



## THE AAMU OF SHU IN THE TOMB OF KHNUMHOTEP II AT BENI HASSAN

Janice Kamrin  
American Research Center in Egypt—Cairo

### ABSTRACT

*This paper addresses the well-known scene of “Asiatics” in the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan (tomb BH 3), which an associated inscription dates to Year 6 of Senusret II (ca. 1897–1878 BCE). Many scholars have studied this scene and come to a variety of conclusions about the original home of the foreigners represented and the specific reason for their apparent visit to Egypt. These various theories are discussed and evaluated herein through a detailed review of the scene’s individual elements, along with its accompanying inscriptions. Attention is also paid to the additional levels of meaning embedded in the scene, in which the foreigners function as symbols of controlled and pacified denizens of the chaotic realm that constantly surrounds and threatens the ordered world of the Egyptians. The symbolic levels at which the scene functions within its ritually charged setting neither conflict with nor detract from its historic value, but rather complement and enhance the inherent richness and complexity of the concepts that underlay its creation.*

The subject of this paper is a well-known image of a group of foreigners from the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hassan (Tomb 3, henceforth BH 3) dating from the reign of Senusret II (ca. 1897–1878 BCE).<sup>1</sup> This unique scene is mentioned numerous times in the Egyptological and Near Eastern literature, but certain questions about who exactly these people are and what they are doing in this particular tomb remain a matter of continuing and lively debate.<sup>2</sup> A careful review of the details of the scene itself and its accompanying inscriptions will open the present discussion of the various possible identifications of this group, followed by an effort to elucidate their function—both in the real world in which they presumably lived and in the microcosm of the tomb chapel in which they were painted.

### THE FAMILY AND CAREER OF KHNUMHOTEP II

The tomb of Khnumhotep II is one of thirty-nine rock-cut tombs of the Middle Kingdom carved into the eastern cliffs at Beni Hassan.<sup>3</sup> Thirteen of the tomb chapels were decorated: the inscriptions on their walls, which in several cases include extensive biographies, identify ten of their owners as the highest officials of the Oryx (Sixteenth Upper Egyptian) nome. The earliest tombs most likely date to the later Eleventh Dynasty,<sup>4</sup> while BH 3, which was completed during the reign of Senusret II, is the last in the series.

Khnumhotep II was not the governor of the nome;<sup>5</sup> his principal titles were Administrator of the Eastern Desert (*imj-r3 h3swt i3btt*, ) a post he was granted in Year 19

of Amenemhat II and held until at least Year 6 of Senusret II, and Mayor (*h3ty-ꜥ*, ) in Menat Khufu.<sup>6</sup> As such, it is thought by some scholars that he would have been in charge of the desert fringes on the eastern side of the Nile Valley, stretching all the way to the Red Sea.<sup>7</sup> This area was relatively barren, but rock inscriptions and archaeological deposits show clearly that it was a crucial region for hunting, mining, trade, and security, and was a key point of contact between Egypt and its neighbors to the northeast. Sydney Aufrere, who discusses this issue at some length, concludes that Khnumhotep II controlled the northern part of the Eastern Desert from the Wadi Hammamat to the southern Sinai—and thus the route to the Levant—from his seat at Menat Khufu.<sup>8</sup> Both Kessler and Goedicke argue that Menat Khufu (the exact location of which is debated, but is thought to have been sited somewhere on the east side of the Nile) did not give direct access to the main routes through the Eastern Desert.<sup>9</sup> However, although there is no general agreement on the exact extent and nature of Khnumhotep II’s authority, it does seem clear that his position as Administrator of the Eastern Desert provided a direct connection with prospecting and mining activities, at least in the area between the Sixteenth Upper Egyptian nome and the Red Sea.

As he expresses in his tomb autobiography, Khnumhotep II inherited his titles from his maternal grandfather, Khnumhotep I of BH 14. His father, Nehri, bore the titles Hereditary Prince (*jrj-pꜥt*, ) Mayor, Ruler of the New Towns (*hk3 njwwt m3t*, ) and Overseer of the City (*imj-r3 njwt*, )<sup>10</sup> and his mother was named Bakt. Due to his high status, Khnumhotep II appears to have



Figure 1. Photograph of the procession of Aamu from the north wall of BH 3.



Figure 2. Grayscale rendering of the Aamu scene, after Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs III* (1847), Plate XII.<sup>16</sup>

been raised at court. His first wife, Khety, was the daughter of a nomarch of the nearby Jackal (Seventeenth Upper Egyptian) nome; he was also married to a woman named Tjat.<sup>11</sup>

Many of Khnumhotep II's children appear in his tomb. Of these, the most relevant to the topic at hand is Khnumhotep III, his second-eldest son by Khety. This son, like his father, was brought up in the royal palace as a childhood companion of the king (most likely Senusret II).<sup>12</sup> As an adult, he became a "Doorway of the Foreign Lands," a title which suggests that he dealt with Egypt's frontiers and was responsible for delivering foreign peoples and products to the king<sup>13</sup>—according to Aufrere, a sort of customs officer.<sup>14</sup> As a member of the central administration, he was buried in the pyramid cemetery at Dahshur, near Senusret III (ca. 1878–1841 BCE). A historical inscription from the façade of his mastaba involving events in Syro-Palestine is currently being reconstructed and translated by James Allen, who concludes that Khnumhotep III was "a court official responsible for trade with Egypt's eastern neighbors."<sup>15</sup> Thus both Khnumhotep II and Khnumhotep III were closely involved with activities in the Eastern Desert, and quite possibly managed contacts with non-Egyptians from the east.

### THE FOREIGNERS IN TOMB BH 3: DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION

Khnumhotep II's tomb is an architectural and artistic masterpiece. The upper chapel, fronted by a courtyard, is entered through a portico adorned with two multi-faceted columns. The main chamber of the chapel is a large square room in which four columns of stone were left standing to support a triple-vaulted ceiling; to the east is a cult niche that once contained a rock-cut statue. Two burial shafts descend from the floor of the main chamber; both had been robbed in antiquity, with only negligible funerary remains discovered inside.<sup>17</sup>

The walls of the chapel were plastered and then painted with beautifully executed scenes and texts, creating the effect

of a rich tapestry. On the west, or entrance wall, are a variety of scenes, most connected with the manufacture of cult or burial equipment or with food production; in addition, an Abydos pilgrimage is represented. On the south wall, the tomb owner and his wife Khety are seated at separate offering tables, while servants bring them offerings and their cults are celebrated. The east wall is dedicated to marsh hunting scenes, with Khnumhotep II fishing with a harpoon to one side of the door into the shrine and fowling with a throwstick on the other.

The north wall is dominated by two large-scale figures of the tomb owner. Spanning several of the upper registers on the left (west), he is shown hunting wild animals in the desert; below and to the right (east), he stands and receives processions of officials, petitioners, and scribes, as well as the group of foreigners that forms the focus of this article. Other vignettes on this wall depict animal husbandry and the catching and herding of birds.

The procession of foreigners occupies the third register of the north wall (Figures 1 and 2). The eight men, four women, three children, and two donkeys that comprise the group face to the right, toward the large-scale standing figure of Khnumhotep II, and are preceded by two Egyptian officials. The first two foreigners stand alone, holding animals. Behind them are four men with weapons, then a donkey carrying two children, a third child, four women, a second donkey, a man playing a stringed instrument, and a man carrying weapons. The foreigners are distinguished from the Egyptians by their clothing, sandals, and hairstyles, as well as by the objects they bring with them and by the inscriptions associated with the vignette.

This scene is unique in the repertoire of Egyptian funerary art. Its unusual nature, and the apparent accuracy of its details, renders it very likely to be a representation of, or at least an allusion to, a specific event. This does not negate the ritual and symbolic levels at which it surely functioned within the tomb (as will be discussed below), but it is important to begin by attempting to identify the foreigners, review the details of their appearance and material culture, and address the historicity of their appearance in BH 3.

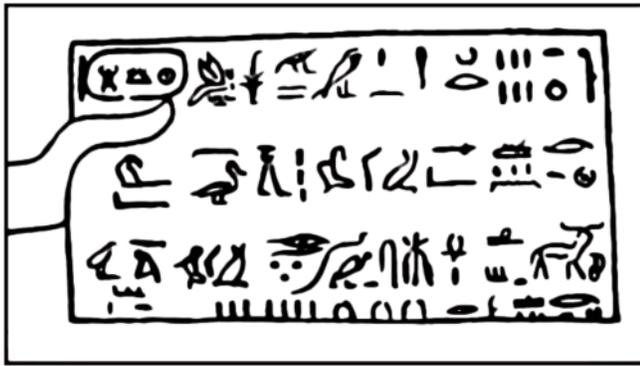


Figure 3. Newberry's facsimile of Neferhotep's writing board or papyrus.

THE INSCRIPTIONS AND THE ROYAL DOCUMENT SCRIBE, NEFERHOTEP

The scene is captioned by a horizontal line of hieroglyphs that begins above the head of the first (easternmost) Egyptian official and runs to a point above the second foreigner in the procession. There is a great deal of disagreement as to the exact reading of this label, , which can perhaps be rendered as: *jyt hr jnt msdm(w)t jn.n.f ʕm(w) 37*; “Coming on account of bringing *mesdemet*; he brought thirty-seven Aamu,” or “Coming on account of bringing *mesdemet*, which thirty-seven Aamu brought to him.”<sup>18</sup>

The procession is led by the Royal Document Scribe, Neferhotep (*sš ʕn nswt nfr-ḥtp*), who was directly connected with the central administration. Neferhotep holds out a writing board or papyrus to the large standing figure of Khnumhotep II. The text on this document was legible in Newberry's time; according to his facsimile (Figure 3),<sup>19</sup> it reads:

*rnpt-sp 6 hr ḥm n hr sšm-t3wj nswt-bjtj ḥʕ-ḥpr-rʕ rḥt n ʕmw  
jn.n s3 ḥ3tj-ʕ ḥnm-ḥtp hr msdmwt m ʕm n šw rḥt-jr 37*

Year 6 under the Majesty of Horus, Uniter of the Two Lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakheperra (Senusret II): accounting of the Aamu that the son of the Mayor, Khnumhotep, brought because of *mesdemet*; being Aamu of Shu, number amounting to thirty-seven.<sup>20</sup>

Kessler suggests that this is a symbolic version of a longer document, a register to record supplies and payments that may have included the names of the thirty-seven Aamu.<sup>21</sup>

It is important to note that there are fifteen Aamu represented here, not thirty-seven; of these only twelve are adult. This is not unusual, as it was a common practice in Egyptian art to have a smaller group function as representatives of a larger one.<sup>22</sup> It is still unclear, however, how many people were in the full group. Were there a total of thirty-seven people, counting men, women, and children? Or were there thirty-

seven men plus their families, so perhaps well over one hundred Aamu all together? Goedicke points out that the word *ʕm(w)* is always determined by a male figure here, adding weight to the possibility that thirty-seven men plus their families is meant.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, Egyptian personnel lists of various sorts often include both men and women.<sup>24</sup> At this point, no firm conclusion can be drawn.

Before examining the rest of the scene, it is useful to look further at some of the specific terms included in these inscriptions, which may help elucidate a number of the issues about which there is continuing debate. One of these issues involves the homeland of the foreigners. Although there is general agreement among scholars that they come from the northeast of Egypt, there has been a great deal of discussion in the literature about their exact origins. To date, they have been identified as inhabitants of the Sinai<sup>25</sup> or Eastern Desert,<sup>26</sup> Southern Palestine,<sup>27</sup> northern Syria,<sup>28</sup> and even north Arabia.<sup>29</sup>

Both inscriptions label the members of the group “Aamu.” This term is usually translated by Egyptologists as “Asiatic,” and is generally agreed to be a Semitic loanword.<sup>30</sup> Redford concludes that it is derived from a West Semitic word and can be linked to the root *ʕlamu*, meaning “man(kind)” or “people.”<sup>31</sup> Saretta agrees that it is West Semitic, and finds its genesis more specifically in the Amorite dialect. She traces it to *hammu/amu*, a West Semitic word denoting kinship<sup>32</sup>; she further states that the Amorites were pastoralists originally from northeastern Syria, and that they migrated to Mesopotamia and Canaan in search of grazing for their herds, where they continued to lead a nomadic lifestyle. She equates them with the MAR.TU/Amurru of contemporary cuneiform texts, where they appear as both sedentary and nomadic peoples.<sup>33</sup>

In fact, the contexts in which the word “Aamu” appears in the Old through Middle Kingdoms suggest that it was used as a general term for the peoples of the Levant, including the nomads of the Eastern Desert.<sup>34</sup> In his tomb biography, the Sixth Dynasty official Pepinakht, for example, states that the king sent him to retrieve the body of another official who had been slain (along with his troops) by Aamu of the Sand-dwellers while building a “Punt-boat.” Based on the discovery of Middle Kingdom boats at Mersa Gawasis,<sup>35</sup> this area is likely along the Red Sea coast. However, in the “Tale of Sinuhe,” the word “Aamu” refers to the inhabitants of the area (Retjenu) where Sinuhe has settled, which lies to the north, in modern Syria. In the “Prophecy of Neferti,” Amenemhat I builds the defensive “Walls of the Ruler” to prevent the Aamu from penetrating Egypt itself. Thus, at least in the Middle Kingdom, “Aamu” appears to be a general term for Semitic-speaking people from the east and northeast of the Nile Valley.

In a number of texts, the term is qualified by a more specific location. In the inscription in BH 3, the foreigners are called “Aamu of Shu.”<sup>36</sup> This has been equated with the place name Shutu, which is attested in the Execration Texts<sup>37</sup> and appears as *R-šwt* in the Speos Artemidos inscription of Hatshepsut.<sup>38</sup> Posener also

links this term with the word *shaddu*, found in the Amarna Letters.<sup>39</sup> Helck suggests, based on geographical considerations and a biblical parallel, that Shu should be equated with Moab, in southern Palestine at the southeast corner of the Red Sea, and concludes that it refers to the nomadic tribes of this area.<sup>40</sup> Ahituv agrees with the equation of Shutu with the area east of the Jordan River, perhaps more specifically with Moab.<sup>41</sup> Aharoni also places Shutu east of the Jordan, but farther north, in the biblical Gilead.<sup>42</sup> Redford places Shutu more generally in Transjordan.<sup>43</sup> Based primarily on the appearance of the term at Speos Artemidos, Goedicke concludes that Shu refers to the northern Sinai.<sup>44</sup> However, the reference in the Speos Artemidos inscription is very general,<sup>45</sup> and would not seem to rule out the southern Levant.

The bulk of scholarly opinion would thus place the homeland of the Aamu of Shu in the southern Levant, more specifically somewhere in the area just east of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea. However, the possibility that these Aamu come from the Sinai or the Eastern Desert still cannot be dismissed, as the evidence connecting Shu(tu) with the area of Transjordan is slight. In any case, these foreigners were certainly not Egyptian, and whether they were at this point in time living in the Eastern Desert or farther to the north and east, it is in general to the material culture of the Levant in the transitional era from the Early to the Middle Bronze Age<sup>46</sup> that the details of this scene should be compared.

Another key term in the inscriptions is *mesdemet*. Many of the scholars who have studied this scene translate this as “black eye-paint.” However, it can also mean galena, a dark gray lead ore which is the principal ingredient of black eye-paint; green eye-paint; or malachite.<sup>47</sup> Without additional information, all of these possibilities must be taken into consideration when interpreting this scene, as will be discussed further below.

A final issue raised by the inscription on the writing board is the identification of the *s3 h3ty-ꜥ hnm-hꜥp* (“son of the Mayor, Khnumhotep”). Newberry assumed, as have many scholars following him, that this refers to Khnumhotep II himself, a reasonable inference given that his father Nehri bore the title of Mayor. Although he is not referred to this way either in his biography or in the captions on the chapel walls, this may have been an appropriate form of address in the context of an official royal document. However, several scholars have offered alternative interpretations. Goedicke suggests that this phrase refers to the royal official Neferhotep; to justify this, he parallels the use of *s3 h3ty-ꜥ* here with the use of *s3-nswt* () which does not necessarily denote an actual king’s son or even a royal relation.<sup>48</sup> In his analysis of this scene, Detlef Franke concludes *s3 h3ty-ꜥ* refers to Khnumhotep III,<sup>49</sup> who does accompany the standing figure of his father on this wall, where he is, in fact, captioned with this title. A number of scholars have followed Franke’s suggestion, which is certainly a valid one. However, the original interpretation of this Khnumhotep as the tomb owner is still a good possibility.

*The Overseer of the Hunters, Khety:* The second official is named Khety. His title, *jmy-r n nww* () is usually

translated as “Overseer of the Hunters.” Aufrere suggests “Superintendent of the Desert Policemen” instead, stating that such officials patrolled the deserts, using dogs to help them control the nomadic tribes who traveled along the fringes of the Nile Valley.<sup>50</sup>

*Abisharie:* Behind Khety is the leader of the Aamu, labeled as *hk3-h3swt jb-s3* (). The title *hk3 h3swt*, “ruler of the hill-lands,” Hellenized as *hyksos*, is best known in relation to the Levantine trader-princes who conquered Egypt more than two hundred years after this scene was painted, but in fact was used by the Egyptians at least as early as the Sixth Dynasty in reference to a variety of chieftains from Syro-Palestine.<sup>51</sup> Goedicke concludes that the title simply refers to someone who has administrative power over either a specific group of people or a significant territory.<sup>52</sup> *hk3*, written with a crook, is commonly translated simply as “ruler”; the hieroglyphic sign rendered as *h3swt* or *smjt* can mean foreign, desert, or hill-land, and is thought to refer to the undulating pastureland of the Levant or the sandy hills of the desert, both of which contrast with the relatively flat cultivated fields of the Nile Valley and Delta.

The name of the chieftain is agreed by all scholars to be Semitic in origin. It is rendered as *Abi-sha(i)* by Hans Goedicke, who equates it with the name borne by the son of Job and Asahbel in the Old Testament. He notes Albright’s reading of this name as a defective writing for *Abi-shar*, meaning “my father is king,” but concludes that the the Biblical *Abi-shai* makes this unnecessary.<sup>53</sup> Saretta also concludes that the best reading is *Abishai*, which she translates as “my father is a nobleman.”<sup>54</sup> Most recently, Thomas Schneider has rendered the name as *Abisharie*, which he translates as “my father is strong.”<sup>55</sup>

*Abisharie* wears a brightly colored robe patterned with stripes and chevrons, fringed along the side, that leaves one shoulder bare. This is a distinctly un-Egyptian garment of a type worn in Egyptian art by “Asiatics.”<sup>56</sup> Although textiles from the Levant and Mesopotamia are rare in the archaeological record, their remains, along with textual references, support the conclusion that weaving techniques, especially of intricately patterned, colorful cloth, were advanced in these regions. The Egyptians did not use the tapestry technique until the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, and elaborately woven cloth remained a speciality of the cultures to the northeast.<sup>57</sup>

Saretta finds parallels for *Abisharie*’s one-shouldered tunic in the roughly contemporary Ur III culture of Mesopotamia.<sup>58</sup> She notes that such garments, considered typical of Levantine work, would most likely have been woven of wool, which takes dye better than linen. Such textiles were associated with wealth and prestige among West Semitic people, and it is worthy of note that *Abisharie*’s robe is more elaborate than those of his companions.<sup>59</sup>

Using a short staff with his left hand, *Abisharie* restrains a Nubian ibex.<sup>60</sup> The staff might simply be a shepherd’s tool, but might also be a symbol reinforcing his princely status by reiterating his title (although it is not shaped exactly like the hieroglyph

for *hk3*, being significantly less curved). His feet are bare, and he bends forward over the ibex with his right hand extended, the palm flat and facing down, in a gesture of respect or submission<sup>61</sup> toward Khnumhotep II. Like most of the Aamu men who accompany him, his skin is much lighter than that of the officials who head the procession, with yellow rather than red overtones. He, like all the Aamu men, has a short, pointed beard and wavy hair cut to the back of the neck. This hairstyle has been compared to the “mushroom-head” style seen, for example, on the head of a large fragmentary statue of a late Middle Kingdom Asiatic dignitary found at Tell el-Dabaa; this figure’s garment was also painted in a colorful pattern.<sup>62</sup>

*The Gazelle Tamer:* Behind Abisharie is a second bare-footed man who wears a colorful striped kilt and holds a dorcas gazelle,<sup>63</sup> his right hand on its horns and his left grasping a rope of some sort that runs around the animal’s neck. While Abisharie’s body is visible in front of the ibex, this man stands on the far side of the gazelle so that his thighs are not visible. In current photographs, the skin of this man is slightly darker and redder than that of his comrades; however, earlier facsimiles do not show this detail, and it is clear from the lighter color of the wall haloing him that this figure has undergone cleaning and perhaps repainting. Therefore, we cannot be sure without further study that this is not a modern artifact. Another odd detail about this man is a tear-drop, colored white and outlined in black, that hangs from his beard. Again, further examination would be needed to ascertain the possible significance of this.

*The Bodyguards:* Four men in laced sandals and one-shouldered tunics that reach to just below the knee<sup>64</sup> come behind the gazelle tamer. They are depicted in single file, but might be better interpreted as walking beside one another or in a loose group. The first man wears a red robe with gray chevrons that leaves what seems to be his left shoulder and chest bare; the other arm is not visible (so might actually be his far arm). He holds a composite bow (recognizable by its outwardly curving tips) in his visible hand. In Western Asia, this weapon, far superior to the simpler self-bow, first appears in the late Early Bronze Age (ca. 2200 BCE), but was not used in Egypt until the New Kingdom.<sup>65</sup>

The second man wears a white garment; he carries a throwstick that is very similar in form both to the hieroglyph used in the word for Aamu and to the weapon wielded by Khnumhotep II himself in the marsh hunting scene on the east wall. The fact that this type of weapon is used as a determinative for Aamu supports the theory that it was a typical hunting and perhaps also military tool in their culture. The Tell el-Dabaa dignitary mentioned above also holds a throwstick against one shoulder,<sup>66</sup> in a pose similar to that of an Egyptian king (who holds, instead, the crook and/or flail). A bag, most likely a water skin, is strapped to this man’s back.

The third man wears a robe similar to that of the first. He holds a throwstick in one hand and a spear (visible in earlier fac-



**Figure 4.** Detail of the first donkey, with an enigmatic object on its back. (Ken Garrett)

similes but now difficult to make out) in the other. It would be interesting to ascertain whether or not this is a socketed spear, which was a characteristic weapon of the MBIIA. The last man in this group, who is dressed like the second, turns to look behind him, holding another long spear whose head is no longer easily visible.

*The First Donkey and the Children:* Behind this group is a donkey that bears two children and a saddle-bag on its back. Donkeys were domesticated and used in Egypt from at least the Predynastic to carry loads; however, they are never shown with Egyptian riders on their backs. In contrast, Asiatics are shown riding on donkeys in both the Egyptian and Near Eastern records.<sup>67</sup>

The children seem to be placed in some sort of carrier made of red cloth(?). This carrier is strapped with fiber or leather bands to the back of the donkey, along with a large saddlebag that may hold some sort of gear or supplies, perhaps including the *mesdemet* mentioned in the inscriptions. Between the children is an enigmatic object that appears to be made of leather, accordion-folded and held closed with a strap(?), with two handles of some sort, perhaps made of wood or bone, lashed to each end (Figure 4).

Alessandra Nibbi and others assume that this object is a skin bellows, without explaining exactly how it would have worked.<sup>68</sup> In fact, its shape is not exactly correct for such a tool: it has two protrusions on each end, whereas a bellows would normally have two handles but only one outlet pipe.<sup>69</sup> In general, Egyptian depictions of metalworking show pot, drum, or dish bellows; the only example of skin bellows found from ancient Egypt in either an archaeological or pictorial context is on a Middle Kingdom coffin, which Scheel takes as evidence

that skin bellows, most likely made from the skin of a goat or gazelle, were used by Middle Kingdom metalworkers.<sup>70</sup> It is possible that ancient bellows were differently shaped than the ones we see today, or that the artist has misrepresented the object; however, the carefulness with which it was rendered, the exactness of the other details of the scene, and the fact that there is a second similar object farther back in the procession argues against the latter option. It is hard to come up with alternative suggestions that can be supported by comparanda,<sup>71</sup> but the topic is worthy of further investigation. Until a better identification can be found for these mysterious objects, skin bellows must remain a possibility.

A third child dressed in a knee-length skirt of red cloth and some sort of ankle-height boots, painted as dark red with narrow white bands around the tops, walks behind the donkey, holding a child-sized spear.

*The Women:* The next group consists of four women, all with long hair held back from the face with a fillet, and all wearing boots similar to the ones worn by the child in front of them. The first woman wears a one-shouldered garment of white that reaches to mid-shin and bears blue chevrons and red dots. She holds her left fist to her chest in a gesture that can be interpreted as a greeting or a sign of reverence.<sup>72</sup> Next is a woman whose tunic, again off one shoulder, is red and adorned with vertical stripes and dots. The third woman's pale-colored dress covers both shoulders and is adorned with zig-zags and a meander pattern in red and green or blue. The fourth woman's red robe is very similar to the one worn by the second woman; like the leader of the women, she holds one fist to her chest.

*The Second Donkey:* After the women comes a second donkey with a pale-colored blanket or bag decorated with red zigzags on its back. Strapped to this is a small red bag or pillow, an extra throwstick,<sup>73</sup> a spear, and a second set of "bellows."

*The Rearguard:* Behind the second donkey is a man in a fringed kilt patterned with red chevrons, wearing laced sandals on his feet and carrying a skin water bag on his back. As he walks, he plays an asymmetrical lyre. This is a distinctly Near Eastern instrument, and is seen in Egypt for the first time here.<sup>74</sup> Bringing up the rear is a eighth man in laced sandals and a red-and-white skirt patterned with zigzags and fringed at the bottom; he is carrying a compound bow and has a quiver strapped to his back. In his right hand he holds a duckbilled axe, a distinctive feature of Levantine MBIIA culture.<sup>75</sup>

In summary, one can say that the material culture expressed in the Aamu scene accords well with what is known of MBIIA culture. During this and the preceding era, urban life, organized around a series of city-states, begins to be re-established after a hiatus in the late Early Bronze Age, with palaces being built for the first time in the largest settlements of the region. Pastoralism, the dominant way of life in the preceding period, continues as well, and important technological advances take place.<sup>76</sup>

#### WHAT EVENT IS PORTRAYED HERE?

The precise date given on the writing board held out by the Royal Document Scribe, Neferhotep, suggests that a specific event in which the Aamu are playing a key role is being represented, or at least alluded to, here. A number of scholars, including Klebs<sup>77</sup> and Wilson,<sup>78</sup> see the Aamu as traders; Helck suggests that they represent a caravan coming to Beni Hassan to deliver eye-paint to Khnumhotep II.<sup>79</sup> Shea also assumes that the foreigners are traders peddling eye-paint around the region.<sup>80</sup>

Hayes<sup>81</sup> and others, including most recently Aufrere, have interpreted the group as diplomatic envoys or political guests of Khnumhotep II, bringing official gifts or tribute in the form of eye-paint, or galena for eye-paint. The Aamu thus parallel the tribute-bearers seen in a number of New Kingdom tombs. Aufrere further suggests that Khnumhotep II is here overseeing an important official event that might have taken place at a "traditional trading post" rather than in Menat Khufu itself.<sup>82</sup>

To assess this first group of possibilities, is important to look again at the product, *mesdemet*, being delivered by (or along with) the foreigners. Both black and green eye-paint had practical uses as well as religious overtones, and are listed as one of the essential offerings for the mortuary cult from very early in Egyptian history, necessary for the resurrection of the deceased.<sup>83</sup> Both were also used in various medical remedies.<sup>84</sup>

Egyptian galena was mined in the Eastern Desert and also in the Sinai; malachite is found on the surface of copper ore deposits in the same general areas. One key source for galena during the Middle Kingdom was at Gebel Zeit, almost due east of Beni Hassan. It was also mined at other sites in the Eastern Desert, mainly near the Red Sea.<sup>85</sup>

Goedicke argues that since galena could be mined in Egypt itself, the group should not be interpreted as traders bringing this substance from afar. He also thinks that thirty-seven people is too many for a trading caravan, which should in any case not have included women and children, and would normally have had fifty to one hundred pack animals attached to it. He also feels that if the main commodity the Aamu were bringing was galena, the amount brought by thirty-seven or more people would have been enormous, and would have presented problems with redistribution. He concludes that Beni Hassan was far from the major population centers of the country, and was thus an unlikely location for such activity.<sup>86</sup> In addition, he argues that if the foreigners were from Moab, it is unlikely they would have been involved in mining in Egypt, or that they would have traveled approximately three hundred miles to deliver a commodity that could be found much closer, passing through a large amount of Egyptian territory on the way, an idea he sees as both politically and practically unlikely.<sup>87</sup>

It is important to point out, however, that the quality of eye-paint was of great importance to the ancient Egyptians,<sup>88</sup> and imported galena was certainly used in the New Kingdom, with Asiatics among its suppliers.<sup>89</sup> The characterization of Beni

Hassan as insignificant is also questionable; as discussed above, it is possible that the entire northern part of the Eastern Desert was controlled from the Sixteenth Upper Egyptian nome, and the size and beauty of the tombs here attest to the importance of the area.

In any event, as an alternative to traders, Goedicke, following and expanding on a suggestion made by Edouard Meyer,<sup>90</sup> proposes that the Aamu represent a group of migrant workers coming to work and perhaps settle in Egypt. He notes that immigration was likely carefully controlled by the Egyptians,<sup>91</sup> and discusses the royal officials attached to the event, Neferhotep and perhaps Khety, pointing out how unlikely it is that they would come to Middle Egypt only to deliver eye-paint. He concludes that the Aamu are being brought not to deliver already mined galena, but to serve as miners who will be responsible for ensuring a future supply of this substance.<sup>92</sup> He further suggests that Abisharie, as an important chieftain, would not really have come himself but is shown here in a symbolic capacity; the man behind him would thus have been the actual expedition leader. The royal officials, representing the central administration, were sent to chaperone the Aamu from the point at which they entered Egypt, somewhere to the northeast, to their temporary home in Oryx nome, delivering them to the care of Khnumhotep II as their supervisor. Neferhotep would have been the administrator actually in charge of the event and Khety would have come along because of his expertise with matters concerning the desert. Goedicke's translation of the accompanying inscriptions leads him to the conclusion that the scene shows Khnumhotep II being notified of this event and taking charge of the migrants who will be working under his jurisdiction.<sup>93</sup>

In support of this theory, there is abundant evidence that people from Western Asia were moving into Egypt during this period and later.<sup>94</sup> Although some of these may have been brought as prisoners of war,<sup>95</sup> others were likely voluntary immigrants literally looking for greener pastures. There are, however, other possible interpretations.

According to Franke, the scene of the Aamu represents the end result of an expedition led in Year 6 of Senusret II by Khnumhotep III to Gebel Zeit to mine galena. Afterward, he led his troops "through the Wadi Hammamat and passing Coptos back to the Nile Valley, via his home-town Menat-Chufu and the local residence of his father, down the Nile to the king's residence." The foreigners, he suggests, were native desert dwellers who accompanied the expedition to help them survive in the hostile environment of the desert—aiding, for example, in finding water.<sup>96</sup> It seems unlikely to me, however, that desert guides, who were presumably men, would bring their families along with them on such an expedition.

Other scholars, such as Donald Redford, have interpreted the Aamu as itinerant metalworkers.<sup>97</sup> If the objects carried by the donkeys are skin bellows, they would be a reasonable tool for traveling metalworkers to carry; bellows were used to fan the smelting fires, and skin bellows would be more portable than

other types of bellows.<sup>98</sup> Scholars analyzing subsistence patterns in the Levant during the early Middle Bronze Age have concluded that metalworking was an important part of the economy of this region, and the connection between metalworking and the southern Levant goes back at least to the Early Dynastic era. During EBII, there is evidence for Canaanite settlers in the Sinai itself, thought to have come to exploit the copper mines.<sup>99</sup>

Could these foreigners, then, be itinerant metalworkers, coming from an area where metalworking was a well-established profession? This is an interesting avenue to explore: one might suggest that the Aamu are bringing new technologies with them, along with samples of their wares in the form of new types of weapons, such as the duckbilled axe. The fact that the Aamu bring *mesdemet* with them could perhaps be linked with the translation of this word as "galena"; in addition to being used for kohl, galena was the main ore from which lead was produced. Although few lead artifacts from this era have been discovered to date, small figures and jewelry, along with tools such as net sinkers, were made of lead from the Old Kingdom on.<sup>100</sup>

Another possible use of galena is in the casting of copper: the addition of small amounts of lead to copper alloy can make the casting process easier without weakening the strength of the resulting metal. If enough is added, it can lower the melting point of the copper, make the molten metal more fluid, and reduce its porosity. Could the galena, after being refined into lead, have been used in copper-working? Again, the archaeological evidence does not necessarily support this interpretation. The technology of adding lead to copper is seen in the Middle Kingdom, but is not attested on a large scale before the New Kingdom.<sup>101</sup>

A third possibility is that the galena was used for the production of silver. The silver levels in Egyptian galena are generally low, which might be another reason for the Aamu to bring foreign galena.<sup>102</sup> It is interesting to note in regard to this possibility that there is a scene on the west wall of BH 3 that shows an official overseeing the weighing of precious metal that might include silver.

The lack of a confirmed identification of the enigmatic objects carried by the donkeys as bellows, and the fact that the second donkey does not seem to carry an anvil, must call the interpretation of the Aamu as itinerant tinkers into question, although this idea should not be discarded. There are then three possibilities: first, that Aamu here are not metalworkers at all; second, that the new technologies were not adopted by the Middle Kingdom Egyptians, and are thus not reflected in the archaeological record; or third, that silver is being extracted from the galena. This last possibility is worthy of further exploration.

It is difficult at this point to draw any firm conclusions about the event represented here. What is certain is that it took place in Year 6 of Senusret II, and that it was connected with the central administration. Perhaps the simplest reconstruction is that a group of southern Levantine pastoralists, led by their ruler, have come to Egypt, bringing high-quality galena for eye-paint or for silver, as a gift, perhaps to be interpreted as tribute

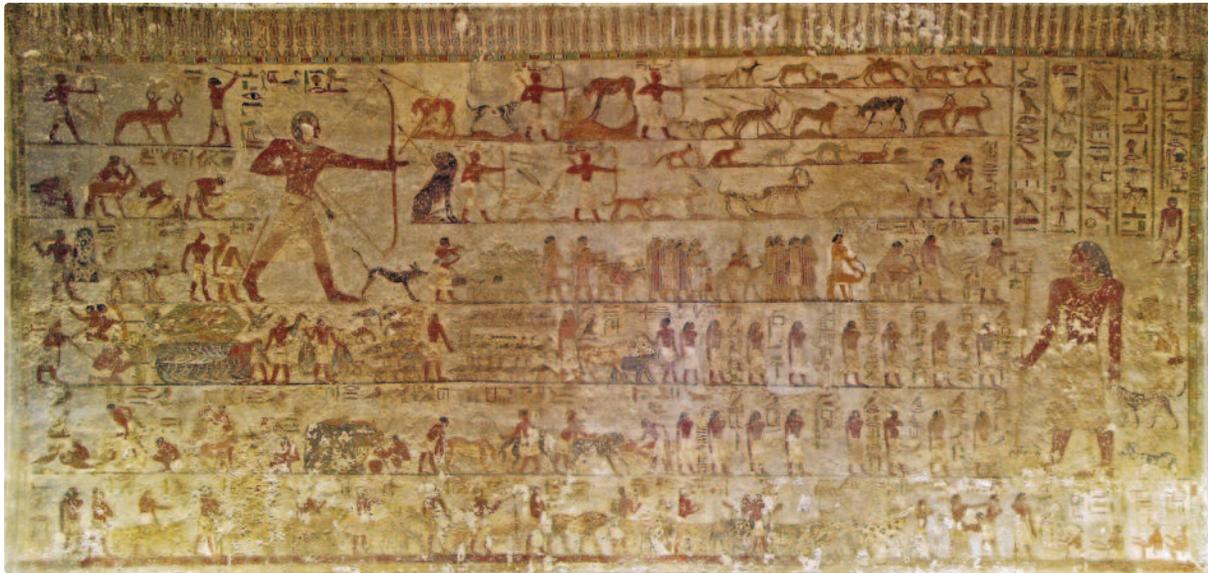


Figure 5. The North Wall of BH 3. (Gustavo Camps)

to ensure good relations with Egypt.<sup>103</sup> They might be bringing other gifts as well; one could (very tentatively!) suggest that the two children who ride on the first donkey are princes who are to be brought up in Egypt,<sup>104</sup> as foreign princes are known to have been in the New Kingdom. The third child, who wears a distinctive red kilt that matches the carrier in which the younger children ride and carries a spear (an unusual weapon for a child), could perhaps be an older prince, or a high-born honor guard of some sort.

Whether in reality it was Khnumhotep III or his father to whom the Aamu and their goods were delivered, it is Khnumhotep II who is shown in the tomb as the beneficiary of this act. It is most likely that the event is taking place at Menat Khufu, since this was the seat of his administration. The scene here can be compared, in some ways, to commemorative stelae set up at the sites of the events they mark—as well as, of course, to later tribute scenes from New Kingdom tombs.

### THE AAMU IN THE CONTEXT OF BH 3

A precise identification of the Aamu, and the specifics of what they may have been doing in Egypt, only partly answers the question of why they have been included in the decoration of this tomb. In order to address that issue, it is crucial to look in greater depth at the scene in the context of the larger scene of which it forms a part—in the framework of the wall, and then as part of the tomb as a whole. Such a holistic approach is suggested by Kessler, who concludes that the entire wall is related to the celebration of the New Year's Festival,<sup>105</sup> and by Rabehl, who interprets it as an expression of the tomb owner's loyalty to the royal house.<sup>106</sup>

The Aamu approach and are presented to the large figure of the tomb owner who stands at the east end of the north wall

(Figure 5). According to the inscription above his head, Khnumhotep II is “watching the levying of the cattle tax, consisting of all animals: the *imw*-gifts that were brought to him from his towns and his districts of the interior of the Oryx nome, and his city.” He is accompanied by three of his dogs, one of his personal attendants, and his son, Khnumhotep III.

It is important to note that the Aamu occupy only one of five registers associated with this large figure. In the register above them, desert animals captured in the hunt are presented to the tomb owner by a Scribe of the Offering Table, Mentuhotep, who holds out a document on which various desert animals are enumerated,<sup>107</sup> paralleling the writing board held by Neferhotep. At the end of the Aamu register, a flock of cranes accompanied by a herder also walks toward the figure of Khnumhotep II. Directly below this is another herdsman who shepherds three flocks of smaller birds (the yield from the clapnetting scene behind him) toward Khnumhotep II. Also in this register, the fourth from the top, and continuing in the register below, is a procession of officials, each labeled with his name and title. Most are overseers or stewards of one sort or another, and may be connected with either Khnumhotep II's official or mortuary estates, or both. In the sixth and lowest register of the wall, a group of scribes sit at desks, “under” the figure of Khnumhotep II,<sup>108</sup> while various types of domesticated animals (cattle, goats, donkeys, and sheep) are brought to be recorded. Directly in front of the scribes (one of whom is a Royal Document Scribe and thus associated with the central administration) are three officials, one of whom restrains a prisoner of some sort by holding him around the neck with a staff.

All of these vignettes, including the procession of Aamu, can be interpreted at several levels. On the terrestrial plane, they are all clearly part of the bringing of *imw* to Khnumhotep II.

This term has been interpreted by Spalinger, based on a papyrus of the early Thirteenth Dynasty, as “impost,” collected outside of a regular tax as a response to a particular demand.<sup>109</sup> Bleiberg, working with New Kingdom texts, sees it as a reference to a system through which gifts were given to the king by both Egyptians and foreigners. This served to provide the royal house with an outside source of additional wealth as well as to emphasize the superior nature of the king.<sup>110</sup> The *inw* here is most likely being collected by Khnumhotep II on behalf of the royal house, whose involvement is indicated by the presence of several royal scribes. This interpretation is also supported by a passage in the biography of Ameni (BH 2), in which he states: “. . . I was praised for it in the king’s house in every year of the cattle tax. I delivered all their dues to the king’s house . . .”<sup>111</sup> At this level, Rabeih’s suggestion is validated: this wall expresses Khnumhotep’s loyalty to the royal house and his successful efforts on behalf of the king.

Most probably for reasons of decorum, the king himself is rarely shown in tombs of this period, as he will be in later New Kingdom tribute scenes.<sup>112</sup> As a consequence, Khnumhotep II acts here as a royal delegate, receiving *inw* as if he were the king himself. This allows the scenes here to function at another earthly level, in this case the local rather than the national realm: the goods are being provided, perhaps through some sort of redistributive mechanism, for the benefit of Khnumhotep II as well as for the king. This interpretation is supported by a comparable scene in BH 2 in which a scribe hands the tomb owner a papyrus which mentions the *pr-dt*, “house of eternity” (i.e., the mortuary estate), several times. At this level, the processions here parallel scenes found in a majority of tombs from the Old Kingdom onward of servants and officials presenting offerings to the tomb owner.

The *mesdemet* mentioned in the inscriptions connected with the Aamu is a traditional offering, seen as essential to the mortuary cult throughout Egyptian history. The desert animals brought by the troupe were also traditional funerary offerings, and it will be useful to discuss them in more detail at this point. Staubli sees these animals as “greeting gifts.”<sup>113</sup> However, Levantine pastoralists generally herded goats, sheep, and cattle, not wild creatures such as ibex and gazelle. So although they do seem to be gifts of some sort, is unlikely that they represent creatures brought from afar—gazelles and ibex were abundant in Egypt’s Eastern Desert in any case. Goedicke stresses this point in support of his identification of the Aamu of Shu’s homeland in the Sinai: he suggests that both convey overtones of the desert and of nomadism, and specifically interprets the gazelle as part of a rebus for Gazelle-Land, (*t3*)-*ghs* (𓆎𓆏𓆑), used to denote an area of the Wadi Tumilat and the northeastern edge of the Delta. The ibex with the crook held around its neck he reads as a label for Abisharie as “ruler of the desert.”<sup>114</sup>

I agree that these creatures link the Aamu with the desert, an association underscored by their placement directly under the desert hunt scene. This may be, as Goedicke believes, because

they came from the nearby desert. It may also simply show that, wherever they originally came from, the Aamu passed through the desert on their way to Menat Khufu. In either case, I believe that the animals are present principally as offerings for Khnumhotep II and as part of the symbology of the scene, and should not necessarily be taken as specific geographic indicators.

It is surely significant that Abisharie and his second-in-command, in contrast to the rest of their troop, are barefoot.<sup>115</sup> Shea suggests that they are the only two of the group actually admitted into the presence of Khnumhotep II.<sup>116</sup> This may be so, but it also likely signals that they are in a sacred space, and perhaps are part of a cult celebration or procession. In this, they resemble the other offering-bearers on this wall, all of whom are barefoot, and Egyptian offering-bearers in general, who are generally not shod.<sup>117</sup> The most basic explanation for the presence of the wild animals, then, is that they are meant as offerings to be sacrificed as part of the mortuary cult. Both may have been partially domesticated, most likely kept and fattened for offering after being captured in desert hunts (as seen in the register above); this would also have been the case for the herd of cranes that follow behind the Aamu and are thus spatially associated with them.<sup>118</sup> Although he wears sandals, the musician who walks at the back of the group, playing his lyre, may also serve some sort of cultic role.

As is the case with many of the other scenes in the tomb,<sup>119</sup> the significance of the Aamu goes beyond their roles as offering-bearers and representatives of an important event in the history of Khnumhotep II’s tenure as Administrator of the Eastern Desert in the Oryx nome. There are a number of aspects of this scene that suggest it is worthwhile to look at the symbolism invoked by these Aamu and investigate additional meanings for their inclusion in this tomb.

Dieter Kessler feels that the symbolic meaning of the scene, which he examines in the context of the wall as a whole, is at least as important as the real-life event it portrays, and stresses the need to look beyond the superficial level.<sup>120</sup> His approach leads him to conclude that this entire wall, coupled with other images in the tomb, can be seen as an allusion to the celebration of the New Year’s Festival. According to his interpretation, in this and other representations of his professional life on earth, Khnumhotep II would have been identifying himself with the Horus-king at his rejuvenation. Whether or not his conclusions can be proven, Kessler’s multivalent approach to this scene is extremely valuable.

It is surely significant that the procession of Aamu has been placed very near to the desert hunt that is dominated by the tomb owner himself. This hunt can be interpreted as a representation of the forces of order, symbolized by the tomb owner, containing and controlling the chaotic forces of nature embodied in the wild creatures of the desert. The sacrifice of gazelles and ibex, like other wild animals, had symbolic overtones associated with the destruction of the god Seth.<sup>121</sup> The gazelle in particular has a number of cultic associations: it was the sacred animal of the god-

dess Anukis,<sup>122</sup> and a gazelle head can be seen on the prow of the divine bark of Sokar. Archaeological finds also attest to the importance of this animal; the remains of sacrificed gazelles (some of which appear to have been kept in captivity for a time) have been found in a number of mortuary contexts,<sup>123</sup> and in the Late and Greco-Roman periods, these animals were ritually mummified.<sup>124</sup> A diadem of a Hyksos princess adorned with gazelle heads<sup>125</sup> and the appearance of this animal in the iconography of the Amorite god Reshep<sup>126</sup> testify to its connection with the cultures of western Asia.

The links between gazelles, sacrifice, and expeditions to the Eastern Desert are illustrated in a late-Eleventh Dynasty inscription of the vizier Amenemhat from the Wadi Hammamat. This official was sent to the desert at the head of a large force to search for stone for the king's sarcophagus. During this expedition, a gazelle arrived and gave birth right on top of the stone that had been chosen, but not yet quarried, for the lid. This was taken as a sign of wonder, and the gazelle was sacrificed. Twenty days later, as the block for the lid was being removed, it rained and a well appeared in the desert.<sup>127</sup>

Similar overtones of the maintenance of order over chaotic forces can be offered for the clapnetting scenes from which emerge the bird-herders who join the larger procession.<sup>128</sup> The other registers of offering-bearers can be seen as coming from the "civilized" world of the tomb owner's estates, where fully domesticated animals were kept and scribes and petitioners carried out their business. The Aamu have been placed directly below the desert hunt and above the personnel of the estates, thus visually bridging the gap between the chaotic world above and the fully ordered world below.

In the monumental contexts of tombs and temples, foreigners are by nature defined as manifestations of the chaotic powers, or *isfet*, that surrounded and constantly threatened the created Egyptian world. The reality of the relationships between Egypt and its northeastern neighbors was of course a complex one, and included peaceful contacts (centered mainly around trade) as well as conflict.<sup>129</sup> However, until the appearance of tribute scenes in the New Kingdom, almost all appearances of Asiatics paint them as enemies of Egypt.<sup>130</sup> One exception to this is in the Fifth Dynasty mortuary temple of Sahura, where a ship bearing Asiatics is depicted, although the lack of an inscription makes this scene difficult to interpret.<sup>131</sup> Another is, interestingly enough, in the tomb of Khnumhotep II's grandfather, Khnumhotep I, where a group of Libyans (including, as here, women and children) appear to be arriving peacefully, although they are placed in the midst of a battle scene.<sup>132</sup> There are also examples of what appear to be Asiatic herdsmen who have been integrated into Egyptian society depicted in several Middle Kingdom tombs.<sup>133</sup>

By including a group of clearly peaceful Aamu in his tomb, Khnumhotep II is, in fact, making an extraordinary statement. These traditional "enemies," denizens of the chaotic world outside of Egypt, have not only been pacified on his watch, but par-

ticipate actively in subduing the forces of *isfet* by taming and offering desert animals as well as by bringing products of the desert (i.e., *mesdemet*) to him. It is interesting to note that the way in which Abisharie holds the ibex, with a curved staff around its neck, directly parallels the actions of one of the officials in the lowest register on this wall, who restrains a wrongdoer in a similar fashion. The fact that the Aamu are participating in the cult, and even sacrificing animals in what appears to be a manner comparable to the Egyptian's, brings them clearly into the Egyptian orbit: despite their un-Egyptian clothing, hairstyles, and material culture, they are no longer completely foreign, but are bridging the gap between Egypt and the outside world.<sup>134</sup> They come with their families, implying perhaps that they are interested in settling here (as many of their compatriots did during this era).<sup>135</sup> They are even permitted to carry weapons—and to show foreigners bearing arms, unless they are part of a battle scene, is unusual in Egyptian monumental art.

Thus, through this carefully rendered depiction and its placement in the context of the *inw* scene on the north wall, the Aamu are shown, like the hunters directly above them, as having come from the inhospitable desert, and as having translated some of its chaos into controlled and ordered material that, through its inclusion in the cult, will benefit Egypt on both the national and local levels. This is done under the direct supervision of Khnumhotep II himself, whose large-scale representations bracket this scene, enhancing his standing and status as an effective noble. Within the larger context of the tomb, the scenes on this wall contribute to Khnumhotep II's ability to successfully celebrate his mortuary cult and thus to survive and flourish in the eternal afterlife. At the same time, he can be seen as a delegate both of the king and of the creator god, helping to maintain the proper cosmic order.<sup>136</sup> This scene might therefore be compared functionally to the images of kings smiting their enemies found in royal and divine contexts, which act magically to ensure the eternal triumph of order over chaos, and thus the continuance of the Egyptian world.

#### NOTES

1. I would like to thank Joan Aruz for her invitation to speak at the *Beyond Babylon* symposium, and Richard Wilkinson for suggesting that I expand my talk into this paper. My gratitude as always to David O'Connor for his insightful comments and suggestions, and to Salima Ikram for her support.
2. See Hans Goedicke, "Abi-Sha(i)'s Representation in Beni Hasan," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21 (1984): 203, especially notes 2–5, and Thomas Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn* (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 1991), 30, for partial review of previous literature. For recent discussions of this scene, see William H. Shea, "Artistic Balance among the Beni Hasan Asiatics," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 44 (1981): 219–228; Goedicke 1984, 203–210; Dieter Kessler, "Die Asiatenkarawane

- von Beni Hassan,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 14 (1987): 147–165; Manfred Görg, “Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Asiaten-Szene von Beni-Hassan,” *Biblische Notizen* 88 (1997): 9–15; T. Staubli, *Das Image der Nomaden* (1991): 30–35; Phyllis Saretta, “Egyptian Perceptions of West Semites in Art and Literature During the Middle Kingdom: An Archaeological, Art Historical, and Textual Survey,” (dissertation, New York University, May 1997), 110–133; Janice Kamrin, *The Cosmos of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1999), 93–96; Silvia Rabebl, “Eine Gruppe von Asiaten im Grab Chnumhoteps II. (BH 3). Tradierung eines Bildmotivs in den Felsgräbern des Mittleren Reiches von Beni Hassan, in *Imago Aegypti* 1 (2005): 86–97; Silvia Rabebl, *Das Grab des Amenemhat (Jmnj) in Beni Hassan oder der Versuch einer Symbiose* (dissertation, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2006), 241–250.
3. For the tombs at Beni Hassan, see Percy E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I, Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, 1st, 2nd, 5th, and 7th memoirs (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Tubner & Co., Ltd.: 1893–1900); for BH 3, see Newberry 1893, 39–72.
  4. The dating of the early tombs is still debated. For discussion of this issue, with references, see Kamrin 1999, 27f. and Rabebl 2006, 18ff.
  5. Khnumhotep II is one of only two of the ten highest-status tomb owners at Beni Hassan who does not hold the title *hry-tp ʿ3 n m3-ḥd* (Great Chief/Nomarch of the Oryx Nome). During his tenure as Administrator of the Eastern Desert, there does not appear to have been a nomarch ruling in the nome; Ameni/Amenemhat of Tomb #2, who served under Senusret I, is the last known nomarch buried at Beni Hassan. For discussion of this issue, see Detlef Franke, “The Career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called ‘Decline of the Nomarchs,’” in Stephen Quirke (ed.), *Middle Kingdom Studies*, (New Malden, Surrey: SIA Publishing, 1991): 51–67.
  6. For the location of Menat-Khufu, see Dieter Kessler, “Menat-Chufu,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV (1986): col. 41; Kessler 1987, 161.
  7. This suggestion can perhaps be traced back to Hermann Kees, *Das alte Ägypten: eine kleine Landeskunde* (Berlin, 1955): 64f., who suggests that Beni Hassan was the Eastern Gate of Egypt.
  8. Sydney H. Aufrere, “The Deserts and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Upper Egyptian Nomes during the Middle Kingdom,” in R. Friedman (ed.), *Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert* (2002): 207–214. There are a number of interesting and relevant inscriptions, some of which may refer specifically to Khnumhotep II and his family, that speak to this issue: see discussion and references in Aufrere 2002; D. Franke, “The Career of Khnumhotep III” (1991); James P. Allen, “The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur: Preliminary Report,” *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* (forthcoming).
  9. Kessler suggests instead that the Administrator of the Eastern Desert was connected, under the supervision of the nomarch, with a royal cult center in the area, but does agree that the holder of this office was involved with prospecting in the Eastern Desert, for limestone and calcite, and also with mining near the Red Sea (1987, 161ff). Similarly, Goedicke proposes some avenues to explore, and agrees that Khnumhotep II would have administered the area of Gebel Zeit, near the Red Sea (1984, 215, notes 11 and 210). Aufrere (2002, 209f.) argues that there are many possible routes by which the Eastern Desert could have been accessed from the region of Beni Hassan. He also notes that Khnumhotep II is a priest of Pakhet, who is closely associated with the desert: as a lioness deity with links to the Eye of Horus, one of her functions would have been to protect travelers and caravan leaders.
  10. Newberry suggests (1893, 60, n. 2) that Nehri was the ruler of the Hermopolite, or 15th Upper Egyptian nome. However, Donald Redford argues persuasively (“The Father of Khnumhotpe I at Beni Hasan,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 53 [1967]: 158–59) that Nehri was from Tihna, most probably in the 18th Upper Egyptian nome, where the town of Mer-nofret was located, and where, according to the biography in BH 3, he was buried by his son.
  11. William Ward, “The Case of Mrs. Tchat and Her Sons at Beni Hasan,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 71 (1984): 51–59.
  12. Newberry 1893, pl. XXVI, lines 149–160.
  13. Franke 1991, 57 and n. 14; Allen, forthcoming.
  14. Aufrere 2002, 212.
  15. Allen, forthcoming.
  16. There have been a number of facsimiles, line drawings, and photographs published of this scene. The following is a partial list of references: Newberry 1893, pls. XXX (north wall as a whole), XXXI (procession of foreigners), XXXVIII.1 (writing board/papyrus); Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, republished by Elke Frier and Stefan Grunert, *Eine Reise durch Ägypten* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1984): 90f., Fig. 70; J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians III* (London: John Murray, 1847): pl. XII; cf. also Nina M. Davies with Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1936): I, pls. X–XI; Kazimierz Michalowski, *Art of Ancient Egypt* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1968): 86; Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, *Die Felsgraber von Beni Hassan in Mittelägypten* (Mainz: Zabern, 1994), 60–61.
  17. Newberry 1893, 53.
  18. A number of different translations of this and the following inscription have been published. Newberry rendered this phrase as “Arrival bringing kohl which 37 Aamu bring to him,” (1893, 69). Goedicke, pointing out that *mesdemet* cannot be the antecedent for *in*, divides the inscription into two parts: “Coming about bringing (procuring) black eye-paint,” which he takes as a reference to the two Egyptian officials; and “He (the foreign leader) has brought 37 Aamu.” (1984, 205–206). Kessler discusses the various translations at length, and suggests: “Kommen mit der Augenschminke, indem er 37 Asiaten gebracht hat.” (1987, 150–151.) Pascal Vernus offers: “Revenir d’aller chercher le collyre, en ramenant 37 Asiatiques.” (“Sur deux inscriptions du Moyen Empire,” in *Bulletin Société d’Égyptologie Genève* 13 [1989]: 177). According to Rabebl, it might be: “Kommen mit dem Bringen der Augenschminke, nachdem er 37 Asiaten geholt hat.” (2006, 244). Staubli offers: “Kommen in Bezug auf das Bringen von schwarzer Augenschminke”; and “Er (the Aamu leader) bringt 37 aAmw.” (1991, 33).

19. Newberry 1893, XXXVIII.1.
20. See, for example, Goedicke: “Year 6 under the Majesty of the Horus ‘Leader of the Two Lands,’ the King Kha’-kheper’re’: List of the Asiatics, whom the son of the Count Khnumhotep brings because of black eye-paint. Asiatics of *šw(t)*: their number—37” (1984, 205 and 208; Kessler 1987, 151; Vernus 1989, 178: <<l’an 6 sous la Majesé de l’Horus *ššm-tšwy*, le roi du sud et du nord *h<sup>c</sup>-kš-r<sup>c</sup>*. Compte des Asiatiques ramenés au fils (ou qu’a ramenés le fils) du gouverneur Khnoumhotep de (la région) du collyre; Asiatiques de Shou, compte afférent: 37>>.
21. Kessler 1987, 150f. This might be comparable, for example, to a ledger that includes the names of over 40 Aamu immigrants who served on a late Twelfth to Thirteenth Dynasty estate found on Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 (William C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* [New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1955]).
22. Shea 1981, 221.
23. Goedicke 1984, 209 and n. 39. He suggests that the full group might have numbered four or five times as many.
24. Cf., for example, Hayes 1955.
25. Goedicke 1984.
26. Franke 1991, 56.
27. See Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 46.
28. Saretta 1997.
29. W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt I: From the Earliest Kings to the XVIIth Dynasty* (London: Histories & Mysteries of Man Ltd., 1977), 180.
30. For discussion of this term in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see Donald Redford, “Egypt and Western Asia in the Old Kingdom,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23 (1986): 126ff.; James K. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 56ff.; Rafael Giveon, “Asiaten,” *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I (1986): 462–471.
31. Redford, 1986, 131–132; Donald Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 32.
32. Saretta 1997, 13–28.
33. Saretta 1997, 43 and 65–66.
34. The Aamu appear first, as enemies of the Egyptians, in the Sixth Dynasty tomb biography of Weni at Abydos (line 13, see Urk I 101); and again in the biography of Pepinakht at Aswan (line 11, Urk I 134); then in the Instructions for Merikare, the Prophecy of Neferti, the Admonitions of Ipuwer, and the Tale of Sinuhe, as well as in sources such as the Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 and similar papyri, and the Annals of Amenemhat II from Mit Rahina (for the latter, see Hartwig Altenmüller and Ahmed Moussa, “Die Inschrift Amenemhets II. aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis. Ein Vorbericht,” in *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 18 (1991): 1–48.) See also Giveon 1986, 462ff.
35. Kathryn A. Bard and Rudolph Fattovich, “Mersa Gawasis: A Pharaonic Coastal Site on the Red Sea,” *Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt* 184 (2003–2004): 30–31.
36. This word (*hšswt* or *smjwjt*) is determined with the  symbol for “hill-land.”
37. See Helck 1971 as Shutu in 46, #2 (older group of clay vessels) and as Upper and Lower Shutu, 59, #52 and #53 (later group of ceramic figurines).
38. Urk. IV, 385, 13.
39. Georges Posener, *Princes et pays d’Asie et de Nubie. Textes hiéroglyphiques sur des figurines d’envoûtement du moyen empire* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1940): 89ff. His reference is to EA 197.29.
40. Helck 1971, 46, 50–51, and 61–62. He points out the parallel between the “Prince of Moab” and the Children of [SHIN HE] in Numbers 24: 37.
41. Shmuel Ahituv, “Canaanites,” in Kathryn Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (London: Routledge, 1999): 188; Shmuel Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1984): 184.
42. Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (Westminster: John Knox Press, 1962): 146.
43. Redford 1992, 90.
44. Goedicke 1984, 210 and n. 45.
45. See James A. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Ancient Egypt I* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922): para. 299, “The land of Reshu and the land of Yu, they cannot [hide] from my majesty; Punt is mine . . .”
46. Although some chronological details of this era, as well as terminology, are still a matter of intense debate, the early Middle Kingdom in Egypt corresponds generally to the transitional era into the Middle Bronze Age in the Levant. See Manfred Bietak, “Egypt and Canaan During the Middle Bronze Age,” *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 218 (1991): 27ff; see also Redford 1992, 93, n. 122.
47. Lise Manniche, *Egyptian Luxuries: Fragrance, Aromatherapy, and Cosmetics in Pharaonic Times* (Cairo: AUC Press, 1999), 136.
48. Goedicke 1984, 209–210.
49. Franke 1991, 57–60.
50. Aufreere 2002, 210.
51. Manfred Bietak, “Hyksos,” in Donald Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2 (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press: 2001): 136; Goedicke 1984, 203.
52. Goedicke 1984.
53. Goedicke 1984, 207.
54. Saretta 1997, 93.
55. Thomas Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit: Teil I*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 47. Schneider addresses some comments made by Manfred Görg (“Zum Personennamen aBS,” (1994): 9ff.) in his discussion of this name.
56. Representations of such colorful and highly patterned textiles are seen in some representations from the early Middle Kingdom (for example, in the Tomb of Inyotef at Thebes, Brigitte Jaros-Deckert, *Das Grab des Inj-jtj.f, 2: Die Wandmalereien der XI. Dynastie (= Grabung im Asasif 1963–1960, 5)*, (Mainz: von Zabern,

- 1984) but become much more common in the New Kingdom (for example, in the tomb of Seti I: [http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse\\_tombimages\\_831.html](http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tombimages_831.html), and tiles from Medinet Habu (e.g., JE 36261). Actual examples of such garments are also known from the New Kingdom, for example from the Tomb of Tutankhamun (e.g., Carter 371i).
57. E. J. W. Barber, "Textiles: Textiles of the Neolithic through Iron Ages," in Eric M. Myers (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 193.
  58. Saretta 1997, 117–118.
  59. Saretta 1997, 131, n. 341.
  60. Identifiable as a Nubian ibex, *Capra ibex nubiana* (nj3w); see Patrick Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (Cairo: AUC Press, 1996), 58–59.
  61. Cf. Richard Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 194.
  62. See Robert Schiestl, "The Statue of an Asiatic Man from Tell el-Dab'a, Egypt," *Egypt and the Levant* 16 (2006); Manfred Bietak "Avaris, Capital of the Hyksos Kingdom: New Results of Excavations," in Eliezer Oren (ed.), *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Publications, 1997), 100.
  63. This is a *Gazella dorcas*, (ghs); see Houlihan 1996, 61ff, and 66, where he also admits the possibility that this particular gazelle might be a foreign species.
  64. Although the Egyptians wore leather sandals as well, the sandals worn by the Aamu men are composed of multiple straps and are quite different from the simple Egyptian thong.
  65. Rupert Chapman, "Weapons and Warfare," in Eric M. Myers (ed.), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 336.
  66. Schiestl 2006, 176.
  67. Cf. Houlihan 1996, 31; Achilles Gauthier, "Fauna, Domesticated," in Kathryn Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, (London: Routledge, 1999), 301. Donkey burials are found at several Early Dynastic Period necropoli (Diane Flores, "Funerary Sacrifice of Animals in the Egyptian Predynastic Period" *British Archaeological Reports International Series* [2003]; also, Salima Ikram and Nasry Iskander, *Cat. Gen. of the Non-Human Mummies in the Cairo Museum* (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities Press, 2002), 47, CG 29898), and are also found at Tell el-Dabaa, in conjunction with Asiatic-style tombs (see Manfred Bietak, "The Middle Bronze Age of the Levant—A New Approach to Relative and Absolute Chronology," in Paul Aström, *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology* [Gothenburg: Paul Aström, 1989], 89). Both Houlihan and Gauthier note several examples of donkeys carrying Egyptians on their backs, but on a palanquin strapped between two animals. For Asiatics riding donkeys, Houlihan refers to three Twelfth Dynasty stelae from Serabhit el-Khadim and a Fifteenth Dynasty scarab. See Saretta 1997, 121–127 for discussion and Near Eastern comparanda, although she identifies what appears to be a saddle-bag of some sort as a saddle.
  68. Alessandra Nibbi, *Ancient Egyptian Pot Bellows and Oxhide Ingot Shape* (Oxford: DE Publications, 1987), 33; Shea 1981, 222; Redford 1992, 83; Staubli 1991, 31–32 and n. 109.
  69. My thanks to Deborah Schorsch for her expert opinion on this matter (personal communication).
  70. See Bernd Scheel, *Egyptian Metalworking and Tools* (Shire Egyptology), (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, 1998), 22–25; reference to skin bellows: 22–23.
  71. One could think perhaps of some sort of small tent, a bag or container, or, as per a suggestion by Salima Ikram, a portable child's bed of some sort, but none of these ideas can be verified at present by concrete evidence.
  72. Emma Brunner-Traut, "Gesten," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (1986): col. 574–585; Wilkinson 1999, 194 and 198.
  73. Redford calls this an anvil (1992, 83), but it looks much more like the throwsticks depicted, for example, elsewhere in this scene.
  74. Lisa Manniche, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 37; Hans Hickman, *Musicologie pharaonique: Etudes sur l'évolution de l'art musical dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Kehl: Librarie Heitz, 1956), 9, 36ff; Saretta 1997, 127.
  75. See Bietak 1989, 39–40 and n. 47. Note that he is sure, based on the shape of the head and the type of the handle, that this is a duck-billed axe. He also mentions that the first actual example of a duck-billed axe found in Egypt comes from Tell ed-Dabaa and is dated to the late Twelfth Dynasty.
  76. The transition from EB IV/MB I into MBIIA is placed by Bietak at around 1900/1925 BCE, between the reigns of Senusret I and Senusret II, based in part on the pictorial and inscriptional evidence from Beni Hassan, see Bietak 1997, 125. Redford offers an excellent discussion of this period as well (1992, 76–97), as do Jonathan N. Tubb and Rupert L. Chapman, *Archaeology and the Bible* (London: The British Museum: 1990), 53–57. A good textual portrait of the semi-nomadic lifestyle led by the pastoralists of this period can be found in the Tale of Sinuhe.
  77. Luise Klebs, *Die Reliefs und Malereien des Mittleren Reiches (VII–XVII. Dynastie ca. 2475–1580 v. Chr.): Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* (Heidelberg, 1922), Fig. 6, 162f, Fig. 120–121.
  78. John A. Wilson, in James Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 229.
  79. Helck 1971, Fig. 5, 46.
  80. Shea 1981, 219.
  81. William C. Hayes, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt," in the *Cambridge Ancient History* 1.2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 504.
  82. Aufrere 2002, 211 and n. 9.
  83. According to the rubric to Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased must purify himself, don pure white garments, apply makeup to his eyes, and anoint himself before he will be

- admitted to the presence of Osiris (Manniche 1999, 136–137 and n. 29).
84. Manniche 1999, 137.
  85. Scheel 1998, 20; Jack Ogden, “Metals,” in Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 168, with references.
  86. Goedicke 1984, 204–206 and n. 9. In terms of Beni Hassan as a redistribution center, he also points to the area’s lack of appropriate facilities for this (p. 206); however, this seems to me to be an *argumentum ex silencio*, as the site of Menat-Khufu has not even been identified yet.
  87. Goedicke 1984, 205.
  88. A late New Kingdom letter, for example, complains of the quality of the galena that has been delivered to the palace (cf. Manniche, 1999, 137 and n. 31).
  89. Manniche 1999, 137. There is apparently no archaeological evidence for imported galena before the early Eighteenth Dynasty (Goedicke 1984, 204), but the possibility that galena was imported earlier should remain open.
  90. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I, 2 (1921): 289.
  91. Goedicke 1984, 205 and n. 14.
  92. Goedicke 1984, 206–207. In n. 23, he discusses the use of foreign specialists working in Egypt.
  93. Goedicke 1984, 206.
  94. See Redford 1992, 76–97 for a discussion of this topic and a review of the relevant sources; see also Georges Posener, “Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XIIIe et XIIIe Dynasties,” in *Syria* 34 (1957): 145–63.
  95. Altenmüller and Moussa 1991.
  96. Franke 1991, 60.
  97. Redford 1992, 83: “Small clans travelled about with bellows and anvil, perhaps earning here and there from tinkering, as later Biblical Kemites.”
  98. Nibbi 1981, 33.
  99. William Ward, “Early Contacts between Egypt, Canaan, and Sina: Remarks on the Paper by Amnon Ben-Tor,” *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 281 (1991): 11–26.
  100. Scheel 1998, 20; Ogden 2003, 244.
  101. Ogden 2003, 154ff.
  102. Ogden 2003, 245ff. Ogden also notes (249), that the first extraction of silver from lead ores most likely took place in Western Asia, since argentiferous lead ores are more commonly found in this region.
  103. See, for example, in the Tale of Sinuhe, when the hero sings the praises of the new king: “He will not fail to do good to a land that will be loyal to him.” Translation from Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vol. I (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), 226.
  104. It is interesting to note that Shea, in his analysis of the scene, suggests that the first group of four men are protecting the children and women who follow, and that the last two men also guard the caravan. He sees the two children on the donkey as the central figures, from a visual and aesthetic point of view (1981), 227.
  105. Kessler 1987, 158–159.
  106. Rabehl 2006, 249–250; Rabehl 2005, 86–97.
  107. Newberry 1893, pl. XXXVIII.
  108. See the census model from the tomb of Meketre (JE 46724) for a three-dimensional rendering of such a scene. See Francesco Tiradritti (ed.), *Treasures of the Egyptian Museum* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 114–115.
  109. Anthony J. Spalinger, “Foods in P. Bulaq 18,” *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 13 (1986): 209.
  110. Edward Bleiberg, “The King’s Privy Purse during the New Kingdom,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 21 (1984): 167.
  111. Translation from Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom* (Göttingen, 1988), 139. Note that BH 2 contains a census scene very similar to this one.
  112. There are, however, exceptions: images of the king do appear in several Theban tombs of the Middle Kingdom. See Vera Vasiljevic, “Der König im Privatgrab des Mittleren Reiches,” *Imago Aegypti* 1 (2006): 132–144.
  113. Staubli 1991, 33.
  114. Goedicke 1984, 208–209.
  115. My thanks to David O’Connor for sharing his thoughts on these details.
  116. Shea 1981, 225.
  117. Later Biblical references suggest that going without footwear in Western Semitic cultures was, as in ancient Egypt, a sign of respect for the gods, and helped to divide the arenas of the sacred and the profane. Thomas Staubli and Silvia Schroer quote Exodus 3:5: “Come no closer! Remove the sandals from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground.” (*Body Symbolism in the Bible* [trans. Linda M. Maloney] [Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2001], 196).
  118. Houlihan 1996, 58ff (ibex) and 61ff (gazelle). See also Marleen de Meyer, Wim van Neer, Christoph Peeters, and Harco Willems, “The Role of Animals in the Funerary Rites at Dayr al-Barshā,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 42 (2005–2006): 67f; Joachim Boessneck, *Die Haustiere in Altägypten* (Munich: Veröffentlichungen der Zoologischen Staatssammlung München, Bd. 3, 1953), 27. For the cranes as semi-domesticates, kept and fattened for the table, see Patrick Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 1986): #42.
  119. Kamrin 1999.
  120. Kessler has written a number of useful articles discussing the importance of addressing different levels of meaning in tomb scenes: see, for example, Dieter Kessler, “Zur Bedeutung der Szenen des täglichen Lebens in den Privatgräbern (I): Die Szenen des Schiffsbaues und der Schifffahrt,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 114 (1987): 59–88, and “Asiatenkarawane” (1987). On the importance of the symbolic levels inherent in Egyptian art, see also Kent R. Weeks, in Kent R. Weeks, *Egyptology and the Social Sciences* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1979), 59–60; David O’Connor,

- “Mirror of the Cosmos: the Palace of Merenptah,” *Proceedings of the Memphis Symposium on Ramesses II* (Memphis, 1993); Kamrin 1999, 42–44 and 139ff, with references.
121. See for example, Phillipe Derchain, *Rites Égyptiens I: Le sacrifice de l'oryx* (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth, 1962); Dieter Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentubotep von Deir el Bahari III* (Mainz, Germany: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, 1981), 62–63; Kamrin 1999, 83–89.
122. Richard H. Wilkinson, *Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press: 2003), 138.
123. See de Meyer et al. 2005–2006, 67f; Boessneck 1953, 27.
124. See Houlihan 1996, 65–66; Ikram and Iskander 2002, 11.
125. For a photograph of this, see Bietak 2001, 139.
126. Cf. Izak Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al. Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods*. (Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 1994), 53; Wilkinson 2003, 127. Note also that this god sometimes holds some sort of stringed instrument.
127. Breasted 1922, paras. 436 and 451.
128. Kamrin 1999, 96–98.
129. See Redford 1992, 76–97; Tubb and Chapman 1990, 53–57.
130. See Giveon 1986; Alan Schulman, “The Battle Scenes of the Middle Kingdom,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 12 (1982): 165–183.
131. Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3-hu-R' I: Die Wandbilder* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1910).
132. Newberry 1893, pl. XLVII and XLV (detail). Cf. Rabehl 2005, 95f. The Libyans occupy a register on the east wall: an Egyptian official leads a procession consisting of four women, all of whom carry babies on their backs, and three men.
133. See Staubli 1991, 26–30 for review of these scenes.
134. This can perhaps be compared to later sources, in which foreigners who perform their sacrifices in a similar fashion to the Greeks are seen to be like them, while those who perform their sacrifices differently are seen as “other.” See Beth Alpert Nakhai, *Religion in Canaan and Israel: An archaeological Perspective* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Arizona, 1993): 75.
135. See Hoffmeier 1996, 61ff. for a good overview.
136. Kamrin 1999, 146ff.