

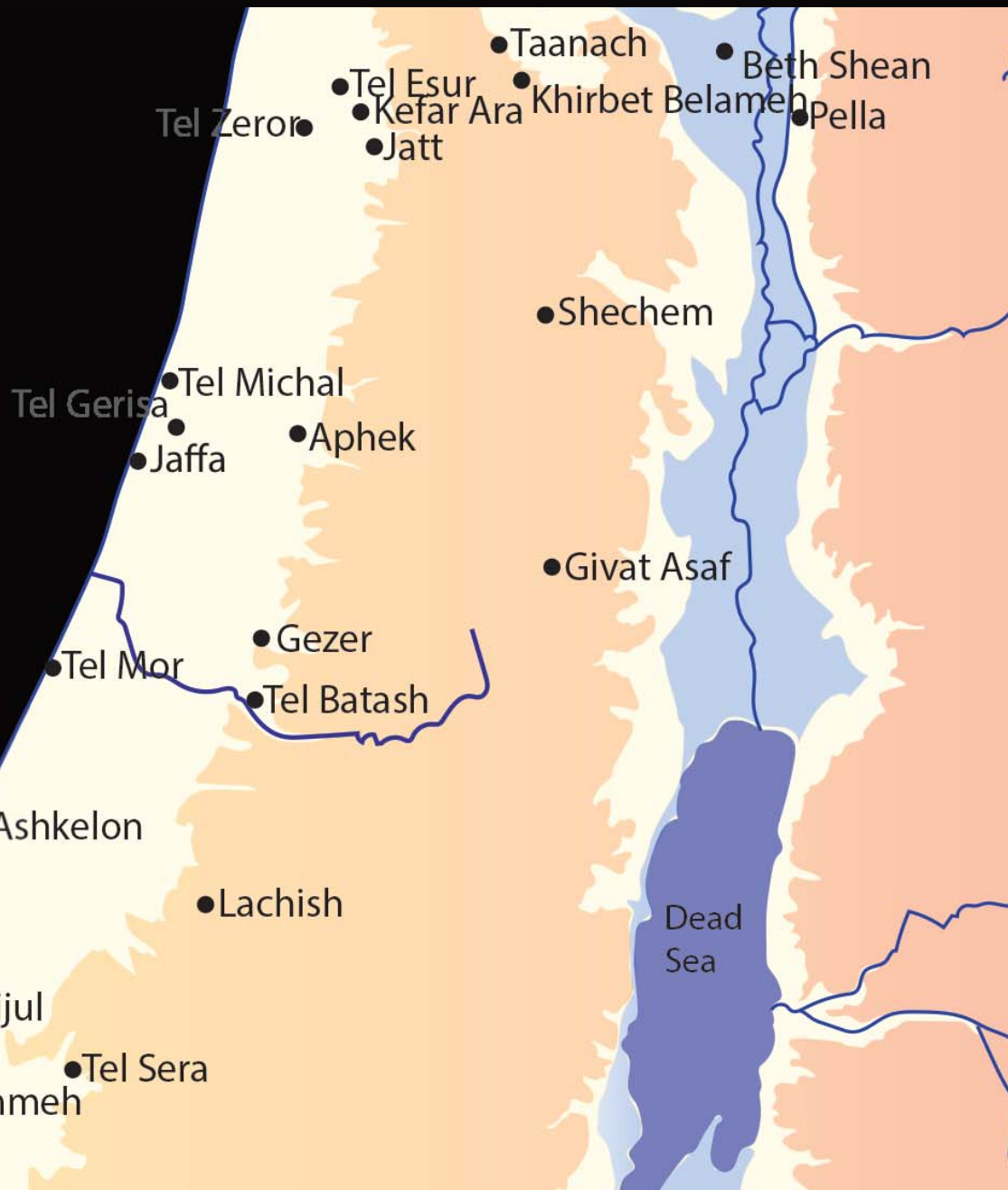
# A Stranger

## in the House – the Crossroads III.

Proceedings of an International Conference  
on Foreigners in Ancient Egyptian and Near  
Eastern Societies of the Bronze Age held  
in Prague, September 10–13, 2018

edited by

Jana Mynářová  
Marwan Kilani  
Sergio Alivernini



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Danielle Candelora

### **Hybrid Military Communities of Practice: The Integration of Immigrants as the Catalyst for Egyptian Social Transformation in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC**

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*Abstract:* The second millennium BC was a period of unprecedented interconnectedness, characterized by the increasing movement of people in conjunction with the transmission of technologies across the Near East. Employing a Communities of Practice approach, this paper investigates the human networks through which this specialized knowledge might have transferred, suggesting that the interaction between foreign and local military and technological specialists was the locus of this transmission. The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period were characterized by waves of West Asian immigrants moving into the Eastern Delta, bringing with them their mastery of new production processes and technologies. This period also saw the introduction of West Asian military practices and values, including a corpus of military related Semitic loan words. Therefore, this paper will propose that the mixture of immigrant and Egyptian specialists in hybrid military communities of practice played a major role in this cultural exchange. I will also explore the cultural significance behind the adoption and maintenance of these foreign technologies and military values, as well as their impact on the New Kingdom Egyptian military and conceptions of kingship.

*Keywords:* communities of practice – military – immigration – hybridity – Second Intermediate Period

Gaëlle Chantrain

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*Abstract:* Many interesting studies have already been published about the relations between Egypt and its neighbours. I once more would like to return to this question, through a lexical study. I here propose to examine texts from the Old Kingdom until the Third Intermediate Period, with a special focus on the New Kingdom. I present a context-sensitive lexical analysis of qualifiers and expressions related to foreigners, including the distribution of the classifiers. In so doing, I situate the respective places of Asiatics, Nubians and Libyans on the Egyptian’s mental world and I will retrace the chronological evolution of these connections. This study focuses on the evolutionary process of both concepts of “Egyptianity” and “foreignness”, and on the economy of the continuum between these two ends. The final aim is thus to provide new elements in light of a corpus-based study in order to solve—at least partially—the dichotomy between ongoing stereotypes and actual individuals.

*Keywords:* lexical study – foreigners – contact – classifiers

Susan Cohen

**Not so vile? Rhetoric and Reality in Egyptian-Levantine Relationships in Sinai during the Old and Middle Kingdoms**

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*Abstract:* Egyptian official text and image traditionally described and presented the peoples of the southern Levant using specific rhetoric, hyperbolic language, and canonized visual representation designed to highlight the concept of “Asiatic” subjugation to Egyptian sovereignty. However, while the majority of public monuments and official accounts provided this formal rhetoric, excoriating the “vile Asiatic” in a manner consistent with the Egyptian worldview, other evidence suggests that the reality of Egyptian relationships with southern Levantine peoples did not always conform to the official policy of bellicosity and disdain, and further, that the nature of this relationship changed over time in keeping with contemporary geopolitical circumstances. Specifically, the inscriptions found in Sinai dating to the Old and Middle Kingdoms that provide both textual and visual description of foreigners from the southern Levant reveal significant differences in the view and treatment of “Asiatics” in each period that can be linked with changes in the southern Levant. Examination of these inscriptions from both Old and Middle Kingdoms, together with analysis of contemporary developments in the Bronze Age southern Levant, provides further insight into the interconnections between these regions.

*Keywords:* Sinai – Asiatic – southern Levant – inscription – Old Kingdom – Middle Kingdom

Katrien De Graef

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*Abstract:* Of old, a patchwork of different peoples and cultures existed within the territory of Western Iran, subjected to political and military dominance and/or influence from neighbouring Mesopotamia. As a result of a continuous interaction and balancing between Mesopotamian and Elamite traditions, values and influences in political, legal, economic and administrative matters, a basic duality of cultures evolved throughout the second millennium BC. This paper focusses on the legal and administrative formulas used in the documentary texts from Sukkalmah Susa, which seem to be for a great part typically local: some, although written in correct Akkadian, clearly reflect local legal practices, others even include Elamite expressions. It is clear that this is neither just a question of a simple transfer of formulas nor a comparison of two legal systems. The use of Elamite phrases and expressions as well as Akkadian phrases and formulations only used in texts from Iran (but not in texts from Mesopotamia) proves we are dealing with a bilingual and bicultural society.

*Keywords:* Akkadian – Elamite – Sukkalmah State – biculturality

Elena Devecchi

**A Reluctant Servant: Ugarit under Foreign Rule during the Late Bronze Age**

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*Abstract:* The epigraphic finds from Ugarit always represented an unvaluable source of information on the relationship between this rich Syrian kingdom and the Hittites, who ruled over it during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. While the interaction between Ugarit and Hatti seems to have been relatively easy and smooth during the first decades of Hittite dominance, the relationship between vassal and foreign overlord starts to fray towards the mid of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC. The recently published Akkadian texts from the so-called “House of Urtenu” provide now ample new evidence about this situation, conveying the impression that the last kings of Ugarit regularly tried to shirk their obligations towards the Hittite suzerains and their representatives in Syria. This paper will offer an updated overview on this latent conflict, analysing the occasions which prompted the Hittite reprimands and discussing the geo-political background which set the scene for this quite remarkable situation.

*Keywords:* Ugarit – Hittites – House of Urtenu – Alalah – vassal’s obligations

Anne Goddeeris

**A Sumerian Stronghold. Strangers in the House of Enlil?**

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*Abstract:* During the Old Babylonian period, the members of the clergy of Nippur consider themselves to be the foremost keepers of the Sumerian traditions. Fellow townsmen circulating in other professional circles, magnates from other Babylonian cities and visitors or immigrants from outside Babylonia are not allowed membership to this exclusive category. The social identity approach comprises a group of theories developed in the field of social psychology during the seventies and the eighties explaining the mechanisms of group formation, and the role out-group bias and in-group favouritism. This approach offers a framework to describe and to understand historical processes of group formation and the mechanisms behind the constant changes in it. Although historical sources do not inform us about individual motivations and decisions, it elucidates some factors playing a role in power shifts.

Looking at the temple management in Nippur, the growing role of the palace in the temple of Nippur can be retraced. Whereas palace magnates remain at the fringes of the temple administration when they visit Nippur during the reign of Rīm-Sîn of Larsa, they are able to acquire temple offices during the reign of Samsuiluna of Babylon. At the end of Samsuiluna's rule over Nippur, the palace plays a key role in the temple management.

In this paper, the first phase in this development will be looked at more closely. The foreigners in the administrative archive will be identified and their role will be addressed.

*Keywords:* Old Babylonian Period – Nippur – palace – temple – social identity

Caleb R. Hamilton

**Egyptians as Foreigners in the Western Desert during the Early Dynastic Period**

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*Abstract:* The Egyptian representation of foreigners can be traced to the earliest period of pharaonic history. During the Early Bronze Age/0 Dynasty, there was an active intent to separate those groups or regions who did not fall within the developing ideological and iconographic ideals promulgated by the Egyptian elite. In contrast to this, with the expansion of Egyptian interests away from the Nile Valley into the neighbouring desert regions, the evidence for the Egyptians as foreigners in these geographical areas is lacking. This paper presents evidence to convey that, during the Early Dynastic Period, the Egyptians were foreigners in the Egyptian Western Desert. This case study focusses on an array of archaeological, iconographic, and ideological evidence which indicates the Egyptian did not present themselves as foreign, even though they were conducting activity in a geographical area that was not yet part of the Egyptian state.

Interactions with the indigenous peoples of the Western Desert, especially in Dakhleh Oasis, conveys the reliance the Egyptians had on others as foreigners in a non-Egyptian region. These interactions seem to have been generally symbiotic, contrasting Egyptian interactions within other regions close to the Nile Valley, such as the Sinai. As non-natives of the Western Desert, the foreignness exhibited by the Egyptians belies the true nature of their initial presence in this region, and can be linked to the articulation of the dominant ideological conventions and iconographic expressions promulgated by royalty and the elite during the Early Dynastic Period.

*Keywords:* Egyptians – foreigner – Early Dynastic Period – Western Desert

Ann-Kathrin Jeske

**An Egyptian's Footprint: Members of the Egyptian Administration  
and Military in LB I Southern Levant** 179

*Abstract:* Although Egypt's involvement in the Levant during the Late Bronze Age (LB) has been subject to many studies, the early phases of this period have rarely been the primary focus. Furthermore, those who researched the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty relied heavily on textual sources and even drew on references from documents written in later periods due to the meagre output of information in contemporaneous texts. Since written sources tend to remain elusive regarding the activities of Egyptian functionaries in the southern Levant, it is appropriate to turn to archaeological evidence, as the leading source, to reconstruct Egypt's engagement in this region. This paper presents an approach to filter and analyse the Egyptian material culture excavated in the southern Levant by providing a method to study and interpret such evidence while disregarding texts—at least initially—as an interpretative complement. The theoretical base of the proposed approach are the three concepts object itinerary, cultural appropriation and affordance. Applied to the archaeological record of LB I, the approach suggests that Egypt's involvement was rather limited during this period. Furthermore, there is not any indication for the maintenance of Egyptian garrisons during the Tuthmosid period, except in Tell el-'Ajjul, situated at the terminus of the Way of Horus.

*Keywords:* Egypt – Levant – early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty – material culture – military

Kevin McGeough

**“The Men of Ura are a Heavy Burden Upon Your Subject!”:  
The Administration and Management of Strangers  
and Foreigners in Ugarit** 197

*Abstract:* The Late Bronze Age city of Ugarit has long been identified as a location of ancient cosmopolitanism, where different people from around the eastern Mediterranean and Near East met and interacted. Given the longstanding excavations of the site, the voluminous textual record that has been recovered, and the long history of scholarship, the site offers a unique opportunity to explore the dynamics of “foreignness” in a Late Bronze Age context where the presence of foreigners was, if not normative, expected. Using insights from critical theory derived from the discipline of Geography, this paper explores how, in Engin Isin's terms, the city is not where difference is found but rather where difference is made (labeled and reified), especially through what Julie Young has called “spatial practices and technologies of governance”. Through the examination of locations of every day encounters, this paper shall explore how foreigners are recognized as such, how their relations with non-foreigners are managed (explicitly and implicitly), how different scales of self and otherness are created and maintained, how these constructed identities are naturalized, and what modalities emerge or are imposed to mediate these relationships. Rather than seeking to identify a monolithic approach to foreignness, by examining different examples of micropublic interactions (such as in moments of palatial administration), this paper seeks to untangle some of the multi-scalar and multi-semiotic aspects of foreignness at Ugarit.

*Keywords:* Ugarit – ancient urbanism – ancient foreignness – Late Bronze Age – ancient administration – urban legibility

Edward Mushett Cole

**Ethnic Enclaves: A Modern Understanding of How Migratory Groups Preserve Ethnic Identity as a Potential Explanation for the Libyans' Retention of a Non-Egyptian Identity in the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period** **221**

*Abstract:* It is increasingly accepted in scholarship that the Libyans who entered Egypt during the late New Kingdom and who rose to power during the Third Intermediate Period retained, at the very least, some of their original non-Egyptian ethnic identity. Despite the evidence for this, as well as that revealing the presence of foreigners generally within the Egyptian population across the dynastic era, there has been no explanation of the mechanisms by which the Libyans would have been able to retain this non-Egyptian identity. Such a lack of explanation is significant given that many of the Libyans are believed to have arrived as prisoners-of-war following the various invasions of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, who were supposedly “indoctrinated” in Egyptian culture.

This paper will address this gap through reference to a sociological explanation for how modern migrants often retain their ethnic identities after settling within an area with a dominant culture: “ethnic enclaves”. Using the mechanism of “ethnic enclaves” this paper will seek, therefore, to provide some explanation for the Libyans’ retention of a distinctly non-Egyptian identity after their arrival into Egypt.

*Keywords:* Libyan Period – Third Intermediate Period – Libyans – ethnicity – ethnic enclaves

Jana Mynářová

**Are you an Egyptian? Are you a Stranger? Egyptians in the Levant in the Bronze Age** **239**

*Abstract:* Egypt and the Near East. Interactions between these regions are attested from the earliest days when the first political centers started to develop in both parts of the ancient world. For this period, our information on Egyptians living “abroad” is very limited. We can hardly hope to obtain a complete picture of both the daily life of an individual and the foreign policy of the Egyptian rulers based on the evidence we currently have at our disposal. The interpretation of the Egyptian policy towards the Near Eastern polities and their peoples is hence largely dependent on the interpretation of the character of the Egyptian (or Egyptianizing) objects discovered in Near Eastern sites. The same holds true for the Near Eastern perspective as well. During the third millennium BC, the picture provided by the limited number and much formalized character of the Egyptian written evidence is often supplemented by iconographic and archaeological sources. Moreover, there are practically no ancient Near Eastern records mentioning Egyptians living “abroad”. It is only in the second half of the second millennium BC, when the written evidence—both Egyptian and non-Egyptian—becomes sufficient to provide a more detailed account on the Egyptians living “outside the Egyptian borders”. In my paper I will address the question of evidence of Egyptians living in the Near East. The Egyptian sources provide us only with one part of the story—the Egyptian one. But I will rather pay attention to the evidence provided by Near Eastern written documents, mentioning Egypt and especially Egyptians, being part of local communities. This evidence will be set against the perspective provided by official sources, preserved on both sides.

*Keywords:* Egypt – Near East – foreigners – Bronze Age – written sources

Emanuel Pfoh

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*Abstract:* This paper explores the modes of political sociability in the Late Bronze Age Near East, focusing in particular on the political agency of foreigners in their different historical and social manifestations (notably, messengers/ambassadors, merchants) and the socio-political spheres they interacted with in local society. Sociologically speaking, insiders and outsiders to social systems and communities operate through varied and situational codes of sociability, based on and expressed by, for instance, the circumstance of belonging to a kinship group or to a concrete political body or not, which creates positive situations of assistance and reciprocity or negative situations of partial or full rejection and opposition (and the negotiated possibilities in-between these poles). During the Late Bronze Age, instances of hospitality, alliance and subordination were among the key scenarios for dealing positively with and understanding outsiders, as an integral part of the shared codes of political sociability in the East Mediterranean and in South-west Asia of the period. In the present communication, these practices and situations are analysed after the contemporary textual evidence (mainly, letters from Amarna) from the perspective of social anthropology and sociology with the aim of contrasting the theoretical definitions of hospitality, alliance and subordination with those potentially expressed in the textual evidence from the Late Bronze Age.

*Keywords:* Late Bronze Age – foreigners – hospitality – reciprocity – political sociability

Regine Pruzsinszky

**The Contact Zone along the Middle Euphrates: Interaction, Transaction and Movement** 269

*Abstract:* Regarding the overall topic of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Crossroads conference on the understanding of foreignness in ancient societies this paper takes a closer look on the Late Bronze Age cuneiform archives from the Middle Euphrates area. Emar, the capital of Aštata served as a trading center and important communications junction and its archives attest to various forms of contacts between locals and foreigners. Given the political changes in the region of Aštata in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century BC, when Emar entered the sphere of the Hittite Empire, special attention will be given to the Hittite influence on the social, administrative, cultural and religious changes in order to identify various forms of foreignness and to detect in which contexts and how local societies interacted with foreigners.

*Keywords:* Emar – Mittani – Hittites – Assyrians – onomastics – scribal traditions

Clemens Reichel

**“Human Instincts, Canine Intelligence, and Monkey Features”:  
The Gutians and Other “Mountain People” in Mesopotamian  
and 20<sup>th</sup> Century Scholarly Perspectives** 285

*Abstract:* This paper addresses the topic of xenophobia in ancient times and its reflection in modern day scholarship in the case of the Gutians, a population group from Western Iran that invaded the Mesopotamian lowlands during the later part of the Akkadian Dynasty (ca. 2300–2150 BC). The “Curse of Agade”, a literary composition that rationalizes the fall of the Akkadian Dynasty in ideological terms, shows the Gutians as invading hordes that ravaged the cities and hinterland of Mesopotamia at the command of its supreme god Enlil in retaliation for the destruction of the É-kur, Enlil’s temple at Nippur, by Naram-Sîn, Agade’s fourth and most illustrious king. Their description as quasi-beasts with animalistic features and behaviors clearly reflects some of the fears and apprehensions against foreigners that were present in ancient Mesopotamia and which this literary composition uses in highly propagandistic terms. Reviewing the available archaeological data it is clear that post-Akkadian literary and historiographic sources overstated the impact of this invasion since no widespread post-Akkadian destructions

are attested at archaeological sites. As this paper will show, this did not stop notable archaeologists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century from seeking “Gutian” traits in ancient material culture, using stereotypes that very much echo ancient Mesopotamian sentiment.

*Keywords:* xenophobia – Gutians – archaeology – 20<sup>th</sup> century scholarship

Seth Richardson

**Aliens and Alienation, Strangers and Estrangement:  
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*Abstract:* By looking at issues of host and guest cultures in a particular historical culture (late Middle Bronze Age Babylonia, ca. 17<sup>th</sup> century BC), this essay examines how their interactions were not only mutually reactive, but even affected categorical understandings of foreignness itself. The chapter looks at a number of arenas of activity: the international scene; differently protected classes of citizens and aliens; exiles, especially elites; foreign mercenaries; class anxiety; women without households; and the isolated and aging nobles who ran the kingdom at the end of the period. By juxtaposing the different bases on which ideas of “insiderness” and “outsiderness” were constructed, including issues of exclusivity and rank within the host culture. Final consideration is made of a possible paradigm shift in this time, when notions first arose about alienation as a personal and interior matter—about isolation as a primarily social and spiritual experience rather than an ethnocultural one.

*Keywords:* alienation – foreigners – social difference – Babylonia – ethno-cultural identity

Hannah L. Ringheim

**The Pharaoh’s Fighters: Early Mercenaries in Egypt**

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*Abstract:* This paper addresses one of the fundamental ways in which foreigners and Egyptians interacted during the third to second millennium: as foreign soldiers in the Egyptian army. Frequently it is suggested that these are mercenaries hired by the Egyptians; however, how accurate is this identification? When does a non-local fighter become a mercenary? To approach these questions, the paper examines specific examples from tomb inscriptions that document Nubian and Egyptian interactions and the circumstances that led to Nubians in the Egyptian military. The discussion then looks at the later Shardana contingent of the so-called Sea Peoples in the 13<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC and the varying types of exchanges with the Egyptians, based on wall iconography and texts. The process in which the Shardana infiltrate the Egyptian military suggests that in certain circumstances, they evince characteristics of mercenaries. The evidence exemplifies the first instances when armies relied on foreign hires, a phenomenon that then resonated throughout antiquity.

*Keywords:* mercenaries – Egypt – warfare – Shardana – Nubians

Katharina Streit

**The Stranger on the Mound: Tracing Cultural Identity  
at Tel Lachish during the Late Bronze Age**

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*Abstract:* According to both written sources such as the Amarna correspondence, and to archaeological excavations, Tel Lachish was a thriving city and an important part of the diplomatic network of the Late Bronze Age. However, the precise nature of its power relations remains subject to debate, and opinions are divided on whether Egyptians were actually present at the site. It is notoriously difficult to identify individuals of specific cultural groups in the archaeological record. This is due to the complexity of such identities, and the difficulties to distinguish e.g. ethnic and economic factors in past populations. This is further complicated when different variations e.g. of ethnicities well researched in anthropological literature are considered, such as “fluid”, “acquired”, “segmentary”, and “situational” ethnicities. These can only be discerned

with the help of informants. Nevertheless, indications of cultural background can be observed in how it shapes material culture. In this paper two different modes, “embodied cultural automatism” and “conscious cultural choice”, are distinguished and applied to material culture from Lachish, including architecture, burial practice, the ceramic assemblage, and epigraphic finds. It is concluded that while the ruling elite appear to have been local Canaanites, at least some individuals of Egyptian origin, probably engaged in administrative tasks, seem to have been present at the site.

*Keywords:* cultural identity – Late Bronze Age – southern Levant – Egypt – Tel Lachish

Marta Valerio

**The Egyptians’ Ambivalent Relationship with Foreigners:  
The Case of the Prisoners of War in the New Kingdom** 371

*Abstract:* This paper will suggest that there was a stark difference in the ways in which Egyptians described the foreigner outside or within Egypt. In the first case, the foreigner was at best a stranger element and often an enemy to be fought, in the second case it was an integral part of the society. The “external” foreigner is represented according to precise iconographic codes and epithets that make it easily recognizable in contrast to “the Egyptian being”. But beyond the propagandistic proclamations, what information on the presence of foreigners in Egypt are provided by sources? In the Pharaonic ideology, foreigners represented the Nine Bows against which the Egyptians fought to maintain the order of the *Maat*, a mission that the deity attributed to the Pharaoh. The relationship between Egyptians and foreigners was thus regulated by a dualism that Antonio Loprieno has synthesized using two antithetical concepts: *topos* and *mimesis*. The *topos* considers the Egyptians as superior to “others”, while the *mimesis* expresses the daily practice of relations with foreigners that goes beyond the violent relations underlying the *topos*. Referring to this theory, and using prisoners of war as a case study, this paper will investigate Egyptians’ ambivalent relationship with foreigners.

*Keywords:* Foreigners – Egypt – prisoners of war – Egyptianisation – otherness

Sarah Vilain

**The Foreign Trade of Tell el-Dab’a during the Second Intermediate Period:  
Another Glance at Imported Ceramics under Hyksos Rule** 387

*Abstract:* The extensive exploration of the archaeological site of Tell el-Dab’a highlighted that ancient Avaris was an active trading centre, as testified by the discovery of large amounts of imported goods from the Middle Kingdom onwards. This paper presents an overview of the evolution of trade at Tell el-Dab’a during the Second Intermediate Period through the study of foreign ceramics discovered at the site. The examination of the distribution of Levantine, Cypriot and Nubian imports is used to pinpoint periods of disturbances or ruptures in the flux of exchanges. Specific attention is given to the takeover of the Hyksos and how this event could have affected the already existing trading connections with other parts of Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean. Finally, this article concludes with some observations about how these trading connections are closely linked to political and cultural developments that occurred in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period.

*Keywords:* Egypt – Cyprus – Levant – Nubia – Trade – Second Intermediate Period

Federico Zangani

**Foreign-Indigenous Interactions in the Late Bronze Age Levant: Tuthmosid Imperialism and the Origin of the Amarna Diplomatic System** 405

*Abstract:* This paper proposes new avenues of research to investigate foreign-indigenous interactions within 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egyptian imperialism by charting the evolution of the Egyptian political and economic engagement with the northern Levant, from the phase of territorial expansionism under the Tuthmosids to the development of the diplomatic system of the Amarna archive under Amenhotep III. More specifically, it has never been questioned how the world of the Amarna letters originated in the first place, but it is likely, as I will argue, that this world did not exist at the time of Tuthmose III. In fact, the geopolitical situation in the Levant in the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC was radically different from a century later: while Tuthmose III campaigned systematically between Canaan and northern Syria, Amenhotep III no longer had this necessity, and military activity was limited to a few, targeted operations. This paper suggests that the analysis of the evidence should include not only the Egyptian royal inscriptions and the Amarna letters, but also contemporary archives from the Egyptian provincial centre in Lebanon at Kāmid el-Lōz and from the Syrian kingdom of Qaṭna, which could elucidate how 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Egypt coerced and/or negotiated with the indigenous realities in order to attain its own political and economic interests, and at the same time maintain regional stability. Moreover, it seems quite plausible that Egyptian territorial expansionism in the New Kingdom originated as pre-emptive warfare after the Hyksos rule, similarly to the development of Roman imperialism following Hannibal's invasion of Italy in the second Punic war. Finally, principles of political realism in the writings of Thucydides and Machiavelli will be discussed, with a view to demonstrating their profound applicability to the geopolitical systems of the Late Bronze Age.

*Keywords:* Egyptian imperialism – Amarna letters – pre-emptive warfare – Thucydides – Machiavelli

Indices

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## Preface

“The Crossroads III – A Stranger in the House. Foreigners in Ancient Egyptian and Near Eastern Societies of the Bronze Age”, has been held at the Faculty of Arts, Charles University (Prague) between September 10 and 13, 2018.

The main objective of the conference was to enhance our understanding of “foreignness” in ancient societies of the Near East and Egypt between the end of the Chalcolithic period and the end of the Late Bronze Age.

Our goal, while organizing the conference, was to bring together archaeologists, philologists, as well as historians to obtain a balanced insight into the historical, social, cultural and economic aspects of “foreignness” of the respective regions (Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Levant, Egypt) at this particular moment in time. We are firmly convinced that the dialogue between experts of various disciplines is not only highly desirable, but it is also a necessity for gaining a deeper and meaningful understanding of complex social dynamics.

We thus tried to collect papers that treated the topic of “foreignness” from archaeological, historical, iconographic and philological points of view, suggesting to the contributor a series of possible research questions: Who is a foreigner, and how do we recognise foreigners in ancient societies? What is the role of foreigners and how did foreigners and indigenous population(s) interact? What can be said about foreigners as enemies of the state, and about foreigners as allies? What did it mean to be a “foreigner” in an ancient Near Eastern society? And what were the ways of communicating of individuals and societies?

The number of papers we have received, and their quality showed that this topic is very relevant in the contemporary academic discourse, and that there is a widespread desire to explore and discuss it.

This desire was well reflected already in the paper of the keynote speakers that opened the conference. In particular, Clemens Reichel discussed the characterization of the Gutians as attested in the sources of the later third and early second millennium BC, and he reassessed the scale and impact of the “Gutian invasion” taking into consideration more recent historical and archaeological evidence. Seth Richardson reviewed the terminology attested in Old Babylonian texts to refer to social roles that may have been at least in part associated with foreigners, and then discussed the general conceptual construction of “strangers/strangeness” in the Old Babylonian period. Regine Pruzsinsky, instead, explored how one can identify foreigners in the Late Bronze texts from Emar, and what such texts tell us about their interactions with the local societies. Elena Devecchi offered a reassessment of the latent conflict between the Ugaritic elite and their Hittite suzerains in the final phase of the Late Bronze Age on the basis of the documents found in the “House of Urtenu”. Kevin McGeough used insights from critical theory derived from the discipline of geography to explore “foreignness” and foreign identity, by examining examples of micropublic interactions in an urban reality like that of Ugarit. Finally, Jana Mynářová reassessed the evidence

for the presence of Egyptians living in the Near East during the Bronze Age, with special attention given to the Late Bronze Age sources, discussing it in relation with both Egyptian and Near Eastern official documents.

The 26 papers and 6 posters that were presented at the conference declined these topics in multiple different ways. Some decided to approach the discussion from a theoretical perspective, or to present and discuss theoretical frameworks that could be used to explore at least some of elements underlying the concept of “foreignness”. Others investigated sociocultural dimension involved in the presence of foreigners, or in their interactions with local communities. Some papers focused on specific case studies, some looked for foreigners in archaeological evidence or written sources, while others turned to languages and linguistics, exploring the social interactions hidden behind the spread and circulation of loanwords and *wanderworts*, or assessing the meanings and connotations of terms used to refer to various foreign groups. Cases from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Anatolia and the Levant, covering the whole of the Bronze Age have been discussed. The wide range of perspectives, and their combination within the frame of the conference often stimulated that multidisciplinary dialogue that was the primary aim of this third edition of *Crossroads*.

This book collects some of the twenty most significant contributions presented at the conference. The contributions are here presented in alphabetic order, as the numbers of interconnections that could be highlighted among them makes any attempt to group them somehow limiting and counterproductive: we, as the editors, believe that all these papers are part of a single coherent ensemble, and we wish to present them here as such.

In Prague on July 21, 2019

Jana Mynářová, Marwan Kilani,  
and Sergio Alivernini

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## Contributors

**Danielle Candelora** is an Egyptian archaeologist and Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Los Angeles. Her research investigates the multivariate processes of identity negotiation in the Middle to Late Bronze Ages, focusing on theoretical approaches to immigration and the influence of immigrants on their host culture. In particular she examines the Eastern Nile Delta during the Second Intermediate Period, specifically the Hyksos and their impact on later Egyptian culture and especially the Ramesside conception of kingship. She has excavated a Revolutionary War battlefield in New Jersey, a Roman fortress in Spain, a Crusader site in Israel, as well as a Karanis, a Greco-Roman settlement in Egypt. She is currently co-editing a volume on the social history of ancient Egypt, and is a member of the UCLA Coffins Project directed by Kara Cooney.

**Gaëlle Chantrain** is a postdoctoral associate and lecturer in Egyptology at the department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization of Yale University and Post-doctoral researcher *in absentia* at the Belgian National Fund for Scientific Research (FNRS). She did her master at the University of Liege (Belgium), where she was also collaborator in the Ramses Project. She completed her Ph.D. at the University of Louvain (Belgium), with a research fellowship from FNRS. During her Ph.D., she worked as an invited research associate at the Humboldt University in Berlin and then obtained a postdoc at the Czech Institute of Egyptology of the Charles University in Prague. Her work lays at the intersection between Egyptology and linguistics. Her main research interests are Egyptian philology, lexical semantics, classifiers studies, cognitive linguistics and semantic typology. She is also very interested in the development of digital humanities and is involved in several collaborative projects both in Egyptology and linguistics.

**Susan Cohen** received her Ph.D. in Syro-Palestinian Archaeology and Hebrew Bible from the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University in 2000. She directed the excavations at the Middle Bronze Age cemetery at Gesher, and the small rural multi-period site of Tel Zahara, both in the Jordan Valley. She is currently Chair of the Department of History and Philosophy at Montana State University.

**Katrien De Graef** obtained her Ph.D. in Assyriology from Ghent University, Belgium in 2004. She is currently Associate Professor of Assyriology and History of the Ancient Near East at Ghent University. Her research focuses primarily on the socio-economic history of the Old Babylonian period in general, and that of the cities of Sippar and Susa in particular, including gender studies and sealing praxis, and the relation between Babylonia and Elam in the third and second millennium BC. She published 2 monographs and more than 50 articles and book chapters and was epigraphist during the Belgo-Syrian excavations at Chagar Bazar (Syria).

**Elena Devecchi** is Researcher in History of the Ancient Near East at the Department of Historical Studies of the University of Turin. After receiving her Ph.D. at the University of Venice, she worked in Germany (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, München and Julius-Maximilians-Universität, Würzburg), Belgium (KU Leuven) and Austria (University of Innsbruck), where she carried out postdoctoral projects and taught classes on Akkadian and Hittite. Her scientific interests focus on the Near East during the Late Bronze Age, in particular on historical and diplomatic texts from Anatolia and Syria (see *Trattati internazionali ittiti*, Brescia 2015), and on the economic and administrative institutions of Kassite Babylonia. She is epigraphist of the archaeological mission conducted by the University and by the “Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi” of Turin at the site of Tulūl al-Baqarat (Iraq).

**Anne Goddeeris** teaches cuneiform languages and courses on the history of the Ancient Near East at Ghent University. Her research is centered around Old Babylonian society. Her publications include a monograph on the early Old Babylonian economy and society and publications of cuneiform archival documents in various collections (SANTAG 9, TMH 10).

**Caleb R. Hamilton** completed his Ph.D. at Monash University in 2016, graduating in 2017. His recent research centres on evidence from the Early Dynastic period in the desert margins of the Nile Valley, and also the nature of Egyptian interactions in Western Desert, including a reassessment of evidence for an unnamed king. He has also begun to assist with research on an ARC Discovery Project, exploring the archaeological nature of the cult of Seth in Egypt, under the direction of Colin Hope (Monash University), Gill Bowen (Monash University), and Iain Gardner (University of Sydney). He is also completing several edited volumes, as well as a monograph based on his doctoral dissertation.

**Ann-Kathrin Jeske** is a Ph.D. student and uni:docs fellow at the Institute of Egyptology, University of Vienna, studying the activities of Egyptian officials and soldiers in the southern Levant from the Protodynastic to the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Ann-Kathrin received her BA in “Ancien Cultures in the Eastern Mediterranean” at Georg August-Universität Göttingen and finished her MA studies in “Egyptology” at Johannes Gutenberg-University Mainz.

**Kevin McGeough** is Professor of Archaeology in the Department of Geography at the University of Lethbridge in Canada and holds a Board of Governor’s Research Chair in Archaeological Theory and Reception. He has been the editor of the *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, ASOR’s *Archaeological Report Series*, and is currently co-editor of the *Alberta Archaeological Review*. McGeough is the author of a three-volume series on the reception of archaeology, called *The Ancient Near East in the Nineteenth Century*. McGeough has also written extensively on economic issues at the Late Bronze Age site of Ugarit, including two books, *Exchange Relationships at Ugarit* and *Ugaritic Economic Tablets: Text, Translations, and Notes*.

**Edward Mushett Cole** graduated with a Ph.D. from the University of Birmingham in 2017 entitled *Decline in Ancient Egypt? A reassessment of the late New King-*

*dom and Third Intermediate Period*. He currently works as the Postgraduate Student Experience Officer in the College of Arts and Law at the University of Birmingham and has published several papers, most recently “‘The year of hyenas when there was a famine’: An assessment of environmental causes for the events of the Twentieth Dynasty” in C. Langer’s *Global Egyptology* (London 2017).

**Jana Mynářová** is Associate Professor of Egyptology at the Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University. She obtained her Ph.D. in Philology – Languages of Asia and Africa in 2004. Her research focuses on various aspects of the relations between Egypt and the Ancient Near East in the second millennium BC, with special attention given to documents in Peripheral Akkadian. She is the author and co-author of several books and studies on the topic (*Language of Amarna – Language of Diplomacy. Perspectives on the Amarna Letters*, Prague 2007). Presently, she carries a research project devoted to the study of Amarna cuneiform palaeography and she is a member of a multidisciplinary research project dealing with the collection of the Old Assyrian tablets held at Charles University. She is the main organiser of the Crossroads conferences devoted to study of interrelations among the ANE societies in the Bronze Age.

**Emanuel Pfoh** is Researcher at the National Research Council (CONICET) and Assistant Professor in the Department of History of the National University of La Plata, Argentina. He is author of *The Emergence of Israel in Ancient Palestine: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (2009), *Anthropology and the Bible* (ed. 2010), *The Politics of Israel’s Past* (co-edited with K.W. Whitelam, 2013) and *Syria-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age: An Anthropology of Politics and Power* (2016).

**Regine Pruzsinszky** is an Assyriologist at the Institute of Archaeological Studies at the University of Freiburg. Her research interests focus on cuneiform records from the Late Bronze Age, the chronology of Mesopotamia, Ancient Near Eastern onomastic and musicians. She is the author of *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Emar* (Bethesda, 2003), and *Mesopotamian Chronology of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BCE. An Introduction to the Textual Evidence and Related Chronological Issues* (Vienna, 2009). Among other edited books she has edited a volume on *Policies of Exchange, Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium B.C.E.* (Vienna, 2015) together with Birgitta Eder.

**Clemens Reichel** is Associate Professor for Mesopotamian Archaeology at the University of Toronto’s Department of Near and Middle Eastern Civilizations and an Associate Curator for the Ancient Near East at the Royal Ontario Museum (*Mesopotamia: Inventing our World*, 2013). His research focuses predominantly on problems of complex societies, state formation, evolution of urbanism, bureaucracy, social and art history, and history of conflict and warfare. He has excavated and surveyed extensively on sites in Turkey, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. Since 1999 he has been the director of the Diayala Project, aiming to publish an extensive collection of objects from the excavations of the Oriental Institute (University of Chicago) in the Diyala Region during the 1930’s in an online database. Since 2004 he has been directing the Hamoukar Expedition in a joint project between the University of Chicago’s Oriental Institute and the Syrian Department of Antiquities.

**Seth Richardson** is an Assyriologist and historian of the ancient world. He took his degree at Columbia University in 2002, and currently works at the University of Chicago as Managing Editor for the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* and an Associate of the Oriental Institute. He works on historical topics related to state society and subjectivity, the politics of the body, the collapse of the First Dynasty of Babylon, as well as issues related to slaves, women, and political theory.

**Hannah L. Ringheim** is a fellow in Greek Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh. She has worked on excavations in Greece, Israel, Turkey, and Cyprus and is currently part of two projects in Egypt. Her main research interests include trade networks and interconnections between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. She is currently writing a book on mercenary warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean.

**Katharina Streit** is a specialist in the archaeology of the southern Levant and her research covers the Pottery Neolithic to Iron Age in this region. She is currently a postdoctoral researcher at the Martin Buber Society of Fellows of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. Her main research interests include material culture and symbolic behaviour, chronological issues and radiocarbon dating as well as transregional exchange. She directed her first excavation at the Chalcolithic site of Ein el-Jarba, funded by the Fritz Thyssen foundation, which was completed in 2016. Since 2017, she has been the co-director (together with Felix Höflmayer) of the current Tel Lachish excavations.

**Marta Valerio** is currently chercheur associé at the Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3. In December 2017 she completed her Ph.D. at the Université Paul Valéry-Montpellier 3 and the Università degli Studi di Torino with a dissertation on the treatment of prisoners of war during the New Kingdom. Her research interests include social organization, work organization, condition of foreigners in Ancient Egypt, especially in the New Kingdom.

**Sarah Vilain** is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna, for the ERC Advanced Grant Project “The Enigma of the Hyksos”. She studied both Greek and Oriental Archaeology at the University Rennes 2 (France) before starting a Ph.D. at the University of Strasbourg (France). During this time, she benefited from a scholarship of the French Institute for the Near East (IFPO) and participated in archaeological excavations in Syria and Lebanon. Her dissertation, titled “Pour une archéologie des échanges en Méditerranée orientale, la céramique chypriote au Levant nord aux âges du Bronze moyen et du Bronze récent” investigated the distribution and circulation of Cypriot pottery in the Northern Levant in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. Her main research interest concerns trading connections between Cyprus, the Levant and Egypt in the second millennium BC.

**Federico Zangani** received a BA in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in 2014 from the University of Oxford, where he studied both Egyptology and Assyriology, and is now a Ph.D. candidate in Egyptology at Brown University. His main research interests include Near Eastern languages, philology, the cultural and political history of Egypt’s New Kingdom and Late Bronze Age Syria, and the interconnectedness of the Near East and the Mediterranean.

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## Abbreviations

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| ÄA                      | Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)   |
| AAPSS                   | The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Thousand Oaks, CA)  |
| AAR                     | African Archaeological Review (Cambridge)   |
| AAS                     | Annales Archéologiques de la Syrie (Damascus)   |
| AASOR                   | Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (New Haven – Cambridge)   |
| ÄAT                     | Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments (Wiesbaden)                                  |
| AbB                     | Altbabylonische Briefe im Umschrift und Übersetzung (Leiden)  |
| ABBWLS                  | Alternative Broad Band and Wavy Line Style  |
| ABSA                    | Annual of the British School at Athens (London)   |
| Ad                      | Ammiditana  |
| ADAIK                   | Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo (Glückstadt – Mainz – Berlin)  |
| AE                      | American Ethnologist (Washington, DC)   |
| Ae                      | Abi-ešuh  |
| AfO                     | Archiv für Orientforschung (Berlin – Wien)  |
| AHw                     | W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> . I–III. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz 1959–1981.  |
| AIIN                    | <i>Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica</i> (Roma)  |
| AJA                     | American Journal of Archaeology (Princeton – Baltimore)   |
| AJP                     | American Journal of Philology (Baltimore)   |
| AJSL                    | American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago)   |
| ALASP(M)                | Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas (Münster)  |
| <i>Am. J. Sociol.</i>   | American Journal of Sociology (Chicago)   |
| <i>Am. Sociol. Rev.</i> | American Sociological Review (New York)   |
| AMD                     | Ancient magic and divination (Leiden – Boston)  |
| ANESS                   | Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement Series (Louvain)  |
| ANET <sup>3</sup>       | J.B. Pritchard, <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press 1969 (3 <sup>rd</sup> edition). |
| AOAT                    | Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn)  |
| <i>AnSt</i>             | Anatolian Studies (Ankara)  |
| <i>AoF</i>              | Altorientalische Forschungen (Berlin)   |
| ARCANE                  | Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (Turnhout)   |
| <i>ArchAnz</i>          | Archäologischer Anzeiger (Berlin)   |
| <i>ArOr</i>             | Archiv Orientální (Praha)   |
| ARWAW                   | Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Opladen)  |

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| As.     | Tell Asmar <i>sigla</i>  |
| ASAE    | Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (Le Caire)   |
| ASE     | Archaeological Survey of Egypt (London)  |
| ASJ     | Acta Sumeriologica (Hiroshima)   |
| ASR     | <i>American Sociological Review</i> (New York)   |
| Aş      | Ammişaduqa   |
| ÄuL     | Ägypten und Levante (Wien)   |
| AuOr    | Aula Orientalis (Barcelona)  |
| AV      | Archäologische Veröffentlichungen (Berlin – Mainz am Rhein)  |
| BA      | The Biblical Archaeologist (New Haven)   |
| BaM     | Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin)  |
| BAP     | B. Meissner, <i>Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs 1893.                 |
| BASOR   | Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (New Haven)  |
| BBS     | Broad Band Style   |
| BdÉ     | Bibliothèque d'étude (Paris)   |
| BES     | Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (New York)   |
| BES     | Brown Egyptological studies (Oxford – Providence)  |
| BiAeg   | Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)   |
| BIFAO   | Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Le Caire)   |
| BiMes   | Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu)  |
| BiOr    | Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)  |
| BM      | Museum siglum of the British Museum, London  |
| BMPES   | British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)  |
| BMSAES  | British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London)   |
| BN      | Biblische Notizen. Beiträge zur exegetischen Diskussion (Bamberg).   |
| BOQ     | W.G. Lambert, <i>Babylonian Oracle Questions</i> . MC 13. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2007.                 |
| BTM     | B. Foster, <i>Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature</i> . Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 1996. |
| BS res. | Black Slip / Reserved Slip   |
| BSOAS   | Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies (London)  |
| BZAW    | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin)   |
| BzN     | Beiträge zur Namenforschung (Heidelberg)   |
| CA      | Colloquia Antiqua (Leuven)   |
| CAD     | <i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago)  |
| CahDAFI | Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran (Paris)   |
| CAJ     | Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge)   |
| CASAE   | Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Le Caire)  |
| CBS     | Museum siglum of the University Museum, Philadelphia (Catalogue of the Babylonian Section)                   |
| CCÉ     | Cahier de la céramique égyptienne (Le Caire)   |
| CChEM   | Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Wien)  |

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| <i>CdÉ</i>                | Chronique d'Égypte (Bruxelles)   |
| CDLI                      | Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (Los Angeles – Berlin)  |
| CDLN                      | <i>Cuneiform Digital Library Notes</i> (Los Angeles – Berlin)  |
| CHANE                     | Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden – Boston)   |
| CIS                       | Copenhagen International Seminar (London – New York)   |
| CLS                       | Cross Line Style   |
| CM                        | Cuneiform Monographs (Groningen)   |
| CNIP                      | Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications (Copenhagen)  |
| CRAIBL                    | Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris)  |
| CSSH                      | Comparative Studies in Society and History (New York)  |
| CT                        | Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum (London)   |
| CTH                       | L. Laroche, <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck 1971.  |
| CUSAS                     | Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology (Bethesda, MD)  |
| DB Suppl.                 | L. Pirot – A. Robert – H. Cazelles – A. Feuillet, eds., <i>Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> . I–VIII. Paris: Letouzey & Ané 1938–1972.   |
| DN                        | Divine name  |
| E                         | texts from Emar, see D. Arnaud, <i>Recherches au pays d'Aštata. Emar 6/1–4</i> . Paris: ÉRC 1986.  |
| EA                        | J.A. Knudtzon, <i>Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i> . VB2. Aalen: Zeller 1964 (2 <sup>nd</sup> edition); A.F. Rainey, <i>El Amarna Tablets 359-379. Supplement to J.A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln</i> . AOAT 8. Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker – Neukirchener Verlag 1970. |
| EA                        | Egyptian Archaeology (London)  |
| ÉAO                       | Égypte Afrique & Orient (Montségur)  |
| EB                        | Early Bronze (Age)   |
| EES EM                    | EES Excavation Memoirs (London)  |
| EIW                       | W. Hinz – H. Koch, <i>Elamisches Wörterbuch</i> . Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag 1987.   |
| <i>Ethn. Racial Stud.</i> | Ethnic and Racial Studies (Abingdon)   |
| ETCSL                     | Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (Oxford)   |
| EU                        | Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden – Leuven)  |
| GM                        | Göttinger Miszellen (Göttingen)  |
| GN                        | Geographical name  |
| GOF                       | Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe: Ägypten (Wiesbaden)   |
| HÄB                       | Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)  |
| HANE/M                    | History of the Ancient Near East. Monographs (Padova)  |
| HANE/S                    | History of the Ancient Near East. Studies (Padova)   |
| Haradum II                | F. Joannès – Ch. Kepiski-Lecomte – C. Colbow, <i>Haradum II. Les textes de la période paléo-babylonienne, Samsu-iluma – Ammi-šaduqa</i> . Paris: ÉRC 2006.   |
| HdO                       | Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden – Boston)   |
| Hdt.                      | Herodotus, <i>Histories</i>  |
| HPA                       | High Priest of Amun  |
| HSM                       | Harvard Semitic Monographs (Atlanta, GA)   |

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| HSS                            | Harvard Semitic Series (Cambridge, MA – Winona Lake, IN)  |
| <i>IJMES</i>                   | International Journal of Middle East Studies (Cambridge)  |
| <i>IrAnt</i>                   | Iranica Antiqua (Leiden)  |
| <i>J. Anthropol. Archaeol.</i> | Journal of Anthropological Archaeology (New York)   |
| JA                             | Journal asiatique (Paris)   |
| JA EI                          | Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (Tucson, AZ)   |
| JANER                          | Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions (Leiden – Boston)   |
| JAOS                           | Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore – Boston – New Haven)   |
| JARCE                          | <i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i> (Baltimore – Boston – Princeton – New Haven)  |
| JAS                            | Journal of Archaeological Science (London – New York)   |
| JCS                            | Journal of Cuneiform Studies (New Haven – Baltimore)  |
| JEA                            | Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (London)  |
| JEH                            | Journal of Egyptian History (Swansea)   |
| JEOL                           | Jaarbericht van het Voor-Aziatisch-Egyptisch-Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)  |
| JESHO                          | Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)   |
| JGA                            | Journal of Greek Archaeology (Oxford)   |
| JNES                           | Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)   |
| <i>J. Popul. Econ.</i>         | Journal of Population Economics (New York)  |
| JRAI (N.S.)                    | Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London)  |
| JSA                            | Journal of Social Archaeology (London)  |
| JSOT                           | Journal for the Study of the Old Testament (Sheffield)  |
| JSS                            | Journal of the Semitic Studies (Manchester)   |
| JSSEA                          | Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (Toronto)  |
| KBo                            | Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Leipzig – Berlin)   |
| KRI                            | K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical</i> . I–VIII. Oxford: Blackwell 1975–1990.   |
| KRITANC                        | K.A. Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated. Notes and Comments</i> . I–VII. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell 1995–2014.   |
| KSG                            | Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen (Wiesbaden)  |
| KTU                            | M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . AOAT 24/1. Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker – Neukirchener Verlag 1976; M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartín, <i>Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit</i> . ALASP(M) 8. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 1995 (2 <sup>nd</sup> edition). |
| KUB                            | Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (Berlin)  |
| LAPO                           | Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient (Paris)   |
| LE                             | Codex Eshnunna  |
| LH                             | Codex Hammurabi   |
| <i>LingAeg</i>                 | Lingua Aegyptia (Göttingen)   |
| MB                             | Middle Bronze (Age)   |

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| MC       | Mesopotamian Civilizations (Winona Lake, IN)  |
| MDAIK    | Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (Mainz – Cairo – Berlin – Wiesbaden)  |
| MDP      | Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse (Paris)  |
| MH       | Medinet Habu texts  |
| MHET     | Mesopotamian History and Environment (Ghent)  |
| MHET I   | K. Van Lerberghe – G. Voet, <i>Sippar-Amnānum: the Ur-utu archive</i> .<br>MHET 3/I. Ghent: University of Ghent 1991.   |
| MHET II  | L. Dekiere, <i>Old Babylonian Real Estate Documents</i> , Parts 1–6.<br>MHET 3/II. Ghent: University of Ghent 1994–1997.  |
| MHR      | Mediterranean Historical Review (London)  |
| MIE      | Mémoires de l’Institut Égyptien (Le Caire)  |
| MIFAO    | Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire (Le Caire)   |
| MonAeg   | Monumenta Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)  |
| MRS      | Mission des Ras Shamra (Paris)  |
| MVS      | Münchner Vorderasiatische Studien (München)   |
| N.A.B.U. | Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires (Paris)   |
| NEA      | Near Eastern Archaeology (Atlanta, GA)  |
| OA       | Oriens Antiquus (Roma)  |
| OAC      | Orientis Antiqui Collectio (Roma)   |
| OB       | Old Babylonian  |
| OBO      | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Fribourg)   |
| OBO SA   | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archeologica (Fribourg)  |
| OIP      | Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)   |
| OIS      | Oriental Institute Seminars (Chicago)   |
| OLA      | Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)  |
| Or NS    | Orientalia, Nova Series (Roma)  |
| PdÄ      | Probleme der Ägyptologie (Leiden – Boston – Köln)   |
| PEQ      | Palestine Exploration Quarterly (London)  |
| PIHANS   | Publications de l’Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul (Leiden)  |
| PIOL     | Publications de l’Institut Orientaliste de Leuven (Louvain)   |
| PLS      | Pendent Line Style  |
| PM       | B. Porter – R. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings</i> . I–VII. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1927–1951; Oxford: Griffith Institute 1960–(2 <sup>nd</sup> edition). |
| PMMAEE   | Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition (New York)   |
| PN       | Personal name   |
| PRU      | Le palais royal d’Ugarit (Paris)  |
| PSBA     | Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London)   |
| PW       | Plain White Hand-made Ware  |
| PWS      | Proto White Slip  |
| QS       | Qatna Studien (Wiesbaden)   |
| RA       | <i>Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale</i> (Paris)  |
| RANT     | Res Antiquae (Bruxelles)  |

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| <i>RdÉ</i> | <i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i> (Leuven)  |
| RIK        | <i>Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1936–.  |
| RIME       | Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods (Toronto)   |
| <i>RIA</i> | E. Ebellling – B. Meissner – E. Weidner – W. von Soden – D.O. Edzard, eds., <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i> . 1–15. Berlin – New York: De Gruyter 1928–2018. |
| RoB        | Red-on-Black   |
| RS         | Ras Shamra <i>siglum</i> ; or Red Slip pottery   |
| <i>RSO</i> | Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Roma)   |
| RSO        | Ras Shamra – Ougarit (Paris)   |
| SAHL       | Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant (Winona Lake, IN)   |
| <i>SAK</i> | Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)  |
| SANER      | Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin – Boston)  |
| SAOC       | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization (Chicago)   |
| SBA        | Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Bonn)   |
| SCCNH      | Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians (Bethesda, MD)  |
| Sd         | Samsuditana  |
| SDAIK      | Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Wiesbaden)  |
| <i>SEL</i> | Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Verona)  |
| Si         | Field numbers of tablets from Sippar, held in the collections of the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul   |
| SSL        | Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics (Leiden – Boston)   |
| StBoT      | Studien zu den Boghazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden)  |
| StMed      | Studia Mediterranea (Pavia)  |
| StOr       | Studia Orientalia. Edidit Societas Orientalis Fennica (Helsinki)   |
| SVJAD      | A.P. Riftin, <i>Staro-vavilonskije juridičeskije i administracionye dokumenty v sobranijach SSSR</i> . Moscow: Izd. AN SSSR 1937.  |
| TA         | Tel Aviv (Tel Aviv)  |
| TLOB 1     | S. Richardson, <i>Texts from the Late Old Babylonian Period</i> . Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series 2. Boston: ASOR 2010.   |
| TLOB 2     | S. Richardson, <i>A Texts from the Late Old Babylonian Period 2.1: Sales of Slaves and Cattle</i> . In prep.   |
| TLS        | Tangent Line Style   |
| TMH        | Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection, Jena (Leipzig – Berlin)   |
| TUAT N.F.  | Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge (Gütersloh)  |
| TVOA       | Testi del Vicino Oriente antico (Brescia)  |
| OREA       | Oriental and European Archaeology (Vienna)   |
| UAVA       | Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Berlin)   |
| Ug.        | Ugaritica (Paris)  |
| UF         | Ugarit-Forschungen (Münster)   |

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| UM      | <i>Sigla</i> in the collections of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia   |
| UMM     | University Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)   |
| Urk. I  | K. Sethe, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I. Urkunden des alten Reiches</i> . Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs 1903.  |
| Urk. IV | K. Sethe, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> , Heft 1–16, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs 1906–1909; W. Helck, <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> , Heft 17–22. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1955–1958. |
| VB      | Vorderasitische Bibliothek (Leipzig)   |
| VS      | Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)  |
| WA      | World Archaeology (London)   |
| Wb.     | A. Erman – W. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . I–VII. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung 1926–1931.  |
| WAW     | Writings from the Ancient World (Atlanta, GA)  |
| WdO     | Die Welt des Orients (Wuppertal – Göttingen)   |
| WP      | White Painted  |
| WPWM    | White Painted Wheel-made   |
| YES     | Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven)   |
| YOS     | Yale Oriental Series (New Haven)   |
| ZA      | Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie (Leipzig – Berlin)   |
| ZAR     | Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte (Wiesbaden)  |
| ZAW     | Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (Berlin)  |
| ZDPV    | Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (Stuttgart – Wiesbaden)  |

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## ABOUT “EGYPTIANITY” AND “FOREIGNNESS” IN EGYPTIAN TEXTS. A CONTEXT-SENSITIVE LEXICAL STUDY

Gaëlle Chantrain (Charles University – Yale University)

### Introduction

In this article, I consider the role of some ethnonyms naming neighbours of Egypt as elements of the Egyptian texts and the role of the people they name in the Egyptian conception of the world. The article is not meant as an historical study: it rather aims at providing a complement of information to the data already discussed and analysed in archaeology and history.

My purpose is to show the importance of a contextualised lexical analysis for a better understanding of a broad phenomenon like the relations between Egyptians and foreigners. I hope that this study can help to trace a continuum between two poles: on the one hand a stereotyped ideological vision of Egypt *vs.* “the abroad” and, on the other hand, some elements of the actual practical situation described in everyday life texts.

The article is structured in two parts. The first part is made of seven short lexical studies through which we will see what can be inferred about the respective status of the different foreigners in the Egyptian texts and mental world.

The second part explores some links that can be drawn between the specific elements of the narrative frame and the ratio of power between protagonists marked as [+ Egyptian] and [- Egyptian] / [+ foreigner].

### Corpus

The lexemes taken into consideration in this study are: *nḥsy* (Nubian), *sty.w* (Nubians), *tḥnw/tmḥw* (Libya, Libyans), *mšwš* (Libyans), *ḥꜣrw* (Syro-Palestinian, Levantine) and *ꜥm* (Asiatic). This list is of course not exhaustive. It constitutes the first set of a series of terms to be analysed in forthcoming articles. These terms have been chosen because they work together as elements of a system and each of them has a sufficient number of attestations to highlight significant distinctive features.

The corpus is made of the texts from the Old Kingdom until the Third Intermediate period encoded into the *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*<sup>1</sup> and the *Ramsès*<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html> (accessed on 15 December 2018).

<sup>2</sup> I would like to sincerely thank St. Polis and J. Winand for giving me access to the complete corpus of the database. The beta version of *Ramses Online* is available here: <http://ramses.ulg.ac.be> (accessed on 15 December 2018).

database. The distribution of the texts according to the diachrony and the source corpora is organised as follows:

| Period                     | <i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i> | <i>Ramsès</i> |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Old Kingdom                | +                                  | -             |
| First Intermediate Period  | +                                  | -             |
| Middle Kingdom             | +                                  | -             |
| Second Intermediate Period | +                                  | +             |
| New Kingdom                | +                                  | +             |
| Third Intermediate Period  | +                                  | +             |

**Tab. 1.**

Distribution of the texts according to the diachrony and the source corpora.

The most represented period (that is, with the biggest amount of texts and of attestations) is the New Kingdom, which is *de facto* the main core of my study. The amount of data coming from the other periods are however sufficient to allow for an accurate diachronic perspective.

### Structure of the analysis: semasiology and onomasiology

The structure of the lexical analysis is also divided in two parts. First, each lexeme is submitted to an individual (semasiological) study. The results obtained for all of them are then compared in an onomasiological study, which allows to stress the differences and common points between the lexemes.

The criteria taken into consideration in the semasiological analysis of each lexeme are the following ones:

- 1) Distribution of the attestations:
  - in diachrony,
  - by textual genre: all terms are not attested in the same kind of texts;
- 2) Classifiers (determinatives) usage and its evolution in diachrony.

The next criteria depend on the cotext analysis, performed through the use of a distributional semantic model.

- 3) Individuality criterion: is the term associated to the feature [+ individuality] or [- individuality]? Several clues can be checked in order to answer this question:
  - a. Use of the singular *vs.* systematic use of the collective: Among the words naming the neighbours of Egypt, some of them can be used in the plural/collective as well as in the singular. Others on the other hand cannot designate a single person, but only a group.
  - b. The attestation of a derived feminine noun is an element to mark the lexeme with the feature [+ individuality].
  - c. The attestation of a derived personal name is another element pointing in this direction.
- 4) [+/- foreignness] criterion: is the foreigner named *rmf*?

The fact of designating some foreigners as *rmṯ* shows an acknowledgment of their individuality and a higher degree of integration within the Egyptian mental world. Indeed, as already stressed by Loprieno (1988), *rmṯ* works in complementary opposition with *ḥ3s.ti*. These terms correspond to the two ends of a continuum between [+ Egyptian] and [+ foreigner].

5) Agentivity criterion: definition of the grammatical function of the term in the clause and of its semantic role. One can notice differences in the grammatical functions and semantic roles that the lexemes predominantly (or exclusively) fulfil. The choice of using these terms as agent, experiencer or patient of an action can be directly linked to the two former criteria: higher degrees of individuality and of integration goes together with a higher degree of agentivity.

6) How much do the cotextual features point or not towards the “enemy prototype”?

7) Specific cotextual features: this category gathers relevant elements which are not included in the aforementioned categories.

## Lexical Studies: Semasiology

### The Nubians

*nḥsy*

Distribution and classifiers

The lexeme *nḥsy*<sup>3</sup> is attested from the Old Kingdom and refers to the inhabitants of Nubia. It is usually written with the classifiers  $\text{𓂏}$  and  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$ , and with the group of classifiers  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  in the hieratic texts from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The group  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏}$  can also be found for the plural<sup>4</sup>.

When looking at the distribution by textual genres, two observations can be made. The first one is that *nḥsy* is present in almost all of them, with the exception of the literary fictional texts (tales). The second one is that most of the attestations come from royal texts. These observations show that the term *nḥsy* is quite well-spread and is mainly—but not exclusively—a feature of the ideological discourse. The fact that the *nḥsy* people are not attested in tales suggests that they do not seem to be given an important role in the fictional world of the Egyptians. They are also very scarcely represented in the literary texts in general, since they are attested only one time in both poetry (love songs) and wisdom texts (Teaching of Ani).

### Individuality and foreignness

A feminine form *nḥsy(.t)* is well attested from the Middle Kingdom. It is found in oracular and legal texts as well as in poetry. In Love Songs, only the *nḥsy*-woman is actually mentioned. The feminine of *nḥsy* is often written without the ending *-t*,

<sup>3</sup> Wb. 2: 303, 3–11 (including fem. *nḥsy.t*); Hannig 1997: 424; TLA: lemma no. 86650; Ramsès: nHsy\_1006\_17854.

<sup>4</sup> The detail of the main classifiers used for each lexeme can be found *infra*, Tab. 9.




Ex. 5. *nʿ nḥsy.w*  *m shsh r-hʿ.t.k m shpr i.ir.k*

“The Nubians who are running before you are an acquisition that you made”  
(P. Anastasi 4, 3, 5–6 = LEM 37, 13–14)

Seti II; miscellanies

It is indeed interesting to note the fact that the emphasis is often put on the physical dimension (appearance or activities) when Nubians are mentioned in the texts. They are usually described as good-looking and active/strong people while Libyans and people from the Syro-Palestinian region are rather qualified as coward and scheming.

Ex. 6. *ḥm.w knʿn n ḥʿrw mnḥ.w nfr.w nḥsy.w*  *nfr.w n kš šʿw ḥbs bh.t*

“The Cananaean servants of Syria, the beautiful young men, the beautiful Nubians from Kush, as dignified fan-bearers” (P. Anastasi 3A, 6 = LEM 33, 8–9)<sup>10</sup>

19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; miscellanies



Enemy?



The term *nḥsy*, when used in the ideological discourse of royal texts, shows cotextual features corresponding to the description of a stereotyped enemy. The *nḥsy* people fulfil this role mainly before the Ramesside period (beside one example from Medinet Habu). The magic of the Nubians is also particularly feared and constitutes a recurring topic (cf. *supra*, ex. 4). However, a close look at the cotextual environment of the attestations of *nḥsy* in other textual genres reveals that the Nubians-*nḥsy* became lower on the scale [+/- enemy] than Libyans and Asiatics after the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. In the New Kingdom, they indeed tend to be qualified in less pejorative terms than the latter, and this even in the ideological discourse.



Specific cotextual features

In the examples below, *nḥsy* is used in a complementary opposition with *ḥʿrw* “Syrian”. This association is very recurrent, to the point that it becomes a systemic opposition from the end of the New Kingdom to express the idea of “any kind of foreigner”, “all the foreigners”. It is used particularly often in the amuletic texts. The complete system is built around three terms: *nḥsy*, *ḥʿrw* and *rmṯ n km.t*. On the level of the toponyms, a similar system of opposition exists between the terms (*tʿ n*) *ḥʿrw* “(the land of) Kharu”, (*tʿ n*) *kš* “(the land of) Kush” and (*tʿ n*) *km.t* (the land of) Egypt. It encompasses thus the Egyptians and their two main categories of traditional enemies: the people from the South (Nubians) and the ones from the Levant (Syro-Palestinians). Other ethnonyms or toponyms (for example, *pi.t* “Libya”, cf. first example *infra*) can of course be added to this picture. These three elements however remain the stable basic ones.



<sup>10</sup> Ramsès text ID 204.

Ex. 7. *iw.n (r) šd.s r ḥk3 n ḥ3rw*  *r ḥk3 n nḥsy*  *r ḥk3 n pi.t r ḥk3 n rmt n km.t (...)*  
 “We will protect her from the magic of a Syrian, the magic of a Nubian, the magic from Libya, the magic of people from Egypt (...)” (P. BM 10083 [OAD L.1], v. 36)<sup>11</sup>  
 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty; amuletic

Ex. 8. *twtw (hr) sb3 nḥsy.w*  *md.t rmt.w n km.t ḥ3rw.w*  *ḥ3sty nb m-mitt*  
 “One teaches the language of the people of Egypt to the Nubians, the Syrians and also to every foreigner” (Ani, P. Boulaq 4, 23, 5–6)<sup>12</sup>  
 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty; wisdom

Ex. 9. *iw.i (r) šd.s r ḥk3 n km.t r ḥk3 n ḥ3rw*  *r ḥk3 n kš*   
 “I will protect her from the magic of Egypt, from the magic of Syria and from the magic of Kush” (P. Berlin 10462, r. 61–62)<sup>13</sup>  
 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty; amuletic

The same complementary opposition is also found with the feminine counterparts of both terms:

Ex. 10. *iw ḥ3[rw(.t)]*  *nḥsy.t*  *iw mr.f sy iw.f (hr) di.t n.s ḥ.wt.f*  
 “(Even if it is not his own wife), but a Syrian woman or a Nubian woman he loves and to whom he bequeaths his goods (...)” (P. Turin 2021 + P. Genève D. 409, r. 3,11 = KRI IV, 741, 9–10)  
 Ramesses XI; legal

Summary of the highlighted semantic features:

|                         |
|-------------------------|
| <i>nḥsy</i>             |
| + individuality         |
| + agentivity            |
| +/- enemy <sup>14</sup> |
| +/- foreigner           |

**Tab. 2.**  
 Semantic features highlighted for *nḥsy*.

### *sty* “Nubian” and *t3-sty* “Nubia”

Distribution and classifiers

Another term used to name the Nubians is *sty*<sup>15</sup>, usually found in the plural form *sty.w*. This ethnonym is attested from the Middle Kingdom, while the corresponding toponym, *t3-sty*, is already attested in the Old Kingdom. When classifiers are

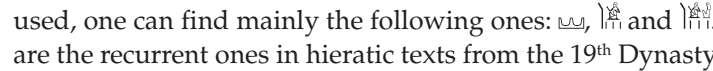
<sup>11</sup> Edwards 1960: I, 1–12; Ramsès text ID 1041.

<sup>12</sup> Quack 1994; Ramsès text ID 450.


<sup>13</sup> Edwards 1960: I, 113–117; Ramsès text ID 1149.

<sup>14</sup> The symbol +/- corresponds to the status of “intermediary member” on the scale of reference.

<sup>15</sup> Wb. 3: 488, 11–12; Hannig 1997: 777; TLA: lemma no. 147780; Ramsès: ID sty\_1006\_16403.

used, one can find mainly the following ones: . The two last groups are the recurrent ones in hieratic texts from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

*sty* is attested in royal texts, autobiographies, funerary and magical texts, literary fictional texts and miscellanea. It does not seem to be used in documentary texts and oracular/amuletic texts. Principally attested in texts from the ideology, the *sty.w* are described as a stereotype of foreigners and enemies.

Ex. 11. *iw* [*mi sšm-rswt*] *mi gmḥ sw dh m ʒbw z n hʒ.t m tʒ-sty* 

“it was like a dream, like an inhabitant of the Delta seeing himself in Elephantine, a man of the marshes in the land of the Nubians” (Sinuhe [R], 65)<sup>16</sup>


19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (text: 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty); fiction

### Individuality and foreignness

The *sty.w* are very rarely referred to as singular individuals: the plural/collective is almost always used. There are no feminine and no personal name derived from this term, and they are not qualified as *rmṯ*. The term *sty.w* is thus low on the individuality scale and high on the foreignness scale.

### Agentivity

The lexeme *sty(.w)* can fulfil all functions within the clause and can assume the semantic roles of agent, experiencer and patient. It shares its agentivity features with *nḥsy*. The only notable difference is that the actions of the *sty.w* are usually collective and come within an ideological context, while the *nḥsy* acts as a free-willing individual.

Ex. 12. *bʒk.w in sty.w*  *m ʒbw hbny*

“the artefacts brought by the Nubians, in ivory and ebony” (Stele Boston MFA 23733, Urk. IV, 1237, 3)<sup>17</sup>

18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; royal

### Enemy?

In the New Kingdom, the cotextual environment associated to the lexeme *sty.w* tends however to become less negatively connoted, in comparison with terms naming Libyans, Syrians or Asiatics. Even if the term *sty.w* is part of the “ideological vocabulary” it begins to work more as intermediary member on a bipolar scale between [+ enemy] and [- enemy]. In the example below, we can note that *sty.w* is used in a complementary opposition with *rtnw*, as representative elements of the two main geographical areas that have to be under the domination of the Pharaoh. This prefigures the similar situation that we will find later between *hʒrw*, *nḥsy* and *rmṯ n km.t*.

<sup>16</sup> Koch 1990.

<sup>17</sup> Ramsès text ID 991.





|                 |
|-----------------|
| <i>mšwš</i>     |
| - individuality |
| + agentivity    |
| + enemy         |
| + foreigner     |

**Tab. 4.**



Semantic features highlighted for *mšwš*.

***tḥ(w)/tḥn.w (Libyans, Libya)***

Distribution and classifiers




The lexemes *tḥn.w*<sup>24</sup> and *tḥ.w*<sup>25</sup> are respectively attested from the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom. They can still be found in the New Kingdom, in epigraphic texts. The two lexemes *tḥ.w* and *tḥn.w* appear to be closely connected and both name Libyan people in the New Kingdom. The term *tḥn.w* seems to have appeared first and to originally name the land (Libya), while *tḥ.w* tends more towards an initial ethnonym.

The distribution of the two terms *tḥn.w* and *tḥ.w* becomes exactly the same from the New Kingdom: they are both only attested in literary (fictional, wisdom, miscellanea), royal texts and funerary texts. They are also both mainly used as ethnonyms. The only mentions I found of *tḥ.w* and *tḥn.w* as toponyms in Late Egyptian hieratic texts are in the Tale of Woe (P. Pushkin 127).

Ex. 18. *kd<i> nʿy.s nhrty <m> ʿnh.t <n> hʿs.t tḥw*   
*k<.i> <r> tḥnw* 

“I followed their sacred wells in the West of the foreign land of *tḥw* and I walked into the (land of) *tḥnw*.” (P. Pushkin 127, col. 3,1)<sup>26</sup>

Third Intermediate Period(?); lit. fiction

In this passage, the spelling of the foreign lands *tḥw* and *tḥnw* includes the classifier , in addition to the group . My interpretation is that this adjunction expresses the fact that the traveller learned to know what was previously unknown (“foreign”) to him. Indeed, the classifier  is used in the context of an urban area, but also a territory marked as Egyptian or under Egyptian influence. By extension, the use of this classifier could mark a place/territory as known (the protagonist became used to it while travelling), by opposition to a place that appears as totally foreign. The complete passage says:

Ex. 19. “I joined the crowd of a ship that was not mine, since mine had been stolen in front of me. I travelled through the land on the river, escaping on its depths. I reached the North at Chemnis, I crossed the highlands and the marshes of the

<sup>24</sup> Wb. 5: 394, 5–9; Hannig 1997: 961; TLA: lemma no. 176680; Ramsès: ID THnw\_1006\_37370 and THnw\_1014\_91129.

<sup>25</sup> Wb. 5: 368, 11–13; Hannig 1997: 953; TLA: lemma no. 175490; Ramsès: ID TmHw\_1004\_62798 and TmHw\_1014\_91126.

<sup>26</sup> Ramsès text ID 2469.

Delta in the East of the land of *pd̄tiw-šw*. I followed their sacred wells in the West of the foreign land of *tm̄hw* and I walked into the (land of) *ṯhnw*.” (P. Pushkin 127, Tale of Woe, col. 2, 12–3, 1)

#### Individuality and foreignness


Both lexemes *tm̄h.w* and *ṯhn.w* are always used as a plural/collective, except for some cases in the Greco-Roman period.<sup>27</sup> There are no corresponding feminine lexemes<sup>28</sup> and no derived personal name. Consistently, they are also not considered as *rm̄t* by the Egyptians.

#### Agentivity

The terms *tm̄h.w* and *ṯhn.w* are rather low on the agentivity scale, since they mostly fulfil the semantic roles of patients. In the few cases where the lexeme has the function of subject, it generally has the role of experiencer. One notable exception though: the lexemes *tm̄h.w* and *ṯhn.w* fulfil the role of agent with a couple of motion verbs expressing the idea of “flying away”, “escaping”.

Ex. 20. *P3 t3 <n> tm̄hw p3d*

*ir.w nhr*

“The land of the *tm̄hw*  fled, they made a running off” (Medinet Habu, First Libyan War, great inscription year 5, KRI V, 24, 4)<sup>29</sup>  
20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; royal

#### Enemy?

Looking at the cotextual elements associated to the *tm̄h.w* and the *ṯhn.w* people, we can observe that they are described as a real stereotype of the enemy to slaughter. Indeed, both lexemes are used as direct object complement of the following verbs: *sksk* (to destroy), *thi* (to transgress, to attack), *gbgb* (to slaughter), *sm3* (to kill), *hsf* (push aside), *dr* (to expel), *hw* (to smite), *dh* (to pull down), *s3w* (to break), *tḫ* (to remove), *h3k* (to catch).

Ex. 21. *š3w i3.t tm̄h.w r km d.t*

“the back of the *tm̄h.w* was broken for the whole eternity” (Medinet Habu, First Libyan War, Year 5 inscription, KRI 2 4, 1–2)  
20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; royal

They are, moreover, qualified as mean (*h̄si*), and inspiring fear (*sn̄d*). But, thanks to the courage of Pharaoh they quickly become sad (*ihm*) and despaired (*bdš*), before being killed (*sm3*).

<sup>27</sup> These examples are not taken into account in the frame of this study since the corpus includes only texts up to the Third Intermediate Period.

<sup>28</sup> This is true for the current corpus. A feminine term *tm̄h.t* is however attested as divine epithet (LGG VII: 466).

<sup>29</sup> Ramsès text ID 1147.

Summary of the highlighted semantic features:

|                   |
|-------------------|
| <i>ḥn.w/tmḥ.w</i> |
| - individuality   |
| - agentivity      |
| + enemy           |
| + foreigner       |

**Tab. 5.**

Semantic features highlighted for *ḥn.w/tmḥ.w*.


## The Asiatics

### *ḥꜣrw* “Syrian, Levantine”

Distribution and classifiers

Both the toponym and the ethnonym *ḥꜣrw* are attested from the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. A regular distinction seems to be made between them since the beginning. However, in some cases, the distinction between the ethnonym and the adjective “Syrian, Levantine” can be difficult to establish. In the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, *ḥꜣrw* designates specifically the Hurrians. From the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty though, the meaning becomes more general and evolves towards designating the people from the Syro-Palestinian region.<sup>30</sup>

The term *ḥꜣrw* is attested in the following genres: royal texts, literary fictional texts, wisdom texts, miscellanea, letters, amuletic/oracular texts and, later, legal texts.

From the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, the toponym *ḥꜣrw* (Syria-Palestine) sometimes takes the classifier , as it is the case for the toponym *kš* (Kush). This shows a higher level of integration and is also a way of marking the Egyptian influence on these lands. This spelling follows the reorganizational process of the classifiers system that took place in the New Kingdom. Indeed, this addition fits within the dynamics at work during the third phase of this process.<sup>31</sup>

Ex. 22. *ir.i smtr pꜣ ḥꜣrw*  *n pr dḥwty i.hꜣb.k n.i ḥr:f*

“I questioned the Syrian of the domain of Thoth about whom you wrote to me” (P. Bologna 1086, 9 = KRI 7 9, 12)<sup>32</sup>

Ramesses II; letter

Ex. 23. *my <sd.d.i> n.k pꜣy.f šm.t r ḥꜣrw*  *mšꜥ ḥr nꜣ ts.wt*

“Come, so that I tell you about his travel in Syria, about his expedition on the mountains” (P. Anastasi 3, 5, 9 = LEM 26, 9)<sup>33</sup>

Merenptah; miscellanies

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Vernus 1977 and M. Kilani (personal communication, November 2018).

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Chantrain 2014.

<sup>32</sup> Ramsès text ID 696.

<sup>33</sup> Ramsès text ID 194.



|                 |
|-----------------|
| <i>ḥꜣrw</i>     |
| + individuality |
| - agentivity    |
| + enemy         |
| +/- foreigner   |

**Tab. 6.**

Semantic features highlighted for *ḥꜣrw*.

### ᜣm: Asiatic

#### Distribution and classifiers

The lexeme *ᜣm* “Asiatic” is attested from the Old Kingdom, in a letter dated from the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (P. Strasbourg Cb, v. K2).

This term is found in most of the textual genres, except for amuletic, legal and administrative texts.

The sign *ḥ* is usually part of the spelling, but not in the position of classifier, even though it is also clearly semantically motivated.

The main classifiers used from the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty are *ḥ*, *ḥꜣ*, *ḥꜣw*, *ḥꜣt*, *ḥꜣw* (sometimes in association with *ḥ*, *ḥꜣ* (epigraphy) or *ḥꜣ* (hieratic)). The group *ḥꜣw* is attested as well.

#### Individuality and foreignness

The lexeme *ᜣm* is often used in the singular, to refer to an individual as well as to name the Asiatics in general. It is to be noticed that *ᜣm* is an exception in this respect, because the other terms rather use the plural to express the collective. A feminine lexeme *ᜣm.t* is also attested<sup>34</sup>.

Ex. 27. *ᜣm.t ḥꜣw tn in-iv.t bs.ti*

“O you, Asiatic woman, did you come?” (P. Berlin P 3027, spell E, 5, 3)<sup>35</sup>

18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; magical

There is apparently no personal name derived from *ᜣm*, but the *ᜣm.w* people are often referred to by their own names, which shows both a high level of integration and of individuality.

Ex. 28. *in n šmꜣw ᜣm ḥꜣw z-n-wsrt-snb*

“Brought by the singer, the Asiatic *z-n-wsrt-snb*” (P. Berlin 10066, v. 4)<sup>36</sup>

12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; letter

Despite this fact, the *ᜣm.w* do not seem to be designated as *rmt*.

<sup>34</sup> Wb. 1, 168, 1–2; Hannig 1997: 130; TLA: lemma no. 35410. Ramsès has one single entry *ᜣm*.

<sup>35</sup> Yamazaki 2003: 20.

<sup>36</sup> Luft 1992: Briefe 1. Luft does not translate *ᜣm* and considers it as part of the name. I here follow the translation provided by I. Hafemann in the TLA. Parallel attestations of *ᜣm* + personal name support the latter interpretation (e.g. P. BM 10021, 3: *ᜣm iꜣrw*).

### Agentivity

The *ʕm.w* can fulfil all semantic roles. They are high on the agentivity scale. This depends however on the kind of texts. Indeed, in royal texts belonging to the ideological discourse, the lexeme *ʕm* works more frequently as an object, with the semantic role of patient. It is eloquently used with the following verbs: *ini* (to bring), *snḏ* (to fear), *šhr* (to kill), *ptpt* (to crush), *ḥsf* (to punish), *šhi* (to strike), *ḥwi* (to hit).

In the same texts, the term *ʕm* can fulfil the semantic role of agent or experiencer. In the first case, the most frequent context is a depiction of the *ʕm.w* bringing some tribute to the pharaoh, and/or coming to him (centripetal motion, cf. infra). In the second case, the *ʕm.w* are in a sufferance state, or about to die.

The way the *ʕm.w* people are qualified in the ideological discourse leaves also little room for doubt: the most recurrent adjective referring to them is by far *ḥsy* (miserable, vile, mean).

In texts from the everyday life, however, the context tends to be much more neutral and the *ʕm.w* are depicted as being part of the society, even if in rather subordinate roles.

### Enemy?

The way the *ʕm.w* people are qualified in the ideological discourse leaves also little place to doubt: the most recurrent adjective referring to them is by far *ḥsy* (miserable, vile, mean) and the fear of them is a well-known topic for the Egyptian travelling abroad.

The *ʕm.w* are also openly designated as enemies (*ḥrw.w*).

In texts from the everyday life, however, the context tends to be much more neutral and the *ʕm.w* are depicted as being part of the society, even if in rather subordinate roles (*šmsw* (servant), *šm<sup>c</sup>w* (singer)).

Ex. 29. *in n šmsw ʕm ḥstī-r<sup>c</sup>*

“Brought by the servant, the Asiatic *stī-r<sup>c</sup>*” (P. Berlin 10081 C, v. 3)<sup>37</sup>  
12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty; letter

**Tab. 7.**  
Semantic features highlighted  
for *ʕm*.

|                 |
|-----------------|
| <i>ʕm</i>       |
| + individuality |
| + agentivity    |
| + enemy         |
| + foreigner     |

<sup>37</sup> Luft 2006: 105ff.

### Lexical studies: Onomasiology

Recapitulative and comparative tables of the features highlighted for the different lexemes.

The first following table<sup>38</sup> sums up the distribution of the different lexemes according to the textual genre and the diachrony within the corpus<sup>39</sup>.

| Genres            | Lexemes     |                |                |             |              |             |           |
|-------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|
|                   | <i>nḥsy</i> | <i>sty</i>     | <i>mšwš</i>    | <i>ṯn.w</i> | <i>ṯmḥ.w</i> | <i>ḥꜣrw</i> | <i>ꜣm</i> |
| Royal             | OMN         | O (topo)<br>MN | OM (topo)<br>N | N (ethn)    | MN           | N           | MN        |
| Autobiography     | OM          | M              | -              | -           | -            | -           | OMN       |
| Funerary / relig. | OMN         | MN             | -              | OM (topo)   |              |             |           |
| N (ethn)          | MN          | -              | OM             |             |              |             |           |
| Magical           | MN          | MN             | -              | -           | -            | N           | N         |
| Amuletic/oracul.  | N           | -              | -              | -           | -            | N           | -         |
| Lit. fiction      | -           | M              | -              | N           | MN           | -           | MN        |
| Wisdom            | N           | -              | -              | -           | N            | N           | MN        |
| Poetry/hymns      | N           | -              | -              | -           | -            | -           | N         |
| Satirical         | N           | -              | N              | -           | -            | -           | N         |
| Miscellanies      | N           | N              | -              | -           | -            | N           | N         |
| Letters           | OMN         | -              | N              | N           | -            | N           | OMN       |
| Legal texts       | N           | -              | N              | -           | -            | N           | -         |
| Administrative    | N           | -              | N              | -           | -            | -           | -         |

**Tab. 8.**

Distribution of the different lexemes according to the textual genre and the diachrony.

The next table shows the distribution of the main classifiers attested for each lexeme, according to the writing system and support and to the diachrony.

Looking at the distribution of the data, several points can be highlighted. First, the classifiers used vary according to the writing system and support. Indeed, there is, in a general way, more variety in the spellings from epigraphic texts. Furthermore, the use of classifiers is far from being systematic in that kind of texts, especially before the Second Intermediate Period. In hieratic texts, we can notice more consistency in the spellings: there are usually one or two fix groups. This is especially true for the New Kingdom, where the use of these groups becomes

<sup>38</sup> O = Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period; M = Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period; N = New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. Topo = toponym; ethno = ethnonym.

<sup>39</sup> Only the results for the corpus made of the texts from the *TLA* and *Ramsès* are displayed here.

systematic (which is the main difference with the Middle Kingdom–Second Intermediate Period for the same writing system and support).

The lexemes appearing at the beginning of the New Kingdom or being of re-actualised use in the Ramesside period<sup>40</sup> show more similar spellings for hieratic and hieroglyphic epigraphic texts. In this case, an influence from hieratic can clearly be seen in the hieroglyphic spellings: the groups  $\text{𓂏}$  and  $\text{𓂏𓂏}$  are by far the majority.

In hieratic texts, and in texts from the New Kingdom in general, we can see an increasing use of superordinate<sup>41</sup> classifiers, while there is a variety of subordinate classifiers used in Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom epigraphic texts, with a general, but yet reduced, continuation of this trend in Ramesside texts written in “égyptien de tradition”<sup>42</sup>. Not all of them are listed here since I included only the most frequent ones in the table. We can however mention, among others, the following ones:  $\text{𓂏}$ ,  $\text{𓂏}$ ,  $\text{𓂏}$ .

The common sign to almost all the groups of classifiers attested is  $\text{𓂏}$ , which marks the word as designating a foreign entity.<sup>43</sup>

Tab. 9.

Distribution of the main classifiers attested for each lexeme, according to the writing system and support and to the diachrony.

| Lexemes             | Mainly attested classifiers <sup>44</sup> |                              |  |  |
|---------------------|---|------------------------------|--|--|
|                     | OK-FIP / MK-SIP                           | MK-SIP (hieratic)            | NK-TIP (hieratic)  | NK-TIP (epigraphic)  |
| <i>nḥsy</i>         | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \emptyset$ | $\text{𓂏};$                  | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   |
| <i>sty</i>          | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \emptyset$           | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$ (rare)  | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$ (rare)                                  | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   |
| <i>mšwš</i>         | -   | -                            | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$                     | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$ |
| <i>ṯn.w</i>         | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \emptyset$           | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏};$ (rare) | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$ (rare)              | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   |
| <i>ṯnw</i> (topo)   | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \emptyset$ | $\text{𓂏}$                   | $\text{𓂏}$ (1)   | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   |
| <i>ṯmḥ.w</i>        | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \emptyset$           | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$ (rare)  | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$ (rare)                                  | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$                     |
| <i>ṯmḥ.w</i> (topo) | - <sup>45</sup>                           | -                            | $\text{𓂏}$ (1)   | $\text{𓂏}$   |
| <i>ḥꜣrw</i>         | -   | -                            | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   |
| <i>ḥꜣrw</i> (topo)  | -   | -                            | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$   |
| <i>ꜣm</i>           | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \emptyset$ |                              | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$ | $\text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}; \text{𓂏}$                     |

<sup>40</sup> As an example, I will here refer more specifically to a long series of attestations of the *ṯmḥ.w* and *ṯn.w* people in the texts from Medinet Habu. All these attestations show similar hieratic-influenced spellings.

<sup>41</sup> On the taxonomic organisation of the classifier system, cf. Goldwasser 2002 and Lincke 2011.

<sup>42</sup> The amount of different signs will know a new increasing phase from the Late Period, prefiguring the extensive variety of the Ptolemaic system. This phase, however, is still under investigation (Chantrain in preparation).

<sup>43</sup> Allon 2010.

<sup>44</sup> This list is not exhaustive but contains the most recurrent classifiers and significant variants attested for the different lexemes.

<sup>45</sup> Middle Kingdom–Second Intermediate Period: *tꜣ n ṯmḥ.w*: “the land of the Libyans”.

Finally, the last table below summarizes the differences that have been highlighted between the lexemes through the distributional analysis, according to four distinctive features: individuality, foreignness, Agentivity and “enemicity”.

Interestingly, the only two terms that have exactly the same distribution of features are *ṯhn.w* and *ṯmh.w*, which appear as semantically very close in the New Kingdom, since the initial distinction between toponym and ethnonym seems to have become less systematic than in the previous periods.

| Lexemes      | Criteria          |                 |                |           |
|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
|              | +/- individuality | +/- foreignness | +/- agentivity | +/- enemy |
| <i>nḥsy</i>  | +                 | +/-             | +              | +/-       |
| <i>sty</i>   | -                 | +               | +              | +/-       |
| <i>mšwš</i>  | -                 | +               | +              | +         |
| <i>ṯhn.w</i> | -                 | +               | -              | +         |
| <i>ṯmh.w</i> | -                 | +               | -              | +         |
| <i>ḥʾrw</i>  | +                 | +/-             | -              | +         |
| <i>cʾm</i>   | +                 | +               | +              | +         |

**Tab. 10.**

Summary of the sematic features highlighted for each lexeme.

### Narrative frame and ratio of power

In the narrative frame, several elements can work as indicators of “egyptianity” or “non-egyptianity”<sup>46</sup>. Three of them will be investigated here: 1) the agent and environment of the action, 2) the structure of the action and 3) the motion dynamics (centrifugal motion *vs.* centripetal motion as relevant factor).

#### Environment of the action: protagonist alone *vs.* “in the middle of”

The first element is the environment of the action. The protagonist marked as [+ Egyptian] rather acts alone/is on his own, while the protagonist marked as [+ foreigner] and/or [+ enemy] is *in the middle of* a group of people (army, tribe, ...). This point may be linked to the criterion of individuality that we have seen before. It also puts the emphasis on the courage of the Egyptian protagonist, in opposition with the cowardice of the enemy. In the fictional texts, the foreign protagonists are usually Asiatics: the Nubians, as we have seen, do not seem to be given a role in the fictional world.

This theme is very recurrent in the ideological discourse of royal texts, where the king fights alone against a multitude of enemies. The following passage of the Battle of Qadesh offers a good example:

<sup>46</sup> On this concept, see Loprieno 1988; Moers 2001.

Ex. 30. (Qadesh, L1, § 65) *ist p³ wr ḥsy n ḥt³ ḥᶜ m ḥry-ib mšᶜ nty ḥnᶜ.f*  
 “while the vile prince of Ḥatti was standing in the middle of his army, which was  
 with him”  
*n pr.n.fr ḥᶜ n snd n ḥm.f*  
 “he didn’t dare to go out, by fear of his Majesty”  
 (...)
   
 § 82 *iw.f wᶜ ḥr-tp.f nn ky ḥnᶜ.f*  
 “while he (Ramesses) was on his own, without anybody else”

A similar configuration *singular vs. collective* is found in Sinuhe, in the passage narrating the fight between Sinuhe and the strong man of the Retjenu. Sinuhe is alone, facing the strong man of the Retjenu, who has all his allies behind him. He is in this situation marked as [+ Egyptian], while the strong man is marked as [+ foreigner] and [+ enemy]. The parallel is clear between this scene and the ideological discourse<sup>47</sup>.

Ex. 31. *ḥḏ.n t³ tnw iy.t(j)*  
*ḏdb.n.s why.t.s*  
*shw.n.s ḥ³s.wt n gs.sy*  
 “At dawn, the Retjenu was there, it had assembled its tribes, it had gathered its  
 neighbouring foreign countries” (Sinuhe B130)

Another example on the other hand rather qualifies Sinuhe as [- Egyptian]/ [+ foreigner]. Indeed, when the Egyptian messenger (who is on his own) in charge of the royal decree reaches him, he is in the middle of his tribe, like an Asiatic ruler.

Ex. 32. *spr.n wḏ pn r.i ḥᶜ.kwi m ḥry-ib why.t.i*  
 “this decree reached me while I was standing in the middle of my tribe” (Sinuhe B 200)

### Structured vs. unstructured action

The second element concerns the structure of the action. There is a clear opposition between the well-ordered, structured action of the Egyptians and the unstructured action of the foreigners/enemies. This topic is well represented in the texts from the ideology:

Ex. 33. *gm.n.i p³ 2500 n ᶜ-n-ḥtr:w wn.i m-ḥnw.sn ḥpr:w m gbgby.t r-ḥ³.t ssm.t.i*  
 “I found out that the 2500 chariots in the middle of which I was had turned into  
 a mass in front of my horses” (Qadesh, Poem, §132)  
 § 134: *bw gm.n wᶜ ḏr.t.fr ḥ³ im.sn*

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Parkinson 2002: 158 (with previous bibliography).

“none of them was able to fight anymore (lit.: could find his hand to fight)”  
 (...)

§ 136: *bw rh.sn st.t*

“they were not able to use their bows anymore”

§ 137: *bw gm.n.w h3ty.sn r bi.t n3y.sn niwy.w*

“they couldn’t find the courage to take their javelins anymore”

Here as well, a parallel can be found in the same passage of Sinuhe. Where the action of the strong man is disorganized and ineffective, the one of Sinuhe is quick, precise and deadly.

Ex. 34. *rdi.n.i sw3 hr.i h3.w.f zp n ntt w<sup>c</sup> hr hn m w<sup>c</sup>*

“I let his arrows pass me by without effect, one following the other. Then, when he charged me, I shot him, my arrow sticking his neck” (Sinuhe B 136–137)

**“sm-oriented” vs. “iy.t-oriented motions”**

The back and forth dynamics (repeated back and forth motions of the protagonists in a short section of text) in the narrative has at least two functions: it highlights the key-moments of the story and makes explicit the position of strength or weakness of the main protagonists. Centripetal motion (to come) is associated with the position of relative inferiority of one of the protagonists in respect to the other, while centrifugal motion (to go, to send) is a marker of a position of superiority. In the texts belonging to the ideological discourse, the ratio of power is naturally in favour of the Egyptians.

In some texts though, this situation can be reversed, a particularity that can be highlighted by the use of motion verbs and, in some case, by the use of irony (for example, in Wenamun or in Sinuhe)<sup>48</sup>.

During the exchanges between Wenamun and Tjekerbaal, the prince makes Wenamun move to him twice. The accumulation of *iy.t*-oriented motions performed by Wenamun makes obvious the fact that he is in a position of weakness, of inferiority, in comparison with Tjekerbaal.

The prince first makes Wenamun come to his palace:

Ex. 35. (1, 47) *iw.f (hr) h3b*

“he sent (to me)”

*iw.f (hr) it3.i r-hry*

“and he brought me up”

A long speech follows, where the prince mocks Wenamun by using irony.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, to put the self-confident attitude of Wenamun into perspective, he adds,

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<sup>48</sup> Parkinson 2002: 157.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. the repeated use of *mk*, as stressed in Winand 2004; on the use of irony in Wenamun, see also Eyre 1999: 238–239.

among others, that if Egypt was indeed created first, his own country had no reason to be envious (Wenamun: 2, 21). To sum up, Wenamun praises the omnipotence of Egypt and Amun, but the circumstances remind him of his current condition of inferiority.

The prince makes him come to the shore:

Ex. 36. (2,45) *iw:f (hr) h3b n.i r-dd mi*

“then he sent to me saying: come!”

*hr-ir twi (hr) ms r-kr:f*

“when I brought myself into his presence...”

(...)

(2,47) *iw.i (hr) ms r-kr:f*

“I came close to him”

(...)

(2,49) *i.ir n h3ty.i*

*mtw.k iy.t r 3tp.s*

“do as I wish, and come to load it”

*hr in bn iw.w (r) di.t.s n.k*

“for has it not been given to you?”

*m iri iy.t r ptr t3 hry.t n p3 ym*

“do not come to see the terror of the sea”

(...)



(2,52) *iw:f (hr) dd n p3y.f wdpw: t3 sw*

“then he said to his attendant: take him!”

The position of weakness of Wenamun, as well as Tjekerbaal’s behaviour remind a section of *Sinuhe*, which makes very explicit the role of motion in a ratio of power:





Ex. 37. (B154) *bt3 z n g3w h3b.f ink cš3.w mri.w*

“a man runs for lack of one to send, I am rich in servants”

This play on fuzzy boundaries between Egyptians and foreigners is also present in this allusion made to the Syrian crew of Wenamun. This is also stressed on the level of the classifiers, with the adjunction of the sign  to . This example is well-known, but is part of a broader phenomenon and illustrates the complexity of the relations between Egyptians and foreigners, as well as the fact that integration of people from abroad in the Egyptian mental world is a multi-level synergy.

Ex. 38. (1, 54) *sw tnw p3 imw n cš i.di n.k ny-sw-b3-nb-dd.t*

“where is the ship of cedar that Smendes gave to you?”

(1, 55) *sw tnw t3y.f is.t n h3rw.w?*    

“where is its crew of Syrians?”

(1,55–56) *in i.ir:f hn.k n p3y hry mnš drdr r rdi.t hdb.f tw*

“if he left you with this foreign captain, is it not to have him kill you?”

(1,57) *in bn mnš n km.t*

“Is it not an Egyptian ship?”

(1, 57–58) *hr is.t n km.t nʹ nty hr hnw hr ny-sw-bʹ-nb-dd.t*

“those who sail under Smendes are Egyptian crews”




*in wn m-di.f is.wt hʹrw*

“does he not have Syrian crews?” 

## Conclusions

The distribution of the different lexemes studied shows differences according to the diachrony and the textual genres. Some of them are almost exclusively part of the ideological discourse, while others are found in texts from the everyday life.

The vision of the foreigner reflected in the texts highly depends on the textual genre they belong to and, consistently, on the influence of the ideological discourse. The cotextual environment of these terms makes explicit the existence of differences in the way the different groups of people were considered, and in the position they hold within the cultural and textual landscape.

Concerning the use of the classifiers, differences can be seen according to two main criteria: the writing system and support (epigraphic hieroglyphic texts *vs.* hieratic texts on papyri and ostraca), the textual genre and the diachrony. In the hieratic texts, the lexemes studied seem to follow the reorganisation taking place during the Ramesside period,<sup>50</sup> with an augmentation and systematisation of superordinate classifiers usage. The most attested group for the ethnonyms is by far  and it tends to become generalised from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. More uniformity is consequently visible in the classifiers used for lexemes appearing in the New Kingdom, in all kind of texts and supports. An evolution is still possible though, as it is the case for the toponym *hʹrw*, taking the sign  in adjunction to  from the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty in certain contexts. This corresponds to the third phase of reorganisation of the classifiers system and reminds the features [+individuality] and [+/- foreigner] of the corresponding ethnonym *hʹrw*. In a general way, plays on the visual dimension (including classifiers, thus) tend to be more exploited in literary texts.

Some of the ethnonyms and toponyms studied in this article work as elements of a systemic opposition exemplifying the Egyptian vision of the world. This is the case of *nhsy*, *hʹrw* and *rmṯ n km.t*, which are specific case of the general dichotomy between *hʹsti* and *rmṯ*, stressed by Loprieno, among others.<sup>51</sup> Interestingly, and despite this actual opposition, one can note that in the New Kingdom, both *nhsy* and *hʹrw* can be named *rmṯ*. This feature highlights in my opinion the complementarity of these terms and the relatively high level of integration of these people in the Egyptian mental world and society.

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<sup>50</sup> Chantraine 2014.

<sup>51</sup> Loprieno 1988.

The concepts of “foreignness” and “egyptianity” are not always as clearly defined as in the ideological texts. There are indeed many cases of play with the system, as we have seen through the study of some elements of the lexicon and the narrative frame.

The features of individuality vs. plurality/collectiveness associated to the ethnonyms under consideration seem thus to correspond to different degrees of integration of these people within the Egyptian society and mental world.

The relations between the Egyptians and the people they were considering as foreigners can be thus be described in terms of both opposition and of continuum. Indeed, all these terms can find their place in a continuum between two poles [+ foreigner] and [- foreigner], and this distribution evolves with time. The oppositions that have been highlighted are used in a perspective of complementarity. Indeed, the concept of “egyptianity” is also defined by contrast with the way people from the neighbouring countries are perceived.

The ration of power between protagonists marked as [+ Egyptian] vs. [-Egyptian]/[+ foreigner] is made explicit by several elements of the narrative.

Two of them, the environment of the action and the motion dynamics, respectively correspond to the features of [individuality] and [Agentivity] highlighted in the lexical studies, in the first part of this article.

The third element, the structure of the action, echoes some cotextual elements highlighted for some of the ethnonyms (*mšwš*, *tmh.w*, *ṯhn.w*, *h3rw*, *3m.w*). The main features are the flight (cowardice) and the disorganisation of the enemy’s action.

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