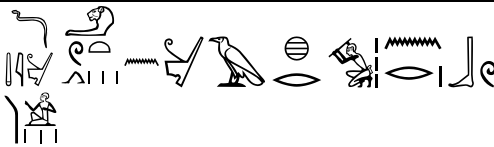
			Rebu.”	
Merneptah	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): “I grant you victory <over> Rebu”	KRI IV, 58:3

Miscellaneous Nineteenth Dynasty
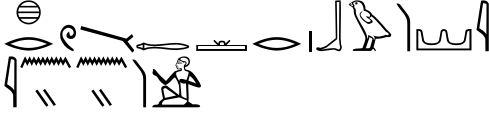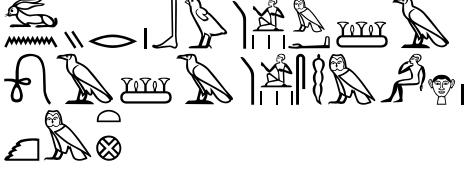
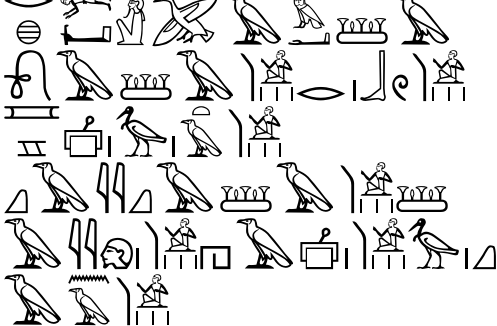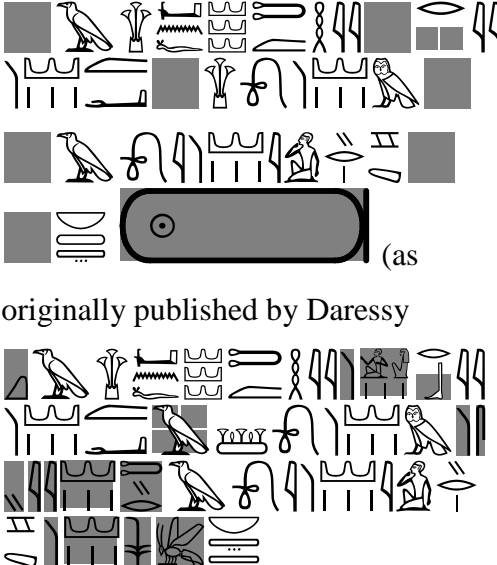|				
Ramesses II	*Rbw*	[Unpublished stela from ZUR]		Mentioned in Simpson, 2002, 23.
Merneptah\n\nTriumph Hymn (Israel Stela). Karnak version, line 17	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): “[so says every old man addressing his son: ‘Woe] to Rebu’”	KRI IV, 15:10
Merneptah\n\nKom el-Ahmar Stela (“Athribis Stela”; JdE 50568), verso line 11	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): “[children of families?] of Rebu, slain whose phalli were carried off 6200 men” (restored by Kitchen from Maspero)	KRI IV 22:6
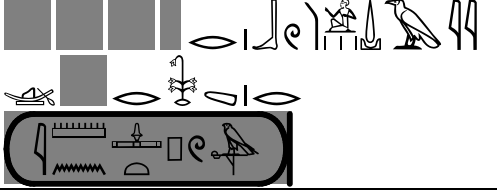
New Kingdom Twentieth Dynasty

Ramesses III\n\nMedinet Habu, Ext. West wall, northernmost scene, line 6	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (E&W): “Then one came to say to His Majesty: “The Tehenu are in motion [*tfy*]; they are making a conspiracy. They are gathered and assembled without number consisting of Rebu, Seped, Meshwesh, lands assembled to advance themselves, to aggrandize themselves against Egypt.”	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 7; KRI, V, 12:; Zibelius (1972, 47 & 143)

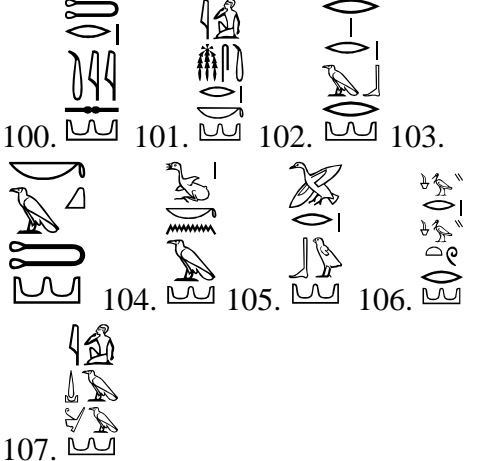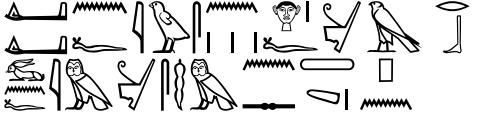|				
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Ext. North wall, 3rd scene from west, text above fort.	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	[Text above fort]. Transl. Kitchen: "[… Loss …] of Pharaoh, LPH, the fallen ones of Rebu, in front of the town [*dmi*] "Usermare-Merianmon-is-the-repeller-of-the-Tjemehu.	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 13; KRI, V, 14
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Second Court, presenting trophies to Ramesses	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Transl. E & W): "Presenting the spoil in the presence of His Majesty, consisting of the fallen ones of Rebu"	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 14-15; KRI V, 18:8
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Second Court, presenting trophies to Ramesses	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Transl. E & W): "Presenting the spoil in the presence of His Majesty, consisting of the fallen ones of Rebu"	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 14-15; KRI V, 18:9
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Second Court, presenting trophies to Ramesses	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Transl. E & W): "Presenting the spoil in the presence of His Majesty, consisting of the fallen ones of Rebu"	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 14-15; KRI V, 18:10
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Second Court, presenting trophies to Ramesses	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Transl. E & W): "Presenting the spoil in the presence of His Majesty, consisting of the fallen ones of Rebu"	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 14-15; KRI V, 18:11
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Int. Second Court, speech of captives.	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (E & W): "Words spoken by the leaders of the fallen ones of Rebu…"	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 19; KRI, V, 20:5
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 5 inscription, line 26-27	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	His name and terror of him burn up the plains and hill countries of **the land of Tjemeh. Coming, gathered**	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 24; KRI, V, 22:12; Zibelius (1972, 143)

		[hieroglyphs]	**together in one place, consisting of Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh** in the land of Buryw.	
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, end of "Sea People" campaign, line 27	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(transl. E&W): "Words spoken by the fallen ones of Rebu…"	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 44; KRI, V, 34: 15
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 11 inscription, line 46	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl E&W: "The Rebu caused our confusion…"	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 84; KRI, V, 65:4
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Year 11 inscription, line 48	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (E&W): "The land of Meshwesh was devastated all at once; the Rebu and Seped were destroyed, so that their seed was not."	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 84; KRI, V, 65:8; MH, II, pl. 83
Ramesses III Medinet Habu Year 5 inscription, line 47	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): Our seed is not, namely Ded, Meshken, Mariyu, together with Wermer and Thetmer. Every enemy chief who has attacked Egypt [*Kmt*] from Rebu is in the fire from end to end.	Edgerton and Wilson, 1936, 29f.; KRI, V, 24:14; Zibelius (1972, 143)
Ramesses III Deir el Medina stela	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "He has plundered the land of [Tjemehu], Rebu and Meshwesh, he made them cross the Nile brought away into Egypt."	KRI V, 91:5; Zibelius (1972, 51 & 143)
Ramesses III Medinet Habu,	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "The great one of	PM II, 173; Zibelius (1972), 45-46

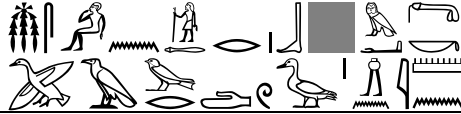|				
"Southern Chiefs" List			the Rebu"	& 143; Lepsius Denk. III 209; KRI V, 103:12
Ramesses III Karnak, Mut Temple, Osiride Pillar bases,	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	(Kitchen): "Giving praise to the Lord of the crowns by the chiefs of the Rebu"	KRI V, 111:13
Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Funerary Temple, Treasury façade.	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	(Kitchen): "Words spoken by the wretched chief of Amor together with the wretched, vanquished chief of Rebu"	KRI, V, 317:13-14;
Ramesses III Judicial Papyrus Turin, col. 4, line 15	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	Transl. Breasted: "The Great Criminal, the Libyan, Yenini, formerly butler"	BAR, IV, sec.; KRI, V, 356
Ramesses III/ Ramesses IV Papyrus Harris (plate 76, line 11)	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	(Grandet) "Les Libou et Meshwesh s'étaiaient installés en Kemet"	Grandet,1994, 337 & pl. 77; Erichsen, 1933, 93
Ramesses III/ Ramesses IV Papyrus Harris (plate 77, line 3)	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]*	(Grandet) "j'ai abattu la (peuplade des) Meshwesh, les Libou, les Isebetou, les Qeyqeshou, les Sheytepouy, les Hesou et les Beqenou"	Grandet, Pap Harris (1994), 337 & pl. 78; Erichsen, 1933, 93
Ramesses IX [O.Cairo CG. 25201]	*[hieroglyphs]*	*[hieroglyphs]* (as originally published by Daressy *[hieroglyphs]*	(Kitchen) He makes the foreign lands prostrate: the Tjemehy, Reby, Mashwa <sh> together with [Nehesy] Turawi and Irmr	KRI VI, 662:6; Daressy, 1901, 39

		(KRI VI, 662:6-8)		
Ramesses IX [Pap. Turin. 2009; verso, 1:16]			[translation unpublished]	KRI VI, 564:14
Ramesses IX [Pap. Turin. 2009; verso, 1:17]			[translation unpublished]	KRI VI, 564:16
Ramesses IX [Pap. Turin.2071;verso 1:13]			[translation unpublished]	KRI VI, 643:6
Ramesses IX [Pap. Turin.2071;verso 1:14]			[translation unpublished]	KRI VI, 643:8
Ramesses IX [Pap. Turin.2071;verso 1:15]			[translation unpublished]	KRI VI, 643:9

<h1 style="text-align:center">Miscellaneous Twentieth Dynasty</h1>

Ramesses III Medinet Habu, Topographical list, North Pylon		100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107.	"Tjertiu, Amstrak, Raraber, Kaqetch, Tjakana, Parebu, Barbatu, Adjana."	E+W, 1936, 115; KRI, V, 99
Ramesses VI Crossword-hymn to Mut, horizontal line 10			(Stewart): "There are given to him their praises concerning him, to Horus of Rebu. He	Stewart, 1971, 91; KRI VI, 290: 11

			exists there, for she has made pleasant this land [… lost…]	
Ramesses VI Crossword hymn to Mut, vertical line		[hieroglyphs]	Transl. Stewart: "The ruler who has no fault, she whom praises extol. She who possesses Rebu is content with it."	Stewart, 1971, 102; KRI VI, 316
Ramesses IX	*Rbw*	[unpublished fragment in Turin Museum]	Transl. Haring: "The wood-cutter Khonsw-mes, paid (?) Amun-wa, for that which he obtained from the Rebu"	Haring, 1992, 73 [Unpublished frag. of P. Turin 2074]
Ramesses IX	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		Gardiner, 1947, 121* (nr.241); Zibelius (1972), 54 & 143; Budge, 1920, 1010[5]
Ramesses IX	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] [Gardiner, pl. XX note 19a: "Spieg. Transcribes [hieroglyph]?, but the facs. Hardly favours this; the correct position of the fragment is very doubtful"]		Gardiner, 1947, 121* (nr.241) & pl. XX; Zibelius 1972, 54 & 143

Third Intermediate Period

Sheshonq I or III (?) [Ermitage Stele 5630]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"great chief of the Rebu, Niumateped	Touraiev, 1912, 2 & pl. 1; Yoyotte, 1961, 142, sec. 29 (Doc. A); Kitchen 1996, 291 sec. 249.
Sheshonq III [mMoscow 5647]	[hieroglyphs] (Lourie)	[hieroglyphs]	"L'enfant du grand chef des Rebu, le mek, Paouerd, fils	Lourie, 1951, 96 & pls. 1 & 2; Yoyotte,

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[5] name is mentioned in Gauthier, 1926, 143 where the Budge reference is given but with the comment: "je n'ai pu retrouver."

	[hieroglyphs] (Yoyotte)	[hieroglyphs]	d'Enamunnefnebu"	1961. 143, sec. 31 (Doc. C); Kitchen, 1996, 345, sec. 306
Sheshonq V [EA 73965]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		Shaw and Nicholson, 1995, 162; Taylor, 2000, 344; Malek, 2010, nr. 803-065-590
Sheshonq V,	[hieroglyphs] (Spiegelberg) [hieroglyphs] (Yoyotte)	[hieroglyphs]	"chief of the Rebu [Ne]mateped (w)"	Spiegelberg, 1920, 57; Yoyotte 1961, 143 sec. 30 (Doc. B)
Sheshonq V	[hieroglyphs] (Spiegelberg) [hieroglyphs] (Yoyotte)	[hieroglyphs]	Chief of Rebu Nemateped	Spiegelberg, 1920, 57; Yoyotte 1961, 143 sec. 30 (Doc. B)
Sheshonq V, [Stela Brooklyn Museum 67.119]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Chief of Rebu, Titaru son of Didi	Yoyotte 1961, 144 sec. 32 (Doc. D) & pl. 1.2; Kitchen, 1970, 64ff & fig. 4 and B.
Sheshonq V, [JE 30972]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Chief of Rebas (?)	Yoyotte, 1961, 144 sec. 33 (Doc. E); Müller,1906, 55-56 & pl. 88
Sheshonq V [JE 30972]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"great chief of Rebu, great chief of Ma, commander and prophet, Ker"[6]	Yoyotte, 1961, 125 sec. 5 (nr. 14) 144 sec. 33 (Doc. E); Müller, 1906, 55-56 & pl. 88 BAR IV , sec. 784; Bates, 1914, 229
Sheshonq V	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Stela of Rudamun	Berlandini, 1978, 147ff.

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[6] In earlier publications such as Bates and Breasted this individual is translated as "Hetihenker"

Sheshonq V			Yoyotte: "le grand mes des Libou Ankhhor et son fils Horbes (or Horseb)"	Yoyotte, 1961, 145 sec. 34 (Doc. F); Malinine et al. 1968, 37 & pl. 12; Daressy, 1913, 136
24th Dyn. (Tefnakht); dated Year 38 of unnamed king			"the great chief, the commander, the great chief of Rebu"	Sauneron, 1957, 51 & figs. 2 & 3; Yoyotte, 1961, 125 sec. 5 (nr. 15) & 152 & pl. 1,1
24th Dyn. (Tefnakht)			(Yoyotte): "le grand chef des Ma et ommandant, le grand chef des Libou, Tefnakht"	Yoyotte, 1961, 125 sec. 5 (nr. 15bis) & 153; [Abemayor stela]
25th Dyn. Piye			"daughter of the great chief of the Rebu(t), Ankhhor, whose mother was Tjatenkhebi"	Yoyotte, 1961, 145 sec. 34 (Doc. G); Legrain, 1908, 278

Ptolemaic Period

Ptolemaic			[translation unpublished]	Gauthier, DG III (1926),117; DG VI (1929), 26; Dumichen, vol. II, 1866, pl. 61; Chassinat Edfou I (1897), 140

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[7] In Daressy (1913) the "chief" figure is provided with two feathers in the hair, a feature which is not visible in the original (see Malinine)

Appendix D: References to the Meshwesh in Egyptian Documents

Date	Orthography	Context	Translation	Ref.
		New Kingdom Eighteenth Dynasty		
Tuthmosis III		279. / 280.	"Khayt, Pedru, Iteriten, Inerk, Neperyuru, Netken"	Simons 1937, 114

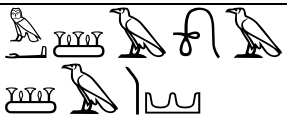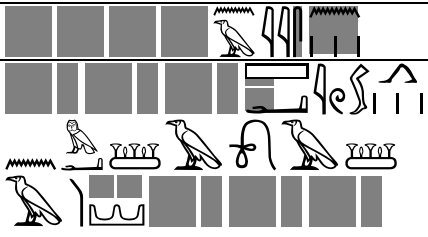|				
		281. [hieroglyphs] 282. [hieroglyphs] 283. [hieroglyphs] 284. [hieroglyphs] 285. [hieroglyphs]		
Amenhotep III	[hieroglyphs] (Zibelius)	[hieroglyphs]		Hayes, 1951 figs. 2 & 10; Zibelius (1972), 38 (V B a 40) & 129
Amenhotep III,	[hieroglyphs] (Hayes)	[hieroglyphs]		Hayes, 1951, figs. 2 & 10; Zibelius (1972), 38 (V B a 40) & 129
Horemheb (usurped by Ramesses II)[8]	[hieroglyphs] (Zibelius)	[hieroglyphs] [left blank] [hieroglyphs]	"[…gar], [nrs. 2-5 not inscribed], Meshwesh, Timhy, Tekhty, Tunip, Qadesh, Qadana, Irky[..], Pahir, Tinay, Irsa"	Legrain (1914), 41; Zibelius (1972, 29 (V C a 50) & 129; Hari, 1964, 259-260; Giveon 1971, 1
Horemheb (usurped by Ramesses II)[9]	[hieroglyphs] (Zibelius)	1. [h] 2. [h] 3. [h] 4. [h] 5. [h] 6. [h] 7. [h] 8. [h] 9. [h] 10. [h] 11.	"[…gar], Hau-nebut, [lost], Naharina, Ta-[lost], Sha-[lost], Hatti, Irtitu, Assur, Meshwesh, Timhy, Tekhty, Tunip, Qadesh, Qadana"	Legrain 1914, 4 Zibelius 1972, 2 (V C a 60) & 129; Hari,

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[8] Previously attributed to Amenhotep III by Porter and Moss a.o. (see Hari, 1964, 256)
[9] Previously attributed to Amenhotep III by Porter and Moss a.o. (see Hari, 1964, 256)

		[hieroglyphs] 12. 13. 14. 15.		1964, 261; Giveon 1971, 1

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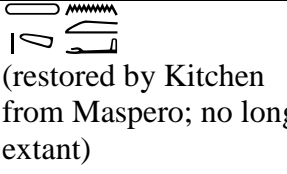
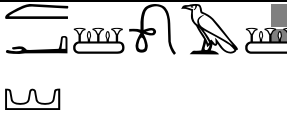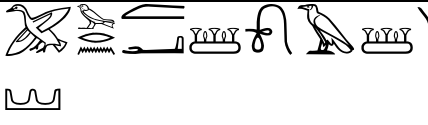|				
Ramesses II	[cartouche]	[hieroglyphs]	"Asy, Naharin, Hatti, [Lost], Qode, Qadesh, Shsu-land, Khalbu, Meshwesh"	Petrie, 1909, p. 23; Giveon 1971, 9 KRI II, 194:15
Ramesses II [BM 1104]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"[lost], Itru, Meshwesh, Gasgas, Babylonia"	KRI IV 194: 10 Bierbrier 1982, p. 13; PM IV, 31; Zibelius 1972, 5 (VI H a 10) & 130
Merneptah, Year 5	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "He [Amun] has turned his back on the Meshwesh [and does not even] look on the Tjemehu-land, as they […lost…]"	KRI IV 5:7; Zibelius (1972), 44 (VI A a 150) & 129
Merneptah, Year 5	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Kitchen): "Weapons of war which had been in their possession, and (now) carried off as plunder: Of copper, swords of the Meshwesh: 9,111 […lost..]"	KRI IV 9:4 Zibelius 1972, 4 (VI A a 150) & 129
Merneptah, Year 5	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] [left blank]	Transl. (Kitchen): "[…20 groups lost…] (and of Meshwesh <plun>der of His Majesty, LPH, who had fought the fallen ones of Rebu. Various cattle: 1,307. Goats: […lost…]"	KRI IV 9:6 Zibelius 1972, 4 (VI A a 150) & 129

			Translation	Reference
Merneptah, Year 5

"Israel Stela", verso, lines 4-5

[CG 34025] | [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs] | (Kitchen)"Who shattered the land of Tjemehu in his lifetime, who put everlasting dread into the hearts of the Meshwesh. He drove back the Rebu who had trodden Egypt" (Cairo Only) | KRI IV 14:4; Ziblius 1972, 5 (VI D a 30) & 129 |
| Merenptah Year 5

Karnak Copy of Israel stela, ln. 7-8 | [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs] | (Kitchen): "[…lost…the hearts of the Mesh]wesh. He drove back […lost…]" | KRI IV 14:5; Zibelius 1972, 5 (VI D a 40) & 129 |
| Merneptah, Year 5

om el-Ahmar ("Athribis Stela"), verso, line 5

[JE 50568] | [hieroglyphs] | [hieroglyphs] | (Kitchen): [lost] the Meshwesh, devastated for ever, by the power of the Valiant Warrior, Strong Bull who vanquishes the Nine Bows […lost…]" | KRI IV 21:16; Masper 1883, 6 Zibelius (1972), 50 (VI D a 50) & 129 |
| Seti II

Pap. Anastasi I, 17:4

[BM 10247] | [hieroglyphs] (Zibelius)

[hieroglyphs] (Hans-Werner) | [hieroglyphs] | (Breasted): "The troops of soldiers who are before thee amount to 1900 (of) Sherden; 520(?), of Kehek; 1600 of Meshwesh; (100(?)), Negroes making 880; total 5000 in all, not counting their officers." | Gardine 1911, 19* (XV), 58; Zibelius (1972), 52 (VI D 10) & 129; Hans-Werner 1983, 120 |
| Seti II

Ostr. Gardiner. 364, line 6-7 | [hieroglyphs] (Hans-Werner) | [hieroglyphs] | "[lost] who are before thee amount to 1900 of Sher[den… lost… 1200+X] Meshwesh […lost…] their [of]ficers." | Hans-Werner 1983, 120; Cerny-Gardine, pl. CVIII,1 |

Mid 19th-mid 20th Dyn.

Ostracon From Deir-el-Medina 1061 rt., line 5 | [hieroglyphs]

(Zibelius) | [hieroglyphs] | | Posener 1938, p. 33 & 33; Zibelius (1972), 55 (VI C 10) & 129; |

Miscellaneous Nineteenth Dynasty
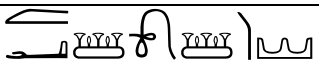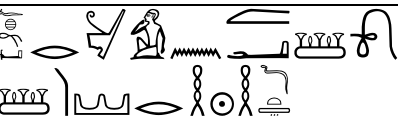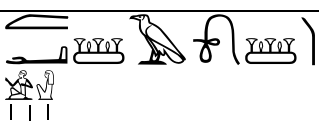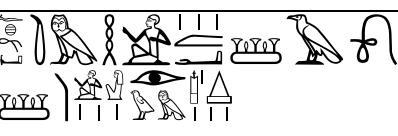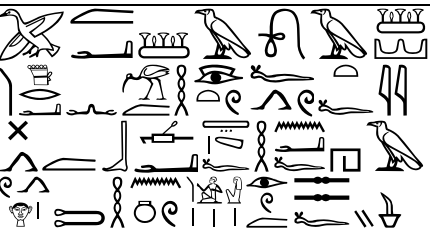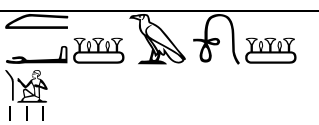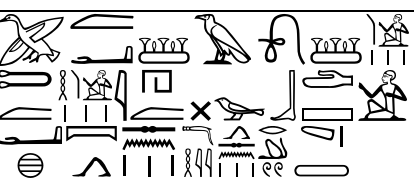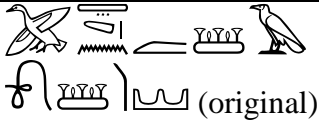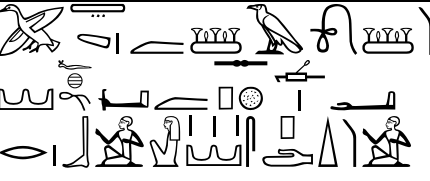
Merneptah, Year 5

Kom el-Ahmar ("Athribis Stela"), recto

[JE 50568] | [hieroglyphs]

(restored by Kitchen from Maspero; no longer extant) | [hieroglyphs] | (Kitchen): "telling of his brave deeds in the land of Me[shwesh?]" | KRI IV, 20:11; Maspero 1883, 6; Ziblius (1972), 50 (VI B a 50) & 129 |

New Kingdom Twentieth Dynasty

Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	"The chief of the Meshwesh"	Zibelius (1972), 45 (VI A a 180) & 129; KRI V, 103
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Then one came to tell his Majesty: The Tjehenu are on the move, they have made a conspiracy. They are gathered and united, innumerable, namely the Rebu, Sepedu and Meshwesh"	KRI V, 12:4; E & W, 1936, 7; MH I pl. 12; Zibelius 1972, 4 (VI A a 230), & 129

			(Kitchen)	Reference
		[hieroglyphs]		
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "He carried off the land of the Tjemehu, Sepedu and Meshwesh, who were ruining Egypt daily."	KRI V, 14:16; Zibelius 1972, 4... (VI A a... 240) & ... 129; MH I, p... 21 & 22...
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): "Long live the good god, doughty and valiant, puissant lion who seizes with his claws who slays the land of the **Tjemehu and devastates the Meshwesh**, who annihilates the nostrils of the Nine Bows	KRI V, 302:6
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): The slaughter which His Majesty made among the foe of the land of Meshwesh, who had come against Egypt.	KRI V, 43:9; MH II, pl.70
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen):King, divine Falcon, who seizes his attacker, potent and powerful, and relying on his strong arm, raging mighty, slaying the Meshwesh, who are trampled down and overthrown before his horses."	KRI V, 43:13; MH II, pl. 70
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): He has laid low the hearts of the Meshwesh, and so their braves are slain in his grasp	KRI V, 45:4; MH II, pl.73.
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen): Say to the fallen ones of Meshwesh: "See now your name is obliterated eternally	KRI V, 45:12; MH II, pl. 74.

			and forever!"	
Ramesses III			(Kitchen): Said by the leaders of the Meshwesh, who are pinioned before his Majesty"	KRI V, 47:6; MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III			(Kitchen): Said by the fallen ones of the Meshwesh who are before his Majesty	KRI V, 47:10; MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III			(Kitchen) As for the Meshwesh, I brought low his power and I annihilated his soul eternally, by the strength of your hand which slew them.	KRI V, 48:4; MH II, pl. 78
Ramesses III			(Kitchen) Said by the fallen ones of the Meshwesh who are in the grasp of His Majesty"	KRI V, 48:8; MH II, pl. 78
Ramesses III			(Kitchen) King of South and North Egypt, the powerful bull, sharp-horned, who has slain **Tjemehu and Meshwesh** with his valiant arm.	KRI V, 71:14
Ramesses III			(Kitchen) Mighty of power in the land of the Meshwesh, great in Terror, Lord of renown, desolating the name of the lands of the Asiatics (Setet)	KRI V, 57:6; MH II, pl. 79
Ramesses III	(original) (Kitchen coll.)		(Kitchen) putting dread into the heart of the Meshwesh	KRI V, 57:10; MH II, pl. 79
Ramesses III	(original) 		(Kitchen) subduing the Nine Bows, who captures the Meshwesh, made into heaps	KRI V, 57:13; MH II, pl. 79

	(Kitchen coll.)			
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) who overthrows the **Tjemehu and devastates the Meshwesh**	KRI V, 58:7; MH II, pl. 79
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) devastating the name of the Meshwesh eternally and forever	KRI V, 58:12; MH II, pl. 79
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) " who **devastates the Tjemehu and Meshwesh**, being made into heaps…"	KRI V, 49:14; MH II, pl. 79 & 72
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) As for the Meshwesh [chief], previously, before he had been seen, he was coming, moving off all as one, his land with him, having fallen upon Tjehenu, reduced to Ashes.	KRI V, 60:6
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs] (original) [hieroglyphs] (kitchen coll.)	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) He does not leave off, when he is angry, from tooth and claw upon the head of the Meshwesh	KRI V, 63:3
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) **Woe to the Meshwesh and the land of the Tjemehu**	KRI V, 63:4
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) **The Meshwesh and Tjemehu were miserable** and languishing. They rose up and fled to the ends of the earth	KRI V, 63:6
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs] (original) [hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) The land of the Meshwesh was devastated at one time; the Rebu and Sepedu were destroyed	KRI V, 65:7; MH II p. 85 (?)

	[hieroglyphs] (Kitchen coll.)	[hieroglyphs]		
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) I have laid low the **Meshwesh and the land of Tjemehu** by the victories of my strong arm	KRI V, 66:12
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) A King just like Re, raging, stouthearted like his father Montu, whose strong arm has captured prisoners. The **Meshwesh and land of Tjemehu** are pinioned before him.	KRI V, 50:12
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) The plunder which the puissant sword of Pharaoh, L.P.H. brought back from the fallen ones of the Meshwesh	KRI V, 53:2; .MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) Chief of the Meshwesh: 1 man	KRI V, 53:3; .MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) Meshwesh: 1[200] men	KRI V, 53:4; .MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) Meshwesh whom His Majesty slew in their places: 2,175 men	KRI V, 53:6; .MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) Chariot horses of the Meshwesh: 184 donkeys	KRI V, 53:8; .MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) Chief of the Meshwesh, Masheru, son of Kapur	KRI V, 53:10; MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) Livestock which the puissant arm of Pharaoh, L.P.H. brought back from	KRI V, 53:15; MH II, pl. 77

			the fallen ones of the Meshwesh	
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	(Kitchen) Leading man of the Meshwesh-foes, Kapuer	KRI V, 54:10; MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	(Kitchen) "The good god, who strikes down the Meshwesh and annihilates the nostrils of Nubia"	KRI 101:12; MH II, pl. 114
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	(Kitchen) "All plains and hill countries of Meshwesh which are under his Majesty's feet.	KRI V, 102:9; MH II, pl. 118
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	(Kitchen) Long live the good god, **smiting the land of Tjemehu, annihilating the nostrils of the Meshwesh**.	KRI V, 309:16
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	(Kitchen) "**I laid low the land of Tjemehu, their seed is no more. As for the Meshwesh**, they writhe through dread of me."	KRI V, 20:2-3
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	(Kitchen) His name and terror of him burn up the plains and hill countries of **the land of Tjemeh.** Coming, gathered together in one place, consisting of **Rebu, Seped, and Meshwesh** in the land of Buryw.	KRI V, 22:12; Zibelius 1972, 4 (VI A a 220) & 129
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	(Kitchen) "The land of the **Tjemehu fled, they streamed away, while the Meshwesh hovered, hidden in their land**."	KRI V, 24:5; Zibelius 1972, 4 (VI A a 220) & 129
Ramesses III	*(hieroglyphs)*	*(hieroglyphs)*	(Kitchen) Golden Horus, Rich in years like Atum; King of S. & N. Egypt, Usimare Meriamun, the king who protects Egypt and curbs the foreign	KRI V, 297:8

			countries, who **destroys the Meshwesh, plundering the land of Tjemehu** and who makes a great slaughter in all lands	
Ramesses III, Year 11	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		MH III, p. 161-163
Ramesses III, Year 11	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		MH III, p. 161-163
Ramesses III, Year 12	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) I laid low the Tjekkeru, the land of the Philistines, the Danuna, the Weshesh, and the Shalusha. I annihilated the breath of the Meshwesh, …, the Sibati…	KRI V, 73:10; MH II, pl. 107
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) […lost…] and slaying his enemy, trampling the land of Meshwesh;	KRI V, 289:15;
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs] (Kitchen) [hieroglyphs] (Lepsius, Zibelius)	[hieroglyphs]	He has plundered the land of **Tjemehu, Libu and Meshwesh**, he made them cross the Nile brought away into Egypt.	KRI V, 91:5; Lepsius LD III, 218.c; Zibelius 1972, 5 (VI D a 70) & 129
Ramesses III/ Ramesses IV Papyrus Harris (plate 76, line 11-77, 1)	[hieroglyphs] (original in Hieratic)	[hieroglyphs]	(Grandet) "Les **Libou et Meshwesh** s'étaiaient installés en Kemet"	Grandet 1994, 337 & p. 77; Erichse 1933, 9
Ramesses III/ Ramesses IV Papyrus Harris (plate 77, line 3)	[hieroglyphs] (original in Hieratic)	[hieroglyphs]	(Grandet) "j'ai abattu la (peuplade des) Meshwesh, les Libou, les Isebetou, les Qeyqeshou, les Sheytepouy, les Hesou et les Beqenou"	Grandet 1994, 337 & p. 78 Zibelius 1972, 5 (VI F 50

Source			Translation	Reference
				& 129; Erichse[n] 1933, 9
Ramesses IX (Gardiner, 1947, 25) Onomasticon of Amenope (Text G only)			"Tjemehu, Tjehenu, Meshwesh, Rubuya"	Gardine[r] 1947, 121* (nr.240[)] Zibeliu[s] 1972, 5[] (VI F 7[0] & 129
Ramesses IX (?), Year 1(?) P. Turin 2084 + 2091, recto, column 1, line 10			"[…lost…] Meshwesh. He made […lost…]"	KRI VI 603:13; Haring, 1992, 7[] [erron[e] usly gives KRI ref[] as vol. IV]
Ramesses IX, Year 8, 2nd Akhet, day 3 P. Turin 2074, recto, column 2, line 9			(Haring) "bringing a letter to the vizier and the scribe of the mat saying the Meshwesh are coming to the City [i.e. Thebes]"	KRI VI 609:5; Haring, 1992, 7[]
Ramesses IX, Year 10/11 P. Turin. 2071, verso, line 1			"[…lost…] day 2, inactivity of the crew because of (?) the Meshwesh"	KRI VI 638:4; Haring, 1992, 7[]
Ramesses IX, Year 15 P. Turin 2071/224 + 1960, verso 1:16			"[lost] the Meshwesh are in the city"	KRI VI 643:10;
Ramesses IX Ostrocon from Deir el-Medina, line 3 [CG 25201]			"He makes the foreign lands prostrate: the Tjemehy, Reby, Mashwa <sh> together with [Nehesy] Turawi and Irmr"	KRI VI 662:6; Daressy 1901, 3[]

		  (as originally published by Daressy, 1901, 39) This text has recently been republished by Kitchen as: (KRI VI, 662:6-8)		
Day 21 of unknown month, unknown year of Ramesses IX (?) Ostrocon from Biban el-molouk, Tomb 6. [CG 25243, recto]			"Day 21. Meshwe[sh]"	Daressy 1901, 6 Harring 1992, 7
Ramesses IX (or XI) P. Louvre 3169, line 6- 7.			(Haring): "now you must come, being aware of the Meshwesh very well, very well!"	KRI VI 523:8; Haring 1992, 7
Ramesses IX P. BN 196, I, line 4 (Haring erroneously gives this as			(Haring)"[…lost…] of the tomb who used to give rations to the Meshwesh"	Haring 992), 7 Cerny, 1939, 3 Zibelius (1972), 55 (VI

P.BN 197, I; which does not in fact mention the Meshwesh)				100) & 129; Spiegelberg, 1895, 1 [209]ff. & pl. I
Ramesses IX P. BN 196, I, line 7 (Haring erroneously gives this as P.BN 197, I; which does not in fact mention the Meshwesh)	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Haring) "when this letter reaches you, you are to see the one who used to give rations to the Meshwesh"	Haring 1992, 7 Cerny, 1939, 3 Zibelius (1972), 55 (VI I 100) & 129; Spiegelberg, 1895, 1 [209]ff. & pl. I
Ramesses IX P. BN 196, I, line 10-12 (Haring erroneously gives this as P.BN 197, I; which does not in fact mention the Meshwesh)	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Haring): "in order to let him withhold rations for the Meshwesh from them"	Haring 1992, 7 Cerny, 1939, 3 Zibelius 1972, 5 (VI F 100) & 129; Spiegelberg, 1895, 1 [209]ff. & pl. I
Ramesses XI, Wehem-mesu, year 2 Papyrus Mayer A, recto, column 8, line 14 [Liverpool C. Mus. M 11162]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]		KRI VI 818:11
Ramesses XI, 10th year of the *Whm Mswt*.	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	Transl. (Gardiner): "It is not known whether he has reached the Meshwesh	Cerny, 1939, 2 Gardine
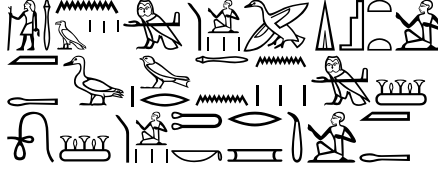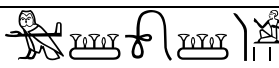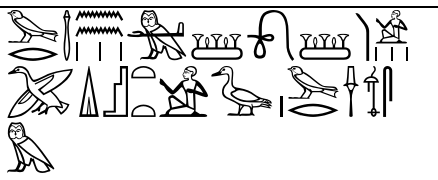
Pap. Berlin 10494, verso, line 5		[hieroglyphs]	as yet"	1909, 7 & pl. IIA; Harring 1992, 7

<p style="text-align:center; font-size:1.5em;">Miscellaneous Twentieth Dynasty</p>

Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) The good god, mighty in victories, Lord of Strength, seizing every land, traversing all the lands of the Meshwesh, to seek out whoever assails his frontier"	KRI V, 44:7; MH II, pl. 68
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs] (original) [hieroglyphs] (possible reconstruction, in Kitchen, cf. 1c)	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) Mashasher, son of Kapur chief of the Me[shwesh]	KRI V, 50:1; MH II, pl. 72
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) The s[…aughter made by his Majesty among the fallen ones of the land of the Meshwesh who ca…]me against Egypt beginning from the settlement of Hat-sha as far as Ramesses III, the settlement which is on the Mountain of Wep-ta.	KRI V, 50:3; copy of text at KRI V 43:9ff.
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) He has given the Chief of the Meshwesh into my hand, along with his infantry"	KRI V, 51:3; MH II, pl. 77
Ramesses III	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs]	(Kitchen) Chief of the Me[shwesh?], [Ma]sher, [son of Kapu-el?]	KRI V, 53:10; RIK II, pl. 123

Ramesses III				KRI V, 111:8; Zibelius 1972, 4 (VI C a 50) & 129
Ramesses IX, Year 8 (?), 2nd Akhet, day 14 Unpublished fragment of P. Turin 2074	[Meshwesh]	Unpublished fragment	"Inactivity of the crew. They say that the Meshwesh have come"	Haring, 1992, 7

Third Intermediate Period

Year 2 of (Pamy) Serapeum Stela of Pediset, lunette, line 3-4 [Louvre IM 3697]			(Yoyotte): "fils du grand chef des **Meshwesh** Takelot, j.v"	Yoyotte 1961, 124 (4a); Malinine et al. 1968, 2 (nr. 22) & pl. 8; Zibelius 1972, 6 (VII D 40) & 130; Chassinat, 1900, 10-11
Year 2 of (Pamy) Louvre IM 3697]			Yoyotte: "le grand chef des **Meshouesh**, Petisis"	Yoyotte 1961, 124 (4b); Malinine et al. 1968, 2 (nr. 22) & pl. 8; Zibelius 1972, 6 (VII D 40) & 130

Year 2 of (Pamy) [Louvre IM 3697] main text, line 10			(Yoyotte): "Grand chef des **Meshwesh** Takelot"	Yoyotte 1961, 124 (nr. 4b); Malinine et al. 1968, 2 (nr. 22) & pl. 8; Zibelius (1972), 64 (VII D b 40) & 130
Pamy, Year 2 [Louvre IM 3736] lunette, Line 1-2			Yoyotte: "Le chef des **Meshwesh**, Petisis"	Yoyotte 1961, 124 (nr. 5); Malinine et al. 1968, 2 & pl. 8 (nr. 23); Legrain 1907, 179
Pamy, Year 2 [Louvre IM 3736] main text, line 9			Yoyotte: "Le chef des **Meshwesh**, Petisis"	Yoyotte 1961, 124 (nr. 5); Malinine et al. (1968), 22 & pl. 8 (nr. 23); Legrain 1907, 179
Unknown [Zibelius gives Sheshonq I-Pamy I] line 1			Yoyotte: "[fils] du grand chef des **Meshouesh** Sheshonq [j.v.] et donc la mere est la maitresse de maison Iresaouenmehy"	Yoyotte 1961, 127 (nr. 27) and 170; Zibelius (1972), 64 (VII Db10) a 130; Daressy

				1904, 9...
		[hieroglyphs]		
No date [CG 38238]	[hieroglyphs] (?) (Daressy) [hieroglyphs] (Yoyotte (1961), 122) [hieroglyphs] ▮ (Yoyotte (1961), 159)	[hieroglyphs]	Yoyotte: "L'epouse royale Esoubastred, fille du chef des **Meshwesh** Akanoush"	Yoyotte 1961, 126 (nr. 17) & 159; Daressy 1906, 7...
Unknown	[hieroglyphs] (Daressy)	[hieroglyphs]	Yoyotte: "Djeho fils d'Ankhhor fils du prince et comte, grand chef des **Meshouesh**, comte et directeur des prophetes du belier-seigneur-de-Mendes, Djeho fils de la maitress de Maison Shepensopte"	Yoyotte 1961, 126 (nr.24); Daressy 1892, 287 no. 156; Davies, 1957, cone # 378
Unknown [Cairo 21/11/16/5 (no. 4937)]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (Maspero)	Yoyotte: "Sheamenimes, fille du mes des **Meshouesh** Takelot"	Yoyotte 1961, 128 (nr.25); Maspero 1883, 6...
Unknown [Coll. Frazer no. 470]	[hieroglyphs]	[hieroglyphs] (Spiegelberg)	"Le **Meshwesh** Paihouty"	Yoyotte 1961), 126 note 2; Frazer, Cat. Of Scarabs, 55 (nr. 470) & pl. 16
25th Dyn. (Taharqa) [CG 770]	[hieroglyphs] (Zibelius)	[hieroglyphs] 1. [hieroglyph] 2. [hieroglyph] 3. [hieroglyph] 4. [hieroglyph]		Zibelius 1972, 5... (VII C a... 30)& 130; Mariette 1875, p...

					45 a,2.
		5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.			

Ptolemaic Period

Ptolemy X			(Yoyotte): "Re-Harakhte, taillant en pieces les Mechouech, abattant les Chasous, massacrant les Tjeker"	Chassinat, Edfou IV (date), 236; Yoyotte, 1952, 92

Roman Period

Roman Philae, trilingual inscription of C. Cornelius Gallus			(Hoffmann et al): "bis zum Land von Manu. Sie sind die 'Phönizier' und '[Meshwesh].' Er errichtete einen Tempel, er liess einen Tempel gedeihen"	Lyons and Borchardt, 1896; Mommsen et al., 1902; 2298 ff; Hoffmann et al., 2009, 47 ff.