The aggressive policy of the pharaohs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty pushed Egypt's political and natural boundaries apart, creating new distant theaters of royal action. Symptomatic for the spirit of the new age was the fact that both historical events that figure most prominently in the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III had taken place beyond the borders of Egypt proper. A few years after Hatshepsut's coup d'état, when she claimed for herself the Double Crown, the queen commissioned an expedition to Punt with the principal purpose of procuring "incense" for the temple of Amun. The divine mission, which returned bringing great amounts of the aromatic tree gum, an indispensable prerequisite in temple rites, was celebrated as the restoration of the contacts with "god's land" and narrated with an unusual wealth of detail in the superb reliefs decorating the walls of the second column hall in her mortuary temple at Deir el Bahari.1 As to Thutmose III, in his first initiative as sole ruler he organized a campaign to Palestine against a coalition of rebelling vassals, which culminated in the Battle of Megiddo and the subsequent siege and capture of the city. The chronicle of this military operation and its political and material outcome formed the core of the so-called Annals, the monumental inscription carved in the walls of two chambers in the temple of Amun at Karnak. Thereafter the king returned to the Syria-Palestinian territory almost year by year as a leader of a campaign establishing Egypt's imperialist claim on the region.2 In the course of the military actions, which extended their realm, the Egyptians came in closer contact with foreign lands and their inhabitants. No doubt relations with other political centers or peoples abroad existed before the Hyksos period. Egypt was involved in foreign trade activities, exchanged
diplomatic gifts at the royal level, exploited the rich Nubian resources, and organized expeditions to distant regions of special economic interest. Yet in the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III this interaction underwent a dramatic change. With a hitherto unknown intensity people from abroad began to live and work among and impinge on Egyptians. Princes and princesses, ambassadors, merchants, soldiers and mercenaries, and prisoners of war and slaves, to whom a wide range of vocations were given, infiltrated different levels of Egyptian society, bringing with them a wide array of their own products, ideas, and beliefs. Under the heavy weight of everyday experience mythical metaphors of domination over foreign peoples were gradually superseded by pragmatic assessments. These historical or quasi-historical testimonies, which are always elegantly combined with the habitual phraseology, provide a firm bottom for studying the works and days of foreigners in the pharaonic state, as well as Egyptian attitudes toward them.

SOURCES

The secondary character of the epigraphic and iconographical evidence pertinent to the presence and activities of foreigners in Egypt is a mixed blessing. On the one hand, such evidence normally conveys a selective or distorted version of historical reality in that it follows the doctrines of Egypt's ideology of power. On the other hand, it is this biased view that bears valuable information about the conceptual framework of authors and artists in its attitude toward foreign peoples. It must be emphasized, though, that the two main corpora of evidence dating to this period, the so-called Annals of Thutmose III and the foreigners' processions in the Theban private tombs, do not simply replicate the traditional jargon of formal texts and iconography but contain a fairly faithful account of historical circumstances based either on vivid memories or on the copying of official documents. By contrast, the autobiographical texts, which unavoidably revolve around the same historical events, are richer in formulaic phrases than solid information. Beyond the realm of inscriptions and iconography—if we leave aside imported artifacts and raw materials—the evidence is scanty, since foreigners visiting or living in Egypt left virtually no traces in the archaeological record. Even these scarce data, however, may be conclusive in complementing or confirming the knowledge supplied by texts and images.

The Annals of Thutmose III

The so-called Annals of Thutmose III, the longest monumental inscription known from Egypt, represents a valuable source of information not only for
the campaigns of the king in the Syria-Palestinian territory but also for their
direct or indirect material outcome within Egypt. Extensive parts of the inscrip-
tion are dedicated to the constant flow of peoples, animals, agricultural
products, raw materials, and artifacts that reached Egypt as gifts, dues, booty,
or even trade goods from foreign countries. What truly singles these passages
out as a rare testimonial is the fact that the compiler of the inscription ap-
parently had access to and thoroughly consulted official documents, where
those deliveries were recorded in every detail. The text itself explicitly men-
tions the daybook of the palace and another, not precisely defined, docu-
ment of the treasury. This accurate and, more important still, reliable, in-
formation about the nature and quantity of the foreign contributions
remains unparalleled in the genre of royal inscriptions.

The lists of “contributions” from independent and/or subjugated coun-
tries appear in almost every year recorded in the Annals. The items brought
by the “princes” (wrw) of independent countries are always described as jnw. The
literal meaning of the term, being a perfective passive participle of the verb jnj (= to bring, fetch), is “that which is brought.” Concomitant with this
broad semantic range, the word was used in its long history in several con-
texts, attaining various submeanings. In many instances, jnw seems to have
had a special connotation as “gift,” as Sir Alan Gardiner suggested more than
fifty years ago. In the most notable of the recent studies that strengthened
Gardiner’s assumption B.J.J. Haring explored the meaning of the term within
the constraints of a coherent and reliable set of data, that of the adminis-
trative texts of New Kingdom temples. In this context jnw describes addi-
tional/occasional contributions by the king, representing a supplement to
the regular income of the temples. In their voluntary character these offer-
ings were conceived, according to Haring, as a token of the king’s concern
for the material well-being of the temples. Accordingly, jnw must have meant
here nothing else than a donation or gift. In the case of the Annals, the word
appears to occupy the same submeaning of benevolent giving. It is impor-
tant to stress in this respect that the Egyptian language had no other term
for “gift” or “diplomatic gift,” so jnw appears to be the only word that can
match the Akkadian šulmānu (greeting gift), which was used in the royal cor-
respondence of the Amarna archive to describe the gifts exchanged between
foreign rulers. The diplomatic gifts recorded in the Annals include raw ma-
terials mostly of a precious character, such as silver, lapis lazuli, and semi-
precious stones, as well as copper, lead, wood, horses, exotic animals, and
metal vessels. Due to many lacunae in the inscription the supplying coun-
tries or cities cannot always be identified with certainty. The gift givers, who
in every case appear only sporadically, include the kings of Hatti, Babylonia,
Foreigners in Egypt

Assyria, “Asija” (Cyprus or Assuwa), Alalakh and Tanaja (to be identified with the region or one political center of mainland Greece).

One of the chief economic effects of the regular campaigns of the king in Syria-Palestine was the collection of substantial amounts of booty (хи) from the troops or cities of insubordinate vassals. Given the frequency of local upheavals they belong to the recurring elements of the inscription.¹³ The booty included not only what was taken from the defeated armies after the battle (prisoners of war, chariots, horses, and armament) but a wide variety of valuables, women, and children, as well as livestock plundered from the insurgent cities as a punitive measure.

The trade expeditions to Punt, which are recorded in years 33 and 38, represent a different form of the exploitation of foreign territories.¹⁴ Their primary scope was—as in the case of Hatshepsut’s much celebrated first expedition—the dispatch of incense, even though the Egyptian ships returned with a wide array of local products, which were called by the author of the Annals ḫjst (marvels). In emphasizing the exotic nature of the Puntite goods this appealing term concealed the actual character of the transaction, which was nothing less than a commercial exchange. Thus, both passages in the Annals belong to the exceedingly few explicit testimonies of trade in Egyptian formal sources. As a rule such profane activity, devoid of any ceremonial value, was not considered an appropriate subject for royal texts and images.

The largest part of the lists in the Karnak inscription recording “contributions” is reserved for the regular deliveries from the conquered territories in Syria-Palestine and Nubia. The Syria-Palestinian region is subdivided into three geographical areas named Ḥḏḥj (Djahy), ṣmnn (Remenen) and ṣmww (Retenu).¹⁵ All three have a vague meaning and cannot be regarded as territories with strictly defined boundaries. Their textual contexts or associations with specific place names suggest a considerable overlap. Their deliveries are labeled with different terms, which, however, as I will demonstrate, do not necessarily indicate a different political or economic relationship with Egypt.

In the context of the Annals, Djahy can be roughly identified with Palestine. The deliveries of this region to Egypt appear for the first time in year 35 and thereafter nearly on an annual basis.¹⁶ The short passages include only items of natural produce, such as cereals, moringa oil, incense, wine, and honey, with no indication of their amounts. They are called ṣmww, a term that in the Egyptian fiscal vocabulary covered both the semantic fields of “harvest” and “harvest tax.”¹⁷ The produce of large estates situated in the most fertile lands of this region was, however, excluded from this internal redistribution of local resources and shipped directly to Egypt. The inscription
mentions in year 22 the royal domains (ḥw.t) of Megiddo, which contributed a harvest of many thousands of tons of cereals.  

The name Remenen denoted Lebanon, though its geographical limits cannot be defined with certainty. The products of Remenen were called bsk (literally “work” or “produce”), a term that was also used for the Nubian deliveries. Their nature and quantity were not specified. In Egypt’s fiscal vocabulary bsk had the meaning of a compulsory contribution, a kind of tax. In this sense it stood for the same type of administrative relationship as šmw. The reason for the use of two termini technici for the produce of Palestine and Lebanon was apparently the involvement of two different modes of production: on the one side the produce of cultivated land (šmw) and on the other animal products, raw materials or artifacts that resulted from the employment of human and animal labor (bsk).  

The third Syria-Palestinian geographical name occurring in the Annals, Retenu, included without doubt a large part of the Syrian territory. However, the definition of the southern limits of this region, and accordingly its relation to Djahy and Remenen, remains problematic. The fact that in the lists of captive cities mentioned in the inscriptions that were carved on the sixth and seventh pylons of the Karnak Temple Upper Retenu includes Palestinian localities, such as Hazor, Aqqo, Megiddo, Tanaach, and Joppa, indicates that Djahy was not a different territory but overlapped or was identical with the south provinces of Retenu. The contributions of Retenu are called šmw, the term that denoted the items sent by independent countries. Contrary to the contributions of Djahy and Remenen, their nature and quantity are recorded in detail. The figures always refer to the annual yield of šmw from this region. This sum undoubtedly consisted of numerous separate shipments from the “princes” of several cities, given the fact that the multi-centered Syria-Palestinian society did not form a political entity. Who gave what is not stated. Since there is no reason to assume a different meaning of šmw within the same textual context, the deliveries of Retenu in the Annals must be interpreted as gifts sent by Syria-Palestinian vassals to the Egyptian king. They consist for the most part of valuables such as weapons, jewelry, furniture, horses, and lapis lazuli. The inscription emphasizes the personal character of this activity, for it expressly mentions that the items were brought by local “princes” (wrw), a notion that is absent in the relevant passages dealing with Djahy, Remenen, and Kush or Wawat. Both the precious character of the items and the personal level of the transaction clearly point to ceremonial gift giving. The fact that dignitaries from subjugated cities retained a gift-based political relationship with their overlord is not contradictory to their status, since the giving of compulsory gifts to pharaoh is well attested in the correspondence of the Amarna archive about a century
later. For the proper evaluation of the political status of Retenu it is finally crucial to acknowledge the fact that this region regularly delivered not only gifts but also taxes (\(\text{Smw}\)), consisting of cereals, incense, moringa oil, wine, and fruits. In a marginal note of year 31 a reference is given to a document kept in the treasury that contained a full account of those shipments.

The recording of the Nubian contributions only began in year 31 of the Annals but appeared regularly in the accounts of subsequent years. The inscription follows a standard formula, registering separately the revenues (\(\text{b}_3\text{kw}\)) of the provinces of Kush and Wawat. They mainly consist of gold, slaves, and cattle, whose amounts are recorded in detail. These lists are consistently supplemented by a less concrete mention of ships loaded with undefined quantities of ivory, ebony, animal skins, and other natural products, as well as the harvest of both regions.

Summing up, the following observations regarding the flow of foreign goods to Egypt and the status of their land of origin can be made. The independent countries or cities sent gifts, mainly consisting of the precious items or exotic raw materials described as \(\text{jnw}\). Retenu, a name given to a region that apparently extended from Syria to Palestine and for the most part was subjected to Egypt's political and administrative control, sent compulsory gifts (\(\text{jnw}\)) to Egypt and also delivered a proportional amount of its harvest as tax (\(\text{Smw}\)). Lebanon/Remenen and Palestine/Djahy appear exclusively as suppliers of obligatory contributions. Remenen delivered a share of its "produce" (\(\text{b}_3\text{k}\)) and Djahy a share of its harvest (\(\text{Smw}\)) as tax. Finally the two Nubian provinces sent "products" (\(\text{b}_3\text{kw}\)) to Egypt on an annual basis.

An overall interpretation of these "statistical" passages of the Karnak inscription is hampered by the vague meaning of geographical names and fiscal terms. A possible hint for discerning two different patterns in this enormous mobilization of goods may be gained by the divergent degree of accuracy in the recording of the deliveries. In three cases the goods are accounted for in a very detailed manner as to their nature and quantity. This applies for the gifts (\(\text{jnw}\)) from independent countries, the gifts (\(\text{jnw}\)) from the subjugated cities of Retenu, and the taxes (\(\text{b}_3\text{kw}\)) from Nubia. The harvest tax (\(\text{Smw}\)) of Djahy and Retenu, as well as the taxes (\(\text{b}_3\text{k}\)) of Remenen, are mentioned only briefly, omitting information about exact quantities or even what kinds of goods were delivered. A plausible explanation for this different treatment is to assume that only the items belonging to the first category were sent directly to Egypt and recorded in every detail in the books of the royal or temple administration. The products of the second category were obviously circulated within the conquered territories, and consequently they were less accurately monitored by the central authorities in the Egyptian capital. Indeed, there can be no doubt that the largest part of the taxes of con-
quered territories raised by Egyptian and/or local institutions was accumulated and consumed at the local level for the maintenance of the Egyptian administrative and military machinery.\(^\text{30}\) It would have been uneconomical to dispatch the entire amount of these annual levies to Egypt proper, given the high transport costs combined with their cheap and bulky character. Only a small—and apparently the most valuable—part of the accumulated wealth (with a strong preference for precious raw materials, artifacts, and cattle) was sent to Egypt either as part of the annual tax or as compulsory gifts. It seems, therefore, that the \textit{jnw} from Retenu and \textit{h\textsubscript{3}kw} from Nubia belonged to the same pattern of economic exploitation, that is, the dispatch of some selective products of high value to Egypt.\(^\text{31}\) Their receipt was normally given ceremonial treatment, as it took place during a formal court procedure. On such occasions both dependent and independent countries presented their “contributions” to the Egyptian king, thus making the exploitation of foreign territories visible to the inner Egyptian audience. Yet the use of two terms, \textit{jnw} and \textit{h\textsubscript{3}kw}, may imply that a difference existed at the political level. It is likely that the Syria-Palestinian princes enjoyed a different, personally established relationship with the Egyptian king, one that was quite unknown to the members of Nubian elite. Given the more complex city-state political system in Syria-Palestine and the modalities of Near Eastern diplomatic tradition, special political treatment of the Asiatic vassals was almost inevitable. On the other hand, Nubia was apparently under tighter political and administrative control, so personal bonds between the pharaoh and local dignitaries may not have been considered essential for the realization of Egypt’s exploitative strategies. It would, however, be wrong to associate \textit{jnw} or \textit{h\textsubscript{3}kw} with a clear-cut pattern of political or economic behavior. Both words, when referring to the influx of foreign goods, were not consciously used as strictly defined \textit{termini technici} but were interchangeable.\(^\text{32}\) A telling example is the inscription on a granite statue of the butler and foreman of works, Minmose, from Medamud.

\begin{quote}
I crossed Upper Retenu behind my lord and I taxed Upper Retenu in silver, gold, lapis lazuli and (all kinds of) precious stones, chariots and horses without number, cattle and small livestock in their multitudes. I caused the chieftains of Retenu to be aware of their “yearly dues” (\textit{h\textsubscript{3}k.sn h\textsubscript{rt} n\textsubscript{pt}}).\(^\text{33}\)
\end{quote}

The fact that the same items are described as \textit{jnw} in the Annals shows that both terms were used in a very flexible way, without indicating a specific political or economic status. At any rate, the Syria-Palestinian and Nubian contributions recorded in the Annals in every detail must be regarded as a
This understanding of the inscription, however, has to cope with the question of why only Retenu among the Syria-Palestinian regions sent gifts to Egypt. One way to tackle the problem is to again apply this inconsistency to the flexible or even interchangeable use of geographical names in the inscription, interpreting the absence of Djahy and Remenen as gift givers in literary rather than historical terms. Assuming that Retenu was a general geographical designation for Syria, coastal Lebanon, and Palestine, and thus included partly or fully the territories of Remenen and Djahy, the only explanation for the parallel use of overlapping terms is that the author drew his data in each case from different sources. The information that Djahy and Remenen regularly fulfilled their fiscal obligations had been copied from the "daybook of the palace," as this is explicitly mentioned in the inscription.34 This document included a day-to-day account of the king's campaign in Syria-Palestine, obviously recording not only military events but crucial information about the state and effectiveness of the locally based Egyptian administrative apparatus. Yet the jnw shipped to Egypt from Retenu were registered in a different official document, which most likely belonged to the treasury or another royal institution. In all probability this document summarized the long lists of gifts under the same rubric that introduces the relevant lists in the Annals, reading rht jnw n wrw nw Rtnw (amount of the jnw from the Greats of Retenu).35 Hence it is feasible that the gifts from Retenu included also shipments from cities in Palestine and Lebanon, which in other Egyptian documents were recorded more precisely as located in Djahy and Remenen. Had the word Rtnw in the Annals denoted only Syrian territory, then we might assume that the Smw from Retenu came from subjugated cities, whereas the jnw originated from those localities that recognized the pharaoh's supremacy but had not yet been fully integrated into Egypt's administrative system.

Foreigners in the Theban Tombs

The pictorial counterpart of the Annals represents the foreigners' processions and related scenes decorating at least fifteen Theban private tombs of this period. They visualize from an authentic, private point of view the same patterns of foreign relationships that repeatedly occur in the monumental inscription. The conformity between textual and pictorial evidence is certainly due to the fact that both sources referred to the same historical events. It is likely, though, that the artists of those scenes painted in the last years of the pharaoh's reign, after the completion of the inscription, consulted this
text when they had to attribute specific items to foreign embassies or to supply their pictures with superscriptions citing ethnical names and/or places of origin.

The foreigners’ processions appear almost exclusively in the tombs of high officials who held prominent positions in the executive branch of the Egyptian government. They usually occupy a part of the back wall of the transverse hall, the private “hall of memories” of the deceased, decorated with scenes referring to highlights of his career. The two main compositional elements of this theme are (1) one to five files of processional foreigners bringing valuable objects or local produce; and (2) the deceased, who receives them sitting or standing accompanied by servants or relatives. Further common but not obligatory iconographic details comprise (i) a display of valuable objects, (2) the prostration by the men heading the procession, (3) scribes making lists of the items brought, and (4) the enthroned pharaoh at the far end of the scene. Inscriptions running above or at one end of the register(s) and explanatory labels that are sometimes attached to figures and products supplement the meaning of the images, making their message more concrete for the Egyptian audience. When combining this pictorial and textual evidence it becomes apparent that the traditional term “tribute scenes” is inadequate because it misinterprets their real content and underplays the variety of their subject matter. First, they certainly did not refer to the delivery of tribute, for a tribute sensu stricto, as a kind of punitive measure, never occurred in Egypt’s foreign relations. The conquered regions were integrated in the Egyptian administrative system and paid taxes just like the Egyptian population. Second, the scenes, despite their similar compositional arrangement, narrated different ceremonial or administrative events that were in each case closely linked with the career of the tomb owner. Since this important iconographic theme has not been dealt with in toto yet, it deserves close scrutiny here. The tombs considered in the following pages belong to officials who served exclusively or for most of their political careers under Hatshepsut or Thutmose III. A precise dating of every tomb is impossible, for some of the owners held their offices under two pharaohs. In these cases it is not always clear to whose reign one may attribute the painting of the scene or the completion of the tomb decoration. Therefore, the monuments can be divided only roughly into four chronological groups, which may partly overlap: (1) Hatshepsut, (2) Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, (3) Thutmose III, and (4) Thutmose III/Amenhotep II.

The only tomb that can be securely linked to the reign of Hatshepsut before Thutmose’s accession to the throne belongs to Senenmut (TT 71), one of the most extraordinary personalities of the Egyptian bureaucratic elite. His “meteoric career” and his tenure in at least twenty offices are un-
paralleled in the New Kingdom. What remains to date from the scene of an Aegean embassy comprises only three of the original six figures. A nearly complete version of this picture has fortunately been documented in a watercolor painting, now at the British Museum, which dates to 1837. The Aegean porters depicted there carry metal vases of typical Aegean manufacture and an unsheathed sword.

Four tombs belong to the time of Hatshepsut and/or Thutmose III. Each of the relevant scenes involving foreigners displays a different iconographic arrangement and refers to a different type of transaction. A scene of four registers depicting the presentation of foreign and domestic "contributions" decorates the left part of the back wall of the transverse hall in the tomb of the great herald of the king, Intef (TT 155). The upper, badly damaged register preserves the remains of an Aegean delegation, obviously bringing diplomatic gifts, the second depicts Syria-Palestinian porters carrying precious items (metal vases, weapons, a chariot, etc.), and the two lowest depict the offerings of the oases.

Ineni (TT 81) commissioned a five-register scene depicting foreigners and Egyptians. Its subject matter was linked with his responsibilities as overseer of the granary of Amun. Four of the five registers are preserved to such an extent as to allow an identification of the origin of the depicted peoples. They include Nubian women dressed in the traditional mode and leading children by the hand or carrying them in panniers on their backs (fig. 11.1); Egyptians bringing Nubian (?) products; Syria-Palestinian women with children, as well as two men carrying a metal vase and a bear; and people from the oases, whose very dark skin and leather kilts are clearly non-Egyptian features. The accompanying inscription attracts our interest because of its phraseology. It expressly states that the Nubian women and children represented an assortment of prisoners of war given to the temple estates. For the rest of the foreigners the inscription says that their products were assigned by the king to the temple as an "annual tax" (htr r tmw). Interestingly, these items were labeled as jnw, a further instance of the arbitrary use of the word in the sources of the Eighteenth Dynasty, for in this context it clearly applies to obligatory contributions rather than gifts.

A scene from the tomb of the royal scribe Senemiah (TT 127), an official from the lower echelons of Egyptian bureaucracy, can be indirectly related to the processions just mentioned. It represents the reception of Nubian produce, carried, however, not by natives but by Egyptian porters. As in the case of the scene from Ineni's tomb, these deliveries are to be linked with fiscal contributions rather than diplomatic gift giving, even though the accompanying inscription describes them as jnw.
In the single preserved scene from the tomb of an official whose name and titles have been erased (TT 119), Syria-Palestinian porters proceed to an unfortunately unknown destination, carrying, among other items, minerals, metal vases, an antelope, and a cow (fig. 11.2). In the absence of any superscription it is difficult to define the scene’s content with certainty. The most probable interpretation is that of a Syria-Palestinian delegation with gifts for the pharaoh, since the nature of the items depicted matches those mentioned among the jnw lists from Retenu in the Annals.

Nine more officials who were active mainly or exclusively during the reign of Thutmose III included in the decoration of their tombs one or more files of processional foreigners. Again the two most striking facts are the variety of the depicted events and their close association with the duties of or some special event in the life of the deceased. They include the presentation of diplomatic gifts, the delivery of annual dues, and a royally commissioned trade expedition to Lebanon.

Among the various responsibilities of the vizier of Thutmose III, Useramun, one may count the inspections of the taxes delivered to the Vizier’s Bureau as well as the reception of foreign delegations with gifts for the pharaoh. Either of the occasions in which Useramun obviously participated several times during his career was depicted on the walls of the transverse hall in one of his two tombs (TT 131). The content of the first scene, which depicts the inspection of the produce and prisoners of war from Wawat, can be only reconstructed by the accompanying inscriptions, since the registers with processional foreigners (?) are almost completely lost. The second scene commemorates a ceremonial event rather than an administrative procedure. The deceased receives on behalf of his king the gifts of “northern countries, the confines of Asia, and the Isles in the Midst of the Great Green” (figs. 11.3 through 11.6). The upper register shows an Aegean delegation carrying almost exclusively precious metal vases and theriomorphic rhyta or statuettes (fig. 11.34), and the two registers beneath show Syria-Palestinians with various artifacts (fig. 11.5), as well as women and children (fig. 11.6). The presentation of the foreign gifts is combined with the delivery of Egyptian offerings from the oases and the Nile Delta in three additional registers below.

The second prophet of Amun, Puyemre, included in his tomb three (!) scenes with foreign representatives. The first decorates the left end of the back wall of the transverse hall, depicting in two registers Nubians with native products combined with Egyptian weavers bringing linen. The most likely destination of these “contributions” was the temple of Amun. Their exact character (foreign gifts assigned from the king to the temple or annual dues) cannot be identified with certainty. The second scene occupies the right
end of the same wall, comprising six registers in the typical processional mode. Its subject refers to the receipt of taxes from several regions both within and outside Egypt proper. The inscriptions attached to the figures mention the delivery of offerings and prisoners of war from Retenu, the “roads of Horus,” the oases, and Punt, which were assigned by the king to the temple of Amun. The first register shows a file of Syrians designated as people from “further Asia” bringing for the most part prestige artifacts and precious raw materials. The second and the third registers include offerings (of natural and mineral products) from the dwellers of Sinai and the oases, two regions that—though forming a part of “Greater Egypt”—were not fully incorporated in the political and administrative system of the state. The three lower registers are dedicated to the people from Punt and their goods, including incense, their most appreciated local product, as well as ivory tusks, panther skins, ostrich eggs, wood, precious minerals, and animals. Porters occur only in the lowest of these three registers. Their physiognomic type and dress are either Syria-Palestinian or Egyptian. The third scene, occupying a section of the same wall, is an exception to the standard type of foreigners’ processions in both composition and subject matter. Four foreigners are depicted facing a heap with rings of gold dedicated by the king to the temple of Amun for the construction of two obelisks. The four figures are designated as the “native chiefs of further Asia.” The first two men are depicted in the typical Syria-Palestinian mode. The third figure has Aegean facial features and is dressed in an undecorated skirt with colored borders. The fourth man shows affinities with the later iconographical type of Libyans. The most interesting aspect of this scene is that the inscription does not explicitly mention that the gold was delivered by the foreigners but merely that they were present during the weighing and measuring of the precious material.

Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), who in the later years of Thutmose III ascended to the position of first prophet of Amun, commissioned a large scene of five processional files of foreigners and Egyptians to decorate a section of the back wall of the transverse hall to the right of the doorway leading to the long hall. The superscription is rich in detailed information, but unfortunately it is combined with a less accurate pictorial representation that shows no concern for a clear differentiation of ethnic idiosyncracies. It exceptionally mentions the occasion of this ceremonial event, the New Year’s Festival, during which the deceased offered a congratulatory bouquet to the king and introduced to him the representatives of foreign countries, as well as peoples coming from regions within Egypt proper. The upper register is dedicated to a procession of Aegean emissaries carrying valuables. The three men heading the Aegean procession (the first prostrating, the second
kneeling, and the third standing upright) are rendered in the typical Syria-Palestinian manner but are identified by their legends as the princes of Keftiu, Hatti, and Tunip. Three similar figures are at the head of the procession of the lower register. They had originally been given a place of origin, like the three men of the upper register, but only the label of the last man in the row survives to date, identifying him as the prince of Kadesh. The three men are followed by Syria-Palestinian porters, who are, however, portrayed in a hybrid manner that combines Syria-Palestinian and Aegean elements in their facial features, dress, or items. Women and children appear at the end of this procession. This bringing of foreign gifts was juxtaposed with the presentation of booty in the third register, displaying Syrians with chariots and weapons. The two lowest registers apparently include people from the oases, who are in some instances, however, depicted as carrying Syria-Palestinian artifacts. A second scene involving foreign products occupies the right wall of the transverse hall, showing the delivery of the Nubian gold to the temple of Amun in fulfillment of the annual tax obligation. The porters are in this case of Egyptian origin.

The nephew of Useramun and next holder of the office of vizier, Rekhmire (TT 100), commemorated his regular encounters with foreign delegates in a superb scene comprising five registers (figs. 11.7 through 11.10). It is a happy coincidence that this tour de force of foreigners’ processions is the best preserved example of our series. The scene is an encyclopedia of ethnic types and the coiffure, dress, natural produce, and material culture of peoples from abroad. The deceased appears in kinglike splendor receiving the foreign contributions on behalf of his lord (fig. 11.7). The five registers manifest different levels of political relations with Egypt, ranging from free people (the two topmost registers) through the politically controlled (third and fourth) to slaves (lowest). The two upper registers are devoted to the envoys from Punt, as well as Keftiu and the “Isles in the Midst of the Great Green,” in both cases countries that lay beyond the reach of Egypt’s political and military power. The people from Punt bring incense, precious minerals, ebony, ivory, animal skins, and other exotic products (fig. 11.8). The Aegeans carry elaborate metal vases, jewelry, and minerals (fig. 11.9). The Nubians, who occupy the third register, are depicted with the typical products and exotica of their region, consisting of gold in bars and rings, logs of ebony, ostrich feathers and eggs, cattle, animal skins, and wild animals (fig. 11.10). The latter include a baboon that is climbing the neck of a giraffe, both drawn in an inimitably effortless and natural manner. The Syria-Palestinians of the fourth register bring metal vases, weapons, a chariot, a pair of horses, minerals, ivory tusks, and so on. In the lowest register women and children of Nubian and Syria-Palestinian origin are depicted. The super-
scription gives the information that they came to Egypt as part of the booty from the king's campaigns and were assigned as slaves to the temple of Amun. Both groups include men, women, and children. The next stage of this flow of labor into Egypt is narrated in the passage of the tomb. Here the tomb owner inspects foreign slaves that were allocated as workers to the workshops and estates of the temple. The scene refers to the very moment of their registration by the temple authorities, as the slaves are given clothes and ointment "for their yearly provision." The depicted women and children are of Nubian and Syria-Palestinian origin.

The first royal herald and overseer of the gate under Thutmose III, Iamnedjeh, gave a prominent place in the iconographic program of his tomb (TT 84) to the theme of foreign delegations. The back wall of the transverse hall, to the left and right of the doorway leading to the long hall, is decorated with people from abroad bringing gifts to the Egyptian king. The accompanying inscriptions are exceptional in mentioning both the place and time of the depicted ceremonial event. We read that the foreigners presented their gifts during the ceremonial appearance of the king in the palace of Heliopolis at "the beginning of the year" (tpy rnpt). The right side of the wall commemorates in two registers (originally three or perhaps even five) the presentation of a Syria-Palestinian delegation. The items carried by the porters include mostly weapons, horses, and a chariot, all indicating a military occasion, apparently the ceremonial presentation of booty. The rest consists of metal vases and a bear. One of the two prostrating figures of the lower register is named with the superscription as "chief of Naharin" (in West Semitic "river land," the most common Egyptian designation for the land of Mitanni). The left section of the scene encompasses three registers, with Nubians bringing gold, exotic animals, animal skins, ivory tusks, and other natural products. The scene shows iconographic and stylistic affinities with the foreigners’ painting from the tomb of Rekhmire, indicating that the artist used the latter as source of inspiration.

The tomb of the army lieutenant Amenemheb (TT 85) contains a long inscription commemorating highlights of his military career in Syria under two pharaohs, Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. The autobiographical account is accompanied by a three-register scene portraying the deceased while introducing foreigners with gifts to Thutmose III (fig. 11.11). Although the text attached to this picture mentions the chiefs of Retenu, Keftiu, Mennus (not securely identified), and "every other foreign country," the depicted representatives belong unexceptionally to the Syria-Palestinian physiognomic type, with shaved head, bearded face, and long dress. Each register is introduced by three to four prostrating figures followed by men bringing children, metal vases, and gold as gifts for the king. Unconscious of ethnical idiosyn-
cracies, the artist took a great interest in accentuating ironically the corpulent bodies of the prostrating figures, adding a realistic flair to this otherwise conventional composition.

Another prominent member of the military aristocracy, Amenmose (TT 42), who served as captain of troops and eye of the king in the two lands of Retenu under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, commissioned two scenes depicting foreigners with their gifts. The first owes its unique character to the fact that the presentation of the gifts took place not in the Egyptian court but in the Syria-Palestinian territory during one of the military campaigns of the king. Here both inscriptions and images provide some concrete information about the location of the event, as well as the identity of the persons involved. The locale is situated in the land of Negau. The geographical position of this rarely occurring toponym is enlightened by the label of the prostrating man at the top of the procession, the “chief of Remenen [Lebanon].” The exotic scenery is indicated by a Syrian fortress in a thick pine forest, which forms the background for a file of processional porters with gifts (fig. 11.12). The men are bringing valuables and two humped bulls. An escort of Egyptian soldiers depicted in the register below only emphasizes the military setting of the scene. The second painting follows the normative type of foreigners’ processions. The deceased is introducing to the enthroned king four registers of Syria-Palestinian porters with gifts, including men bringing metal vases, minerals, armament, horses, and chariots, as well as women leading their children by the hand.

Two further scenes from tombs of this period stand out due to the originality of their subject matter. The overseer of the seal and overseer of the gold land of Amun, Sennefri (TT 99), commemorated in the decoration of his tomb what must have been one of the most exceptional events in his official career. The scene refers to an expedition to Lebanon, which the deceased led in person on behalf of his king with the purpose of procuring cedar for the construction of flagpoles for the temple of Amun. In the two preserved registers the artist narrates Sennefri’s return from Lebanon, depicting horses, soldiers, a Syrian and Egyptian dragging a heavy object, and the deceased himself, who is reporting on his successful mission to the king.

The harbormaster of Thebes, May (TT 130), included in the decoration of his tomb a quite “exotic” aspect of his everyday responsibilities. The badly damaged painting originally depicted the arrival of a Nubian ship with a load of local produce at the harbor of Thebes, anticipating the well-known shipping scene from the tomb of Nebamun (TT 162), who served under Amenhotep III. The choice of an authentic theme documenting a different stage in the flow of foreign goods to Egypt was certainly dictated by the pro-
profession of the deceased. Whether the ship's load consisted of trade goods, taxes for the state or temples, or gifts for the Egyptian king will remain a mystery.

The tomb of an official whose name has been lost (TT 143) belongs to the last phase of our brief survey (reign of Thutmose III/Amenhotep II). One scene of its decoration depicts episodes of an expedition to Punt led (?) by the tomb owner. The five registers portray the arrival in the “God's Land” with a load of Egyptian goods for barter exchange, the departure, strange sailing rafts of the local inhabitants, and the introduction of the local chiefs and their produce (called jnw) to the pharaoh by the deceased. The historical background of the scene bears a close resemblance to the depiction of the Lebanon expedition in the tomb of Sennefri. Both represent the “private” version of a theme that was magnificently deployed in the domain of royal iconography by Hatshepsut’s Punt reliefs at Deir el Bahari.

Looking at all these scenes from an administrative point of view, their common denominator is that they portray the act of handing over, that is, the very moment in which the foreign products “change hands” and enter the orbit of the Egyptian bureaucracy. The foreigners fulfill thereby either an active role as suppliers or a passive one as “items” (slaves). In the latter case, once being settled in Egypt and employed as workers at the bottom of the social hierarchy, they come only sporadically to the surface of pictorial evidence. When one attempts to explain this paucity an apparent reason is that foreigners, after their incorporation into Egyptian society, lost much of their “otherness,” that aspect of their personalities appreciated most by Egyptian artists. There is only a handful of tombs that give us some glimpses of their humble existence in Egypt. The employment of nonspecialized labor forces of foreign origin is depicted in the tomb of Rekhmire: Syrian and Nubian captives are engaged in brickmaking in the course of the building projects in the Karnak Temple (fig. 11.13). Their non-Egyptian nationality is indicated by their unshaven faces or leather kilts. In another tomb (TT 349), which can be roughly dated to the same period, a Nubian man and woman are represented reaping the harvest. In the tombs of Puyemre (TT 39) and Intef (TT 155) foreigners labeled Apiru (dust makers) are depicted working as vintners. A small Nubian girl dances to entertain the guests in a banquet scene in the tomb of the royal butler Wah (TT 22). The last example of our modest series comes from the tomb of the fan bearer and mayor of Antaeopolis Montuherkeshef (TT 20). In a scene of enigmatic content belonging to the iconographic cycle of burial rituals two Nubian captives are depicted kneeling with a cord passed round their neck.
On the Historicity of the Foreigners’ Scenes

Summarizing this important corpus of iconographical evidence, it is necessary to stress that the pictures treated earlier did not simply repeat a standardized theme that proclaimed the submission of foreign countries but referred to specific episodes from the career of the tomb owners. Divergent experiences produced different scenes. Although in most cases the similarities in composition (processional arrangement, figures bringing items, and Egyptian officials who receive them) seem to suggest a common subject matter, the inscriptions and minor iconographical details clearly demonstrate that the artists’ intention was to portray a variety of transactions. There are at least six different types of ceremonial or administrative interactions that can be securely recognized.

1. The presentation of gifts from independent and subjugated countries for the pharaoh. This is the dominant theme among foreigners’ processions attested in the tombs of Senenmut (TT 71), Intef (TT 155), Useramun (TT 131), Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), Rekhmire (TT 100), Iamnedjeh (TT 84), Amenemheb (TT 85), Amenmose (TT 42), and possibly another official, whose name has been lost (TT 119). The king may participate in person or be represented by the deceased. In some scenes the artists combine not only embassies from independent and subjugated countries but also foreigners with people coming from Egyptian regions. The presentation of foreign and domestic gifts apparently took place at the royal residence during the course of a formal court ceremony. The most convincing argument for considering the objects brought by Syria-Palestinians and Nubians as gifts is their nature. They have for the most part the same precious and exotic character as the offerings of independent peoples. The association of these deliveries with the jnw coming from independent peoples and the Retenu land in the Annals is inevitable. In this respect, the tomb paintings and the Karnak inscription show an astonishing compatibility, for the superscriptions of the first—when sufficiently preserved—name these “contributions” jnw79 and mention only Retenu, not Djahy or Remenen, as the land of origin of the depicted delegations.80

2. The bringing of gifts for the pharaoh in foreign territory, depicted once in the tomb of Amenmose (TT 42). This type of transaction differs from the presentation of gifts only in the locale, discussed earlier. The scene from Amenmose’s tomb visualizes an apparently recurring event during the Syria-Palestinian campaigns. It is legitimate to assume that during the marching of Egyptian troops the cities of obedient vassals welcomed the pharaoh with gifts demonstrating their loyalty. The collection of such gifts is stated once in the Annals as a year’s total.81
3. The ceremonial presentation of booty depicted in the tombs of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), Rekhmire (TT 100), and Iamnedjeh (TT 84). In all three cases the theme is combined with the presentation of gifts. We cannot but stress the fact that this juxtaposition finds a perfect equivalent in the syntax of the Annals, where booty (ḥ3q) and gifts (jnw) immediately follow each other.⁸²

4. The royally commissioned trade expeditions in Lebanon and Punt depicted in the tombs of Sennefri (TT 99) and another official, whose name has been lost (TT 143). The Annals contain two references to Punt expeditions in years 33 and 38.⁸³ There can be no doubt that the foreign produce recorded in texts and images was acquired through barter exchange. The artist of tomb TT 143 and the author of Sennefri’s inscription show a fair attitude toward historical correctness, for they portray or mention the Egyptian offerings, although the latter conveniently disguises them as offerings for the local deity.⁸⁴

5. The delivery of yearly obligations to the temple of Amun or donations of the king to the same institution attested in the tombs of Ineni (TT 81), Puyemre (TT 39), and Rekhmire (TT 100). The natural products and men, women, and children delivered as slaves are registered by the fiscal authorities of the temple or granary of Amun. The nonceremonial context of the depicted transaction is clearly documented through the absence of the pharaoh, the bulk character of the goods delivered, and some iconographic features of profane character.⁸⁵ In conformity with this pictorial evidence the Annals record donations of valuable raw materials, cattle, and three entire cities from the conquered territories, as well as the assignment of at least 1,588 Syrian slaves by the king to the temple of Amun.⁸⁶

6. The delivery of yearly obligations to the Vizier’s Bureau, seen in the tomb of Useramun (TT 131). The harvest (šmw) from the royal domains of Megiddo, which is recorded once in the Annals, as well as the ḥ3kw from Kush and Wawat belong in all probability to the same type of transaction, representing annual dues delivered at a state institution.⁸⁷

The singular scene of the arrival of ships in the harbor of Thebes (TT 130) cannot be ascribed with certainty to one of these categories.

The historical core of our scenes, which can be clearly deduced from their concrete and varied subject matter, finds further support in the way the artists put together the embassies of dependent and independent countries. The processions of the conquered peoples include prisoners of war, as well as women and children who have been brought to Egypt as slaves. Nubian children are normally led or carried by their mothers, contrary to the Syria-Palestinian ones, who are frequently brought by men, a detail that apparently reflects the special political background of their journey to Egypt (fig. 11.5).⁸⁸ On the
other side, the delegations from the Aegean region and Punt consist exclusively of men. Another interesting fact is the sporadic occurrence of toponyms in the explanatory labels, which break the rule of generic geographical expressions, always echoing concrete historical episodes. Worth mentioning are the depiction of the “chief” of Naharin in the tomb of Iamnedjeh (TT 84) and the chiefs of Kadesh and Tunip in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86). It is certainly no coincidence that the same regions or localities are mentioned in the Annals as theaters of pharaonic action.89

Given the undeniable historicity of the foreigners’ processions we must not put too much stress on the fact that in most cases they are simplified and conventionalized works of art. The undeniable hybridism of some representations, in which the artist mixes the physiognomy, dress, and local products of two different cultures in the design of a single figure, has been comprehensively discussed in the past.90 One should, however, be cautious in not confusing form with substance. None of these scenes is intended to be a mere transcript of historical reality. The artist sought to create a work of art, not illustrated reportage. So the historical kernel of the depicted event had to be clothed properly in habitual forms of artistic expression, which should be “beautiful” but not necessarily realistic. Iconographic details were therefore subject primarily to aesthetic not historical considerations. For the artist, his patron, and the Egyptian audience it obviously sufficed that the content of the scene could easily be associated with real episodes from the life of the deceased.

A favorite explanation for the varying degree of accuracy among the foreigners’ procession links this phenomenon to the opportunity of some artists to witness such embassies with their own eyes. In the same vein the conflation or misunderstanding of ethnical types is ascribed to a possible decrease of or even a break in foreign diplomatic visits to Egypt.91 I must again stress the danger of making historical inferences from iconographic or stylistic criteria. The divergent exactness of the representations can be fully explained within the domain of artistic production. An accurately drawn scene betrays a great artist rather than a mere eyewitness of the depicted event. It is true that the earlier scenes (dating to the reign of Hatshepsut or Hatshepsut/Thutmose III) show a fresh inspiration that is absent in later examples. But this is an inevitable phenomenon in art history. In the formative period of a genre (and this was the early reign of Thutmose III for the foreigners’ processions) a few pioneers have to rely on sharp observation of the natural prototypes, establishing a “tradition.” Thereafter and for a quite long time artists are eager to follow tradition rather than inventing new themes.92 Hence, any attempt to define the number of Aegean diplomatic visits to Egypt accord-
ing to the realism (or lack of it) of the physiognomy, dress, and gifts in relevant scenes is methodologically unacceptable.

Other Sources

Beyond the limits of Theban cemeteries foreigners' processions are absent, though our evidence might look quite different if royal buildings in Thebes or Memphis had been preserved. One single exception is the depiction of Hatshepsut's Punt expedition at Deir el Bahari, which, however, diverges from the major themes of tomb iconography.

If we leave aside the wealth of information in texts and images, the era of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III produced no large amount of archaeological finds associated with the presence of foreigners in Egypt. The most notable exception comes from the highest social level. Three Syrian princesses who in their lifetime apparently belonged to the royal harem as lesser wives of the pharaoh were buried together in a tomb in western Thebes. In accordance with the archaeological evidence the Annals mention among the Retenu gifts of year 40 a chief's daughter who was sent to Egypt accompanied by thirty slaves. Furthermore, contacts with foreign territories are indicated by the use of exotic raw materials in several industries, as well as the distribution of foreign pottery in Egyptian sites. Yet, as mentioned earlier, these finds must not necessarily be associated with the actual presence of foreigners in Egyptian territory.

PEOPLES

Conceptions of ethnicity are more sharply defined in the sphere of textual than pictorial evidence. Within the first we are confronted with an extraordinarily rich accumulation of foreign geographical names referring to localities or regions that were visited, captured, or only heard of by the Egyptians. The farther these places were from Egypt proper the greater was the ignorance of authors about their exact location. As a result, the geographical lists contain in many instances unorthodox juxtapositions of place names or attribute them to the wrong geographical entity. The ethnic groups that are explicitly mentioned in the sources of this period can be distinguished as an inner belt of subjugated territories and an outer belt of independent countries. The first includes the Nubians and Syria-Palestinians, who were forced to interact with Egypt. The latter comprises Aegeans, Mitannians, Hittites, Babylonians, Assyrians, and people from Punt. They came from distant regions and sought diplomatic relations with the pharaonic state motivated by
either political or economic interests. It is certainly not surprising to see that references to the subjugated Syria-Palestinians and Nubians occur more often than those referring to other peoples, for they were geographically and politically more closely bound to Egypt.

At the level of representation, the artists knew and depicted only four main racial/ethnic types: Syria-Palestinians, Nubians, Aegeans, and people from Punt. Here again the iconographic field is dominated by the appearance of the two subjugated regions in the south and north of Egypt. Among the independent peoples, Aegeans show an unexpected prominence, since, apart from the Puntites, they are the only independent folk regularly depicted in the tomb scenes. In two exceptional cases, a male figure is identified by its explanatory label as either Hittite or Mitannian. Yet both are depicted in the habitual Syria-Palestinian modus. The infrequent appearance of Hittites and Mitannians, as well as the total absence of Assyrians and Babylonians, in the iconographical evidence may be meaningful, for these states rivaled Egypt's political and economic interests in the Levant. A more intriguing problem, however, is the absence of Cypriots, given the wide distribution of Cypriot pottery in Egyptian sites. A convincing explanation for this paradox is still to be found.

Syria-Palestinians

Any attempt to pinpoint the exact origin of the Syria-Palestinian delegations in Theban private tombs is hampered either by the poor preservation of the accompanying inscriptions or by the generic character of the attested geographical names. Only sporadically do we find a concrete reference to cities or regions. As already stated, they normally echo toponyms connected with the military campaigns of the kings and commemorated in royal or private inscriptions. From the three larger geographical regions mentioned in the Annals, Djahy, Remenen, and Retenu, only the latter appears as the land of origin of the depicted processions. Although the northern part of Syria undoubtedly lay outside Egypt's direct control, it is in most cases impossible to differentiate between independent and subjugated Syria-Palestinians in pictorial and textual evidence.

Two main types were regularly employed for the depiction of male emissaries from Syria and Palestine. The first has long hair, reaching to the ears or shoulders and held in place by a band or fillet, is bearded, and wears a kilt-like garment that extends from the waist to the knees or slightly above them (figs. 11.2 and 11.5). The garment is a simple piece of cloth wrapped around the waist, usually decorated with red and blue lines at the borders and thus easily distinguishable from the white skirt worn by the Egyptians or the elab-
orately embroidered kilt of the Aegeans. The second type has a shaved head, or less commonly long hair, and wears a tight-fitting white gown with long sleeves reaching from neck to midcalf and decorated with blue or red hems (figs. 11.2, 11.5, and 11.6). Interestingly, this most common type of representation virtually disappears from the tombs of the post-Thutmose III era. The combination of facial features and a specific dress type does not seem accidental. Helck's hypothesis that the first type has a Semitic origin and the second a Hurrian one cannot be sustained by the evidence at hand. The fact that both types appear in many instances together favors the idea of a difference in rank or status, with the long garment belonging to the elite and the simple, overlapping loincloth to the humbler classes. A single occurrence of a third costume in the tomb of Amenemheb (fig. 11.11) anticipates the commonest type of dress in representations dating to the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III. Here the long-sleeved gown is used as an undergarment, around which a fringed mantle is wrapped several times. The fact that this costume is worn by the prostrating persons at the head of their delegations seems to imply a difference in rank.

The Syria-Palestinian women have a long, curled hair and are dressed in flounced robes, which mostly extend to the ankles and are decorated along the selvage (fig. 11.6). Young children are usually depicted naked, sitting on the arms or shoulders of adults. In a single case women carry their children in panniers on their backs (fig. 11.6), clearly a hybrid form of representation imitating a commonplace theme in Nubian processions. Elder children are depicted either naked or dressed with long gowns and are led by the hand. There is interestingly no attempt to differentiate boys from girls in terms of coiffure or dress.

The Syria-Palestinians appear in different iconographical contexts. In most cases they bring their gifts or yearly dues to the king or the temple. In other instances they are driven by Egyptians as prisoners of war or slaves with spoils from their regions. Finally, they are depicted as workers employed by private persons (TT 39, TT 81, and TT 155) or the temple of Amun (TT 100).

Nubians

The region south of the First Cataract was traditionally known as the “south land” and its inhabitants as “southerners.” The northern part of the land (Lower Nubia), between the First and the Second Cataracts, appears under the name Wawat. The name Kush refers to either the southern part (Upper Nubia) or the land as a whole. During the Middle Kingdom representations of Nubians did not differ considerably from the ethnic type of Egyptians. The New Kingdom breaks with this iconographic tradition and
gradually depicts them with negroid physiognomic features. In the tombs of our period only the first stages of this transformation are attested. A turned-up nose, protruding lips and prognathism are either not discernible or not yet as ironically accentuated as in the post-Thutmose III era. As a rule Nubian men have a black skin and are dressed in leather breechcloths. Their coiffure shows some variation, though the commonest type is that of short, cropped, cuplike hair. Men seem to have appreciated jewelry more than the women, since there is hardly a male figure that does not wear either earrings, bracelets, or necklaces. This adornment apparently served as an indicator of status. Nubian women are always depicted carrying or leading their children. The typical mode of representation shows them with black skin and pendulous breasts. They wear long dresses made of leather or fur, wrapped with a belt around the waist. Their upper bodies are naked. Elder children are held by the hand, and smaller ones are carried in panniers fastened on the backs of their mothers. Contrary to the Syria-Palestinian processions, which normally include explicit references to military activity as a reflection of Thutmose's Asiatic campaigns, the representations of Nubians are mainly distinguished by an air of rural charm.

Beyond their presence in processional scenes Nubian slaves are depicted as harvesters (TT 349), brickmakers (TT 100), and dancers (TT 22).

Aegeans

From the Egyptian point of view, the Aegean was an essentially marginal area. Yet embassies from this region occupy a prominent position among other foreign peoples. More interestingly still, they are a phenomenon primarily linked to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, for they virtually disappear from the iconographical evidence in the era of their successors. Aegean processions are made up exclusively of male emissaries, who in the adjacent inscriptions are designated either as Keftiu, the Egyptian name for Crete, or as “people from the jw hrj-jb nw W3d-wr” (Isles in the Midst of the Great Green). The exact interpretation of the second term remains a matter of debate. It is likely that the Egyptians used it in a flexible way to denote the Aegean islands, sometimes including Crete or even mainland Greece. The occurrences of Aegean processions in the tombs of this period can be summarized as follows.

In its earliest attestation in the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71) the standard Aegean physiognomy in Egyptian iconography appears to have already crystallized. The men have a long black hair, clean shaven faces, gentle features, and soft, dark, brownish-red skin (the same color used for the depiction of
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Egyptian men]. The most remarkable iconographic detail of this picture is the exceedingly large “Vapheio” or “Keftiu” cups carried by two of the porters. A second Aegean group appears in the tomb of Useramun (TT 131), occupying the top register of the scene of foreign gift bearers and combined with Syria-Palestinians on the lower register (figs. 11.3 and 11.4). Two further Aegean processions are depicted in the tombs of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86) and Rekhmire (TT 100). The first scene, which according to the dating of the tomb must be the earliest, shows two registers with Aegeans (top) and Syria-Palestinians (bottom). This lower register includes some hybrid figures that combine the features of both peoples. The simplified and conventionalized rendering of the figures and the omission of some iconographic details attested in other tombs show that the scene came from the hand of a lesser artist. This fact becomes obvious when we compare this work to the extraordinary composition of foreigners’ processions in Rehkmire’s tomb. Here Aegeans appear in the second top register, described in the superscription as Keftiu and the Isles in the Midst of the Great Green (fig. 11.9). They have long black hair with a curl over the forehead, as well as straight or curled locks, and sandals combined with leggings. The most astonishing feature of this scene concerns the facial ornamentation seen on the majority of the porters. As Vercoutter has pointed out, these must be regarded as face paintings rather than tattoos. A last representation that deserves our attention is the ambiguous male figure from the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39). His identification with an Aegean envoy is a mere hypothesis. Vercoutter may have been right in regarding him as a symbolic representation of a foreign land. To these scenes one may add the almost completely lost register in the tomb of Intef (TT 155), which shows only a pair of feet with typical Aegean footwear.

The habitual Aegean garment in the two earliest tombs (those of Senenmut and Useramun) is the breechcloth with “codpiece” and back flap, supported at the waist by a broad belt (fig. 11.4). In the two later tombs (those of Rekhmire and Menkheperreseneb) it is replaced with a richly embroidered kilt wrapped around the waist. It is a rare fortune that this change in costume can be archaeologically documented through a palimpsest in the tomb of Rekhmire (fig. 11.9). There, after the completion of the figures, the breechcloths with codpieces were overpainted with kilts. Scholars who regarded the codpieces as a Minoan and the kilts as a Mycenaean type of costume linked this palimpsest with the Mycenaean takeover of Crete. A more careful analysis of the Aegean material has shown, however, that both dresses occurred on Crete long before the alleged arrival of Mycenaean and subsequently reflected a difference not in ethnic origin but probably in age, status,
or activity. Nevertheless, the questions of why and at whose instigation these paintings were changed or actualized remain unanswered.

The items brought by the Aegeans consist of a wide array of raw materials (copper and perhaps tin ingots, silver, lapis lazuli, ivory tusks) and precious artifacts, mostly including bull-head, jackal-head, lion-head, and griffin-head rhytons, bull statuettes, vases with various zoomorphic attachments, metal jars, jugs, bowls, pithoid amphoras, cups and platters or metal vases of Egyptian origin (such as hs vases, nhnm jugs, and lotus bloom chalices), further situles, leather bags with unknown content (most likely an organic substance), swords, and necklaces. Many of these items, which were not indigenous in Aegean cultures, seem to have been copied from the processions of other peoples, especially those coming from Syria-Palestine. In other instances, however, the depicted artifacts show a striking resemblance to Minoan objects well represented in the archaeological record, such as bull-head rhytons, bull statuettes, some shapes of metal vases, and in particular the cups of the so-called Vapheio or Keftiu type found in the tomb of Senenmut.

The Annals of Thutmose III record an instance of Aegean diplomatic gift giving in year 42, when the “Prince (wr) of Tanaja” (obviously the name used for the Greek mainland or one political center in this region) sent a “silver shawabti vessel in Keftiu workmanship together with four bowls of iron (or copper?) with handles of silver.” Cretans are curiously absent in the monumental Karnak inscription, yet this may be due to its numerous lacunae. Wachsmann drew our attention to the entry that precedes the gifts from Tanaja, which records three hundred grams of “genuine lapis lazuli,” “heads of bulls” (apparently bull-head rhytons), and “native copper” sent as gifts by a country whose name has not been preserved. His suggestion that this land might have been Crete is an attractive hypothesis. The nonhomogeneous origins of the gifts, however, make any secure identification impossible.

One of the most interesting aspects of the Aegean processions is the respectful treatment given to them by Egyptian artists. Contrary to the Nubians or Asiatics, whose “otherness” is frequently conceived as racial or cultural inferiority (negroid physiognomy, beards, corpulent bodies, clothes made of animal skins), Aegeans’ elaborate coiffures, face painting, dress, and sandals manifests how highly Egyptian artists and/or their commissioners regarded this folk. Moreover, the fact that Aegean processions appear in the tombs of the three most prominent officials in Hatshepsut’s and Thutmose’s reign (Senenmut, Rekhmire and Useramun) cannot be coincidental. It is likely that the official reception of an Aegean delegation was a real “event” in the Egyptian court, not to be missed by the most illustrious members of the Egyptian aristocracy.
People from Punt

The name Punt referred to a land that according to the Egyptian sources lay in the region of modern Somalia. For the representations of its inhabitants in New Kingdom iconography, the Egyptian artists borrowed the Middle Kingdom type of the “southerners,” which, as mentioned earlier, differed little from the representations of Egyptians. The people from Punt have red skin and either long hair combined with a thin, long beard or alternatively short hair and a beardless face (fig. 11.8). They normally wear a plain, undecorated kilt. Apart from the short chin beard they can be distinguished as non-Egyptians by their native products. The earliest representation of a Puntite delegation appears in the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39). It is interesting to note that in this case, and more definitely in the later tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100), the Puntites appear as gift givers. This implies that both lands had progressively developed diplomatic contacts that run parallel to Egyptian trade missions for dispatching incense. As mentioned earlier, an expedition of this kind is recorded in the tomb of the official (TT 143) whose name has been lost.

Hittites

A male figure from the tomb of Menkheperreseneb labeled the “prince (wr) of Hatti” is considered to be the earliest pictorial representation of a Hittite in Egyptian art. He is rendered in the typical Syria-Palestinian manner. The later iconographic type of male Hittites with long hair, beardless faces, protruding noses, and double chins was obviously not yet established. In an attempt to explain their absence Wachsmann conjectured that the men with combined Aegean and Syrian features in the third register of the foreigners’ scene in Menkheperreseneb’s tomb may be members of a Hittite embassy. The conflation of these two ethnic idiosyncracies would, however, make a better sense for Cypriots, who both geographically and culturally lay between the Aegean and the Levant. Some female captives with children in the scene of the inspection of slaves from Rekhmire’s tomb have been regarded as having Hittite origins. Yet their long hair and curious dresses, long, tight-fitting gowns that leave the shoulders free, do not suffice to support such an identification.

At approximately the same time as the representation in Menkheperreseneb’s tomb, Hittites are mentioned in the Annals in years 33 and 41. This parallel between pictorial and textual evidence has without doubt a historical background, most likely reflecting the first encounter of Egyptians with the Hittite kingdom, which at this time was entering the international scene in the eastern Mediterranean.
Other Nations

A single depiction of a Mitannian ambassador occurs in the tomb of Iamnedjeh (TT 84). The prostrating man is introducing a procession of Syria-Palestinians. His face is not preserved. The close-cropped hair and the long garment conform to the Syria-Palestinian ethnic type.

Frequent, if less concrete as to their lands of origin, are the references to Asiatic people or people carrying Asiatic names in the written sources of this period: shipyard workers and carpenters, a scribe, a building supervisor, a goldsmith and sculptor, a craftsman, a soldier, and a vintner. Another foreigner who was employed in a shipyard is called the "[man] from Arzawa." Finally, women with Asiatic names are attested as wives of Egyptian soldiers.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SETTING

"Brotherhood" and the Veil of Ideology

In Late Bronze Age international politics a diplomatic relationship between sovereigns took the form of a personal bond of "brotherhood," manifested in the exchange of ceremonial gifts at a level of parity. In many instances the metaphor of brotherhood was filled with real meaning, since rulers offered their daughters or sisters as brides to their foreign partners, thus consolidating the friendly political relationship with blood ties. The gifts mainly consisted of prestige items with a personal character and a strong symbolic content or otherwise of exotic and/or precious raw materials. Their exchange was governed by strict ethical rules obliging the partners that every gift had not only to be accepted but also reciprocated with a countergift of at least equal value.

Yet the historical reality of reciprocal diplomatic contacts with foreign states threatened the inner Egyptian audience with a heavy cultural shock. For Egyptians, who had been "fed" for centuries with brutal pictorial and textual notes of the pharaoh's absolute dominance over hostile foreigners, it was unthinkable to regard the latter as equal partners of their king. Hence, independent nations had to be lowered to the status of dependent ones in order to be acceptable in the terms of Egyptian decorum. In the Annals the voluntary gifts of sovereign peoples were conveniently camouflaged behind the generic term jnw, which, as mentioned earlier, meant nothing more than "offering" and could be applied to almost every type of delivery, even the compulsory ones. The deliberate vagueness of jnw, which debased a highly symbolic act at the neutral semantic level of "bringing," becomes even more
apparent when compared with the Akkadian words for gift, *sulmanu* (greeting gift) and *tamarutu* (audience gift), whose etymology unequivocally refers to the ceremonial content of this interaction.\footnote{137}

In the same manner independent countries were equalized with subjugated ones in Theban tomb paintings. The visitors to the tombs must have been unable to discern any difference in political status among the depicted nations. There is no reason to accuse Egyptian artists of distorting historical facts, for the same elevation obviously took place in reality, during the royal court ceremonial that provided a formal framework for the presentation of foreign gifts.\footnote{138} The chance of a propagandistic exploitation of the gifts offered by independent countries, which always required a reciprocal offering, was made available to the pharaoh by the modalities of diplomatic gift giving. According to the habitual practice, the countergifts had to be offered not simultaneously but only on a later occasion, with an Egyptian embassy to the court of the foreign gift giver. Hence, the Egyptian king always appeared in his land as a receiver of foreign gifts and never as a giver of gifts himself. The participants in these ceremonies and the inner Egyptian audience as a whole witnessed only the one-half of the reciprocal exchange, conceiving the gifts of independent foreigners as one directional and thus, in a sense, compulsory. It becomes apparent that as a rule the foreigners’ scenes and their superscriptions did not deliberately distort historical facts. Ideological notions penetrated to the level of representation mainly because they were an integral part of political reality.

There have been, however, some notable exceptions to the general equation of independent and submissive peoples. The most telling example are the texts accompanying the foreigners’ scene in the tomb of Rekhmire. In the case of the Aegeans the inscriptions mention that their visit was motivated by “hearing of” pharaoh’s “achievements” \footnote{139} (\textit{nhtw}).

\begin{quote}
The coming in peace by Keftiu chiefs and the chiefs of the islands of the sea, humbly, bowing their heads down because of His Majesty’s might, the king Menkheperre—given life forever! When they heard his achievements in every foreign land, their jnw were on their backs, requesting the breath, wanting to be loyal to His Majesty, so that the might of His Majesty will protect them.\footnote{140}
\end{quote}

The use of the verb \textit{hear} (\textit{sdm}) in contrast to \textit{see} (\textit{w33}) expresses only an indirect knowledge, referring to countries that never witnessed the king’s military actions.\footnote{141} The notion of Aegean “loyalty” in the same passage is actually a misleading translation of the common Egyptian expression \textit{[wn] hr mw [n]}. Its literal meaning, “to be in the water of someone,”\footnote{142} may have ac-
quired varying semantic nuances of a political, social, or even economic relationship and cannot be taken as an indication of submissive status. On the other hand, the superscriptions of the politically dependent Syria-Palestinians and Nubians begin with the same formulaic expressions but then continue, unambiguously stating that the "terror/dread" (hryt) of the pharaoh forced them to come. In the case of the Syria-Palestinians we read:

The arrival in peace of the chiefs of Retenu and all the lands of Further Asia in deferential obeisance, their jnw on their backs, in the hope that there would be given to them the breath of life because of loyalty to His Majesty; for they have seen his very great victories—yea, his terribleness (hryt) has dominated their hearts.\(^{143}\)

Here it is emphasized that the people from Retenu not only heard but saw the pharaoh and "suffered" as a result of his actions. We certainly cannot be sure whether the tomb's visitors acknowledged such subtle differences. It is important, though, to underscore the sincere intention of the compiler of this inscription to keep it in line with historical reality.

The commemoration of the trade expeditions to Punt or Lebanon was a more intricate matter than the theme of gift giving, because in this case a simultaneous exchange of goods took place. Egyptian texts and images, though, preferred not to fully conceal the barter but to translate it into a more "acceptable" activity. Their elegant solution was to describe the Egyptian goods offered to foreigners as offerings for the local deities. Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt made thus a sacrificial offering to Hathor of Punt.\(^{144}\) Sennefri traveled to Lebanon to offer gifts to a goddess, the name of which has not been preserved.\(^{145}\) But we should not exclude the possibility that in reality the members of the Egyptian expeditions arranged this profane barter exchange as a ritual performance.

Submission

The chiefs of the politically controlled Syria-Palestinian cities were forced to swear an oath of allegiance to the pharaoh and send their sons or brothers to Egypt as a guarantee of their loyalty.\(^{146}\) In the absence of treaties, the oath constituted the only legal bond between pharaoh and vassal and had to be renewed from either side in the case of a successor.\(^{147}\) The conditions of this "oral treaty" were not explicitly stated, probably because there were no conditions whatsoever. The vassal was expected to surrender fully and shape his political behavior according to the will of his lord. Hence the noncontractual bond between the Egyptian ruler and the provincial dignitaries only
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underlined the fact of their total submission. This rather arbitrary conception of political relations was in sharp contrast to the highly developed forms of Near Eastern foreign affairs, in which all political and material stipulations of the vassals were meticulously regulated by contract.

Given the absence of formal treaties, two other forms of expressing obedience came to play a quintessential role in Egypt's political relations with conquered regions: the prostration, this "great symbol of total submission"; and the bringing of compulsory gifts for the pharaoh. The subjugated princes were obliged to visit Egypt on demand at regular intervals in order to pay homage to the king. It is likely that this visit represented a formal act of submission, in confirming the oath and renewing the uneven relationship, and as such it had to be performed on a yearly basis. The context and content of the vassals' gifts were determined in a one-sided manner. The pharaoh could demand a present without being obliged to reciprocate. Yet in some exceptional cases—as we learn from the Amarna archive—he might have done so, probably rewarding unconditional loyalty or demonstrating his personal favor. In this context of disparity, we have to review the entry in year 30 of the Annals that refers to a daughter of a Syria-Palestinian ruler who traveled to Egypt accompanied by thirty slaves, obviously destined as a bride for the pharaoh. According to the ethos of gift giving among independent rulers such a distinctive gift had to be reciprocated with an exceedingly large number of countergifts to the father of the bride. A different habit prevailed, though, in the case of a vassal whose position eliminated any hope of compensation. The coercive background of such "journeys" to Egypt is unequivocally stated in a letter from the Amarna archive in which the Egyptian king orders his vassal, the ruler of Ammia, to send his daughter and gifts to Egypt.

Cultivating Obedience

The preponderance of military violence in the yearly accounts of the Annals offers clear testimony that the "taming of the unruly foreigner" was no easy task for Egyptian authorities. Even the strongest military presence could not guarantee political stability in a region inhabited by some notoriously insubordinate vassals. Egyptians recognized that the most effective way to consolidate their rule in foreign territories was to inculcate Egyptian cultural values in the members of local elites. For that purpose a considerable number of children and members of the nobility from the conquered cities were sent as hostages to Egypt. The children were brought up and educated in royal institutions such as the kap (royal nursery) together with the sons of Egyptian nobles. The Egyptian education during the most sensitive and
The receptive period of their lives undoubtedly shaped the personalities of the young boys. Some of them would later enjoy a career in Egypt, while others would return to their own lands to succeed their fathers on the throne. In the latter case they were a formidable weapon of imperial policy, for as hereditary leaders they perpetuated the appearance of native rule and at the same time as half-Egyptians they were an integral part of Egypt's imperial officialdom. The young hostages are frequently mentioned in the Annals and depicted in the foreigners' processions among other precious items offered to the pharaoh (fig. 11.5). It seems that sometimes the local rulers brought their sons to the king on the occasion of an official visit in the Egyptian royal court. The most unambiguous pictorial statement of this cruel political measure occurs in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb, where the ruler of Tunip is depicted carrying on his arm a boy (apparently his own son) and presenting him to the Egyptian ruler.

The Interests of the Egyptian Nobility

Foreigners' processions became a favorite theme in the Eighteenth Dynasty because the performance, and at a secondary stage the depiction, of these ceremonial events were deeply anchored in the power structures of Egyptian society. Their significance for the pharaoh was treated earlier. Without investing much energy he had the opportunity to present himself as a ruler of "all foreign countries." The actual procedure of receiving the gifts from foreign peoples was thus invested with a special political meaning and became a state occasion, a kind of durbar, with a formal assemblage of nobles. At exactly this juncture the ceremony of diplomatic gift giving obtained paramount importance for the members of the Egyptian aristocracy. The pharaoh could distribute favors of proximity to his officials by inviting some of them to attend this event and by excluding others. The significance of operating or simply being at the side of the king is repeatedly stressed in biographical texts of the New Kingdom, indicating that proximity and access to the pharaoh were the main determinants of social and political rank. The same applies to the cases in which an official was given the honorable task of standing in for his lord and receiving the foreign delegations by himself. As testimony of such rare privileges, the depiction of a foreigners' procession in a private tomb must have constituted an impressive statement of high status. Given the fact that the monuments were constructed and decorated while their owners were still alive, the scenes represented not a mere reflexive but an integral part of this competitive struggle for social prestige. Officials who apparently were not fortunate enough to gain admission to these court ceremonies, sought to commemorate their personal experiences with foreign
peoples, thus adding a cosmopolitan flair to their biographies. In these exceptional cases we see the deceased leading an expedition to foreign countries (TT 99 and TT 143) or receiving a ship with Nubian produce at the harbor of Thebes (TT 130). Here, as in the unique scene from the tomb of Amenmose (TT 42), the authentic setting subtly but powerfully evokes an individual achievement distinguishing the tomb owner from his social rivals.

Beyond this sphere of inner Egyptian social competition high officials who became involved in foreign affairs could have developed personal relationships with representatives from abroad. As we can deduce from later evidence, such diplomatic visits may have lasted for several months, providing an opportunity for closer contacts, which promised advantages for both sides. A personal relationship between officials that existed independent of the royal brotherhood is clearly documented in those Amarna letters that were addressed not to the Egyptian king but to members of the bureaucratic elite. It is likely that gifts received by Egyptian officials on these occasions were actually meant as a baksheesh from a foreign chief or noble to "his man" in the Egyptian court, who was supposed to promote his interests before the pharaoh. A comparable "lobby" of Egyptian officials acting in the interests of Syria-Palestinian or even Nubian dignitaries might have existed as early as the reign of Thutmose III, though explicit pictorial or textual evidence of gifts to persons other than the king is still lacking.

Economic Interests

The material outcome of Egypt's "imperialist" policy in the reign of Thutmose III is amply documented in the sources discussed in this chapter. Large amounts of foreign products reached Egypt as gifts from independent and conquered countries, as annual dues from obedient vassals, as "plunder" or "spoil" from cities that had rebelled against the pharaoh, and finally as goods acquired during state-sponsored expeditions to foreign territories with rich natural resources. The only category that—due to its profane character—is not mentioned in royal or private sources is foreign trade, though it was undeniably the main channel for the circulation of goods at an interregional level. The lack of such substantial evidence prevents us from attempting to evaluate statistically the evidence at hand, even if the latter might be precise and reliable in many instances. We have to content ourselves with acknowledging the extraordinary range of foreign goods that accumulated in the storerooms of state or temple institutions in Egypt proper: sheep, goats, cattle, myrrh, moringa oil, wood, turquoise, precious and semiprecious stones, ivory tusks, silver, copper, lead and tin, chariots, weapons, metal vases, and furniture from Syria-Palestine; gold, minerals, cattle, exotic animals, animal
skins, ostrich feathers and eggs, ivory tusks, logs of ebony from Nubia, metal vases, minerals, weapons, and textiles from the Aegean; copper, lead, lapis lazuli, and wood from Cyprus (or some Asiatic regions) and lapis lazuli from Assyria and Babylonia. Unsurprisingly, the two major contributors were Syria-Palestine and Nubia. As already stressed, their deliveries to Egypt represented only a portion of the enumerable goods locally raised by the Egyptian administrative apparatus. The large remainder was redistributed at the domestic level. Yet those goods reaching Egypt combined with the gifts of the independent countries were so abundant as to form a kind of regular income for the pharaoh or the state. A considerable portion of them was further distributed within a ceremonial sphere of exchange in order to satisfy the enormous material demands deriving from the religious, political, and social obligations of the king. The lion's share was evidently donated to the temple of Amun. The king's generosity became a topos in royal and private inscriptions, which despite their highly formalized character offer an interesting testimony for the regularity of these donations. Another portion was given as rewards to members of the nobility and lower officials or even sent to other foreign kings in the course of diplomatic gift exchange.

The victorious expeditions of Thutmose produced a sizable reservoir of slaves, which was exploited as a cheap labor force in many sectors of the palace and temple economy (large building programs, workshops, agricultural production). Slaves were sent to Egypt not only as spoils of war but also as gifts or the fulfillment of yearly stipulations. In the fragmentarily preserved passages of the Annals around 7,300 prisoners or slaves are mentioned. The first campaign of Thutmose returned home carrying around 2,500 captives from cities in the region of Megiddo, including members of the local aristocracy, slaves, and deserters. Although the numbers recorded in the sources of this period are not high enough as to indicate mass deportations of conquered populations, they clearly demonstrate the economic significance of foreign laborers for the Egyptian economy. It seems likely that a considerable, though not essential, part of Egyptian wealth during Thutmose III's reign was founded on the exploitation of forced labor. Slaves were also given by the king as rewards to officials who followed him in the campaigns. Yet the major beneficiary was again the temple of Amun. The Annals record in an unfortunately fragmentarily preserved passage 1,588 "Kharians" (Syrians) assigned to the temple by the king and provide supplementary evidence for their employment as weavers and cultivators of the temple's estates.

Finally, the references to foreign qualifying personnel are sporadic. Worth mentioning is the frequency of the occurrence of Syria-Palestinian names among the workers in the royal dockyard of Prw-nfr, where interestingly the
Asiatic gods Baal and Astarte were worshiped. It is, however, not clear whether this strong foreign presence indicates that Egyptians appreciated and relied on Syria-Palestinians' technical know-how in shipping.

Assimilation

The foreigners from conquered regions who settled in Egypt were by definition slaves. They might have been registered and assigned professions by Egyptian bureaucratic institutions, yet they remained socially rootless and could seldom escape the fate of a humble life. Normally they were employed as farmers and laborers. At this lowest social level the pace of their assimilation was very slow, since adaptation to an Egyptian way of life was not regarded as essential on either side (the foreigners or their employers).

Despite the extremely constrained social mobility of slaves, there are references to individuals who were absorbed by Egyptian societal structures and gradually rose to positions of distinction. These exceptional cases were clearly a matter of personal relationships rather than social dynamics. Since slave status provided no opportunity for social promotion, it is very likely it was possible only by means of manipulation from above, in other words, by a sufficiently strong master who rewarded a loyal slave with a better life. We know at least two foreigners from the reign of Hathsepsut who were given prominent positions, the Hurrian engineer Benya and the treasurer Nehesy, who was possibly of Nubian origin. One of the most notable individual careers in Thutmose III's reign is that of Pas-Ba'āl, a prisoner of the Asiatic campaigns of Thutmose, who became chief architect in the temple of Amun, an office his descendants held for at least six generations. The prerogative for such social climbing was to totally adopt Egyptian cultural values. The enormous significance of successful assimilation becomes apparent when one realizes that Egyptian social identity was not physically predestined but culturally achieved. The "tight" character of Egyptian society was not based on a sense of ethnic homogeneity in terms of blood, color, or physiognomy but primarily on the embeddedness of an individual in his social group and his willingness to accept and cultivate connective bonds in every social context. Egyptians apparently did not differentiate between a "stranger" and a "foreigner," because both were regarded in a sense as non-Egyptian. The social acceptance of a person was defined by his position within a dense network of mutual relationships and his adaptation to the "Egyptian way of life." The latter meant, of course, the living standards of the Egyptian elite, a savoir vivre embracing a distinct ethos as well as a cultivated attitude and appearance. Given the fact that the Egyptian lower classes were caricatured in the same way as foreigners we may imagine that...
they appeared to the elite no less “alien” than a man from Syria-Palestine or Nubia.

Finally, it is perhaps worthwhile to cast a glance at a papyrus in the Louvre that in a few lines contains the most vivid account of a slave’s life in Egypt. The Nubian Amen-iywy was captured by the royal barber Si-Bastet during a military campaign, served him as a slave, married his niece, and was liberated in the twenty-seventh year of Thutmose III’s reign.\textsuperscript{182} The secret of Ameniu’s “happy ending” lies in the name of the bride: Ta-Kemnet, “the blind one.”

The Appeal of the Exotic

Egypt’s encounter with foreign peoples, ideas, beliefs, natural products, and artifacts generated a cultural awareness that went beyond the cruel matters of political dominance and economic exploitation. The apparent interest of Egyptians in exotica was repeatedly manifested in textual and pictorial evidence. The meaning of the term $\text{bjst}$ (marvels), used in naming the products dispatched by the Punt expeditions, is suggestive for the impact they had on the Egyptian population. One should expect to find the same word applied to the exotic products of other foreign countries, yet in these cases political necessities imposed the use of a different formulaic expression. In the tomb scenes the artists are keen to represent those cultural peculiarities or items that were alien to the Egyptian audience. The most noteworthy examples are exotic animals, including giraffes, leopards, bears, and an elephant, which are vividly depicted in the tombs of Rekhmire (TT 100), Ineni (TT 81), and Iamnedjeh (TT 84). Sometimes the identification of exotic animal species clearly exceeded the zoological knowledge of Egyptian bureaucrats, who classified them as “unknown” or mentioned them in descriptive terms. In year 33 of the Annals a land, the name of which has not been preserved, sent “two unknown birds” and “four birds which give birth daily.”\textsuperscript{183} The latter entry represents the earliest reference to the chicken in the Mediterranean area.

Royal and private inscriptions stress the pharaoh’s own experiences with wild creatures abroad.\textsuperscript{184} In year 33, on the homeward march after the defeat of Mitanni, the king hunted 120 elephants in Niya.\textsuperscript{185} During a Nubian expedition he captured a rhinoceros, a great rarity in Egyptian records.\textsuperscript{186} Over and above these “deeds,” which were dictated by an ancestral doctrine of Egyptian kingship, Thutmose showed an unexpected scientific interest in exotic fauna. During his campaign into Lebanon in year 25 the king collected “all rare plants and beautiful flowers” in order to donate them to the temple of Amun at Karnak. Equally exceptional was the fact that this array of plants not epidemic in Egypt was commemorated with botanical meticulousness in the reliefs (the so-called Botanical Garden of Thutmose III) decorating small
rooms at the back of the Festival Hall at Karnak.\textsuperscript{187} About twenty years earlier Hatshepsut had created her own “botanical garden,” transplanting incense trees from Punt in front of her mortuary temple at Deir el Bahari. It is not quite clear whether her purpose was only to adorn the temple with a Puntite “theme park.” It cannot be excluded that the queen sought to cultivate the exotic trees in Egypt, thus ensuring an effortless acquisition of their valuable aromatic gum.\textsuperscript{188}

Ideas, morals, and beliefs moved more freely and uncontrollably than their bearer and penetrated different levels and contexts of Egyptian society. Their influence is traceable but not profound enough to change Egyptian cultural perceptions. Foreign gods appeared in the Egyptian pantheon, and foreign words made their way into the Egyptian—spoken and written—language, yet in both cases the time of this adoption cannot be dated with certainty.\textsuperscript{189} At the level of iconography we acknowledge some glimpses of foreign influence. Aegean textiles, certainly one of the major export goods of this region, were highly appreciated by Egyptians, as one can deduce from the ceiling decoration of some private tombs, which clearly imitates the elaborate patterns of Aegean dresses or tapestry.\textsuperscript{190} Finally, some workshop scenes in Theban tombs document the manufacturing of “Syrian” vases, thus supplying a further, indirect, testimony of foreign influence.\textsuperscript{191}

\textbf{EPILOGUE}

The surprisingly faithful information provided by the Annals and the Theban tomb paintings enables a multileveled approach to the presence of foreigners in Egypt, casting light on the political, ideological, social, and economic dimensions of this phenomenon. The “historicity” of either source becomes a very interesting fact in itself when one seeks to explain what might have stimulated it. It is unlikely that real events reached the surface of pictorial and written evidence because of a sudden “historical awareness” of Egyptian artists and authors or their commissioners. The most plausible explanation is that in the heyday of Egyptian hegemony in the Levant and Nubia historical facts began to confirm ancestral dogmas of Egyptian dominance over foreign peoples. The favorable political situation thus made a reality of a “pattern” that, due to its reassuring potency, had not to be obscured but demonstrated. As a consequence, images and texts gradually became more transparent, even though some unpalatable truths of equality were still carefully translated into more “adequate” language for the Egyptian audience.

In a similar way, historical circumstances left their traces on the Egyptian attitude toward peoples from abroad. The everyday encounter with the
obedient foreign slave who devotedly served his Egyptian master undermined the validity of a traditional ideology that regarded foreigners as demonic creatures. Though socially inferior, Nubians and Asiatics were accepted as human beings and given the opportunity to adapt to the Egyptian way of life. That Egyptians began to appreciate not only foreign individuals but also foreign cultures becomes evident through their awareness of "exotic" goods and habits. The physiognomy, coiffure, dress, animals, plants, and artifacts of people from distant regions became the object of a "scientific" interest, revealing an Egyptian intention not to avoid but to come in closer acquaintance with other cultures. About a century later the slow transition to a new behavioral pattern culminated in Akhenaten's "Song to Aton," which contains an astonishingly open-minded view of foreign lands and peoples.192 There can be little doubt that the decisive steps in this intellectual process were made in the reign of Thutmose III, who lived and acted "abroad" longer than any other Egyptian king.

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1. There is no reason to believe that Hatshepsut was a pacifist, since there is reliable evidence for at least four, and perhaps even six, military campaigns during her reign, at least one of which she led in person; see Redford (1967) 57–62. Put into this proper perspective, the unusual prominence given by her to the Punt expedition becomes even more significant. The seemingly banal explanation that an emphasis on peaceful rather than military actions suits matriarchal tenets of queenship better is not to be fully discarded, although Hatshepsut evidently was eager to represent herself as a male pharaoh.

2. It is unlikely that mere military tactics forced Thutmose III to lead seventeen Asiatic campaigns in person. His regular participation seems to have been dictated primarily by political considerations instead, for it invested the military activities with a particular ceremonial content. In these "parades of force" (see Wilson [1951] 180) the cardinal role of the pharaoh was not to act but to be seen.

3. Such finds cannot always be taken as a clear evidence for foreign activities in Egypt, for they might have been acquired by Egyptian trade missions.


7. The historical authenticity of these lists gains further credence when one compares them with goods and amounts mentioned in the Amarna letters; see Panagiotopoulos (2000) 147, n. 95.

8. For the recent ongoing debate on the interpretation of this word, see ibid., 149–50; and idem (2001) 270–71 (with further references).


11. The same applies for tribute as well.
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13. These are recorded in at least eight years in the Annals (Years 23, 29, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 42).

14. *Urk.* IV.702.4-6, 720.6-7.


16. See, for example, *Urk.* IV.713.7.


18. *Urk.* IV.667.10-15; see also Panagiotopoulos (2000) 148. Other Karnak inscriptions mention that the pharaoh donated three cities in Palestine (in fact, their annual produce) to the temple of Amun; see *Urk.* IV.185.15-186.8, 744.3-8.

19. Ibid., 700.8, 713.6, 719.10, 723.7.

20. See p. 375.


22. In this context the word *tax* is more adequate than *tribute,* for the conquered territories had been incorporated in the administrative system of the pharaonic state and exploited in much the same terms as the regions in Egypt proper.


25. The compiler of the inscription was obviously copying an official document that recorded only the totals of *jnw* from Retenu (see the following discussion). In this respect the old characterization of the Annals as a "statistical table" or "statistical inscription" seems fully justified; see Grapow (1949) 6, n. 7.

26. Panagiotopoulos (2000) 144-46; for the political background of this coercive gift giving see the following discussion.

27. *Urk.* IV.694.3-8.

28. Ibid., 695.8-696.12.

29. See, for example, ibid., 695.9-696.12.


31. This economic strategy can be conceived as the combination of a "staple finance" and "wealth finance" system applied on a local and interregional level, respectively; see Smith (1995) 19-22, fig. 1.5, 167-73; in the same vein, see Kemp (1978a) 31, 33.

32. For the interchangeable use of *jnw* and *b³kw* in the Amarna period, see *Urk.* IV.2006.14-20: " Appearing of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Akhenaton and the Great King's Wife Nefertiti, upon the great high-throne of fine gold in order to receive the *jnw* of Syria, Kush, the West, and the East, all the foreign countries being gathered in one place. [Then] the Islands in the Midst of the Sea offered *jnw* to the king upon the great throne of Akhet-Aton of receiving *b³kw* of every foreign land" (translated in Bleiberg [1988] 165-66, no. 5).


34. *Urk.* IV.693.8-14.


36. Some cardinal aspects of this theme are treated in Aldred (1970); Redford (1967) 120-28; Shaheen (1988); and Panagiotopoulos (2001).

37. Each register is normally dedicated to one ethnic group.

41. Wachsmann (1987), pl. XXIII B.
42. Säve-Söderbergh (1957) 15, pls. XII B and XIII.
44. Ibid., 33–34.
45. Porter and Moss (1960) 242, TT 127 (7).
47. Wreszinski (1923), pl. 340.
49. Ibid., 91–92, pls. 20–24, 92–93, and frontispiece; see also Wachsmann (1987) 31–32.
50. Davies (1922) 102–4, pls. XLII and XLIIL.
51. Ibid., 79–87, pls. XXX–XXXIII, XXXIII B, and XXXIV.
52. Ibid., 87–92, pls. XXIII A, XXXVI, and frontispiece.
53. Davies (1933) 3–9, pls. 3–7 and 20.
56. Davies (1933) 10–11, pls. IX and XIX.
57. Davies (1943) 17–30, pls. XVII–XXIII.
58. For the educational versus aesthetic capacities of this picture, see ibid., 18.
59. Ibid., pl. II. This detail has been copied by an inferior artist in the tomb of Iamnedjeh (see the subsequent discussion of this tomb).
60. Ibid., 47–48, pl. LVII.
61. Davies (1941) 96–98, pl. XIII; idem (1942) 50–52, pl. V.
62. This phrase obviously refers to the first day of the original lunar year; see Aldred (1970) 115. Cf. the superscription in the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86).
63. Urk. IV 452.4.
64. Wreszinski (1923), pl. 270.
65. Davies (1942) 51.
66. Davies (1934) 189–92, pl. XXV.
67. Davies (1933) 30–31, pl. XXXVI.
68. Ibid., 28–30, pls. XXIII–XXXV.
72. Parts of the scene are reproduced in Wreszinski (1923), pls. 347 and 348. For the texts, see Urk. IV 1472.15–1473.11.
73. Davies (1943) 54–55, pl. LVIII, upper register; Helck (1971a) 345.
74. Porter and Moss (1960) 415, TT 349 (2).
75. The Apiru were a distinct ethnic group of seminomadic character that lived on the margins of Syria-Palestinian culture. They enjoyed a semi-independent status and had a bad reputation; see Redford (1992) 195.
76. Säve-Söderbergh (1952); Helck (1971a) 486.
77. Wreszinski (1923), pls. 76 (a, b).
78. Davies (1913) 15–16, pl. VII.
79. Cf. the superscriptions in the tombs of Puyemre (TT 39), Iamnedjeh (TT 84), Amenemheb (TT 85), Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), and Rekhmire (TT 100).
80. For a few exceptions citing other regions within the Syria-Palestinian territory, see the ensuing discussion.

81. Urk. IV.668.3–16.

82. Cf. years 31, 34, 38, and 42.

83. See p. 373.

84. This follows the example of the Hatshepsut's Punt reliefs; see the ensuing discussion.

85. Cf. the presence of Egyptians with sticks and axes, who are responsible for keeping order in the scene from Ineni's tomb, in Dziobek (1992), pls. 1a and 2.

86. Urk. IV.742–44.

87. As mentioned earlier, the exact nature of the Nubian deliveries cannot be defined with certainty. It is possible that their legal character did not substantially differ from the jnw gifts of the Syria-Palestinians.

88. See p. 399–400.


90. See, for example, Wachsmann (1987) 7–9.

91. See, for example, Pritchard (1951) 41; and Wachsmann (1987) 121–23.

92. See Davies (1930) 32, which states that "the ancient artist was schooled as no modern is, and was bound to traditional forms and types, for which some master of the past, acclaimed for his genial combination of realism with conventional simplifications, had set the norm."

93. Winlock (1948); Lilyquist (2004).

94. Urk. IV.689.1–3.

95. Cypriot ceramics, mainly including white slip milk bowls and base ring jugs and juglets, appear most commonly. Minoan or Mycenaean wares occur only sporadically.

96. All four of them appear in the large scene of the presentation of jnw in the tomb of Rekhmire, which thus epitomizes the geographical knowledge acquired by Egyptian artists in the reign of Thutmose III.

97. N. de G. Davies' succinct comment on the geographical knowledge of the artist who worked on the tomb of Amenemheb ("Everything northern was Syrian to him") seems therefore to reflect a general phenomenon; see Davies (1934) 191.

98. The interpretation of the word isy attested once in the Annals (Urk. IV.707.16), as referring to Cyprus is possible yet not certain.

99. Syria-Palestinians are the most frequently attested foreign group in Theban tomb paintings, see Porter and Moss (1960) TT 39 (8)–(9), (11) and (12); 42 (4) and (5); 81 (5); 84 (9); 85 (17); 86 (8); 100 (4), (13), and (14); 115 (1); 131 (11); 155 (3) and (5).

100. See Pritchard (1951); and Redford (1992) 196, fig. 7.

101. Pritchard (1951) 40.

102. Ibid.

103. Helck (1971a) 335–34.

104. Pritchard (1951) 40.

105. Ibid., 40–41.

106. Helck (1971a) 335.

107. For Nubians in Egyptian pictorial evidence, see Drenkhahn (1967).

108. Nubians are represented in six tombs dating to the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. See Porter and Moss (1960) TT 22 (4); TT 39 (5); TT 81 (5); TT 84 (5); TT 100 (4), (13), and (14); and TT 149 (2).

109. The Nubians in the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39) are dressed, however, in linen kilts; see Davies (1922), pl. XLIII.
110. For a bibliography of previous research on the Aegeans, see Rehak (1998) 40, n. 12. See also the more recent Pinch Brock (2000); and Panagiotopoulos (2001).

111. For a single exception, see Pinch Brock (2000).


113. For bibliographical references to the scenes described here, see their earlier treatment, with the appropriate notes.

115. Vercouetter (1956a) 238–40, pls. VII and VIII.


125. Helck (1971a) 328.
126. Ibid., 328–30.
128. Davies (1943) 48, pl. LVII.
130. Davies (1941) 97, pl. XIII.
132. Ibid., 356.
133. Ibid., 362 and 363.
134. For an in-depth treatment, see Zaccagnini (1973); idem (1983), esp. 198–227; idem (1987); and Liverani (1990) 255–66. In Egypt’s relations with foreign states the concept of brotherhood is explicitly stated in the Amarna letters; see Moran (1992) xxiv.

136. Liverani (ibid., 144) summed up this Egyptian doctrine as: “The best foreigner is a dead one, next comes a submitted one.”

139. For the term ntw (“strength/force,” in this context “achievements”), see Galán (1995), esp. 41–42, 90–100.

141. Galán (1995) 92–93. The inscription in Useramon’s tomb mentions that the Aegean came because of the king’s byw (fame, power); see Dziobek (1994) 91. The same word occurs in the superscription of the Puntite processions in Rekhmire’s tomb; see Urk. IV.1097.13.

143. Urk. IV.107.1.14–107.2.4. For the translation, see Davies (1943) 27.
144. See the discussion in Liverani (1990) 240–46.
145. Ibid., 240–46, esp. 243 and 244. For Sennefri, see my earlier discussion.
149. Redford (1992: 199) states that "a trip to Egypt at some point in their careers could scarcely be avoided, as the king required Canaanite nobility to grace his court at festivals."
150. For the ethical and political codex determining the giving of compulsory gifts, see Zaccagnini (1973) 170–79.
151. For gift exchange between the pharaoh and his vassals in the Amarna correspondence, see Panagiotopoulos (2000) 144–46.
156. This is explicitly mentioned in the Annals. See Urk. IV.690.1–5; and Helck (1971a) 350.
157. For an extensive treatment, see Feucht (1990) 184–200; and Helck (1971a) 155 and 350.
158. Davies (1933), pl. 4.
161. Ibid., EA 40, EA 77, EA 82, EA 86, EA 87, EA 93, EA 102, EA 158, EA 164, EA 166, EA 167, and EA 169.
162. Gifts for the Egyptian officials are implicitly or explicitly mentioned in at least three Amarna letters; see ibid., EA 40:12–15, EA 77:7–15, and EA 45:14–19.
163. Contra Redford (1992) 227, the scenes of foreigners' processions as a whole cannot be lowered to the level of baḥšehs, for they represented a much more significant and complex political and diplomatic phenomenon.
164. For a slightly later example, which seems, however, to have a private rather than political background, see Sāve-Söderbergh (1957) 25–26, pl. XXIII.
169. For gifts circulated from one court to another, see Zaccagnini (1987) 58 and 64.
171. Helck (1971a) 342–43.
172. Ibid., 343–44.
175. See the skeptical comment of Sāve-Söderbergh (1946: 53): “Syrian influence on Egyptian shipping cannot, or course, be deduced from the fact that some Syrians are employed in Prw-nfr to saw timber.”
178. Redford (ibid., 214–37; esp. 229) sees the presence of foreigners in Egypt as a “mosaic, not melting pot,” arguing on the basis of their indigenous names that they remained
ethnically distinct. See, however, Kemp (1997) 128: "Over the entire pharaonic period (with the exception of the Second Intermediate Period), the many known foreign groups in the Nile Valley and Delta do not show up in the archeological record. It is as if all those Asians, Libyans, and 'Peoples of the Sea' left their identifying remarks at Egypt's threshold before they crossed over, with the exception sometimes of their indigenous names which could be handed on through several generations."

180. Ibid., 80.
181. Ibid., 84; Kemp (1997) 128: "Egyptianness was not a matter of birth but of outward appearance."

184. For an extensive account, see Urk. IV.1245.12–1246.3.
185. Ibid., 893.14–17.
187. See Stevenson Smith (1965) 161, fig. 199: "These (sc. the plants) are shown with their roots, like botanical specimens, rather than as growing in their natural habitat." Gombrich (1961) 78 regards them as the earliest instance of "illustrated reportage." For the inscription, see Urk. IV.775.15–777.2–3.
188. See Liverani (1990: 246, with n. 27), who favors, however, ideological rather than economic motives.
190. Barber (1991) 340–42, 347–48, color pl. 3. It is certainly no coincidence that two of these tombs (Menkhpeperreseneb [TT 86] and Intef [TT 153]) include representations of Aegean embassies.
191. Helck (1971a) 408.
Figure 11.1. Nubian women and children from the tomb of Ineni (TT 81). After Dziobek (1992) pl. 1a. (Courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo.)

Figure 11.2. Syria-Palestinian procession from TT 119. After Wreszinski (1921) pl. 340.

Figure 11.3. Left section of foreigners' scene in the tomb of Useramun (TT 131). After Dziobek (1994) pl. 20. (Courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo.)
Figure 11.4. Aegean gift bearers from the tomb of Useramun (TT 131). After Dziobek (1994) pl. 23b. (Courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo.)

Figure 11.5. Syria-Palestinian gift bearers from the tomb of Useramun (TT 131). After Dziobek (1994) pl. 22b. (Courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo.)
Figure 11.6. Syria-Palestinian men, women, and children from the tomb of Useramun (TT 131). After Dziobek (1994) pl. 24b. (Courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo.)

Figure 11.7. The foreigners' scene from the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100). After Davies (1935) pl. XXII. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art.)
Figure 11.8. South end of the Puntite procession from the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100). After Davies (1944) pl. XVII, lower depiction. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art.)

Figure 11.9. Middle section of the Aegean procession from the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100). After Davies (1944) pl. XIX, upper depiction. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art.)
Figure 11.10. Middle section of the Nubian procession from the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100). After Davies (1944) pl. XIX, lower depiction. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Egyptian Art.)

Figure 11.11. Syria-Palestinians (called Upper Retenu, Keftiu, and Mennus) bringing gifts for the Egyptian king, tomb of Amenemheb (TT 85). After Farina (1929) pl. LXXII.
Figure 11.12. Presentation of gifts in Lebanon (with fort and pine forest in the background) from the tomb of Amenmose (TT 42). After Farina (1929) pl. LXXXI.