

Contents

Preface	12
Contributors	14
List of Abbreviations	18

Danielle Candelora

Hybrid Military Communities of Practice: The Integration of Immigrants as the Catalyst for Egyptian Social Transformation in the 2nd Millennium BC

25

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

About “Egyptianity” and “Foreignness” in Egyptian Texts. A Context-Sensitive Lexical Study

49

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

73

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

It Is You, My Love, You, Who Are the Stranger. Akkadian and Elamite at the Crossroads of Language and Writing

91

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

121

Abstract: The epigraphic finds from Ugarit always represented an invaluable source of information on the relationship between this rich Syrian kingdom and the Hittites, who ruled over it during the 14th and 13th 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 13th 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?

137

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

159

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 18th 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 18th 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 19th and early 20th 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

Assessing Foreignness and Politics in the Late Bronze Age 257

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 3rd 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 14th 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 20th 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 hords 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 Narām-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 20th century from seeking “Gutian” traits in ancient material culture, using stereotypes that very much echo ancient Mesopotamian sentiment.

Keywords: xenophobia – Gutians – archaeology – 20th century scholarship

Seth Richardson

Aliens and Alienation, Strangers and Estrangement:

Difference-Making as Historically-Particular Concept

307

Abstract: By looking at issues of host and guest cultures in a particular historical culture (late Middle Bronze Age Babylonia, ca. 17th 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

341

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 13th to 12th 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**

355

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 18th 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 15th 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 18th 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

425