Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Volume 12

December 2016

People on the Move

Framework, Means, and Impact of Mobility across the Eastern Mediterranean Region in the 8th to 6th Century BCE

edited by

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and
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http://jaei.library.arizona.edu

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections, new series, volume 12

ISSN: 1944-2815

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

VOLUME 12
DECEMBER 2016

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Article or Chapter in Book

Peter L. Shinnie, "Meroë," in Donald B. Redford (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 383–384.

Book

David Wengrow, *The Archaeology of Early Egypt: Social Transformation in North-East Africa, 10,000–2650 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Edited Volume

Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny (eds.), *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademic der Wissenschaften, 2004).

Online Citation

Kerry Muhlestein, "Execration Ritual," in Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eScholarship, 2008), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3f6268zf, accessed 1 April 2013.

Subsequent References to an Already Cited Work

Wengrow 2006, 47; Bietak and Czerny 2004, 94, Muhlestei, 2008, 1.

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Updated March 1, 2015

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

INTRODUCTION
The Eastern Mediterranean Area Of Connectivity in the 8th–6th Century BCE—Setting an Agenda

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Introduction[1]

The 1st millennium BCE sees the emergence of the earliest "global" empire of the world: in the 6th to 4th centuries BCE, the Persian empire of the Achaemenid royal house spans an area that covers a large part of Asia while extending into Europe and Africa. It is characterized by a high degree of cultural diversity—in the vast territory of the empire, but also in the local communities—and is held together by a close-knit administration, military actions, and a high degree of mobility, both of people and commodities.[2] The upcoming of this degree of globalization can be observed in the 8th to 6th centuries BCE in the closely interwoven Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity (see below) reaching at least from the Upper Nile (fifth cataract) to the Black Sea region and from the Iberian Peninsula to the Zagros Mountains. Despite some rather dominant obstacles for researching the issue of cross-regional mobility, this period provides an insightful historical perspective for observing mechanisms and strategies, which accompany an intensifying degree of globalization.

For the 8th to 6th centuries BCE we can draw on a wide range of material sources from all over the area, which are richly supplemented by a much more comprehensive spread of textual sources than ever before— coming from the wider Zagros area (and beyond), Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and the Black Sea region, the eastern Mediterranean (and especially the Aegean) islands, the Balkan Peninsula, Italy, the Western Mediterranean region, the Nile Valley up to the fourth cataract region, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Levant.[3] This is a major advantage, but also a big challenge: the diversity of the sources requires a large number of different specializations, both within the various area studies and regarding cross-regional connectivity. As a consequence, the issue of cross-regional mobility can only be studied on the basis of a high degree of cross-disciplinarity. Especially, the strong connection between Asia Minor and the "Greek World" with Egypt, the Levant, and the Near East can only be researched comprehensively if the prevailing dichotomy between *Classics* and *Oriental Studies* is overcome (see also below, the section on "structural impediments due to academic research organization").

The Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th to 6th century BCE

Principal assumption of this contribution and the workshop underlying the volume at hand is that the *glocal* (i.e., the interwoven cross-regional, local, and personal) strategies of the cross-regional and local powers in the wider Eastern Mediterranean region of the 8th and early 7th century BCE trigger a development of so far unappreciated impact on the social history of the area.

The Timeframe of the 8th to 6th Century BCE

As can be witnessed in the micro-pond of northern Egypt, the influx of people from beyond the Nile delta and from the Nile valley up to the first Nile cataract becomes much more diversified in the 8th, and especially from the 7th century BCE onward.[4] One major factor for this increase of cross-regional mobility and subsequent cultural diversity can be pinpointed to the expansion politics of the cross-regional "super-powers"—the Kushite and Assyrian empires. They meet in the later 8th and first half of the 7th century BCE in the southern Levant and northern Egypt without succeeding in firmly controlling that area.[5] The military campaigns of the Kushite and Assyrian (and later the Neo-Babylonian, Saitic Egyptian, and Achaemenid) kingdoms temporarily bring in soldiers and diversified retinue in addition to the continued arrival of people from the southern Nile area, the Levant, and the Libyan Desert. Even more significant, at least in the view of the author, may be the local strategies aimed at political and to some extent even existential survival in the buffer area of the Kushite and Assyrian super-powers, the Nile delta, and southern Levant. They result in new sets of alliances

forged within that buffer area and most prominently with communities across the sea, especially in Caria in the southwest of Asia Minor, but also in Ionia, the Adriatic islands, and along the Levantine coast.[6] As a consequence, Egyptian societies become much more culturally diversified, incorporating at least persons adhering to local Egyptian cultural traditions as well as to those rooted in Libya, Kush, Arabia, the Levant, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, southeast Anatolia, Asia Minor, the eastern Mediterranean islands, and the southern Balkan Peninsula. Hence, the preserved language diversity from 8th to 6th century BCE Egypt includes at least Egyptian, Aramaean, Hebrew, Akkadian, Elamite, Old Persian, Carian, and Greek sources.[7] Although the scope of sources from Egypt is exceptional, similar evidence is to be found, e.g., in 7th century Assyria, 7th and 6th century Babylonia, and 6th century Persia (see Fig. 1) and possibly even in the Kushite heartland.[8]

The Geographical Frame of the Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity

The geographical scope of the increased degree of mobility in the wake of the Kushite and Neo-Assyrian, the Saitic Egyptian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid expansion politics toward the eastern Mediterranean is largely circumscribed by the areas of (claimed) control and settlement politics of what one might call the major players at that time. As they overlap in the eastern Mediterranean (see Figs. 2–3), I suggest the *terminus* Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity (originally and less satisfactorily "Great Area of the Wider Eastern Mediterranean Region" ["Großraum Mittelmeeran-rainer"]) for the extent of close-knit connectivity in the area between the region of the fifth Nile cataract to the Black Sea and from the Iberian Peninsula to the Zagros Mountains (and beyond). The eastern Mediterranean is perceived as a pivotal zone, which in itself is an area of intensive and extensive connectivity and which closely

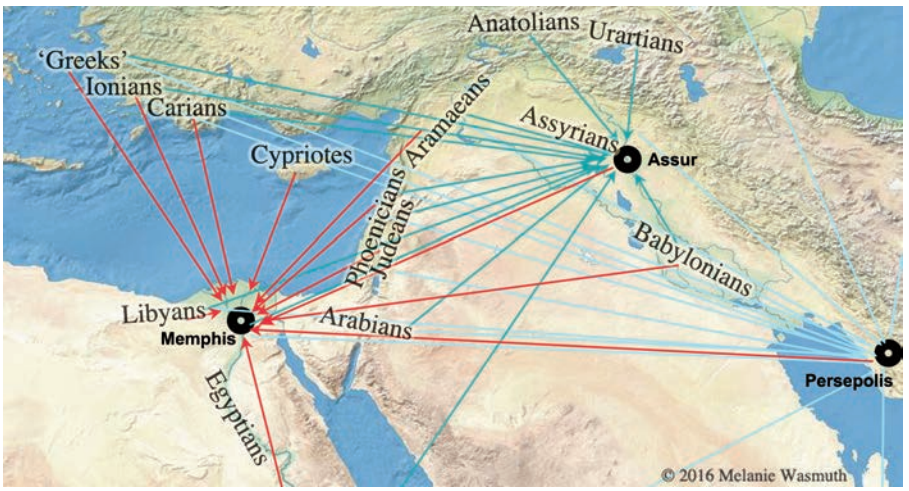

Figure 1: Simplified scope of influxes of people to Assyria, Egypt and Persia in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE (underlying satellite map: *Natural Earth II* [idealized landcover]).

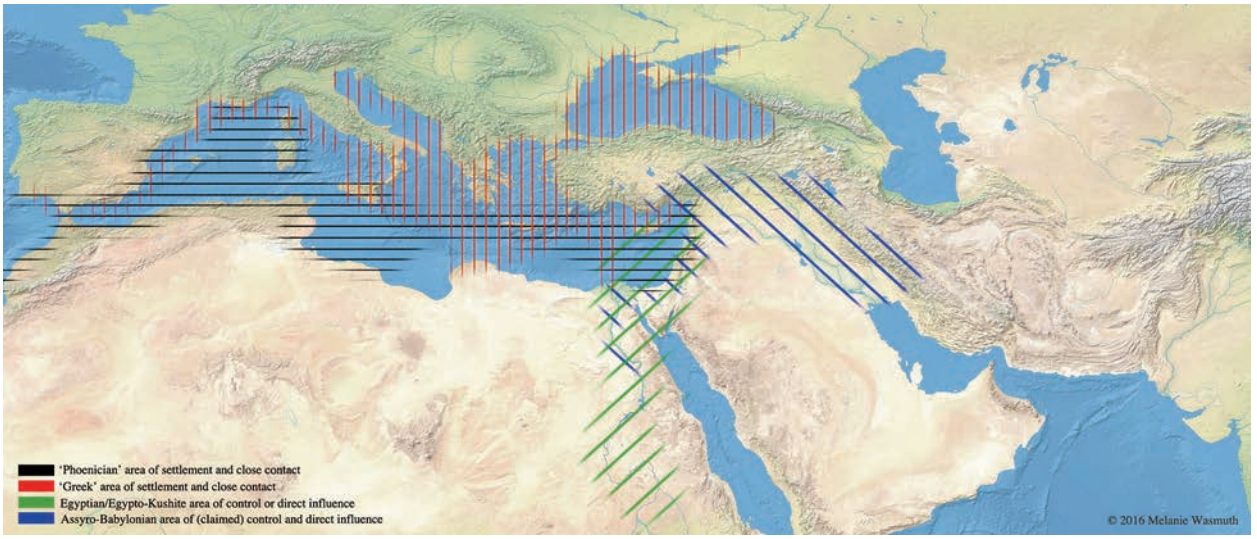

Figure 2: Sketch of the expanse of the East Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th to mid-6th century BCE—outlined by the areas of (claimed) control or direct influence of the major players overlapping in the East Mediterranean (underlying satellite map: *Natural Earth II* [idealized landcover]).

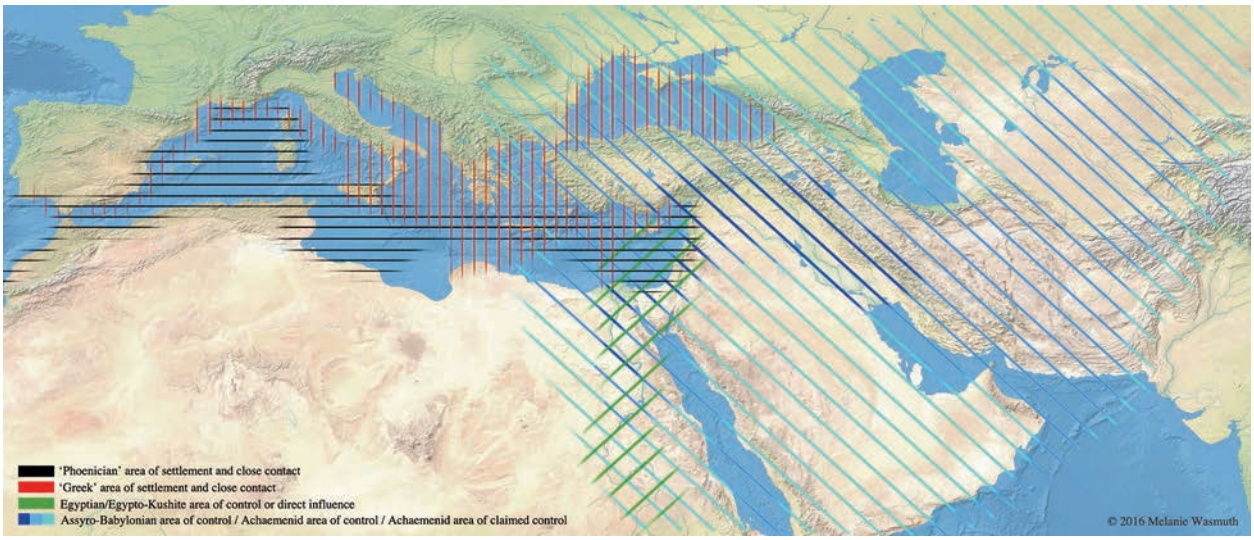

Figure 3: Extended East Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the late 6th century BCE due to the expansion of the Achaemenid Empire (underlying satellite map: *Natural Earth II* [idealized landcover]).

binds together the various overlapping areas of cross-regional interests: predominantly the areas of settlement and close contact of the Phoenicians across most of the Mediterranean and of the so-called Greek World in the northern Mediterranean region to the Black Sea, with occasional extensions to northeast Africa and the spheres of control and direct influence of the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian as well as of the Egypto-Kushite and Libyo-Egyptian kingdoms in West Asia extending across the (south)eastern Mediterranean from the east and the south (see Fig. 2).[9]

This Area of Eastern Mediterranean Connectivity increases significantly due to the expansion politics of the Achaemenid Empire, which roughly doubles the area of close control and direct influence, and multiplies the area of claimed control and close connectivity even further (see Fig. 3).

The challenge of Studying Cross-Regional Mobility and Its Social Impacts

Research on the increasing geographical scope and intensity of cross-regional mobility across the eastern Mediterranean and beyond in the 8th to 6th century BCE is currently severely hampered by conceptual, sources-inherent, and research-organizational issues.

Some Terminological Issues

One key challenge concerns the modern terminology and underlying concepts necessarily to be used when describing and illustrating ancient phenomena in any modern language. This is not the place for an introduction into the relevant theoretical discussion, although some further reading will be provided. Instead, the intended scope of the workshop on "People on the Move: Framework, Means, and Impact of Mobility across the East Mediterranean Region in the 8th to 6th c. BCE (3–6 August 2015, CH-Castelen)" and of the proposed research agenda (see below) is illustrated by explicating the choice of terminology.

The phrase *people on the move* has been selected to highlight the emphasis on the mobility of human beings: the act of their covering geographic space and its immediate impact on the various groups of human beings concerned.[10] The consequences of this mobility on the natural environment or the mobility of commodities are deliberately set aside for a more concise collection of sources with focus on the humans behind the preserved artifacts: the *traveler*, the person in motion irrespective of motivation, conditions, and distance covered, and the persons with whom the traveler is connected: the individuals or groups left behind when the traveler leaves (= *yielding communities*) and those s/he comes into contact with during a break or at the end of the trip (= *receiving communities*) regardless of the duration and intensity of the stay and the composition and size of the group of persons. Consequently, *traveler* is not used in the specific sense of "tourist" or person producing travel or itinerary "literature," but in the broadest possible sense of a person covering (measurable geographical) distances at any given time span.

The focus on *cross-regional mobility* is primarily chosen for feasibility reasons. The chances to find sources yielding information on mobility are much higher if a certain distance is involved, as everyday short-distance mobility is less likely to receive comment or to be perceived in the preserved archaeological record. Not to exclude the latter, the scope is deliberately left vague: *cross-regional* may imply the neighboring town as well as a trip across the

Mediterranean sea or a large distance, e.g., from inner Africa to Mesopotamia. On a topic level, the aim is to reveal the practicalities of getting from A to B and the immediate impact of the trip's preparation, process and consequences on the people involved. Whether the relocation is done by choice, force, or any shading in between is at this stage perceived as secondary. Also, the impact of the modus of mobility—on foot, on a litter, on and/or with animals, on conveyance media as ships or vehicles, on land, via inland waterways or by sea voyage—is relegated to more specific studies, which can draw on a larger source basis first to be compiled. The same applies, e.g., to the size of the traveling group and the degree of organization behind the mobility.

Some Sources-Inherent Issues

Due to the selectiveness of source production and preservation, the available information is spread over different source genres: e.g., thoughts, impressions, feelings, motivations, etc. can be gleaned only from textual sources. Nevertheless, it is often difficult (as well as neglected) to judge the impact of their intrinsic agendas on the information provided. In addition, their scope of information is inherently biased towards the affluent and/or politically powerful strata of society. Much more widely spread—both, regarding their geographical and societal scope—are uninscribed commodities, although they defy specific information on the person who possessed or manufactured the artifacts. Human remains may currently reveal distinct relocation in or after childhood,[11] but other kinds of mobility and especially of adult mobility are still untraceable, as are the reasons for travel and the question of continuous or changing cultural affiliations. Similarly, architectural remains and iconographic sources or the biogeophysical environment partially allow the reconstruction of the practical framework of living, including indications on the habitability and crossability of certain areas. Nevertheless, if not accompanied by specific epigraphic data, they tell neither who decided on their design or exploration nor why they were used, by whom, and in which way.

Consequently, the available sources and their interpretation will always remain deficient, but a comprehensive approach, which integrates textual, iconographical, material, and biogeophysical data, can provide significant insights into the practicalities and social impacts of cross-regional mobility at the period in question.

Structural Impediments Due to Academic Research Organization

Such an integrative approach, which combines the various source genres within the geographical scope of the whole Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th to 6th century BCE, is currently severely impeded by the structural organization of academic research of that period. The prevailing regional specializations, which developed due to largely very distinct language and material data sets (see Fig. 4), resulted in academic subject areas focusing primarily on Greece, Italy, and Western Asia Minor (Classics), on Mesopotamia and adjacent areas (Ancient Near Eastern Studies), on the West Semitic languages in the Levantine coastal areas (West Semitics), on the southern Levant (Bible Studies), or on the Nile valley and delta up to the first or second cataract (Egyptology).

In the 2nd millennium, when these areas were closely interconnected in the royal sphere and representational monuments keep adhering largely to the regional cultural traditions, the issue of connectivity became a prominent part of academic research.[12] In contrast, a substantial amount of the material evidence from the first half of the 1st millennium BCE defies research based on such a regional specialization, as the funerary stelae combining, e.g., Egyptian and Carian, Ionian, or Aramaic elements exemplify.[13] The same holds true for cross-regional mobility, which does not stop at the borders of the major research and teaching areas dealing with the relevant geographical and chronological frame (see Fig. 4).

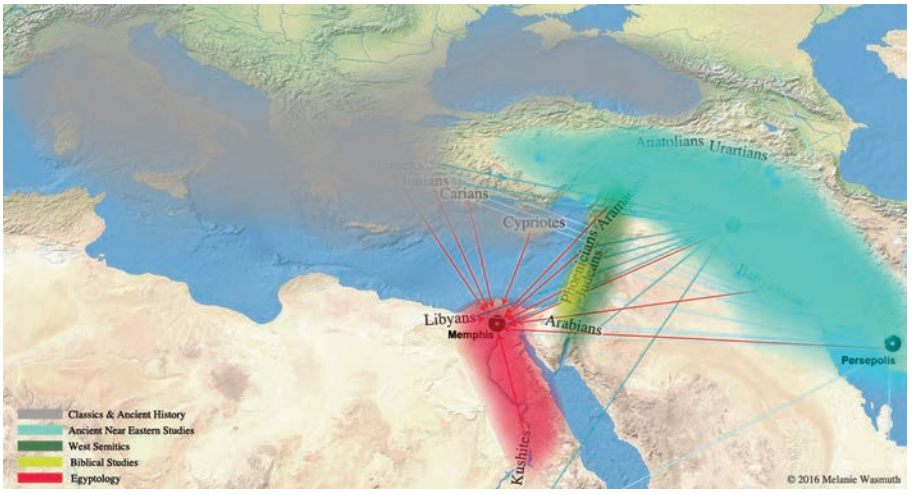

Figure 4: Simplified scope of influxes of people to Assyria, Egypt and Persia in the 7th and 6th century BCE overlayed by the core regions focused upon in teaching and research in the prevailing major academic subject areas dealing with the East Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th to 6th century BCE (underlying satellite map: *Natural Earth II* [idealized landcover]).

Cross-Regional Mobility in the 8th–6th Century BCE Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity: an Agenda

In order to trigger the necessary scope and degree of cross-disciplinary research on the social impact of intensified cross-regional mobility in the 8th to 6th century BCE, I will finally outline various practical issues and subsequent research questions concerning the organizational framework of this cross-regional mobility and the impact of the act of traveling on the traveler as well as on the communities left behind and/or receiving the traveler(s) on a short- or long-term basis.

The Organizational and Biogeophysical Framework

A very basic observation to be taken into account is that any kind of mobility functions in and depends on an organizational and biogeophysical framework. Although this may be considered as self-evident, academic reality defies such a valuation. At best, information on this framework is meager, especially for the time period in question: I am not aware of a single study addressing, e.g., how the Carian mercenaries stationed at Memphis and supplementing the Kushite, Saitic, and later on the Achaemenid armies actually came to Egypt, who organized the trip and stop-overs, how the final immigration and incorporation into the army took place, etc.[14] Due to the cross-regional nature of this mobility, its frameworks have to be researched with focus on the whole area of connectivity, for which there is little scope within the current area-focused academic structure (see above, including Fig. 4). It is not enough to plot vague trading routes: a much more detailed discussion is needed to which extent the biogeophysical framework of the first half of the 1st millennium BCE can be reconstructed[15] and how this affected mobility on an organizational and emotional level.[16] This requires not only a much more entangled engagement between highly specialized scholars in the studies of ancient history encompassing specializations in area and in cross-cultural studies, but also a close cooperation with colleagues from the wider field of human and natural geography including geomorphology, climatology, maritime studies, etc.

This would potentially allow answers to various fundamental questions: which routes could be used under which conditions? Was the biggest challenge to cover a stretch of land or water without being seen and/or attacked by wild animals, raiders, or "the enemy"? Or was the principal difficulty to outsmart nature by bringing enough foodstuffs etc. to last through an uninhabitable stretch? Consequently, did the preparatory organization require to calculate the trip for a small and quick band of people or for a large group of persons who could defend the baggage train but required a large percentage of it for their and their animals' survival? Was it more convenient to use a shorter, but more dangerous/difficult route, or a longer one, which was easier to navigate or where one could draw on royal or other institutionalized protection?

Need and could one camp anywhere or would one follow a route lined with road stations—in form of caravanserais or other hostel-like establishments or via private or institutionalized hospitality? How could and/or did one learn about these issues? Were they transmitted via taverns etc. situated close to the major sea or river ports? Or was the information gathered in the temples, in town, or in the palace administration? For which kind of routes and other planning issues did one go where? Had the traders some kind of "old boys network," which potential travelers could relate to?

And how was a passage on a ship or in a caravan "booked"? Did these situations arise only rarely, yet often enough that there was some kind of accommodation available on a small or large cargo or military ship, which could be paid for on the spot? E.g., did the Carian mercenaries later to be witnessed as part of the Egyptian and Achaemenid armies band together as a group and hire vessel and captain to bring them over, or was the transport arranged beforehand between the local powers?

Although these and many other related issues may never be satisfactorily laid open by the available sources, they must have been important issues and therefore some indications should be found when explicitly looked for. So far, academia is inclined to look to some extent at the origins of materials,[17] but "foreign" people are discussed predominantly with regard to their material or textual representations in the short- or long-term immigration context, as, e.g., the case with the Judean and Carian communities of 7th to 4th century Egypt.[18] Also in an Ancient Near Eastern Studies context, these two groups received more attention with regard to their mobility: cf. the discussion of re-stationing Carian mercenaries in Memphis and later in Borsippa,[19] or the micro-historic studies on repatriated Judean exiles from Babylonia.[20]

The Traveler and the Act of Traveling

Possibly even more difficult to research than the reconstruction of the organizational effort required for cross-regional mobility is the actual act of traveling and its effect on the traveler. Once more the difficulties are largely due to the inherent characteristics of the preserved sources: most likely, personal letters or literary works will provide some information on who or which factors and motivations actually decided whether to leave or to stay, what was feared to happen and actually happened on a trip, and what kind of reception one would expect onboard etc. during stop-overs or at the final destination. Another potentially revealing corpus of sources are specific prayers, prophecies, etc. relating to mobility, although the selection preserved in writing is likely to be exceedingly distorted regarding the actual scope of travelers and traveling.

Especially from the earlier times, i.e., the time of Neo-Assyrian expansion politics toward the eastern Mediterranean, such evidence at least from Neo-Assyrian sources is inherently scarce: most of the textual sources dug up are from state archive contexts, complemented by

smaller archives of predominantly private legal documents.[21] Still, the royal annals, brief administrative entries on troop movements, and control posts do also provide some indications, although the inherent agenda of these (and any other) sources have to be taken closely into account.[22] Similarly, evidence from 8th and 7th century BCE Egypt derives mainly from sources less likely to address these issues: apart from very few early Aramaic, cursive hieratic and early demotic documents, we can draw only on material and epigraphic sources, which by their nature do not (or only marginally) tell us about the emotions and thoughts of the travelers or even the practicalities of traveling, but only—if at all—on the cachet won by such ventures.[23] Rather symptomatically, much more diversified and specific indications can be gleaned from early Greek literature, in which traveling in one way or another is an important topic.[24] Although much more rewarding, these kinds of sources are also fraught with pitfalls: it is often unanswerable, whether the described practicalities reflect contemporary realities or either traditional *topoi* or misrepresented hearsay. This can even be enhanced by the academic practice of incorporating information deriving from large diachronic timeframes without explicitly and prominently laying open to which extent the source or information content may be adequately interpolated for a different socio-historical context.[25] Similarly, the agenda of the literary text may not always be obvious: is the difficulty of traveling enlarged respectively minimized for the specific audience or by convention for literary effect for the purposes of storytelling?[26] Despite all those limitations, a comparative study joining specialist expertise from all relevant area studies should yield a much more detailed picture on the justified and imagined fears and hopes as well as the actual practicalities, dangers, and events accompanying the act of cross-regional travel.

Concerning the most likely encountered attitudes towards "foreigners," a good starting point may be a cross-regional comparative study on the semantic field of "foreign(er)" covering the connotational frame *foe–other–fellow resident–guest*.[27]

Another line of investigation meriting a detailed and cross-disciplinary survey concerns long-term emigration as aim or as result of traveling in the 8th to 6th century BCE: as an example, how does the Egyptian literary *topos* of "wanting to die in Egypt," respectively "abhorrence of being in the foreign," relate to the evidence of actual long-term emigration (by force or choice) to Assyria?[28]

The Yielding and Receiving Communities

Currently, the study of "foreign" communities in 8th to 6th century BCE Egypt and Assyria features a striking characteristic: material output by or for "foreigners" tends to be presented as produced by homogeneous groups.[29] This indicates an underlying modern perception and construction of ancient foreign communities living ghetto-like together and following joint undifferentiated strategies of independence or acculturation as a group.[30] A second approach focuses on prosopography and especially on genealogy and onomastics.[31] Questions dealing with the socio-historical impact of increasing multi-, inter-, trans-, cross-culturality etc. are often left out, even regarding rather general questions: how did local "foreign" communities deal with the enhancement of their numbers? How were travelers housed and how did this affect the receiving private or institutional households? If there was a general right of hospitality and travelers were housed and fed at short notice, did the "guests" bring their own food and sleeping facilities? Did one sleep in mattress dorms, where a mattress or sleeping roll more or less was of minor importance? Or were the travelers assigned a separate space in the house—specifically kept for travelers or improvised instantly? Or would they camp somewhere outside, but could use some of the local facilities as water, the household or communal bread oven etc.? To which extent did these issues differ in rural and town contexts, in mild and rough climates, in more closely administered communities versus more isolated and/or self-contained households?

A comprehensive study of such issues would require a much wider re-positioning of mainstream and marginal topic areas in the various academic research fields: e.g., in most of Egypt and the Near East in the 8th to 6th century BCE not much is known about housing of about 90%—if not more—of the population: archaeological digging—if researching this period at all—is mainly confined to palaces, temples, and tombs related to major cities.[32] Nonetheless, the indicated issues could at least be addressed for an institutionalized context and to highlight further *desiderata* to be researched.

A second major issue, which is probably highly typical for the current *zeitgeist* and cultural background of the author, concerns the agency of the travelers and its impact on themselves and the communities in which they live: could they decide or were they driven (by actual force or adverse circumstances) to relocate and join one or another community? And if the former, how did the decision to integrate oneself into the community or to keep one's distance affect the local "foreign," mixed, and traditional local communities, as well as the policy towards "foreigners"?

A further topic area, which is equally under-represented,[33] concerns the communities left behind: as already indicated above, they often fall through the cracks due to the boundaries of area specializations and the specific limitations of most sources, which do not yield much information on the former biographic histories of their owners or producers. Given the much-increased degree of cross-regional mobility and sometimes heavy strain on the communities, from which substantial segments of the elite, specialists, or even major percentages of their inhabitants left by force or choice at crucial times or forever, this is once more a topic too important to be ignored.

Note on the Organization of This Volume

The scope of scholars having shown interest for these kinds of questions and joined the workshop underlying the volume at hand reflects many of the issues set out above: although substantial effort was made to circulate the call for papers within the *Oriental Studies* as well as in the *Classics* communities, the success in overcoming the dichotomy between these major academic subject areas was limited. Also characteristically, the presented papers are based on very regionally specialized case studies, although each crosses borders of traditional subject areas. In order to indicate the much wider potential of the presented case studies, a joint synthesis is added at the back of the volume, in which all authors outline the principal argumentation lines and results of their papers and briefly respond more generally to the key workshop questions. I wish to thank all workshop participants, the co-authors of this volume, the journal editors and the reviewers for their input, discussion, enthusiasm and cooperation.

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1 The workshop "People on the Move: Framework, Means, and Impact of Mobility across the East Mediterranean Region in the 8th to 6th C. BCE (Castelen, 3–6 Aug. 2015)," on which this volume is based, was organized within the scope of my Visiting Scholar year at Leiden University: Institute for Area Studies with the financial and organizational support of my home institution Basel University: Egyptology. I would like to thank especially Susanne Bickel, Katharina Waldner, Maghiel van Crevel, and Caroline Waerzeggers for making this possible. The design of this introductory article was shaped within the framework of my guest curatorship at the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, for which I am indebted to Wim Hupperetz and Jorrit Kelder. It brings together various aspects discussed within these frameworks as well as my early post-doc project on "Constructions of Identity in Antiquity: 'Egyptians' in Early Iron Age Mesopotamia" (Marie Heim-Vögtlin grant of the Swiss National Science Foundation affiliated to Basel University: Egyptology), which allowed me to research the underlying corpus of sources. For a specific case study from these sources see my contribution on "Cross-regional Mobility in ca. 700 BCE: The Case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924" in this volume.

2 Regarding the assessment of the empire's "globality," see "Largest Empire by Percentage of World Population," *Guinness World Records*, http://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/world-records/largest-empire-by-percentage-of-world-population/ (accessed 19 May 2016) and the European Research Council project "Persia and Babylonia: Creating a New Context for Understanding the Emergence of the First World Empire" conducted by Caroline Waerzeggers and her research team (see "ERC Grants for Five Leiden Researchers," *Leiden University*, 6 January 2016, https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/news/2016/01/erc-grants-for-five-leiden-researchers [accessed 15 May 2016]).

3 See, e.g., Roger D. Woodard (ed.), *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). An easily accessible compilation of the preserved sources from the whole Area of Eastern Mediterranean Connectivity specifically dating to the 8th to 6th century BCE or a comprehensive cross-regional compilation of available source editions remain *desiderata*.

4 See, e.g., Günter Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend*, Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 97 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003); Jan Krzysztof Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours: Foreign Population in Egypt in the First Millennium BC*, The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 12 (Warszawa: Warsaw University Faculty of Law and Administration, Institute of Archaeology, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2009).

5 See Melanie Wasmuth, "Mapping Political Diversity: Some Thoughts on Devising a Historiographical Map of 7th C. BC Egypt," in Susanne Grunwald, Kerstin P. Hofmann, Daniel A. Werning, and Felix Wiedemann (eds.), *Mapping Ancient Identities: Kartographische Identitätskonstruktionen in den Altertumswissenschaften,* Berlin Studies of the Ancient World (Berlin: Topoi Edition, forthcoming). See also Dan'el Kahn, "Taharqa, King of Kush and the Assyrians," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 31 (2004): 109–128; Dan'el Kahn, "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 34 (2006): 251–268; Kenneth Anderson Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1986 [2nd edition; 1st edition: 1973]); Jan Moje, *Herrschaftsräume und Herrschaftswissen ägyptischer Lokalregenten. Soziokulturelle Interaktionen zur Machtkonsolidierung vom 8. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 21 (Berlin—Boston: De Gruyter, 2014); Anthony Spalinger, "Assurbanipal and Egypt: A Source Study," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974): 316–328; Silvie Zamazalová, "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E.: Relations between Egypt, Kush and Assyria," in Jana Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East—The Crossroads. Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010* (Prague: Charles University, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts), 297–328.

[6] See, e.g., Damien Agut-Labordère, "Approche cartographique des relations des pharaons saïtes (664–526) et indépendant (404–342) avec les cités grecques," in Laurant Capdetrey and Julien Zurbach (eds.), *Mobilités grecques. Mouvements, réseaux, contacts en Méditerranée, de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique*, Scripta Antiqua 46 (Paris: Ausonius, 2012): 219–234; Alan B. Lloyd, "The Greeks and Egypt: Diplomatic Relations in the Seventh–Sixth Centuries BC," in Pangiotis Kousoulis and Konstantinos Magliveras (eds.), *Moving Across Borders: Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 159 (Leuven, Paris and Dudley, MA: Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, 2007), 35–50; Peter W. Haider, "Kontakte zwischen Griechen und Ägyptern und ihre Auswirkungen auf die archaisch-griechische Welt," in Robert Rollinger and Christoph Ulf (eds.), *Griechische Archaik. Interne Entwicklungen—Externe Impulse* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2004), 447–491.

[7] See, e.g., the references cited in note 4.

[8] For the cultural diversity of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia in the 8th–6th century BCE, including further references, see the case study by the author in this volume (Melanie Wasmuth, "Cross-regional Mobility in ca. 700 BC: The Case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924"), especially note 17.

As established by Angelika Lohwasser, the diversity of burial customs testified in the cemetery of Sanam allow the deduction of a high degree of cultural diversity of the Napatan society at the wider Gebel Barkal region (Angelika Lohwasser, *Aspekte der napatanischen Gesellschaft. Archäologisches Inventar und funeräre Praxis im Friedhof von Sanam—Perspektiven einer kulturhistorischen Interpretation*, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 67, Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant 1 (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012), 422), although a definitive catchment area cannot be defined due to the inherent information value of solely material sources. However, there is evidence for connections to the Mediterranean, at least to Phoenicia, though the objects are interpreted as imports (Lohwasser 2012, 351). Whether these imports were brought as trade commodities, diplomatic gifts, booty, or personal possession, and whether they were brought via various intermediaries or directly, cannot be ascertained. Given the political expansion politics of the Kushite kings as pharaohs of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty not only to the Nile delta but also the southern Levant (see, e.g., already Anthony Spalinger, "The Foreign Policy of Egypt Preceding the Assyrian Conquest," *Chronique d'Égypte* 53 [1978]: 22–47), direct transfer—either by the king and his entourage or by members of the army including the baggage train—is as feasible as any indirect mode of transfer. In addition, the Kushite royal inscriptions mention foreigners from the north working at Kawa: sculptors from Memphis, Syrian gardeners, and enslaved "children of the rulers of Tjehenu" (see, e.g., Winnicki 2009, 131 and 170, based on M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I: The Inscriptions*, Oxford University Excavations in Nubia (Oxford: Griffith Institute and London: Oxford University Press, 1949), no. III, lines 15 and 22; no. IV, line 1; no. VI, lines 20–21). Whether this implies a catchment area beyond northern Egypt, which was partly under direct Kushite control, can currently not be ascertained. In any case, also the Kushite royal inscriptions require a detailed analysis, to which extent they draw on traditional formula and *topoi* or on contemporary workings of society.

The satellite map *Natural Earth II* providing the background of the presented maps (Figs. 1–3) is in the public domain; see Nathaniel Vaughn Kelso, Tom Patterson et al., *Natural Earth II with Shaded Relief, Water, and Drainages: Coloring Based on Idealized Land Cover* (version version 3.2.0), *Natural Earth*, http://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/10m-natural-earth-2/10m-natural-earth-2-with-shaded-relief-water-and-drainages/ (accessed 18 February 2016).

[9] Predominantly displayed as adjoining, instead of overlapping each other: see, e.g., John Haywood, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Civilizations* (London: Penguin Books, 2005), 44–45, 47, 48, 51; Colin McEvedy, *The New Penguin Atlas of Ancient History*, (London: Penguin Books, 2002), 53, 59, 61; Robert Morkot, *The Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Greece* (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 50–51, 70–71, 72–73; Anna-Maria Wittke, Eckart Olshausen and Richard Szydlak, *Historischer Atlas der Antiken Welt*, Der Neue Pauly Supplemente 3 (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung and Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag, 2007), 49, 51, 53, 55, 69, 85, 87; *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (TAVO): Anna-Maria Wittke et al., *Östlicher Mittelmeerraum und Mesopotamien um 700 v. Chr.*, TAVO B IV 8 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1993); Karlheinz Kessler and Frühwald Schlaich, *Das Neuassyrische Reich der Sargoniden (720–612 v. Chr.) und das Neubabylonische Reich (612–539 v. Chr.)*, TAVO B IV 13 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1991); Gerd Gropp and Christian Bandomer, *Iran unter den Achämeniden (6—4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)*, TAVO B IV 22 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1985); Peter Högemann, Kai Buschmann, and Horst Pohlmann, *Östlicher Mittelmeerraum—Das achämenidische Westreich von Kyros bis Xerxes (547–479/8 v. Chr.)*, TAVO B IV 23 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1986).

[10] The terms *human being*, *person*, and *people* are deliberately used synonymously and explicitly with an unspecialized meaning to allow for a more comprehensive collection of sources. For introductions into the topics of personhood and varying degrees of agency and individuality in a culturally diverse context see, e.g., Martina Schmidhuber, *Der Prozess personaler Identitätsbildung und die Rolle von Institutionen. Eine philosophisch-anthropologische Untersuchung*, Philophie 82 (Wien and Berlin: Lit, 2011); Ruthellen Josselson and Michele Harvay (eds.), *Navigating Multiple Identities: Race, Gender, Culture, Nationality, and Roles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Naika Foroutan, "Hybride Identitäten: Normalisierung, Konfliktfaktor und Ressource in postmigrantischen Gesellschaften," in Heinz Ulrich Brinkmann and Haci-Halil Uslucan (eds.), *Dabeisein und Dazugehören* (Wiesbaden: Springer, 2013), 85–99; Damian J. Rivers and Stephanie Ann Houghton (eds.), *Social Identities and Multiple Selves in Foreign Language Education* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

[11] On the interpretational scope of teeth analyses for tracing mobility (in the context of early sedentary communities in the Near East) see e.g. K. W. Alt, M. Benz, W. Vach, T. L. Simmons, and A. N. Goring-Morris, "Insights into the Social Structure of the PPNB Site of Kfar HaHoresh, Israel, Based on Dental Remains," *PLoS One* 10.9 (2015): 1–19 (DOI: 10.1371).

[12] For introductions see, e.g., Constance von Rüden, "Making the Way through the Sea: Experiencing Mediterranean Seascapes in the Second Millennium B.C.E.," in Achim Lichtenberger and Constance von Rüden (eds.), *Multiple Mediterranean Realities: Current Approaches to Spaces, Resources, and Connectivities*, Mittelmeerstudien 6 (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink and Ferdinand Schöningh, 2015), 31–66; Eric H. Cline, *1177 B.C.: The Year Civilization Collapsed*, Turning Points in Ancient History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014); Joan Aruz, Sarah B. Graff and Yelena Rakic (eds.), *Cultures in Contact: From Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean in the Second Millennium B.C.*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Symposia (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013); Marc Van De Mieroop, *The Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of Ramesses II* (Malden: Blackwell, 2007); Billie Jean Collins, *The Hittites and Their World*, Archaeology and Biblical Studies 7 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007); Mario Liverani, *International Relations in the Ancient Near East, 1660–1100 BC*, Studies in Diplomacy (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001).

See also already, e.g., Wolfgang Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2nd ed., Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971 [1st ed., 1961]); Cord Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von el-Amarna*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 17 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973); Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993).

[13] For the Carian and Caro-Ionian stelae from Egypt see e.g. Paolo Gallo and Olivier Masson, "Une Stèle 'hellénomemphite' de l'ex-collection Nahman," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 93 (1993): 265–276 and pls. I–IV; Frank Kammerzell, *Studien zu Sprache und Geschichte der Karer in Ägypten*, Göttinger Orientforschungen IV.27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993); Olivier Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen*, Texts from Excavations Memoir 5 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1978). For a collection of some Aramaic funerary stelae from Egypt see, e.g., Vittmann 2003, 106–115.

[14] The studies on the foreign contingents in the Egyptian army in the 8th to 6th century BCE are either prosopographic or discuss their function etc. within the Egyptian, Kushite, or Achaemenid armies. Prosopographic: e.g. Pierre-Marie Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la basse époque: carrières militaires et carrières sacerdotales en Egypte du XI. au II. siècle avant J.C.* (s.l.: s.n., 1985), brief introductory comment on the mercenaries: 311–315; Winnicki, 2009. Military function: e.g., Dan'el Kahn, "Judean Auxiliaries in Egypt's Wars against Kush," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 127 (2007): 507–516; Philip Kaplan, "Cross-cultural Contacts among Mercenary Communities in Saite and Persian Egypt," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18 (2003) 1–31; Philip C. Schmitz, "The Phoenician Contingent in the Campaign of Psammetichus II against Kush," *Journal of Egyptian History* 3.2 (2010): 321–337. Rather an exception is Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Carians of Borsippa," *Iraq* 68 (2006), 1–22, which focuses on the social context of the Carian mercenaries stationed in Borsippa. For the Carians in Egypt see above, note 13.

[15] It is symptomatic that none of the major historiographical atlases featuring the 8th to 6th century BCE Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity provide a detailed geomorphological map covering the whole area, much less a potentially much more significant reconstruction of the ancient contemporary landcover; for a discussion on the available historiographic maps with focus on 7th century BCE Egypt, cf. Wasmuth forthcoming. See also the references provided in note 9.

[16] See the next section on the traveler and the act of traveling for some indications on the difficulty to extract such information from the available ancient contemporary sources.

[17] For an introductory discussion on the difficulty to

ascertain specific places of origin of the various materials see, e.g., Celine Wawruschka, "Kulturkontakt und Handel in der Urgeschichte: Zur Interpretation von Gütermobilität," in Melanie Wasmuth, *Handel als Medium von Kulturkontak, Akten des Interdisziplinären altertumswissenschaftlichen Kolloquium (Basel, 30.–31. Oktober 2009)*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 277 (Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 5–34, especially 5–8.

18 For the Carians in Egypt see above, note 13; for Elephantine see, e.g., the contribution by Alexander Schütze in this volume.

19 See, e.g., Waerzeggers 2006.

20 See, e.g., Jonathan Stökl and Caroline Waerzeggers (eds.), *Exile and Return:The Babylonian Context*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 478 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); see also above note 2.

21 For an introduction to the Neo-Assyrian private legal documents see Karen Radner, *Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*, State Archives of Assyria Studies 6 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997). For text editions concerning the private archives from Assur dating to the timeframe in question see Karen Radner, *Ein neuassyrisches Privatarchiv der Tempelgoldschmiede von Assur*, Studien zu den Assur-Texten (StAT) 1 (Saarbrücken: In Kommission bei SDV Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1999); Veysel Donbaz and Simo Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*, StAT 2 (Saarbrücken: In Kommission bei SDV Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 2001); Betina I Faist, *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur*, StAT 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag 2007).

For the evidence from the state archives see especially the publications by "The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project (State Archives of Assyria)," Institute for Asian & African Studies, Department of World Cultures, University of Helsinki, Finland (Director and Editor-in-Chief: Simo Parpola; http://www.helsinki.fi/science/saa/ [accessed 15 December 2016]). The majority of text editions from is published in the series State Archives of Assyria (SAA), which features also an online edition (SAAo: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/saao/corpus [accessed 15 May 2016]).

State Archives of Assyria (SAA): S. Parpola (ed.), *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West*, SAA 1 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987); S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths, SAA 2 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988); A. Livingstone (ed.), *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea*, SAA 3 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989); I. Starr (ed.), *Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria*, SAA 4 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990); G. B. Lanfranchi and S. Parpola (eds.), *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*, SAA 5 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990); T. Kwasman and S. Parpola (eds.), *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon*, SAA 6 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1991); F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate (eds.), *Imperial Administrative Records, Part I: Palace and Temple Administration*, SAA 7 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992); H. Hunger (ed.), *Astrological Reports to Assyrian Kings*, SAA 8 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992); S. Parpola, *Assyrian Prophecies*, SAA 9 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1997); S. Parpola (ed.), *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars*, SAA 10 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1993); F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate (eds.), *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*, SAA 11 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995); L. Kataja and R. Whiting (eds.), *Grants, Decrees and Gifts of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, SAA 12 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995); S. W. Cole and P. Machinist (eds.), *Letters from Assyrian and Babylonian Priests to Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, SAA 13 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998); R. Mattila, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part II: Assurbanipal Through Sin-šarru-iškun*, SAA 14 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002); A. Fuchs and S. Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III: Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces*, SAA 15 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2001); M. Luukko and G. Van Buylaere, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*, SAA 16 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002); M. Dietrich, *The Neo-Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*, SAA 17 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003); F. S. Reynolds, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Esarhaddon and Letters to Assurbanipal and Sin-šarru-iškun from Northern and Central Babylonia*, SAA 18 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2003).

22 For source compilations see, e.g., Hans-Ulrich Onasch, *Die assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 27 (Wiesbaden: Komm. Harrassowitz, 1994); the series *The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period*, (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011–); the series cited above in note 21. See also the discussion on road stations in Shawn Zelig Aster, "An Assyrian bīt mardīte Near Teal Hadid?" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 74.2 (2015): 281–288. I would like to thank Charles Draper for bringing this article to my attention during the publication phase of this volume, as it renders the publishing of my similar discussion of its case study (the text SAA 1 177) presented at the workshop underlying this volume obsolete.

23 For compilations on the available contemporary sources from 8th and 7th century Egypt see especially Koen Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early*

Demotic Texts, PhD dissertation (University of Leiden, 1995); Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Inschriften der Spätzeit* I–IV (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007–2014). See also Damien Agut-Labordère, "The Saite Period: The Emergence of a Mediterranean Power," in Juan Carlos Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Handbuch der Orientalistik I.104 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 965–1027; Robert Morkot, "From Conquered to Conqueror: The Organization of Nubia in the New Kingdom and the Kushite Administration of Egypt," in Juan Carlos Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Handbuch der Orientalistik I.104 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 911–963; Jeremy Pope, *The Double Kingdom under Taharqo: Studies in the History of Kush and Egypt, c. 690–664 BC*, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 69 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014); László Török, *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt 3700 BC–AD 500*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 29 (Leiden: Brill, 2009); László Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook of the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization*, Handbuch der Orientalistik I.31 (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[24] See Łucja Zieba, "Menschenhandel bei Homer: erste literarische Hinweise auf Kontakte zwischen Griechen und Phöniziern," in Wasmuth 2015, 107–118, for some indications for the potential of the Homeric epics to reveal information on the practicalities of traveling across the eastern Mediterranean. See also, e.g., Robert Garland, *Wandering Greeks: The Ancient Greek Diapora from the Age of Homer to the Death of Alexander the Great* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014); Laurant Capdetrey and Julien Zurbach (eds.), *Mobilités grecques. Mouvements, réseaux, contacts en Méditerranée, de l'époque archaïque à l'époque hellénistique*, Scripta Antiqua 46 (Paris: Ausonius, 2012).

[25] See, e.g., Irene Huber, "Von Affenwärtern, Schlangenbeschwörern und Palastmanagern: Ägypter im Mesopotamien des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends," in Robert Rollinger and Brigitte Truschnegg (eds.), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*, Oriens et Occidens 12 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 303–329, or—in a different context—Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2002 [French original from 1996]).

[26] For the Egyptian context see, e.g., the contribution by Heidi Köpp-Junk in this volume.

[27] See the contribution by the author on "Cross-regional Mobility in ca. 700 BC: The Case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924" in this volume, especially note 55.

[28] For studies of these *topoi* in Egyptian literature and royal display see, e.g., Gerald Moers, "'Unter den Sohlen Pharaos'—Fremdheit und Alterität im pharaonischen Ägypten," in Frank Lauterbach, Fritz Paul, and Ulrike-Christine Sander (eds.), *Abgrenzung—Eingrenzung. Komparatistische Studien zur Dialektik kultureller Identitätsbildung*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge 64 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 81–160; Yvan Koenig, "The Image of the Foreigner in the Magical Texts of Ancient Egypt," in Pangiotis Kousoulis and Konstantinos Magliveras (eds.), *Moving Across Borders: Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 159 (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, 2007), 223–238.

[29] See, e.g., the collection of sources for and by "foreigners" in 1st millenium BCE Egypt in Vittmann 2003.

[30] Prominently, e.g., in Kammerzell 1993, especially 180–198.

[31] See, e.g., Winnicki 2009.

[32] In Egypt quite generally; cf. the tale-telling plotting of epigraphic sites on the Late Period map of the Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients: Ingrid Gamer-Wallert and Angelika Schefter, *Ägypten in der Spätzeit (21. bis sogenannte 31. Dynastie)*, Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B IV 1 (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 1993). The academic outlook has not changed much since then. Similarly, it is symptomatic that the Neo-Assyrian sources derive primarily from state archives, especially from Assur and the three capitals of the empire: Nimrud/Kalhu, Niniveh, and Khorsabad/Dur-Sharrukin (see note 21).

[33] One of the few contributions addressing the question for Egypt under Persian domination is Heike Sternberg-El Hotabi, "Politische und sozio-ökonomische Strukturen im perserzeitlichen Ägypten: neue Perspektiven," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 127 (2000): 153–167. Whether the rather limited amount of monuments can really be satisfactorily explained by lack of craftsmen, especially given the exceedingly high craftsmanship of the preserved monuments dating from that period, remains doubtful; see already Melanie Wasmuth, *Reflexion und Repräsentation kultureller Interaktion: Ägypten und die Achämeniden*, PhD dissertation (Universität Basel, 2009), 392.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

"He Will Raise an Ensign to a Nation Afar, Whistle to One at the End of the Earth": The Assyrian and Babylonian Armies as Described in Prophetic Texts and Mesopotamian Inscriptions

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Abstract

This article discusses the accounts of the Assyrian and Babylonian incursions into Syro-Palestine given in the prophetic literature and Mesopotamian inscriptions. The two sets of descriptions differ in genre and perspective, the former reflecting a theopolitical outlook according to which the invasions were punishment for the Israelites' violation of the covenant, the latter boasting of the king's divine right and mighty feats. They also represent the viewpoint of conqueror and conquered, the campaigns expanding the imperial territory and destroying the kingdom of Judah. The form of battle, weapons, tactics, defense, and destruction are all depicted in the sources, together with those targeted and the outcome. Two later examples—the invasions of the Huns and Mongols into Europe—are also adduced in order to throw the ancient portraits into comparative relief.

This article examines the descriptions of the Assyrian and Babylonian armies that attacked Israel and Judah found in the prophetic literature and Mesopotamian inscriptions. These sources differ widely with respect to their genre and goals. The prophets sought to inculcate ethical and moral norm, their theopolitical views dictating their perception of invasion from the north as punishment for having broken God's covenant. Their depiction of the armies that would wreak havoc upon the land was thus intended to prompt the nation to repent—primarily on the ethical plane.[1] They thus rejected the pragmatic policy of making alliances and forming coalitions designed to avert the impending threat.[2]

The Assyrian sources, in contrast, were designed to commemorate the military feats of the king, who ruled by divine grace. Indicating the bitter fate anyone who refused to accept their yoke or attempted to rebel after having sworn allegiance could expect to befall them, they formed part of the imperialist ideology.[3] In practical terms, the Assyrian acts of barbarity broke the resistance of the defenders, the intimidation factor making it easier for them to impose their rule.[4] While the Assyrian sources provide a wealth of detail in this respect, their Babylonian counterparts are much more meager, reflecting a much more concise and laconic style of writing.[5]

Let me begin with the motif of the "enemy who comes from afar." The phrase "distant country" occurs as early as the story of the Gibeonites in Joshua: "And they said unto him, 'From a very far country thy servants have come because of the name of the LORD thy God'" (Joshua 9:9). Hezekiah employs the same expression in reference to Merodach-baladan's envoys: "They have come from a far country, even from Babylon" (Isaiah 39:3; cf. 2 Kings 20:14).[6] The El-Amarna letters likewise present Assyria and Babylon as "far off countries."[7] On the other side of the map, Sargon II of Assyria characterizes Judah as "The subduer of the country Judah [Ia-ú-du] which is far away."[8] Kush (Nubia), Media Ashdod, and even the Arabs were also identified in similar fashion: "The Tamudi, Ibadidi, Marsima[ni] and Hayappâ, who live in distant Arabia."[9] The prophets also speak of the invaders as coming from "a far country" or "from afar," depicting their geographic location as the "sides of the earth" or the "end of heaven."[10] The greater the distance from which the enemy came, the stranger and more dangerous he appeared.[11]

Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel all associate the foreign enemy with the north.[12] Historically and geographically, the majority of invasions did, in fact, come from this direction.[13] In the biblical texts, the "north" thus became a symbol of calamity, assuming a mythic dimension.[14] According to Jeremiah, Babylon itself would be punished by nations coming from the remote north (Jeremiah 50:3, 41–43).[15]

Despite the distances involved, invading armies made their way swiftly and smoothly. Isaiah notes, "And He will lift up an ensign to the nations from afar, and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth; and behold, they shall

come with speed swiftly" (Isaiah 5:26)—possibly alluding to the Assyrian forces that have yet to reach Judah.[16] Irrespective of the distance, the Assyrians frequently boasted of the speed of their military response. Sargon notes of his suppression of the second revolt that broke out in Ashdod led by Yamani, for example: "In the ebullience of my heart, I did not gather the masses of my troops, nor did I organize my camp. With my warriors—who never leave my side in (hostile or) friend[ly terri]tory—I marched to Ashdod."[17] The Azekah inscription depicts the quality of his soldiers' fighting force: "[By packed-down ra]mps and applying mighty (?) battering ramps, infantry attacks by min[es …], [… the approach of my caval]ry they saw and heard the sound of Ashur's mighty troops and were afraid."[18]

From Isaiah's perspective, they appeared as a formidable foe—a war machine trampling everything in its path:

> None shall be weary nor stumble among them; none shall slumber nor sleep; neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed, nor the latchet of their shoes be broken; whose arrows are sharp, and all their bows bent, their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint, and their wheels like a whirlwind (Isaiah 5:27–28).[19]

The superior enemy forces that are still a long way off are portrayed in mythopoetical language as a type of "superhero."[20] In general terms, the whole arena takes on the hues of an eschatological drama.[21]

Jeremiah similarly observes: "It is a mighty nation, it is an ancient nation, a nation whose language thou knowest not, neither understandest what they say; Their quiver is as an open sepulcher; they are all mighty men" (Jeremiah 5:15b–16). Although in Jeremiah's days the people of Judah were already familiar with the Assyrian and Egyptian armies, they were now faced with a new threat whose antiquity increased its power.[22] This depiction creates the impression that the whole nation was full of warriors.[23] The indecipherable language heightens the sense of mystery and fear the enemy inspires.[24] Like Isaiah, Jeremiah does not explicitly refer to the Babylonians by name.[25] Ezekiel and Habakkuk similarly note the quality of the Babylonia army (Ezekiel 23:24; Habakkuk 1:6–7)—including their ability to attack at night: "Prepare ye war against her! Arise, and let us go up at noon. Woe unto us! For the day goeth away, for the shadows of the evening are stretched out; Arise, and let us go by night, and let us destroy her palaces" (Jeremiah 6:4–5).[26]

The motif of night attacks occurs in other biblical passages, indicating the fighting qualities of the aggressors and possibly also their determination to overcome the defenders rather than needing to lay lengthy sieges (cf. Judges 7:9–18; Isaiah 15:1).[27] Sargon boasts in this respect: "[...] it was dark, and the sun never shone on it, its waters located in dar[kn]ess, its outflow [...] its mo[uth (?)] was cut with axes and a moat was dug around it [...] [soldiers] skilled in the battle, he stationed in it, he girded his weapons, in order to [...]."[28] His claim that he mobilized a great force that raised a loud cry whenever he went to war (see above) is corroborated by Isaiah: "Woe to the multitude of many people, who make a noise like the noise of the seas, and to the rushing of nations, that make a rushing like the rushing of mighty waters!" (Isaiah 17:12).

Some scholars suggest that the sound of water alludes to a Canaanite myth that describes the cosmic struggle against Yamm, the sea.[29] Ezekiel similarly prophesies of a mighty foe that will engulf Tyre like a flood (Ezekiel 26:3, 27:7). Here, too, some scholars adduce the motif of the sea describing the enemy's army as a mighty flood, recalling the destruction wrought by the Flood or that portrayed in the *Enuma elish*.[30] Isaiah speaks of the calamity God is sending on Samaria as a torrent or hailstorm (Isa 28:2), Nahum applying the same image to Nineveh (Nahum 1:8).

Jeremiah relates to the noise the invader makes: "The whole city shall flee for the noise of the horsemen and bowmen; they shall go into thickets and climb up upon the rocks; every city shall be forsaken, and not a man dwell therein" (Jeremiah 4:29; cf. Isaiah 13:4; Nahum 2:5).[31] Sargon similarly describes the effect the noise of his forces had on Re'e, the commander-in-chief (*ṭurtānu)* of Egypt, who set out from Rapihu against him: "Re'e became afraid at the noise of my weapons, and he fled, and his place was not found."[32] Tumult is characteristic not only of the hostile invaders but also of the inhabitants of the land called upon to defend it. Jeremiah thus admonishes: "Declare ye in Judah and publish in Jerusalem, and say, 'Blow ye the trumpet in the land!' Cry, gather together and say, 'Assemble yourselves, and let us go into the fortified cities!'" (Jeremiah 4:5; cf. vv. 15–16).

As elsewhere in the biblical text, the blowing of the shofar serves as an alarm signaling the approach of enemy forces. Jeremiah calls on the Judeans living outside defended cities—shepherds and farmers—to take refuge from the invaders within the fortified towns (cf. Nahum 3:3).[33] The trumpet is accompanied by mourning and the cries of the wounded: "Thus saith the Lord GOD to Tyre: Shall not the isles shake at the sound of thy fall, when the wounded cry, when the slaughter is made in the midst of thee?" (Ezekiel 26: 15).[34] The uproar is frequently followed, however, by an eerie silence: "Therefore her young men shall fall in her streets, and all the men of war shall be brought to silence in that day, saith the LORD of hosts" (Jeremiah 49:26; cf. 50:30). When directed against Damascus, the prophecy notes that in the wake of the fierce street battles that would undoubtedly be accompanied by loud shouts and cries, the city would be cloaked in deathly silence. [35] The same scene is also portrayed in Lamentations and the laments over the destruction of Ur (Lamentations 2:21).[36] Nor will the noise of routine and celebration be heard anymore: "Moreover I will take from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones and the light of the candle" (Jeremiah 25:10).[37] The silencing of the grinding of

the millstone is also known from Esarhaddon's succession treaty: "[M]ay the sound of mill or oven be lacking from your houses, may the grain for grinding disappear from you."[38] The sounds of singing and playing are also muted: "And I will cause the noise of thy songs to cease, and the sound of thy harps shall be no more heard" (Ezekiel 26:13). The motif of the muting of lyre, harp, and singing due to calamity occurs both in other biblical passages (Isaiah 24:8; Jeremiah 7:34; Amos 5:23) and the curse lists in ancient Near Eastern contracts and Esarhaddon's inscriptions.[39] Sennacherib testifies in this respect that, under the terms of his defeat, Hezekiah gave him "his male and female singers."[40]

A common theme is the combination of the senses of sight and hearing in connection with warfare: "How long shall I see the standard, and hear the sound of the trumpet?" (Jeremiah 4:21; cf. Nahum 2:5, 3:3). Although those attacked naturally attempted to defend themselves against the invading armies in the open field or in the fortified cities, when facing vast imperial forces these lines rapidly collapsed. In the Azekah Inscription, Sargon II notes: "[His] great [walls] like a pot [I smashed]."[41] On the Israelite side, Habakkuk states: "And they shall scoff at the kings, and the princes shall be a scorn unto them. They shall deride every stronghold, for they shall heap up dirt and take it" (Habakkuk 1:10).[42] Like their predecessors the Assyrians, the Babylonians were confident in their siege skills—despite the fact that they were not always victorious.[43] Standing before Jerusalem's walls, Rabshakeh declares:

> "Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and of Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivah? Have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand? Who are they among all the gods of the countries that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the LORD should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?'" (Isaiah 36: 18–20; cf. 2 Kings 18: 33–35.)

Isaiah records that the Assyrian king declared:

> "Are not my princes altogether kings? Is not Calno as Carchemish? Is not Hamath as Arpad? Is not Samaria as Damascus? As my hand hath found the kingdoms of the idols and whose graven images excelled them of Jerusalem and of Samaria, shall I not, as I have done unto Samaria and her idols, so do to Jerusalem and her idols?" (Isaiah 10:8–11.)

Isaiah appears here to adopt the language of the aggrandizing Assyrian inscriptions. [44] In this case, the enemy not only defeats and destroys but also alters the geopolitical map by changing borders and deporting populations, thereby establishing the Pax Assyrica.[45]

The cuneiform descriptions of the military campaigns contain descriptions of the invaders' cruelty. Shalmaneser III depicts himself as merciless.[46] The Assyrian rulers in general provide graphic accounts of the fate in store for those who oppose them.[47] Tiglath-pileser III's scribe, for example, asserts: "I filled [the plain] with the bodies of their warriors [like gras]s."[48] The princes of Aram and Eqron were hung—alive or dead—for all to see: "I advanced to Ekron and slew its officials and nobles who stirred up rebellion and hung their bodies on watchtowers all about the city."[49] Sargon II boasts that he flayed Yaubidi of Hamath alive.[50] An inscription of Ashurbanipal—who made an example of the inhabitants of Tyre and Acre who rebelled against him—indicates a similar practice.[51] Jeremiah also attests to the enemy's cruelty: "I will pour it out upon the children abroad, and upon the assembly of young men together; for even the husband with the wife shall be taken, the aged with him that is full of days" (Jeremiah 6:11). Employing a merismus, he declares that the enemy will be heartless and strike the whole population, including children and the elderly. This statement closely resembles the Deuteronomist portrayal: "a nation of fierce countenance, which shall not regard the person of the old nor show favor to the young" (Deut 28:50)—reflecting the influence of the Deuteronomistic school on his prophecies.[52] The slaughter of children and women is also adduced in a prophecy that envisions the fall of Babylon. Although found in First Isaiah, this probably dates from a later period: "Their children also shall be dashed to pieces before their eyes; their houses shall be despoiled and their wives ravished" (Isaiah 13:16. cf. Zechariah 14:2).[53] The Assyrian reliefs also refer to the women and children being led captive. [54] Elsewhere, Jeremiah threatens Judah with Babylonian cruelty: "They shall lay hold on bow and spear; they are cruel and have no mercy" (Jeremiah 6:23; cf. 50:42), portraying the Babylonian army as well organized and equipped with state-of-the-art weaponry.[55] Ezekiel calls the invaders the "worst of the heathen" (7:24) and "the terrible of the nations" (28:7, 31:11–12).[56]

The fear these armies inspired in their foes was prompted from the moment Assyria entered the region in the days of Shalmaneser III.[57] According to Ashurbanipal, Taharka, the Egyptian king, literally went mad from fear:

> Taharka heard in Memphis of the defeat of his army and the (terror-inspiring) splendor of Ashur and Ishtar blinded him (thus) that he became (like) a mad man. The glamour of my kingship with which the gods of heaven and nether world have endowed me, dazzled him and he left Memphis, to save his life, into the town Ni (Thebes).[58]

Isaiah speaks of the "terror" that fell upon the Israelites (Isaiah 17:14; cf. Jeremiah 20:4, 49:28), Ezekiel warning that the people of Tyre would remove their clothes and be overcome by fear (Ezekiel 26:16). The fright was so great

that it prevented both fight and flight: "We have heard the fame thereof; our hands wax feeble. Anguish hath taken hold of us, and pain as of a woman in travail" (Jeremiah 6:24; cf. 49: 23–24; Isaiah 13: 8). It could also induce psychosomatic ailments: "My heart, my heart! I am pained at my very heart! My heart maketh a noise in me; I cannot hold my peace, because thou hast heard, O my soul, the sound of the trumpet, the alarm of war" (Jeremiah 4:19; cf. Isaiah 21: 3–4).[59] Even the men are stricken with fear lest in the hour of war they became like women (Jeremiah 49:22; cf. 50:37; Nahum 3:3)—i.e., will be unable to defend themselves.[60] Nor were leaders exempt from this apprehension: "… that the heart of the king shall perish, and the heart of the princes; and the priests shall be astonished, and the prophets shall wonder" (Jeremiah 4:9). From this we learn that, facing calamity, the political and religious leadership collapsed. [61]

At the enemy's approach, the inhabitants of the cities cried out to God and began mourning in anticipation of the woes they were about to suffer: "O daughter of my people, gird thee with sackcloth, and wallow thyself in ashes. Make thee mourning, as for an only son, most bitter lamentation; for the despoiler shall suddenly come upon us" (Jeremiah 6:26). The pain resembles that of a mother who loses her only son.[62] Micah asserts in his prophetic lamentation to the Judeans:

> Declare ye it not at Gath, weep ye not at all; in the house of Aphrah roll thyself in the dust. Pass ye away, thou inhabitant of Shaphir, having thy shame naked. The inhabitant of Zaanan came not forth in the mourning of Bethezel; he shall receive from you his standing. For the inhabitant of Maroth waited anxiously for good, but evil came down from the LORD unto the gate of Jerusalem. (Micah 1:10–12.)[63]

The panic caused by the approaching enemy led to the abandonment of settlements (Isaiah 10:30–31). The prophets also envision the siege that will be laid on the land as a whole. Most hard struck, however, were the cities, leaving no safe place for the inhabitants to take refuge from the invaders (Jeremiah 4:17, 6:3, 24). [64] On several occasions, the prophets note that the enemy will inflict great damage: "And they shall eat up thine harvest and thy bread, which thy sons and thy daughters should eat; they shall eat up thy flocks and thine herds; they shall eat up thy vines and thy fig trees. They shall impoverish thy fortified cities, wherein thou trusted, with the sword" (Jeremiah 5:17); "And their houses shall be turned unto others, with their fields and wives together (Jeremiah 6:12a).[65] The same fate is prophesied of Hazor, Tyre, and even Babylon itself.[66]

Some descriptions refer to the destruction and burning of cities (Isaiah 2:15; Jeremiah 4:7, 22:7; Ezekiel 23:25). According to the prophets, the cities that are attacked become barren, although the invading enemy is not always the one who will subjugate the land. [67] Generally speaking, the depiction of the calamities recalls the curses in the Pentateuch (Leviticus 26:29; Deuteronomy 28:51–53).[68] With respect to damage, the cuneiform inscriptions frequently speak of plunder and the imposition of tributes and taxes.[69] The claim that its army has destroyed and burned cities also often occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions.[70] Despite the concise form of the Babylonian chronicles, they nonetheless detail the destruction of Ashkelon: "He marched to Ashkelon and in the month of Kislev he captured it, seized its king, plundered [and sac]ked it. He turned the city into a ruin heap"[71] (cf. Jeremiah 47:5). As an important trading city, Ashkelon's razing greatly impacted the economy of the region. [72]

In conclusion, let me briefly compare the Mesopotamian invasions and incursions of Syro-Palestine with two examples from European history in order to illustrate the phenomenon under discussion.[73] Such comparative research is useful even in the field of history—including that of the ancient Near East.[74]

The first example is the invasion of Europe by the Hun in 395 CE (prior to Attila).[75] Before the arrival of the Huns, the Romans knew very little of them, including their methods of warfare and fighting capabilities and weaponry.[76] One of the most fascinating descriptions of their appearance is given by Jerome who, residing in Bethlehem, fled to the coast. Although he does not appear to have had firsthand experience of the Huns, he notes that they were "wild peoples" who could not be kept behind the Caucasus:

> … speeding here and there on their nimble-footed horses, they were filling all the world with panic and bloodshed … Everywhere their approach was unexpected, they outstripped rumour in speed, and, when they came, they spared neither religion nor rank nor age, even for wailing infants they had no pity. Children were forced to die before it could be said that they had begun to live; and little ones not realizing their miserable fate might be seen smiling in the hands and at the weapons of their enemies … we were anxious as for the chastity of the virgins who were with us. Just at that time also there was dissension among us, and our intestine struggles threw into the shade our battle with the barbarians. [77]

Similar accounts occur in other contemporaneous and slightly later sources, these highlighting their capabilities as horsemen.[78]

The second example is the Mongol invasion in 1241 under Ogodei, son of Genghis Khan. Up until this point, Europeans had been virtually completely unaware of far eastern Asia, their knowledge being based primarily on mythical speculation.[79] During Ghengis Khan's rule, the Mongols were already pressing towards Europe at a heady rate of 60 km per day.[80] With their expansion under Ogodei, they won significant battles in Poland, Bulgaria,

and Hungary, becoming a stereotypical symbol in Europe for cruel conquerors who regarded destruction as a goal in and of itself—even though this perception was not always accurate.[81] The English Benedictine monk Matthew Paris gives us an account of the 1241 invasion:

> They have horses, not large, but very strong, and that require little food, and they bind themselves firmly on their backs. They use darts, clubs, battle-axes, and swords in battle, and fight bravely and unyieldingly. But their chief prerogative is their use of the bow, and their great skill in fighting. Their back armour is thin, that they may not tempted to run away; and they never retreat from battle until they see the chief standard of their leader retreating. When vanquished they never ask for mercy, and themselves never spare the vanquished. In the intention and fixed purpose of reducing all the world under their dominion, they all persist as one man; nor yet they can be reckoned at a thousand thousand. Their satellites, in number six hundred thousand, are sent forward to prepare quarters for the army, on fleet horses, and perform three days journey in one night. They suddenly disperse themselves over a whole province, and falling on the inhabitants unarmed, undefended, and scattered, they make such havoc that the king or prince of the beleaguered country cannot muster men to bring into field against them. [82]

Both these accounts exhibit affinities with the biblical and ancient Near Eastern descriptions we discussed above—the enemy coming from afar, advancing swiftly with impressive military forces; relentless and merciless, they cause confusion and havoc, sowing fear, and easily overcoming the local resistance.

This article analyzes the prophetic descriptions of the military threats posed by Assyria and Babylon, examining the affinities between these depictions and the Mesopotamian accounts of power and force. Despite the difference in genre, perspective, and purpose, both literary texts served their authors' specific needs. While the prophets portray the fearsome invading armies who will come from afar as punishment for failing to observe the covenant, the Mesopotamian sources extol Mesopotamian military might and its intimidation factor. In conclusion, the similar representation of the invasion of Europe by the Huns and Mongols is adduced.

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6 Biblical quotations are taken from the King James Version.

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10 Isaiah 13:5; Jeremiah 4:16, 5:15, 6:23, 25:32, 50:41; Habakkuk 1:8.

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Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Egypt and Assyria in Isaiah 11:11–16

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Abstract
In the following article I will deal with one of Isaiah's prophecies, Isaiah 11:11–16, whose date is debated. In this article, I will concur that the prophecy is not original to Isaiah, nor was there an early Isaianic core that was expanded in later periods. Other scholars suggested different dates for the prophecy, ranging from the reign of Josiah at the end of the Assyrian rule in the Levant until the Hasmonean Period. I will forward a different historical setting to the oracle than the hitherto given options. According to this understanding, the oracle was composed in the mid-7th century BCE and reflects the political situation during the reigns of Ashurbanipal, King of Assyria, and Manasseh, King of Judah, respectively.

I DEDICATE THE ARTICLE, WHICH WAS WRITTEN IN HOSPITAL, TO THE MEMORY OF MY BELOVED SON, JONATHAN KAHN Z"L, WHO UNTIMELY PASSED AWAY ON THE 17TH OF APRIL 2012 AT THE AGE OF 8. MAY HE REST IN PEACE.

1. The Context of the Prophecy
The prophecy is part of a collection of four prophecies introduced by the formula "והיה ביום ההוא" "and it shall come to pass in that day." These oracles announce the future relief of Assyrian oppression. The first oracle in 10:20–26 may have described the events of 720 BCE and was possibly edited at a later stage.[1] The second prophecy in Isaiah 10:27–11:9 comprises several literary units basically announcing the impending fall of the Assyrian monarch and the subsequent rise of the Davidic monarch.[2] The third short prophecy (11:10) is a later editorial addition, which focuses on the nations' future recognition of the new Davidic monarch and serves as a bridge between the prophecies.[3] The fourth and last prophecy in this collection, the focus of this study, is Isaiah 11:11–16, which announces the future restoration of Israel when the remnant of the people will return from exile. I will first deal with the date and composition of Isaiah 11:11–12.

> In that day the Lord will extend his hand yet a second time to recover the remnant that remains of his people, from Assyria, from Egypt, *from Pathros, from Kush, from Elam, from Shin'ar, from Hamath, and from the coastlands/Islands of the sea*. He will raise a signal for the nations and will assemble the banished of Israel, and gather the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth. (Isaiah 11:11–12; emphasis added)

2. The Date of Isaiah 11: 11–12
2.1. During Isaiah's Time
Many commentators, who date the prophecy to the days of Isaiah (ca. 734–701 BCE),[4] claim that the list of toponyms to which Israelites and Judeans were exiled to in Isaiah 11:11 "can be interpreted against the background of events of Isaiah's time in connection with the Assyrian visitation. The really great dispersion and exile happened in Isaiah's time, and the countries mentioned are all in existence just at that time."[5]

However, when checking the list of toponyms carefully, it becomes clear that this statement is not precise, to say the least. The existence of a kingdom in the days of Isaiah does not prove that the Assyrians exiled people to it.[6] When identifying the toponyms with precision, and trying to reconstruct a historical possibility of exile to these places in the days of Isaiah, immediately a problem is encountered with the historical setting of the prophecy, i.e., "The countries which are given as the location of the Diaspora in verse 11 point to a time *long after Isaiah*,"[7] since:

a. during most of the activity of Isaiah there was not yet a Judean Diaspora (note the Exile in the year 701 BCE);[8]
b. the destinations of the Diaspora in Isaiah 11:11 do not fit the destinations of the known deportations from Judah during Isaiah's years of activity;[9]

c. some of the toponyms (i.e., Egypt, Pathros, and Kush) could not have been the destination of mass deportations during the time of Isaiah, since they were not under Assyrian control at the time.

2.2. Alternative Dates

Many scholars have argued that the oracle or parts thereof *are not originally from Isaiah* himself. Many commentators refute the integrity of v. 11b in the prophecy (above, in italics) and treat it as a later expansion of an older text. Koenig maintains that the mention of Assyria in verse 11 and 16 may point to an older original and that "all the following places were added later," with the possible exception of Egypt.[10] Assyria and Egypt in Isaiah 11:11 were recognized as a pair, mentioned again in verses 15 and 16, as well as in several additional prophetic books.[11] This led to the notion that the toponyms following Egypt in verse 11 were later additions, which fitted a later historical reality.[12] Thus, most scholars agree that vv. 11–12 or parts thereof do not stem from the Assyrian period, but are of a later date (exilic or post exilic) in part or in its entirety

Duhm[13] claims that Isaiah 11:11–16 reflects the expansionist activity of the Hasmoneans, namely Yohanan Hyrcanus (134–104 BCE) and Alexander Yannay (103–76 BCE) at the *end of the second century BCE*. The mention of only Assur and Egypt in vv. 15–16 as well were regarded as a proof that all the other provinces in v. 11 are additions of the editor, who, in order to show his geographical and historical knowledge, added the provinces of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires. Kaiser and Vermeylen dated the prophecy to the *early Hellenistic Period* and identify Egypt and Assyria with the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Empires.[14]

However, an updated list dating to this period appears in Septuagint (LXX) Isaiah 11:11, and the occurrence of these verses in the Isaiah scrolls from Qumran dating to the 2nd century BCE entirely speaks against this late dating.[15] Furthermore, the identification of the Seleucid Empire with "Assyria" cannot be accepted, since in the Septuagint, the original designation of Assyria and Egypt remain and are not updated with the current designations of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic Empires. This fact, as well, rules out the suggestion that the entities named might be mere ciphers for other, later political realities. Furthermore, Assyria never designates the Empires west of the Euphrates.[16]

Thus, Williamson[17] refutes the proposal to date the prophecy to the Hellenistic and Hasmonean periods, bases the refutations on their occurrence in the Septuagint,[18] and fits the renaming of several of the place names to the conditions of the second century BCE. Furthermore, he notes that the situation described in vv. 13–14 where Israel and Judah fight united against their neighbors in Transjordan does not fit the historical reality of the Hasmoneans at all. Furthermore, these texts cannot be dated later than their counterparts from Qumran. The Isaiah scroll, which is dated on paleographical grounds to 150–125 BCE, contains this prophecy, so the events in it clearly cannot be dated to Alexander Yannay, and scarcely to Yohanan Hyrcanus, [19] but if it was written in the reign of one of the later kings, there should not have been any variants in spelling between the two versions, which clearly exist. Furthermore, there is no clear instance where texts in Proto-Isaiah can be dated later than the reign of Nabonidus on *historical* grounds.[20]

Wildberger dates the prophecy to the Persian period. The traditions of the Exodus in v. 16 would be surprising in the prophecies of Isaiah from Jerusalem, since First Isaiah never mentions the Exodus from Egypt. The ideas of a new exodus are found in Deutero-Isaiah. Wildberger considers the early Persian period, when Zechariah and Malachi prophesied, but eventually opts for the time of Ezra and Nehemiah and the return from Exile in their days (mid-5th century BCE). The prophecy is dated by Blenkinsopp to the early to middle Achaemenid period.[21]

Williamson assigns the prophecy to Deutero-Isaiah (ca. end of 6th century BCE and before the Cyrus edict of 538). He bases his arguments on similarity in ideas, motifs, and phraseology with Deutero-Isaiah and parallel ideas in Zechariah 10:11–16. Williamson claims that Isaiah 11:11–16 is part of the alleged editorial work of Deutero-Isaiah in Isaiah 1–39.[22]

However, I consider Williamson's above thesis regarding editorial interventions of Deutero-Isaiah hypothetical, lacking even one chronological-historical anchor point.[23] The same literary style and terminology are considered by other scholars as indication of a much later period, and some of the terms occur in the days of Jeremiah.[24]

Roberts has rightly observed that the motif of God raising a standard to the nations in order to accomplish the return of his people in Isaiah 11:12 and 49:22 differ in diction and the vocabulary. The verbs נד״ח and נפ״ץ are not used in Deutero-Isaiah.[25]

Furthermore, if verses 13–14 are an integral part of the prophecy, the historical background of the relations with Judah's neighbors would not fit the time of Deutero-Isaiah or his lack of interest in the unification or reconciliation between Ephraim and Judah.[26] The most one can say is that Deutero-Isaiah was influenced by these verses. In addition, the following geographic-historical considerations suggest that the dating to the Babylonian period cannot be accepted: 1. The political difficulties in having a body of Judean exiles during the Babylonian period in Kush, or in the islands of the Sea (see below). 2. God's peoples were exiled to *Assyria* in verses 11 and 16. The Babylonians did not exile to Assyria. 3. The Babylonian exile was of limited scope and involved a removal to a few areas in Babylonia as opposed to the vast exile described in the prophecy. And 4. Babylon's insignificant place within the prophecy.

Sweeney dates the prophetic unit Isaiah 11:1–12:6 to the reign of Josiah and stresses the following points: 1. The close relation between the several prophecies in the unit 11:1–12:6. He identifies the future "messianic" king (Isaiah

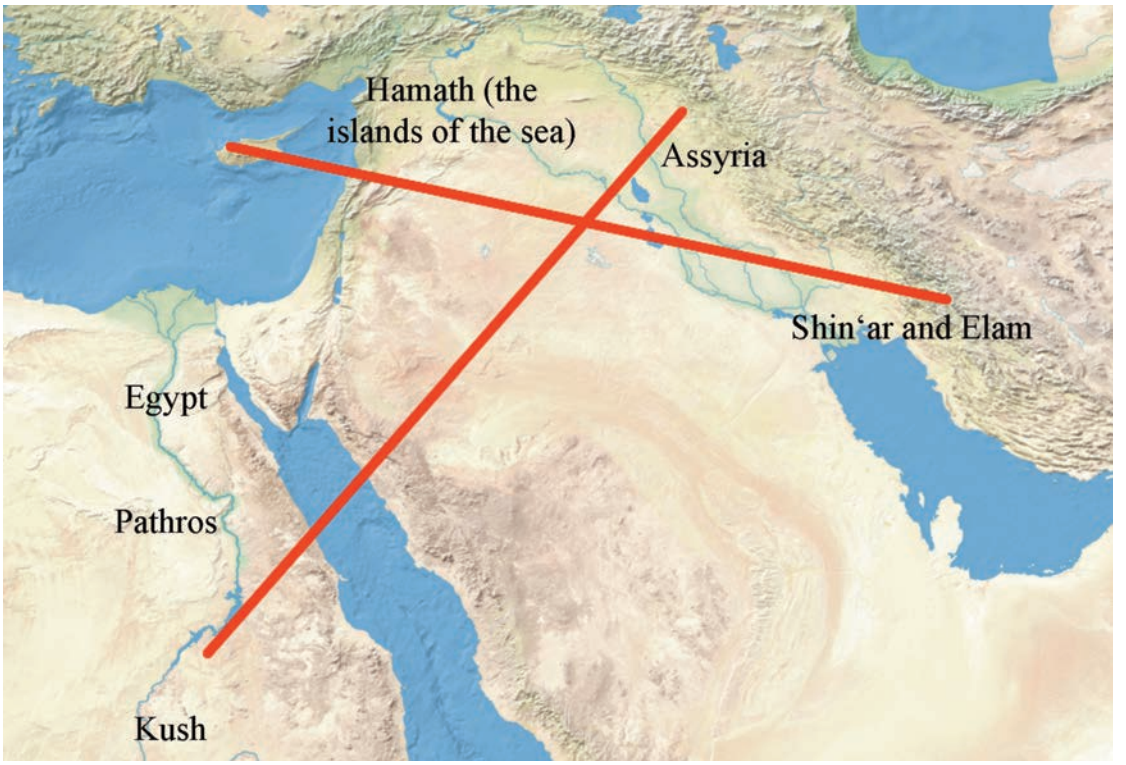

Figure 1: The geographical locations to which Judeans were exiled according to Isaiah 11:11 (base image *Natural Earth II* [public domain]).

11: 1–9) as the young Josiah (639–609 BCE). 2. The punishment of Egypt and Assyria in the context of the return of the exiles from these countries corresponds to Josiah's attempt to rebuild the Davidic Empire in the face of opposition from Egypt and Assyria in the late 7th century. 3. The interest in Exodus traditions apparent in both 11:11–16 in the context of the Josianic redaction, in 2 Kings 23:21–23 and in 2 Chronicles 35:1–19 indicate, that the celebration of Passover served as the festival basis for Josiah's reform.[27]

The above scholars, using historical, linguistic and intertextual criticism as dating methods, did not achieve a conclusive and accepted dating (ranging between 734 BCE and ca. 170 BCE).

3. The Identification of the Lands in Isaiah 11:11–12 from Which the Remnant Will Return and the Formation of the List

In most cases the discussion about this topographic list is mainly centered on identifying the place names. In the following I will claim that verse 11b is not a later addition, but is part of the *original composition* of the list. The above list comprises of eight geographical toponyms. The list is built on two axes, NE–SW and SE–NW, consisting of the four corners of the earth.

At the beginning of the list, Assyria is placed *first*, in the *northeast* not only because of geographical reasons but perhaps also owing to its political significance during the creation of the list. If the list was created or edited when Assyria lost its prominence (either in the Babylonian or the Persian periods), the primary place in the list could have been taken either by Babylonia/Shinar or by Persia, so the list could have started in the southeast or in any other corner of the universe.

The following toponyms in the list, Egypt, Pathros, and Kush, are the areas in the opposite *southwestern* extremity of the known world. Egypt is to be identified with Lower Egypt, Pathros with Upper (=Southern) Egypt,[28] and Kush with the kingdom to the south of Egypt, equivalent to modern-day Sudan. It is significant that these countries are listed together, since they are mentioned exactly in this order only in Esarhaddon's inscriptions (680–669 BCE).[29]

Following this, the toponym of Elam is mentioned at the beginning of the second axis, in the extreme *southeast*,[30] continuing to Shinar—the land Babylonia.[31] From there it continues to Hamath. Some commentators identified Hamath with Achmeta אַחְמְתָא, classical Ecbatana in Media,[32] but it is almost universally accepted that Hamath should be located in northern Syria. The list ends in the *northwest* with the "איי הים,"[33] traditionally translated "the

Kings / Toponyms	Tiglath-Pileser III	Shalmanaser V	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Ashurbanipal
Assyria	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Egypt	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Pathros	No	No	No	No	No info	Yes
Kush	No	No	No	No	No	No info
Elam	No	No	No	No	No	Yes
Shinar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Hamath	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Islands of the Sea	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes

Table 1: Neo-Assyrian control over kingdoms.

Kings / Toponyms	Tiglath-Pileser III	Shalmanaser V	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Ashurbanipal
Assyria	Yes	Possible	Yes	Possible	Possible	Possible
Egypt	No	No info	Possible	No	No info	No info
Pathros	No	No info	No	No	No info	No
Kush	No	No info	No	No	No info	No
Elam	No	No info	No	No	No	Yes
Shinar	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Hamath	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Islands of the Sea	No info	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible

Table 2: Judean and Israelite exiles during the Neo-Assyrian Period.

Kings / Toponyms	Tiglath-Pileser III	Shalmanaser V	Sargon II	Sennacherib	Esarhaddon	Ashurbanipal
Assyria	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Egypt	Yes	Yes	Yes	No info	No	Yes
Pathros	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Kush	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Elam	No	No	No	No	No	Possible
Shinar	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Hamath	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible
Islands of the Sea	No	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible	Possible

Table 3: Judean and Israelite refugees, merchants, soldiers, and immigrants during the Neo-Assyrian Period.

Period	Babylonian Empire 605–539 BCE			Persian Empire A 525–465 BCE			Persian Empire B after 465 BCE		
Toponyms	Control	Exile	Refugees, Merchants, Soldiers, Immigrants	Control	Exile	Refugees, Merchants, Soldiers, Immigrants	Control	Exile	Refugees, Merchants, Soldiers, Immigrants
Assyria	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No	Low probability	Yes	No	Probable
Egypt	No	No	Yes	Yes	Low probability	Low probability	No	No	Probable
Pathros	No	No	Probable	Yes	Low probability	Low probability	No	No	Probable
Kush	No	No	Low probability	Yes	Low probability	Low probability	No	No	Low probability
Elam	Yes	Yes	Probable	Yes	Probable	Probable	Yes	Probable	Probable
Shinar	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Probable	Probable	Probable	Probable	Probable
Hamath	Yes	Yes	Probable	Yes	No info	Low probability	Yes	Probable	Probable
Islands of the Sea	No	No	Probable	No info	Yes	Yes	No	No info	No info

Table 4: Judean and Israelite exiles during Neo-Babylonian and Persian Empires.

islands of the Sea," i.e., the islands in the Mediterranean Sea, such as Cyprus and Rhodes and possibly the Aegean. אי, however, may also denote the coastlands, thus the Phoenician or Cilician coast.

The list was carefully planned. The *four* toponyms Assyria (NE, which appears *alone*) and Egypt, Pathros, and Kush (SW, which appear as a *threesome*) are on one axis. The axis running from the southeastern corner (Elam, Shinar) to the northwestern corner (Hamath, the islands of the sea) constituted of two couples of toponyms. Therefore, I suggest that the occurrence of the "Islands of the Sea" is not a later addition or afterthought, even though it is missing from the LXX.

It seems that the list was a *unity*, geographically organized, and listed the toponyms that constitute the extreme four corners of the controlled universe on two axes. These "four corners of the Earth" אַרְבַּע כַּנְפוֹת הָאָרֶץ where Jewish exiles lived, and from which they would return, are mentioned at the end of vs. 12.[34]

4. Summary of the Evidence of Judean (or Israelite) Diaspora at the Toponyms Mentioned in Verses 11–12 during the Assyrian to Persian Empires (8th–4th centuries BCE)

In the four tables below I have summarized my findings, taking into consideration Mesopotamian or Egyptian control over the mentioned regions and the probability or actual evidence of presence of a *considerable* Judean or Israelite Diaspora in these areas. I have organized the tables according to historical periods.[35] Table 1 surveys the control of the Neo-Assyrian empire over the mentioned toponyms; table 2 surveys the possible Israelite and Judean exiles in the mentioned toponyms during the Neo-Assyrian Empire; table 3 surveys the possible Israelite and Judean merchants, emigrants, refugees and soldiers during the Neo-Assyrian period; table 4 surveys the possibility of Judean and Israelite exiles during the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods.

During the surveyed reigns, the deportations to the mentioned places and arrival of refugees, emigrants, merchants, or soldiers is recorded. Where information is positive, the answer is (yes); where the political situation may allow for a Jewish Diaspora but the data are not available, the answer is recorded as (possible); when the evidence is missing, there is a (no info); and where the answer is negative, I marked it as (no). Thus a quick overview of Jewish Diasporas during the mentioned periods for the listed toponyms is made available.

Summing up the results of the probable dispersion and surviving evidence for exiles from Israel and Judah in the areas listed in verse 11 shows that the list does not fit the times of the recorded activity of the prophet Isaiah (734–ca. 701 BCE), nor does it fit the Babylonian, late Persian, and Hellenistic periods, which were suggested by most scholars. *The best historical-geographical setting of the list is during the mid-7th century*, preferably during the *end of the reign of Manasseh* king of Judah, concurrent with the reign of Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria. We may now turn to the rest of the prophecy. The period of the early Persian Period (525–465 BCE) cannot be ruled out.

5. An Anticipated Exodus from Egypt (Isaiah 11:15)

> And the Lord will utterly dry[36] the tongue of the Sea of Egypt; and will wave his hand over the river with his scorching (?)[37]wind; and will split it into seven streams, and make a way to cross on foot. (Isaiah 11:15)

Verses 15–16 use deliberately Exodus imagery. God is expected to redeem the remnant of Israel from exile in Egypt *and Assyria* and smites and dries up the "tongue of Egypt."

5.1. The Sea of Egypt

This body of water is identified by many commentators as the Red Sea that was parted under the extended hand of Moses (Exodus 14:16, 21, 26–27).[38] However, one must not confuse the Red Sea with the Reed Sea (ים סוף), which the people of Israel crossed at the Exodus, even though the term ים סוף may have been used in the Bible for the Red Sea as well (cf. Num. 21:4; Deut. 1:1; 2:1; 1 Kings 9:26).[39]

5.2. The Tongue of the Sea of Egypt

The Tongue of the Sea of Egypt is to be understood as a geographical feature—a body of water that penetrates the mainland. Such a feature has been identified on the estuary of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile into the Mediterranean and described as a paleo-lagoon.[40] During the 1st millennium BCE the lagoon may have been marshy and dry parts of the year. This lagoon should be identified with the Egyptian *š ḥrw*, biblical Shihor, Lake of Horus, in Isaiah 23:3; and in Jeremiah 2:18.

5.3. The River

Early and modern commentators alike recognized verse 15's הנהר "The River" as the Euphrates,[41] since in the Bible, as in the rest of the ancient Near East, this is "The River" *par excellence* (2 Samuel 8:3; 1 Chronicles 18:3; 1 Kings 14:15, 2 Chronicles 9:26).[42] As a consequence of the identification of the river as the Euphrates, most commentators interpreted the following verses as dealing with Assyria, and the forthcoming exodus as coming from there. However, the term נהר "river" does not always denote the Euphrates. In Genesis 2:14 and Daniel 10:4 the Tigris is denoted as "The River" (written with the definite article). In Genesis 2:13 the Gihon (=Nile) is mentioned as one of *the* four Rivers of the garden of Eden, and in Isaiah 19:5 a river (without the definite article) is mentioned in an Egyptian context, which clearly points to the *Nile* (Isaiah 19:6, where נהר is written without the definite article), which would dry up.[43]

5.4. Seven Streams

Smith, Sweeney, and others rightly associated the motif of seven streams with the seven-headed chaos monster slain

by YHWH (especially Leviathan and its Sea/River cognates in Ugaritic and Mesopotamian mythologies).[44] The violent act of smiting the river into seven streams (נכ"ה in Hip'il) points in this direction as well. This association can be strengthened by the proximity of the *Sea* (ים) and the River (נהר) in v. 15,[45] two well-known terms denoting deities (or aspects of the same deity) who appear side by side in Ugaritic mythology (cf. Isaiah 30:7).

However, the prophecy does not have to remain on the mytho-symbolic level of conflict between YHWH and Yam and may be multivalent. While the description may allude to the subduing of the seven-headed Sea/River monster from the Canaanite mythology, it may, at the same time, signify a real geographical feature. Nothing is known of seven streams in the Euphrates or its tributaries, not in Akkadian literature and imagery,[46] nor in geological terms.[47] Taking into consideration the possibility that "The River" is not the Euphrates, but the Nile, the geographical reality behind the prophecy can be clarified. The River Nile spreads out into branches and drains into the Mediterranean Sea. Herodotus mentions seven branches of the Nile, but considers two of them to be artificial.[48] All other classical writers, namely Pseudo Scylax, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Mela, Hectaeus of Abdera, Ptolemy, and Pliny,[49] as well as the Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran mention that the Nile has seven branches.[50]

5.5 Cross the River on Foot

The motif of low inundation of the Nile and its effects is known from several Egyptian texts.[51] The motif of crossing the Nile on foot is almost identical in Isaiah 11:15 and in the prophecy of Neferty: "Dry is the river of Egypt, one crosses the water on foot."[52]

Reading verse 15 carefully, it becomes clear that the return is anticipated from Egypt. The drying/dividing the tongue of the Sea of Egypt would occur at the eastern borders of Egypt, the place of entrance and exit from Egypt. From the analysis above, it becomes clear as well that the crossing of the River to return to the homeland should not be seen as the crossing of the Euphrates, as was commonly thought, but as the crossing of the Nile. After having established the geographical background of verse 15, we can continue and interpret verse 16.

6. A Second Exodus: The Anticipated Exodus of the Judeans Who Were under Assyrian Rule (in Egypt)

> And there shall be a highway for the remnant of his people, which shall be left from Assyria; like as it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of the land of Egypt. (Isaiah 11:16.)

The occurrence of Assyria and Egypt, which appear several times in the Bible as an opposing couple, led scholars to assume that vs. 11 included originally only the return from the exile of the remnant of Assyria and of Egypt (see note 9) and that the rest was a later elaboration.

A highway (מְסִלָּה) is mentioned again in Isaiah 19:23, where it connects between Assyria and Egypt, which is to be subservient to the former. The historical setting of Isaiah 19:16–25 is best to be dated as well in the seventh century BCE or several decades earlier (671–664 BCE).[53] In Isaiah 11:16 a (similar/the same?) highway was supposed to enable the return from the exile, which shall be left *from Assyria*.[54]

Judeans are attested in Egypt serving the Assyrians during the reigns of Assurbanipal, King of Assyria and Manasseh, King of Judah respectively. According to the annals of Ashurbanipal, Judean vassal soldiers were recruited under the command of the Assyrian forces and participated in the invasion of Egypt (667 BCE). They may have remained in Assyrian garrisons during the short-lived Assyrian occupation.[55] Furthermore, in the reign of either Sargon II (708 BCE) or Ashurbanipal deportees from Rashi, the capital of Elippi, near Elam, were deported to Beth-El in the province of Samerina (according to Papyrus Amherst 63). From Beth-El some of these deportees (seemingly a group of male soldiers) went to Egypt and finally settled at Syene.[56] Porten, considering the various options of the date of the arrival of Jewish mercenaries in Elephantine, came to the conclusion that the Jewish colony arrived at Elephantine during the days of Manasseh.[57] In a study published in 2003, he adds arguments in favor of his dating, claiming that Manasseh, who rebelled against Assurbanipal probably between 651–648 (cf. 2 Chronicles 33:1–13), wished to aid Psammetichus I, his new ally, in his wars against the Kushites.[58] Whether the Jewish military colony arrived during the reign of Manasseh or during the reign of Josiah (640–609 BCE), his successor, as I maintain,[59] they are attested in Elephantine from the third quarter of the 5th century BCE until ca. 400 BCE. In either case, Judeans are attested in Egypt during the 7th century BCE onwards.

According to the context, the author of the prophecy expresses the hope that these Judeans *from Egypt*(!) will return from exile and regards this return as a second Exodus.[60] It thus seems that the prophecy in vv. 15–16 describes the situation of the anticipated mass return of Judean (and Israelite?) exiles from Egypt during Assyria's retreat from Egypt in approximately the mid-650s BCE.[61]

In Conclusion

- The literary form of the list of toponyms suggests that it is an authentic unity without any late additions.
- The survey of a historical reality in which Judeans and/or Israelites could be exiles in the listed kingdoms points to the mid-7th century as the most probable dating possibility. An early Persian dating (525–465 BCE) is not ruled out.
- V. 15 anticipates an Exodus from Egypt (and not from Egypt and Assyria).
- V. 16 elaborates on the identity of peoples who are expected to take part in this Exodus from Egypt: They are the Judeans, who are the remnant who remained from the Assyrians. From the geographical context in

v. 15, it becomes clear that the setting of this second Exodus is from Egypt. Altogether, this is a unique echo of the end of the Assyrian rule in Egypt during the mid-7th century BCE.

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1 M. J. de Jong, "A Window on the Isaiah Tradition in the Assyrian Period: Isaiah 10: 24–27," in M. N. van der Meer et al. (eds.), *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty–Fifth Birthday* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 83–107.

2 M. A. Sweeney, "Jesse's New Shoot in Isaiah 11: A Josianic Reading of the Prophet Isaiah," in D. M. Carr and R. D. Weis (eds.), *A Gift of God in Due Season: Essays on Scripture and Community in Honor of James A. Sanders*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 225 (Sheffield: Shieffield Academic Press, 1996), 103–118. Isaiah 10:28–32 is an insertion from a different source. See: D. L. Christensen, "The March of Conquest in Isaiah X 27c–34," *Vetus Testamentum* 26.4 (1976): 385–399.

3 J. Stromberg, "The 'Root of Jesse' in Isaiah 11: 10: Postexilic Judah, or Postexilic Davidic King?," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 127.4 (2008): 655–669; J. J. M. Roberts, "The Translation of Isa 11:10 and the Syntax of the Temporal Expression והיה ביום ההוא," in Mori Masao, Ogawa Hideo, and Yoshikawa Mamoru (eds.), *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H.I.H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-fifth Birthday*, Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 363–370.

4 A list of scholars who date the prophecy to the days of Isaiah can be found in: G. E. Umoren, *The Salvation of the Remnant in Isaiah 11:11–12: An Exegesis of a Prophecy of Hope and its Relevance Today* (Rome: Pontifical University of St. Thomas Aquinas in Urbe, 2006), 140; S. Erlandsson, "Jesaja 11:10–16 och dess historiska bakgrund," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 36: 24–44; Seth Erlandsson, "Isaiah 11:10–16 and Its Historical Background," trans. S. Becker, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Digital Library, http://essays.wls.wels.net/bitstream/handle/123456789/1386/ErlandssonIsaiah11.10-16.pdf?sequence=1, accessed 13 December s016 (original publication: *Wisconsin Lutheran Quarterly* [1974]: 94–113; B. Otzen, *Studien uber Deuterosacharja*, trans. H. Leisterer, Acta Theologica Danica 6 (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1964), 44; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible 5 (New York—London: Doubleday, 1991), 84; B. D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 247. Weinfeld, followed by Sommer, gives much weight to the mention of Egypt, Pathros, and Kush for dating the prophecy to the Neo–Assyrian period. However, both Weinfeld and Sommer do not distinguish between the realities of the 8th century BCE—Isaiah's time—and the 7th century BCE.

5 Erlandsson [1974], 9; P. Graham, "The Remnant Motif in Isaiah," *Restoration Quarterly* 19 (1976): 224.

6 See Erlandsson's treatment of Kush under the same heading of Egypt and Pathros without distinguishing between them: Erlandsson [1974], 6–7.

7 Erlandsson [1974].

8 It can be argued that Isaiah refers to Israelite exiles as well if עמו "his people" includes Israelites. However, this is not stated explicitly.

9 As for the possibility that Isaiah refers to Israelites who were deported to these locations by the Assyrians, Egypt, Pathros, Kush and Elam are excluded, since they were not under Assyrian control. The Islands of the Sea, if identified with Cyprus, were under brief Assyrian control during Sargon II's reign, and there is no indication that Israelites were deported to Cyprus or that they fled to these locations voluntarily. Furthermore, refugees, merchants, or immigrants may have settled in the mentioned kingdoms, but their numbers would be mostly insignificant. See Tables 1–2.

10 E. Koenig, *Das Buch Jesaja* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1926), 166.

11 Cf. A. Niccacci, "Isaiah XVIII–XX from an Egyptological Perspective," *Vetus Testamentum* 48.2 (1998): 226–227: Hosea 7:11; 9:3; 11:5; 11:11; 12:1–2; Micah 7:12; Isaiah 7:18; 19:23, 25; 27:13; Jeremiah 2:18.

12 J. H. Hayes, and S. A. Irvine, *Isaiah, the Eighth Century Prophet: His Times and His Preaching*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), 216.

13 B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*) Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 85–87.

14 O. Kaiser, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983), 264, n. 8, 266; J. Vermeylen, *Du prophète Isaïe à l'apocalyptique: Isaïe, I–XXXV, miroir d'un demi–millénaire d'expérience religieuse en Israël*, vol. I (Études Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1977), 279.

15 See: H. G. M. Williamson, *The Book Called Isaiah: Deutero-Isaiah's Role in Composition and Redaction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 127–128; F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 176; E. Ulrich (ed.), *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants; Based on the Identification of Fragments by Frank Moore Cross et al. and on the editions of the Biblical Qumran Scrolls by Maurice Baillet et al.*, Vetus Testamentum Supplements 134, The Text of the Bible at Qumran (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 353–354. See: C. B.

Hays, "The Date and Message of Isaiah 24–27 in Light of Hebrew Diachrony," in J. T. Hibbard, and H. C. P. Kim, (eds.), *Intertextuality and Formation of Isaiah 24-27*, Ancient Israel and Its Literature 17 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), esp. 11, 23. Linguistically and syntactically, no features of late biblical Hebrew can be identified in these verses.

16 G. F. Hasel, *The Remnant: The History and Theology of the Remnant Idea from Genesis to Isaiah*, (Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University Press, 1974), 344.

17 Williamson 1994, 127–128.

18 LXX Isaiah 11:11 "And it shall be on that day that the Lord will further display his hand to show zeal for the remnant that is left of the people, whatever is left from the Assyrians, and from Egypt and Babylonia and Ethiopia and from the Elamites and from where the sun rises and out of Arabia."

19 Cross 1995, 176; Ulrich 2010, 353–354.

20 Chapters 13–14, which were added to the oracles against the Nations and are conventionally dated to the mid-550s. See: R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, The New Century Bible Commentary (Grand Rapids: London, 1980), 137; J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 1–39: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, Anchor Bible (New York: Doubleday, 2000), 277–279; G. Eidevall, *Prophecy and Propaganda: Images of Enemies in the Book of Isaiah*, Coniectanea biblica, Old Testament series 56 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 113. These chapters reflect the threat of the fall of Babylonian Empire, but they must be dated before its actual occurrence and before the defeat of Astyages of Media by Cyrus, king of Persia, in 550 BCE.

21 H. Wildberger, *Isaiah 1–12: A Commentary*, T. H. Trapp (trans.) (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991), esp. 490; Cf. Blenkinsopp 2000, 267–268.

22 Williamson 1994, 125–133, 141.

23 Williamson 1994, 125 ff.

24 See note 14. Cf. B. J. Sommer, "Dating Pentateuchal Texts and the Perils of Pseudo–Historicism," in T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. Schwartz (eds.), *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 78 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 95–96. Sweeney shows that Trito–Isaiah as well employs language and imagery specifically from this chapter. See: M. A. Sweeney, "The Reconceptualization of the Davidic Covenant in Isaiah," in J. van Ruiten and M. Vervenne, (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Isaiah: Festschrift Willem A.M. Beuken*, BEThL 132 (Louvain, Presses Universitaires de Louvain, 1997), 52, 57.

25 See the thorough rebuttal of Williamson's arguments in J. J. M. Roberts, "Critical Reflections on The Book Called Isaiah with Particular Attention to the Second Exodus Theme (Isa 11:11-16)," The Old Testament and the Ancient Near East, n.d., http://prophetess.lstc.edu/~rklein/Doc11/roberts.rtf, accessed 13 December 2016.

26 Cf. J. Blenkinsopp 2000, 268; Roberts n.d., noting Williamson's admitting on p. 128 that there is no evidence in Isa 40–55, to back up the claim that Deutero-Isaiah was concerned with the reunification of north and south.

27 M. A. Sweeney, *Isaiah 1–39: with an Introduction to Prophetic Literature* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 204–205. Additional chapters in First Isaiah are ascribed by various scholars to the reign of Josiah. See esp. M. Sweeney, *King Josiah of Judah: The Lost Messiah of Israel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); A. Laato, *Josiah and David Redivivus*: *The Historical Josiah and the Messianic Expectations of Exilic and Postexilic Times*, Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series 33; (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1992); C. B. Hays, *A Covenant With Death: Death in the Iron Age II and Its Rhetorical Uses in Proto-Isaiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2015), 315–346; C. Balogh, *The Stele of YHWH in Egypt: The Prophecies of Isaiah 18–20 Concerning Egypt and Kush*, Oudtestamentische studiën 60; (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

28 אֶרֶץ פַּתְרוֹס, e.g. *pꜣ-tꜣ-rsy*, lit. "The Land of the Land of the South." Cf. G. Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden im ersten vorchristlischen Jahrtausend* (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 2003), 91.

29 E. Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680–669 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of the Neo–Assyrian Period 4 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 344–345, occurrences of Egypt, Upper Egypt (Paturisu) and Kush, listed in the index.

30 H. Tadmor, "World Dominion: The Expanding Horizon of the Assyrian Empire," in L. Milano et al., eds., *Landscapes, Territories, Frontiers and Horizons in the Ancient Near East*: *Papers Presented to the XLIV Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Venezia 1997*, vol. II (Padova: Sargon srl, 1999), 60. Note that Elam was considered as Assyria's imperial Eastern Horizon for the first time in Assurbanipal's reign.

31 Cf. Genesis 10:10, where the cities of Babylon and Uruk (but also Calne in the Umqi Valey, Cilicia, Turkey) are located in Shinar.

32 See: Wildberger 1991, 487, citing earlier literature. B. Oded suggested identifying Hamath with ^{URU}Amatu in Babylonia (private communication). For ^{URU}Amatu, see: G. R. Driver, "Geographical Problems," *Eretz Israel* 5 (1959): 18*–19*; R. Zadok, Geographical and Onomastic Notes, *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 8 (1976): 117–120.

33 M. Korpel, "Second Isaiah and the Greek Islands," in M. Parsons (ed.), *Text and Task: Scripture and Mission* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2005), 79–90.

34 See: J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, revised ed., World Bib-

lical Commentary 24 (Nashville: Nelson, 2005), 215.

35 The tables present key results of a detailed study of the evidence currently in preparation by the author, yet exceeding the scope of this paper.

36 I accept the emendation by most commentators of the Masoretic Text החרים to והחריב; cf. Isaiah 19:5; 51:10; Exodus 14:21. See especially: A. Schenker, "Beginnings of the Text History of the Book of Kings in the 4th Century: The Importance of the Parallel Passages 2 Kings 19:11, 19=Isa 37: 11, 20 for the Earliest History of the Bible Text," in A. Schenker, *Anfänge der Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments. Studien zu Entstehung und Verhältnis der frühesten Textformen*, Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament 194 (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 2011), 23–26. Schenker notes the exceptional use of geographical term as direct object instead of the expected direct object that corresponds to persons, animals, movables, and human settlements. However, see R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1–39*, New Century Bible Commentary (London: Eerdmans, 1981), 127, who prefers החרים "to cut off," from Akkadian *ḫarāmu*. See also L. H. Hill, *Reading Isaiah as a Theological Unity Based on an Exegetical Investigation of the Exodus Motif*, PhD dissertation (Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary [Fort Worth, Texas], 1993), 91–92. For the use of חר"ם in late Biblical Hebrew in the meaning "to destroy," see M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, Anchor Bible 11 (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1988), 235.

37 בעים is a hapax legomenon. Recently Eshel and Demsky respectively proposed to interpret בעים as a name for the Euphrates or the name of the Aramaean kingdom of Bīt–Baḫiān, respectively. However, this word must remain a crux, since the river in question is not the Euphrates, but the Nile (see subsequent discussion). E. Eshel, "Isaiah 11:15: A New Interpretation Based on the Genesis Apocryphon," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13.1 (2006): 38–45; A. Demsky, "B'ym (Isa 11:15) = (Bīt–) Baḫiān: Resolving an Ancient Crux," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 15 (2008): 248–252.

38 Sweeney 1996, 117; F. Feldmann, *Das Buch Isaias I*, Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 14 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1925), 161: "oberste Spitze des Roten Meeres"; J. N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah, Chapters 1–39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1986), 289: "any bay or gulf" of the Egyptian or Red Sea; E. J. Kissane, *The Book of Isaiah, I* (Dublin: Richview Press, 1960), 139; J. D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1–33*, World Biblical Commentary 24 (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2005), 217: "the upper end of the Gulf of Suez"; Blenkinsopp 2000, 268: "'The tongue of the Egyptian Sea' may refer to the tongue-shaped Red Sea."

39 In the Genesis Apocryphon, after Abram was shown the Promised Land from Mt. Hazor (21:8–12), he went for a grand tour of the Promised Land: "So I, Abram, went to go around and look at the land. I started going about from the Gihon River and moved along the Sea, until I reached Mount Taurus. I journeyed from [the coast] of this Great Salt Sea and moved along Mount Taurus toward the east through the breadth of the land, until I reached the Euphrates River [נהרא פורת]. I traveled along the Euphrates [פורת] until I came to the Red Sea in the east (*i.e. the Persian Gulf*). (Then) I moved along the Red Sea, until I reached the *tongue of the Reed Sea (suf), which goes forth from the Red Sea*. (From there) I journeyed toward the south, until I reached the Gihon River" (21:15–19). See: J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20): A Commentary*, 3rd edition, Biblica et Orientalia 18B (Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2004), 105, 225–227.

On first impression, in this text as well, the tongue of the Reed Sea is connected with the Red Sea. However, on further inspection, it becomes clear that Abram proceeded from the Red Sea to the Reed Sea along the eastern borders of Egypt (arriving at the Mediterranean Sea or close to it), and then journeyed toward the south and arrived at the (Gihon) Nile.

It seems that in Jubilees 8: 13–15 movement in the opposite direction is described. It seems that Shem's lot is delineated on its western borders by the Mediterranean from Karas (the Bay of Iskandrun?) straight south along the Mediterranean Sea toward Egypt. The allotment of Shem includes the Sinai Peninsula until the paleo–lagoon at the border of Egypt. From there, along the Bitter Lakes, which separate Egypt from Asia, southward to the Red Sea (approximately along the line of the current Suez Canal), and from there to the Persian Gulf up to the estuary of the Euphrates (Tina River). Cf. the description in Herodotus, *Histories* III, 5. See: A. F. Rainey, "Herodotus' Description of the East Mediterranean Coast," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 321 (2001): 57–63, esp. 59, where the lake is identified as Lake Serbonis, which seems not to have been in existence before the Persian Period. See J. K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 41.

40 J. K. Hoffmeier and S. O. Moshier, "New Paleo–environmental Evidence from the North Sinai to Complement Manfred Bietak's Map of the Eastern Delta and Some Historical Implications," in E. Czerny, I. Hein, H. Hunger, D. Melman, and A. Schwab, (eds.), *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 149 (Leuven: Peeters, 2006), vol. II, 167–176; S. O. Moshier and A. El–Kalani, "Late Bronze Age Paleogeography along the Ancient Ways of Horus in Northwest Sinai, Egypt," *Geoarchaeology* 23.4 (2008): 450–473, esp. 471; D. Kahn and O. Tammuz: "Egypt is Difficult to Enter (Strabo, *Geography*, 17.1.21): Invading Egypt—A Game

Plan (7th–4th Centuries BCE)," *Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 35 (2009): 42–43.

41 See: B. D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes*, The Aramaic Bible 11 (Edinburgh: T & T. Clark Ltd., 1987), 28; Hayes and Irvine 1987, 217; Eshel 2006, 39–40 with earlier literature there; C. von Orelli *Der Prophet Jesaja*, (München: C.H. Beck, 1904), 55; Feldmann 1925, 161; Duhm 1914, 86; Kissane 1960, 139; Kaiser 1983, 268; Oswalt 1986, 289; Wildberger 1991, 497; Blenkinsopp 2000, 268; Watts 2005, 217.

42 See the numerous Biblical instances where the term River הנהר denotes the Euphrates. In ancient Near Eastern texts, see: I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *Israel Exploration Journal* 39 (1989): 192–200; N. Na'aman, "Hazael of 'Amqi and Hadadezer of Beth–Rehob," *Ugarit Forschungen* 27 (1995): 394–381.

43 Ibn Ezra raises the option that הנהר refers to the Nile and not the Euphrates; see also Hoffmeier 2005, 79; D. B. Redford, "Some Observations on the Traditions Surrounding 'Israel in Egypt,'" in O. Lipschits, G. N. Knoppers, and M. Oeming, *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 329.

44 For the association with the battle against chaos, see: Wildberger 1991–1997, 497; and more specifically, identifying the seven streams with the seven headed mythical *sea* monster, see: M. S. Smith, *The Early History of God: Yahweh and the Other Deities in Ancient Israel* (San Francisco; Harper & Row, 1990), 52–53; M. A. Sweeney, "New Gleanings from an Old Vineyard: Isaiah 27 Reconsidered," in C. A. Evans, and W. F. Stinespring (eds.), *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of William Hugh Brownlee*, Scholars Press Hommage Series 10 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 65. For the seven-headed monster, see: J. Day, *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament*, University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 35 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 13–14, 24, 81; M. Dietrich, and O. Loretz, "Baal, Leviathan und der siebenköpfige Drache Šlyṭ in der Rede des Todesgottes Môt (KTU 1.5 I 1-8 ǁ 27a-31)", in: *Orbis Ugariticus. Ausgewählte Beiträge von Manfried Dietrich und Oswald Loretz zu Fest- und Gedenkschriften: Anlässlich des 80. Geburtstages von Oswald Loretz* (*AOAT* 343; Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008), 75–107. Cf. also the motif of the הַתַּנִּים הַגָּדוֹל Big Dragon/ Crocodile" swimming in the Nile in Ezekiel 29: 3–4.

45 I thank Dr. John Huddlestun for this insight.

46 R. Zadok, "Neo–Assyrian Notes", in: M. Cogan and D. Kahn, (eds.), *Treasures on Camels' Humps: Historical and Literary Studies Presented to Israel Eph'al* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2008), 312–316; see, however, the mention of the seven-headed River that may possibly located in Iran in the Sumerian *Epos of Lugalbanda*: Th. Jacobsen, *The Harps that Once. . . Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven—London: Yale University Press, 1987), 323, n. 3. Note, however, that the literary motif of something splitting into seven smaller elements occurs several times in the Bible. See: Deuteronomy 28, 7, 28; Joshua 18:6; Zechariah 3:9. I thank Prof. Oded for these references.

47 G. M. Lees and N. L. Falcon, "The Geographical History of the Mesopotamian Plains," *The Geographical Journal* 118.1 (1952): 24–39; C. E. Larsen "The Mesopotamian Delta Region: A Reconsideration of Lees and Falcon," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95.1 (1975): 43–45; J. F. Hansman "The Mesopotamian Delta in The First Millennium BC," *The Geographical Journal* 144.1 (1978): 49–61; Watts 2004, 217 does not interpret the "seven streams," but understands it as silt building up to a point that the stream has seven channels so small one does not need to remove his sandals in crossing.

48 Herodotus, *Histories* II, 17. A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II: Commentary 1–98,* Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain 43 (Leiden: Brill 1976), 85–87.

49 Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica* I. 33.7; Strabo, *Geographica* 17.1.18; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* V, 64, see: Lloyd 1976; J.–Y. Carrez–Maratray, "Les branches du Nil d'Hérodote et le désastre athénien de l'Île Prosopitis," *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 147. 2 (2003): 939–951.

50 Fitzmyer 2004, 98–99, col. XIX, l. 12, 182–183. Note also that Medieval Armenian texts describing the rivers of the Garden of Eden mention that the Gihon (geographically identified as the Nile) separates into seven streams. See: M. E. Stone, "The Names of the Rivers," in: A. M. Maeir, J. Magness, and L. H. Schiffman (eds.), *"Go Out and Study the Land" (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel* (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2011), 250, MS 5254 Fol. 160v; 253, M8053 fols. 364v-365 (manuscript of the *Book of Sermons* of Grigor Tat'ewac'i).

51 H. Marlow, "The Lament over the River Nile—Isaiah xix 5–10 in Its Wider Context," *Vetus Testamentum* 57 (2007): 229–242.

52 Cf. Isaiah 37: 25. For the motif of crossing the river on foot in Egyptian literature, see: W. Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj*, (Kleine ägyptische Texte; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), 26; translation: M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 141. For the motif of high and low Nile, see: J. R. Huddlestun, "'Who Is This That Rises Like

the Nile?' Some Egyptian Texts on the Inundation and a Prophetic Trope," in A. Beck, et. al. *Fortunate the Eyes that See: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday* (Grand Rapids—Cambridge: Eerdmans, 1995), 338–363; Redford 2011, 329. Cf. the description of Pharaoh in Ezekiel 32:2, 13.

The description of crossing overflowing rivers as if they were dry land while on military campaign is widely known in Mesopotamian literature as well. Cf. Fuchs 1998, 46, text VII b. ll. 33–37.

53 Cf. Sweeney 1996, 270. Contra: Scholars who date these verses to the days of Sargon II in 720 BCE: Hayes and Irvine 1987, 266: "The Egyptians will work with (not 'worship with' as in the RSV) the Assyrians"; Niccacci 1998, 222–223. Others date these verses to the Persian or even Seleucid periods. See: Williamson 1994, 126–127; Blenkinsopp 2000, 316–320; S. Lauber, "'JHWH wird sich Ägypten zu erkennen geben, und die Ägypter werden an jenem Tag JHWH erkennen', (Jes 19, 21): Universalismus und Heilszuversicht in Jes 19,16–25," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentlische Wissenschaften* 123 (2011): 374–375.

54 Cf. S. Japhet, "The Concept of the 'Remnant' in the Restoration Period: On the Vocabulary of Self–definition," in F.–L. Hossfeld and L. Schwienhorst–Schönberger, (eds.), *Das Manna fällt auch heute noch. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Theologie des Alten, Ersten Testaments: Festschrift für Erich Zenger*, Herdeser biblische Studien 44 (Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 252–254.

55 R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 212, Prism C II 37–67; Prism A I 68–74; Esarhaddon's Large Egyptian Tablets Vs 10'. H. –U. Onasch, *Die Assyrischen Eroberungen Ägyptens, Teil I: Kommentare und Anmerkungen* Ägypten und Altes Testament 27 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 105; Assyrian forces are known to have remained in Egypt in strongholds and as taskforces, among them possibly Judeans; cf. Kahn, 2006. For the Egyptian evidence, see: The Dream Stela of Tanutamun, ll. 16–17. For the transliteration and translation, see conveniently: T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce, and L. Török *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region Between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD I: From the Eighth to the Mid–Fifth Century BC* (Bergen: Department of Classics, 1994), 193–207, esp. 200.

56 R. C. Steiner, "The Aramaic Text in Demotic Script: The Liturgy of a New Year's Festival Imported from Bethel to Syene by Exiles from Rash," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111 (1991): 362–363; N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, "Assyrian Deportations to the Province of Samerina in the Light of Two Cuneiform Tablets from Tel Hadid," *Tel Aviv* 27, (2000): 179. Cf., however, I. Kottsieper, "Die literarische Aufnahme assyrischer Begebenheiten in frühen aramäischen Texten," in D. Charpinand& F. Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancient*: *Acts de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Paris, 8–10 juillet 1991* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilizations, 1992), 283–289.

57 B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life on an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (California: University of California Press, 1968), 11–13.

58 B. Porten, "Settlement of the Jews at Elephantine and the Arameans at Syene," in O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp, *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo–Babylonian Period* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 460–463.

59 See: D. Kahn, "Judeans in Elephantine," in preparation.

60 Cf. Hayes and Irvine 1987, 216, who treat the mention of Egypt in vs. 11, and 15*aa* as a later addition.

61 The treatment of this issue exceeds the scope of the present paper. Three further studies, which deal related issues, are in various stages of preparation: 1. The date and circumstances of the Assyrian retreat from Egypt; 2. Judeans in service in the Assyrian Empire and in Egypt: 8th–5th centuries BCE; 3. Additional evidence of 7th century editing in the prophecies of Isaiah 1–39.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Pharaonic Prelude—Being on the Move in Ancient Egypt from Predynastic Times to the End of the New Kingdom

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Abstract

As textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence shows, travel and mobility were an essential force within Egyptian culture. Not only the elite, including the pharaoh himself, but members of all social strata were also on the move. Travels to very distant destinations have been recorded since earliest times. The frequency of travel, as well as the travel distances of individual voyagers, differ considerably, the latter ranging from long treks to local jaunts. Various modes of travel and transport are attested, from journeys by foot up to trips with exclusive and expensive vehicles such as the chariot. While practical aspects are occasionally highlighted in the Egyptian sources, the emotional consequences for the individual travelers are hardly ever mentioned and remain diffuse for the modern observer.

Introduction[1]

Travel and mobility in Egypt up to the New Kingdom are topics that were not discussed in detail in Egyptological research discourse up until now;[2] therefore the workshop and its publication, initiated by Melanie Wasmuth, focusing on this research desideratum, is highly welcome.

The following analysis, which is a compilation of the sources detailing the practical dimensions and emotional aspects of travel from Predynastic times to the end of the New Kingdom, is a prelude to the view on travel in the 1st millennium BCE, which this volume focuses on, and shows the basis from which mobility in later times develops.

"Mobility" covers a vast field, including the person of the passenger, modes of transport and locomotion, traffic, innovations, their diffusion, migration, integration, identity, and many other topics. Therefore, instead of placing special focus on a case study dealing with one of the mentioned examples, or with one social group of travelers, the following analysis is a comprehensive synopsis on the practical aspects of travel in ancient Egypt. It provides an overview on the key issues of the workshop as preparation and departure, motives for traveling, the preferred itineraries, accommodation and supply en route, and dangers during the trip, supplemented by topics such as travel speed, spatial orientation, and gender questions. This part of the following study is a short amalgamation on the topics of mobility and travel that I examined earlier in greater detail.[3] The practical part is followed by a discussion of the emotional features, focusing on the Egyptian's encounter with the foreign, those who were left behind, and the host society.

The study focuses on Egyptian travelers being on the move in their own country and across borders. Discussing foreign voyagers visiting Egypt is of course a most important issue, but it goes beyond the scope of this article; on this topic see, e.g., Thomas Staubli's contribution to this volume; on the equally important question of what is perceived as Egyptian, see Melanie Wasmuth's article also in this volume. The period analyzed in this paper is the time from the Predynastic Period up to the end of the New Kingdom. Being issued in a publication focusing on the 8th to 6th century BCE in Egypt, it is to be understood as a prologue allowing, due to the large amount of evidence, a detailed insight into the conditions and circumstances of the earlier period. Moreover, it draws attention to the diversity, the different facets, and the very large range of the subject. The circumstances of the earlier period stated in the following illuminate the general foundations of "mobility" and "travel" in Egypt, since the basic surrounding circumstances—such as climate, conditions prescribed by the annual flood, traffic flows, the immense significance of the waterway as a kind of pre-modern highway, the modes of transport, and locomotion of the lower social classes, traveling speed, the transport capacities of pack animals, or the accommodation of

travelers in regions with undeveloped infrastructe—did not change in later times.

Definition

In this article the term "travel" is understood as the movement from a point A to point B, with B being outside the traveler's everyday radius.[4] Characteristic is, furthermore, the fact of being away from home, sojourning in a foreign environment, and the aim of coming back to the starting point, since the intention of staying in the foreign surrounding must be considered as emigration, not travel. Travel distance and duration of the trip, however, are not decisive factors.

Sources

The following article is based on a very large database of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence revealing the ancient Egyptian characteristics of travel, transport, and mobility.[5] In comparison to other regions where mobility can only be established through strontium isotope analysis[6] or the evaluation and comparison of archaeological finds,[7] the evidence from ancient Egypt offers far better research conditions. Even though depictions of Egyptian travelers and travels are rare in pharaonic Egypt, Egyptian means of locomotion and transport do sometimes appear in iconographic sources such as reliefs and wall paintings within temples and tombs.[8] Some sledges,[9] chariots,[10] wagons,[11] boats, and ships[12] have also been found as artifacts. So far, only one carrying chair is known.[13] Besides, a few models have been preserved such as the wagon from the tomb of Queen Ahhotep[14] and a great variety of model vessels.[15] The theme of traveling emerges in Egyptian literature, as in *The Shipwrecked Sailor*, *Sinuhe*, *The Eloquent Peasant*, *Wenamun* and *The Letter of Wermai*.[16] Furthermore, travel or mobility is mentioned in textual sources[17] such as biographies,[18] official documents,[19] visitors' graffiti,[20] and expedition texts.[21] In these fictional as well as non-fictional texts, however, the topic "travel" is often only referred to *en passant* and is not the key motif.

In the most cases texts do not refer to the traveling route,[22] the journey's end,[23] the point of departure, the means of transport or locomotion,[24] or practical aspects such as place of rest during the voyage.[25] Furthermore, detailed descriptions of foreign lands have not been found in Egyptian texts;[26] often such statements are restricted to stereotyping according to the available trading goods, such as incense, ebony, leopard skins, elephant tusks, throw sticks, *s3.t* and *ḥknw* oil, as in the biography of Harkhuf.[27] The same applies to literary compositions such as *The Shipwrecked Sailor* or *Sinuhe*. The few specified facts that are included appear to have been sufficient for the contemporary reader to visualize the foreign surrounding.[28] The lack of specifics might also indicate that the authors had not visited the foreign places.

Travel literature in its nearest sense (see apodemica books, travelogues, or travel guides) is not known from ancient Egypt. The text that comes closest to an itinerary is the Ramesside papyrus Anastasi I, providing the traveler with information on Palestine and Syria, including geographical lists, and warning him of potential dangers such as robbery.[29]

Nevertheless, these sources allow the identification of key characteristics of ancient Egyptian travel habits.

Climate, Traffic Routes, and Means of Travel

For travel and mobility climate, infrastructure, and modes of transport and locomotion are of fundamental importance. The following section is a short overview on this topic from Predynastic times to the end of the New Kingdom.

In pharaonic times, the climate was relatively constant; therefore, there was no preferred traveling season, but traveling was possible perennially.[30] Traveling was not restricted during the annual flood;[31] when the roads were not usable, the waterway was preferred. However, it should be noted that journeys through the Nile Valley were different from those leading through the desert, where specific environmental hazards such as sandstorms or even heavy rain could hinder travel.[32]

Considering the traffic routes, the main travel artery from north to south was the Nile, due to Egypt's unique geographical circumstances. The river was suitable for travel and transport perennially, and was accessible and affordable for everyone. The significance of the Nile for travel and transport cannot be understated. Naturally occurring and artificially built canals branched off this main traffic artery, providing the best preconditions for an ideal travel activity. Egypt's transportation system extended beyond these waterways by means of a widely branched system of roads and paths. Being closely connected to the Nile and to the canals, this transportation network was necessary for everyday traffic between settlements, from residential areas to harbors, and also for the large-scale transport of goods from economically important locations such as quarries to waterways leading to their final destination. Nevertheless, travel and transport were not restricted to the Nile Valley or within the political boundaries of Egypt, but extended far beyond this, over the area of the Red and the Mediterranean Seas, through the Eastern and Western Deserts, and up to very far south into Nubia.

Regarding the transport of freight by water and by road, in principal, for heavy loads transportation on the waterway was preferred.[33] Cargo was brought as close as possible to the final destination, sometimes by building a branch canal to the endpoint.[34] For lighter freight, however, overland transport was sufficient. In the *Instructions of Ankhsheshonq*, a demotic literary text, it is said: "The waste of a donkey is carrying bricks. The waste of a boat is carrying straw."[35]

An established and extensive traffic system already existed in the Old Kingdom, including various waterborne vessels as well as different means of overland transport and locomotion. This did not fundamentally change up until the New Kingdom, although new means appeared

and completed the system without substituting for older versions;[36] some of its features are summarized in the following paragraph.

Waterborne transit was of fundamental importance in ancient Egypt, and the vast number of textual, iconographic, and archaeological evidence reflects the intensive usage of vessels for travel and transport. The earliest watercrafts are attested in the 6th millennium BCE from Merimde Beni-Salame.[37] Seagoing ships are documented on the Palermo Stone from the time of King Sneferu, being used for the transport of cedar wood.[38] A wide variety of ships and boats were used for transporting freight and passengers, be it on the River Nile, the canals, the Red Sea, or the Mediterranean Sea.[39] Often these vessels belonged to the pharaoh or a temple, but ships and boats were privately owned since the Old Kingdom as well.[40] Smaller boats were used as ferries in the area of local public transport from one side of the Nile to the other, or for the transport of goods.[41] Special passenger vessels, transport ships, and seagoing vessels were known, and, moreover, warships are attested.[42] The different categories of vessels exhibited very different sizes. While passenger ships had a size of about 13–15 m, transport vessels had a length of 15–26 m and were equipped with broader and deeper hulls for the carriage of heavy cargoes.[43] Seafaring vessels of 14–15 m in length were found in Ayn Sukhna.[44] Even larger examples are documented: The ship of Khufu of the Fourth Dynasty has a length of 43.40 m,[45] and in the Nauri Decree from the Nineteenth Dynasty a ship of more than 50 m is mentioned.[46] An even larger one of 68 m it is referred to in papyrus Harris, dating to the Twentieth Dynasty.[47]

Special mooring places and harbors served as anchorage for the vessels. Various harbors have been archaeologically documented, as in Malqata in Thebes, dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty.[48] Several were excavated at the Red Sea at Ayn Sukhna,[49] a central place and traffic junction for overseas connections via the Red Sea already in the Old Kingdom. Other Red Sea harbors were Wadi el-Jarf from the Fourth Dynasty, and Mersa Gawasis,[50] which is estimated to have been in use since the 3rd millennium BCE.[51] Several ships, parts of ships, and equipment were found at these sites.

Ships and boats were essential modes of transport and locomotion, being both easy to access and affordable. Nevertheless, depending on the travel destination, water and overland traffic completed each other. Before a traveler could start his journey on the waterway, he had to cover the distance from his home to the river or a canal overland, be it by foot, riding, carrying chair, or chariot. Traveling overland, the easiest and cheapest method was, of course, walking. Various types of sandals are known from ancient Egypt.[52] Donkeys and horses served as mounts. Donkey riding is sometimes shown in Egyptian reliefs and paintings. Already in the Old Kingdom, several harvest scenes show donkeys equipped with a saddle.[53] Depictions of ridden horses, however, are rare and are mostly restricted to the martial context.[54] As a prestigious mode of locomotion, carrying chairs were used by both male and female members of the elite since Predynastic times.[55] In the New Kingdom, these carrying chairs were replaced by the chariot as a high-status mode of locomotion in the civil context.[56] Sledges, carts, and wagons are not used to transport passengers.

Overland freight was transported either by the traveler himself or by donkeys when the cargo was too heavy to be carried by an individual. Larger loads were transported by wheeled vehicles, and even heavier cargo with sledges, as explained in greater detail below.

Accompanying luggage and lighter loads were carried in baskets or bags by the travelers themselves. Yokes and carrying poles,[57] suitable to distribute the weight on the shoulders of several carriers, were employed for long-distance travel as well.[58] A factor not to be underestimated is that human beings adapt to differing ground conditions much better than animals or vehicles.[59]

For freight that was too heavy for human transport, pack animals were used; donkeys were preferred since the First Dynasty at the latest. The maximum load bearing capacity of donkeys in a temperate climate is 150 kg.[60] For longer distances about 50 kg appears to be the maximum practical burden.[61] Oxen were not employed as pack animals, but rather as draft animals for wagons, carts, sledges, and plows. The horse has a traction power of over 1000 kg; its maximum transport capacity, in contrast, is 170 kg.[62] Up to the end of the New Kingdom, nevertheless, it was not used as a pack animal, but only as a draft animal and as mount. Camels were sporadically represented between Predynastic times and the New Kingdom. Although they are depicted as pack or mount animals from time to time, it is unclear whether they served as pack or riding animals in dynastic Egypt on a larger scale.[63] Nevertheless, they were predestined to be used in the desert because of their frugality regarding water and food. With a carrying capacity of 270–300 kg, a small daily feed allotment, and reduced water-supply requirements, camels are very effective beasts of burden.[64]

For heavy loads, wheeled vehicles such as carts and wagons drawn by oxen were available as modes of transport.[65] For even heavier cargo, sledges were preferred, since the danger of broken axles as in the case of wheeled vehicles could be limited.[66] A prominent example is the transport of the statue of Djehutihetep, which weighed 58 tons, on a sledge[67] drawn by 172 individuals over a distance of about 35 km.

The traveler's choice of the transportation or locomotion modes depended on various factors, including the weight of load the traveler intended to carry with him, his destination, as well as the financial background. Regarding the cost ratio of land to water transport, up to the end of the New Kingdom, insufficient data has been preserved to make any strong assertions on this subject. Nevertheless, referring to later sources, it can be assumed that transport on water was cheaper than on land.[68]

Travel Preparations, Planning, and Spatial Orientation

The textual sources and archaeological evidence expose both the types of travel equipment that was taken along at the departure and the orientation methods that were known in ancient Egypt.[69] In contrast, the planning of a trip is not explicitly mentioned in the texts.

As attested in various written sources,[70] the travelers equipped themselves at the beginning of a journey with travel necessities in terms of clothing, sandals, sticks, and weapons, as well as food and water in water sacks,[71] not only for themselves but also for their mount or pack animals. Means of payment or exchange to purchase food on the way or paying for accommodation are not stated in the texts, nor is there mention of passport use by Egyptian travelers.[72]

Even though the planning of a route is not documented explicitly in Egyptian texts, it can be assumed that the following aspects were taken into consideration. Traveling over very long distances implies that the traveler depended on wells, cisterns, and constantly refilled water deposits[73] along the way. Therefore, the route had to be planned correspondingly. The traveler most certainly had access to information concerning the location of water as shown in the text of papyrus Anastasi I, where the wells and forts along the Ways of Horus are mentioned.[74]

Apart from water supply, changes to mode of transportation or locomotion must be taken into account while coordinating the travel route. Very often, sea or land travel complemented each other: due to the relative speed and ease of locomotion, travelers tried to journey as far as possible by ship. However, if the point of destination was not directly accessible on the waterway, a part of the journey had to be traveled over land. Hence, it was necessary for the traveler to gather information in advance or on the spot about good opportunities for changing of the current means of locomotion. If a traveler, for example, journeyed via chariot, it was even possible to take that vehicle with him while changing the mode of traveling from land to water: Iconographic[75] and textual[76] evidence shows that chariots as well as horses were transported by ship from one river bank to the other, so that the traveler could afterwards continue the voyage with his chariot by land again.

As to the spatial orientation, several methods are documented. There is one topographical map from the New Kingdom surviving in the archaeological record;[77] it is one of the oldest maps in the world. Although there is no explicit evidence for a traveler carrying such a map with him, the object shows that maps were known and could have been used as orientation guides in otherwise foreign surroundings.[78] Additionally, geographical lists are attested from various contexts,[79] though, again, not explicitly in the hand of a traveler. Nevertheless it indicates that geographical lists, which could have served as an orientation aid by listing the settlements and towns the traveler had to pass through, are known in ancient Egypt.

Further evidence for orientation survived archaeologically: Along several tracks in the desert, stone piles, so-called *alamat*, were installed as route markers.[80] Other trail markers in ancient Egypt are single stone blocks or stelae.[81]

Lodging

There are no indications of guesthouses or taverns spaced in regular intervals in ancient Egypt similar to examples known from the 3rd[r]millennium BCE in Mesopotamia[82] or the European Middle Ages. Nevertheless, alternative types of accommodation were used in ancient Egypt.

In the desert, semicircular wind huts made of irregular stones served as shelter, as found near the road from Gebel el-Asr to Toshka.[83] With blankets and poles carried along by the traveler, they could be extended into a tent. Along the Abu Ballas Trail, wind shields as well as rock shelters are attested.[84] Travelers who had to stay in a foreign locale for a longer time, such as members of expeditions, could live in special worker settlements that were erected near the Widan el-Faras road,[85] in Hatnub next to quarry P,[86] Umm es-Sawan,[87] in the Wadi Hammamat, in Sinai, and in the Wadi Maghara.[88] Interestingly, the worker settlements located at very remote sites often had small temples or sanctuaries, as at the Gebel el-Zeit, Hatnub, in Sinai, and Sadd el-Kafara.[89]

In the texts dealing with the expeditions and war campaigns of the pharaohs, even royal tents are mentioned from time to time, such as the tent of Thutmose III during his Megiddo campaign.[90] Tents are also attested as parts of the travel facilities for both Tutankhamun and Hetepheres I, mother of Khufu. The one of Hetepheres I included, besides the tent, a bed, a chair, and a carrying chair[91]. In Tutankhamun's tomb, the travel equipment included a wooden tent frame[92] and, furthermore, a traveling bed, which could be folded up to one third of its actual size.[93] Although there is no textual or archaeological evidence that similar equipment was used by the traveling elite, it should not be discounted.

In inhabited areas, the traveler could hope to find shelter at private homes, since hospitality similar to the model of the European Middle Ages is attested in some texts, including *The Story of Sinuhe*,[94] *The Doomed Prince*,[95] and the papyrus Anastasi I,[96] where the traveler is supplied with food, water, and accommodation. On a journey to the land of Punt the arriving Egyptian travelers were serviced with fruits, wine, bear, meat, and bread.[97]

Even though there were no guest houses or taverns, travelers on official duty had the opportunity to supply themselves at temples or special depots. Two texts refer to this, both of which date to the Old Kingdom. A royal decree of King Pepi I from the Min Temple of Coptos states the following: "As to any commissioner who shall travel south on any mission, my majesty does not permit (him) to charge any travel expenses to the chapel. Nor does my majesty permit to supply the royal retinue. For my majesty has commanded the exemption of this Chapel."[98] A text of

similar content is known from the tomb of Harkhuf.[99] Furthermore, both texts hint at the fact that travel expenses of voyagers on official duty were covered by governmental sources.

For the voyages of the king special arrangements for lodging and supply were made.[100] For Horemheb's travels to the Theban Opet festival, his supply had to be provided by the mayors of cities that his envoy passed during the trip, as known from the king's decree.[101] Several types of residence, from rest houses to palaces, served as the lodging for the king.[102] In one letter, several items that the king needed for his accommodation are listed in detail, and include various kinds of bread, cakes, oils, fish, beer, slaves, and other items. To ensure the appropriate board for the pharaoh, these rest houses were awarded with land.[103]

For messengers traveling by chariot, stations are mentioned in a Ramesside love song from the New Kingdom: "O that you came to your sister swiftly! Like a swift envoy of the king; the heart of his lord frets for his message, his heart is anxious to hear it. All stables are held ready for him, he has horses at the stations; the chariot is harnessed in its place, he may not pause on the road."[104] This hints at the fact that the messengers probably received a provisioning with food and water for their horses, and that they could exchange their exhausted horses for fresh ones. Furthermore, they might get supplied with food for themselves and find accommodation in these stations.

Traveling Speed

In order to calculate a day's journey to the next water depot or overnight accommodation, traveling speed was of great importance. The speed of a mixed traveling group consisting of diverse means of overland transport and locomotion as well as travelers with different physical constitutions was always determined by the one with the slowest pace. Only little data is available from ancient Egypt regarding this complex subject. Together with evidence from the Middle Ages, the modern era, and the results from experimental archaeology, a speed of 4–7 km/h can be reached by foot, donkey, and palanquin for overland travel, while vehicles drawn by oxen reach only ca. 3 km/h. Horses have a speed of 4–7 km/h at a walking pace and are therefore as fast as donkeys and travelers by foot. In full gallop, however, 45–52 km/h are attested for them. Chariots presumably reached about 40 km/h.[105]

Regarding the waterway, the data[106] vary even more, ranging from 17 km/day to 130 km/day[107] when traveling from south to north. For voyages in the opposite direction 33 km/day[108] to 73 km/day[109] are documented. These differences arise from factors such as the direction of the wind, the stream velocity and which type of vessel was used.

Dangers of Traveling

Generally, the longer a journey lasted, the greater the probability of unexpected incidents. Traveling was, by its very nature, exhausting, a hazardous venture,[110] and a danger to life. The traveler could lose his way[111] or fall ill because of adverse weather conditions and overexertion. He might run out of supplies because he had to leave the track he had planned to travel due to different reasons, such as the change of political constellations between different tribes or countries, or the drying out of water deposits or their deliberate destruction.[112] However, water points can fall dry even without wanton demolition, since they need continual maintenance; otherwise, without this regular care, they might get covered by sand or collapse. Sometimes it was difficult to find a well even if the location was known, since it might be hidden by sand or nearly invisible due to its construction style.[113] A letter from late antiquity says, "We must be very grateful to him because he undertook the trouble of the journey to you although we paid the expenses."[114]

Ancient Egyptian reports from travelers describing their own experiences, such as recovering from hazards on land or sea, are not found in private letters or similar primary sources. Nevertheless, they are mentioned now and then in biographies and literary texts.

In papyrus Anastasi I, one of the dangers associated with traveling over land is mentioned; a chariot accident is described, caused by the fact that the horses bolted and the chariot broke because of a very poor track.[115]

Traveling on a waterway was apparently no less dangerous than overland. It is important to note that perils could not only occur on the dangerous, open sea but also on the reliable, familiar Nile River. The Old Kingdom biography of Kaemtenenet explains such river dangers. In this text, he explains that he helped the king to cross the river during a storm and that he received a reward because the pharaoh arrived safely.[116]

In fictional literature, the motif of dangerous water travel is sometimes addressed as well. The sinking of a vessel is very vividly described in the fictional story *The Shipwrecked Sailor*: "A tempest came when we were at (high) sea. Before we could reach land, the wind rose, it got stronger and there were waves eight cubits high. It was a beam that struck me. When the ship died, none was left that were on board".[117] In the story of *Wenamun* the risks at sea are likewise mentioned.[118]

In addition, robbery seemed to be an omnipresent danger, as several fictional texts describe. In the literary text *The Admonitions of Ipuwer* it is stated: "O, but the plunderer [rob]s everywhere" and "they sit in bushes until a night traveler comes to seize his load, and what he carried is taken; he is treated to blows of a stick, and is falsely slain."[119] In the already cited papyrus Anastasi I, a satirical letter correspondence from the New Kingdom, warnings are issued against nomads hiding in bushes.[120] Moreover, it is mentioned in the text that the traveler was robbed of his property.[121] In papyrus Pushkin, a fictional text from Ramesside times or the Third Intermediate Period,[122] the protagonist Wermai laments that he had to travel by foot,

since his horses and chariot were stolen.[123]

In order to minimize these dangers, it can be assumed that the traveler tried to find some company on his way or joined a caravan, as known from neighboring Mesopotamian regions[124] and still from the European Middle Ages.[125] Explicit evidence for this assumption is, however, so far lacking for ancient Egypt.

A different kind of protection was the dependence on divine aid.[126] There is evidence for several gods like Min,[127] Ha,[128] Mut,[129] Amun,[130], Amun-Ra,[131] Horus,[132] Isis,[133] and others guarding different regions. While crossing a specific god's area, the traveler worshipped him or her and prayed for protection during his journey. Moreover, travelers took figurines of gods with them on their journeys, as stated in a few texts. In papyrus Lansing, Egyptians are mentioned as traveling to Syria by ship: "They depart from Egypt for Syria, and each man's god is with him."[134] Besides, in the fictional story of Wenamun the protagonist is said to travel with a statuette of "Amun-of-the-Road."[135]

If the traveler returned home alive and healthy, it was assumed that this only happened because of the help of a god, as mentioned in the Demotic text of papyrus Insinger: "He who goes away saying 'I shall come back' is one who returns by the hand of the god."[136]

Reasons for Departure

In principle, reasons to embark on a voyage are the search for food, the expansion of territory due to demographic pressure, military reasons, adventurousness, curiosity, grand tours, profit, religious, and health-related motives.[137] In ancient Egypt the following motives are attested, demonstrating that foraging was not an important factor to start a journey. Military campaigns, as in the annals of Thutmose III,[138] as well as trading journeys to Punt,[139] are often mentioned. Educational tours are documented, for example, in school trips to temples and buildings.[140] Voyages for religious reasons such as pilgrimages are attested at least since the New Kingdom.[141]

Travels out of curiosity are memorialized in visitors' inscriptions at the Temple of Philae, revealing the individual's interest in the location.[142] Involuntary travelers are evidenced as well.[143] Journeys for leisure are rarely attested; it is likely that this is because one was well aware of the many dangers accompanying such a trip. One of the rare texts, however, evidencing this situation is the so-called *Menna's Lament* or *Letter to a Wayward Son*[144] from the New Kingdom, which seems to reflect traveling for pleasure and as an expression of exuberance. Traveling in ancient Egypt does not seem to be caused by health reasons, something comparable to the grand tour,[145] or by demographic pressure.

Regarding the textual evidence, the motivation to start a journey was within the scope of the traveler's work and, in most cases, on behalf of the pharaoh. Furthermore, the institution of corvée labor stimulated mobility. This enforced mobility concerned all social classes.[146] Texts mentioning travel activity for various professions demonstrate the high mobility of Egyptian society since the earliest of times. Workers, officials, and even the pharaoh himself were on the move.[147] Mobility was, thus, neither a prerogative of the elite nor an expression of prestige.[148]

However, private travel activity is only seldom attested, as in the biography of Sabni, the governor of Elephantine Island and expedition leader from the Sixth Dynasty, who undertook his journey in order to bring back the corpse of his father, who had died abroad.[149] The New Kingdom text "*Menna's Lament*" or "*Letter to a Wayward Son*"[150] from the Twentieth Dynasty has already been mentioned. It is written from the viewpoint of the Deir el-Medina worker Menena for his son Meri-Sakhmet Pairi and contains the travels of the latter, who started his journey on his own initiative and not on behalf of the pharaoh or within the scope of his work. Whether the priest Heqanakht[151] was traveling for private or for professional reasons cannot be decided with any certainty.

However, the sporadic mentioning of private journeys does not imply that they did not take place, only that they were rarely recorded in the texts that have come down to us. It is highly likely that private traveling occurred in many situations, such as travel based on the Egyptian marriage customs[152] and the resulting mobility by visiting relatives.

Considering all voyages, the possible plurality of the travel motif is apparent: A traveler could be on the move on behalf the king, and moreover, visit sanctuaries or tombs of relatives.

Traveling Women

The number of male travelers exceeds that of female travelers by far.[153] Again, it cannot be assumed that female mobility did not exist, only that it is less frequently mentioned, due to the inadequacy of our sources.

Some women in special professions—such as chantresses of a god, for example—had a large radius of action within Egypt up to nearly 900 km.[154] Others are even evidenced in Megiddo, which is a 1,025 km journey from Thebes, and Byblos,[155] a distance of 1200 km from Thebes.[156] Furthermore, it is assumed that women accompanied their husbands if they had to move for professional reasons and to take over tasks that led them away from home for extended periods of time.

Additionally, female mobility can, for instance, be deduced from the Egyptian marriage customs, since women had to leave their parents' home and move to their husband's household.[157] These marriages are not only attested on a regional and local level but also at long distances, as the example of an elite woman named Takertia shows. Originally located in Heliopolis,[158] she moved to Thebes for her spouse, which is a travel route of 650 km. In comparison to women in the western parts of Central Europe in the Middle Bronze Age, this is a very long distance, since their average travel radius amounted to 50–100 km according to the archaeological evidence; in only one instance is 250 km attested.[159]

In addition, both men and women were included in

corvée labor, as at a temple of Seneferu.[160]

Considering the modes of locomotion in a prestigious context, it is noteworthy that women used the same means as men[161] such as carrying chairs (as evidenced by the example of Hetepheres I, the mother of Khufu[162]) and chariots (known from depictions of Nefertiti, her daughters, and several others[163]). There is, however, no evidence for Egyptian women of the middle or upper class riding donkeys or horses. Only the goddess Astarte is shown on horseback.[164] It should be emphasized that horse riding is even for men very seldom attested in ancient Egypt,[165] so the lack of female riders should be interpreted neither as taboo nor a gender limitation.

With regard to overland transport, it can be observed that men are more often shown transporting loads on their shoulders, with or without a yoke or carrying pole, whereas women carry weight preferentially on their heads. There is less iconographic evidence for women transporting items with a pole or a yoke.[166] The fixation of baskets for transport on the back via headbands is not a typical Egyptian phenomenon, but is only documented in depictions of foreign carriers—especially women—in Egyptian art.[167]

Journeys without Borders

Egyptian travel habits do not show a territorial limitation on the Nile Valley only, but are documented even beyond Egypt's political borders. Far-reaching relations are evidenced since the earliest times. Trading with Palestine is attested since Dynasty 0.[168] The Egyptians traveled to Nubia probably already in Predynastic times,[169] or in the Early Dynastic Period at the latest.[170] The northern Sinai was crossed on the way to southern Canaan since Predynastic times.[171] Travels to Lebanon possibly occurred since Early Dynastic times at the latest.[172] The Eastern Desert and Punt[173] were travel destinations since the Old Kingdom.

All in all, the travel distances of individual travelers varied significantly, ranging from short travels under 100 km up to more than several hundred kilometers within Egypt, such as the journey from Memphis to Aswan, which is about 900 km.[174] There was also travel abroad to places such as Babylon, a 1,400 km linear distance from Thebes, and Hattusa,[175] which is a 1,600 km overland journey from modern Cairo. The expedition leader Harkhuf probably even journeyed 14,000 km, traveling four times to a place called Yam.[176] Journeys to faraway places on behalf of the king were undertaken even though they would be very long and, therefore, dangerous.

These travel distances, however, cannot be generalized for the entire population. The individual range of action for the vast majority of the Egyptian populace would have been significantly smaller, merely including their home town, its immediate surroundings, and possibly the neighboring settlement.[177] Even the visit to the latter might have been an upsetting affair. Personal mobility varies greatly. It ranges from repetitive travels, such as the journeys of the expedition leader Weni,[178] who undertook at least nine journeys, to the unique travel experiences of individuals who were sent by the pharaoh in a singular act of corvée labor. Of course, a sizable portion of the population never traveled at all.

The lives of those not recruited for corvée labor or on the move for professional reasons were characterized by sedentariness.[179] Mobility caused by a depletion of the fields was not necessary, since the annual Nile flood ensured fertilization; the link to the land was therefore very strong. Moreover, it was essential to be incorporated into the social network and the local community where one was born. It was even more indispensable to be buried there as well, since the sense of belonging to the community reaches beyond death.[180] Remaining stationary also promised security, while a foreign environment is unknown and, hence, potentially dangerous. In a letter from the 4th century CE, it is said that "it is better for you to be in your homes, whatever they may be, than abroad."[181]

The individual range of action differed greatly, thus, between those who were sent out and had concrete experiences of the "otherness" while visiting foreign surroundings and lands, and that percentage of society who remained largely sedentary.

Emotional Aspects

In the following paragraphs the emotional implications of three groups are analyzed, namely those of the traveler himself, the people he left behind, and the host society. Emotional reports in context with traveling are very rare in Egyptian texts, and much remains uncertain.

Regarding the first group, the traveler's personal feelings in a foreign surrounding are hardly mentioned in the writings, but some examples do occur. The range of these emotions extends from complaining about the foreign surroundings to perceiving the land's strangeness. These observations often result in feelings of loneliness on behalf of the traveler. Other texts reveal that the traveler worried about those who stayed home.

The fact-based biographies of the early voyagers of the Old Kingdom such as Weni[182] or Harkhuf[183] do not contain any emotional statements concerning this matter at all. The same applies to a private letter from the New Kingdom, written from an employee and addressed to his employer. He only stated "I have arrived" without any further emotional comment, probably due to the formal relationship between letter writer and recipient.[184]

One of the very few texts expressing emotion is a private letter dating to the New Kingdom and written by an official who is stationed in Syria. He laments about the high temperature, gnats, midges, fleas, dogs, jackals, and the fact that he has neither employees nor equipment.[185] Obviously, he is not at all satisfied with his sojourn in Syria.

The so-called Heqanakht papyri dating to the Eleventh Dynasty is another textual document implying the emotional impressions of somebody being abroad. But this

time the concern not with the traveler himself, but with his family are documented. The text corpus consists of the private letter correspondence of the priest Heqanahkt, staying in the Theban area, and his family at home near Memphis or Lisht. Heqanakht wrote several letters to them with very complex instructions for economic transactions.[186] He charged his employee Merisu with caring for his property, emphasizing: "Mind you that my barley seed is guarded and that all my property is guarded."[187] From a distance of about 650 km, he still takes care of his wife by insisting on firing a housemaid who behaved incorrectly toward her.[188] These letters show that he is concerned with the wellbeing of those he left behind and informed them that he was in good health.[189]

How the traveler ensures the safety of this family while he is abroad is not explicitly mentioned. In the literary text *The Eloquent Peasant* it is stated that the protagonist left his wife with some barley as a food ration for her and their children,[190] but there is no information about an arrangement of personal protection through relatives or friends. The household of the above-mentioned Heqanakht is obviously well served, because it is stated that its members do not have to suffer from hunger, according to letter II.[191]

THE FEELING OF strangeness is expressed in the literary text *Sinuhe:* "It was like the nature of a dream, like a Delta man seeing himself in Elephantine, a man of the marshy lagoons in southern Egypt."[192] Apparently the sensation of otherness occurs not only while traveling to foreign lands, but even on Egyptian terrain, when an unfamiliar area was crossed where one was not born.[193] This feeling of not belonging is similarly outlined in papyrus Pushkin: "I was constantly in a city that is not mine, a settlement that I do not know, in the constitution of a stranger. My old companions did not exist anymore. I wanted to make new friends, they stayed with me for a while, but then they moved away from me again".[194] In the literary story *The Shipwrecked Sailor* his loneliness is expressed very pictorially: "I spent three days alone, my heart as companion; I slept inside a hut (made) of wood, I embraced the shade".[195]

Apart from strangeness and loneliness, several texts refer to fear of dying abroad as in the fictional stories *The Shipwrecked Sailor* and *Sinuhe*.[196] This fear was not only thematized; being an issue in the Middle Kingdom, but in a much later text, being preserved in Demotic and Greek, the so-called *Myth of the Sun's Eye*, as well.[197] The texts state that it was not only important to be buried within Egypt, but explicitly at the place where one was born. Dying far from the birthplace was a real threat, as an expedition text from the time of Ramesses IV documents, stating that 10 % of the members of the mission came to death; roughly 900 people died.[198] The biographies of Sabni and Pepinakht[199] refer to the fact that higher-ranked individuals such as the expedition leaders who died abroad were usually brought to Egypt to be buried in their homeland.

WITH RESPECT TO the second group, the emotions of the group or family staying home when the traveler left are not explicitly mentioned in the texts. In the above-mentioned literary text *The Eloquent Peasant,* no feelings of the wife he left behind are stated.[200] The same applies for the tomb inscription of Sobekhotep from the Middle Kingdom. In the text the wish is expressed that passersby return safely to their wives at home, and to tell them of their exciting travel and expedition experiences.[201] This is evidence that the wife staying at home and waiting for her husband's return was an established image.

REGARDING THE THIRD group and the question how the new community integrates the Egyptian traveler, there are again only a few sources and they are, furthermore, ambivalent. In the literary work *The Story of Wenamun* from the New Kingdom the problems the protagonist faces are described in detail like the risk of being killed when reaching Alasia.[202]

Contrary to Wenamun, the fictional text of the *Sinuhe* story, a narrative from the Twelfth Dynasty, mentions that the fleeing protagonist was very well received, be it by a tribe of Bedouins[203] or the chief of upper Retenu with the name Amunenshi.[204] Sinuhe married the latter's daughter, received a piece of land, and became a ruler.[205] In this fictional text, the protagonist is, thus, represented as having overcome his uprooting and being fully and effectively integrated into the hosting community, although he longs to be buried in Egypt.[206] This being a piece of literature, it is uncertain whether the described integration was really a fact form Egyptian traveler being abroad or if it was fiction owed to the expectations of the targeted audience.

Looking at the integration of foreigners into Egyptian society, the Egyptian attitude toward foreigners and their countries cannot be generalized up to the end of the New Kingdom. Depending on the context, it is often ambivalent.[207] In the *Great Hymn to the Aten* from the Amarna period, all lands are mentioned as being equated and gathered under the protection of the god Aten.[208] As an enemy, the foreigner is always described as a coward.[209] On the boundary stela of King Senwosret III at Semna, located near the second cataract, the following is mentioned: "… since the Nubian only has to hear to fall at a word: answering him makes him retreat. One is aggressive to him and he shows his back; retreat and he becomes aggressive. Not people to be respected—they are wretched, broken-hearted!"[210] Nevertheless, Nubians were part of the Egyptian army since the Old Kingdom.[211] In the New Kingdom the nobleman Maiherperi is supposedly Nubian, due to the depictions showing him in his *Book of the Dead* and his mummy. He held a high position in the Eighteenth Dynasty and was buried in the Valley of the Kings.[212] The integration of non-nationals could, however, be handled very differently, as the example of the Hyksos[213] in the eastern delta demonstrates. These foreigners from western Asia were, at first, tolerated (until

fighting erupted at the end of the Second Intermediate Period) but not integrated. Nevertheless, this inconsistent attitude against foreigners is a question of everyday life versus cosmological order: The foreigners and foreign states are alien and thus elements of the chaotic environment of the Egyptians outside their borders and thus are enemies to be fought. Within the Maat concept, the diminution or defeat the enemy by the pharaoh is inherent in the system, guaranteeing secureness and order instead of chaos and disorder.[214]

Conclusion

Mobility and travel are significant issues within Egyptian culture. As mentioned above, no travel literature as it is understood today, such as itineraries, apodemica books, travelogues, and travel guides, survived from ancient Egypt. In the texts that are available, information about travel is mentioned in passing and not as the main topic. Within these writings the diversity of the textual evidence is high, including private letters, royal decrees, literary works, therefore presenting differing amounts of information and allowing for divergent opportunities for interpretation. Often the texts are related only to the elite.[215] It is assumed that only 1%[216] of the Egyptian society possessed writing skills; therefore textual evidence from the lower stratum is very limited. The tomb inscriptions belong to higher strata; the official inscriptions such as decrees have a special target group, and the literary works are composed for special reasons. Therefore, the limitations to the analysis of travel and mobility arise from the restricted existing sources dealing with them.

All in all, the aim or result of traveling up to the end of the New Kingdom was not to emigrate but to return home. Although some travelers staying abroad for a long period of time are known,[217] several texts emphasize the desire to return home and especially to be buried in the place where the individual was born. Most of the reported travels were undertaken on behalf of the pharaoh and in the scope of the voyagers' professions, while private traveling and female travelers are seldom attested. Regarding the numbers of travelers, it is noteworthy that, when referring to the expedition inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, at least 23,400 individuals were on the move. In the Middle Kingdom, it was nearly 40,000, and in the New Kingdom 13,622.[218] Although the last number is smaller due to less surviving numerical data referring to expeditions, it seems more reasonable to assume that the number of travelers actually increased due to improved infrastructure and the expansion of Egypt in the New Kingdom.[219]

The radius of action of documented travelers is very high since the earliest of times. Very long travel distances are attested for Harkhuf (going four times to Yam, a total of 14,000 km), the expeditions heading for Punt in the Old Kingdom, and the messengers underway to Hattusa in the New Kingdom (1,600 km).[220] Therefore, in chronological terms, the number of travelers increased, while the radius of action was very large per se and remained constant. Nevertheless, the mobility range of an individual can differ very much from these extreme travel distances; mobility should not be over-generalized. It was not the same for all Egyptians, but ranged from high travel activity to rare travel experience up to not traveling at all and remaining sedentary.

In the texts a preferred travel period is not mentioned. The preparations needed before starting a journey are—again due to the sources—rarely stated; those that are mentioned correspond to what would be expected, i.e., provisions, water, extra changes of clothes, and replacement shoes. Moreover, according to the Egyptian sources, weapons and walking sticks were also carried. For the accommodation of the voyager en route, no privately maintained guesthouses and probably no state-run hostels existed. Lodging and travel expenses were partly regulated by the royal court, while in the desert or unpopulated areas the travelers had to provide for themselves. In inhabited areas without state facilities they could hope for hospitality. With regard to the question of what the traveler could expect at the end of his journey, it is noteworthy that not a single text refers to a journey with an unknown destination, but they all lead to a fixed endpoint. Therefore, the traveler who was sent out on behalf of the pharaoh and for professional reasons could expect some kind of infrastructure at the journey's end.

All in all, a fundamental change in travel planning and realization cannot be stated for the analyzed period, except for the fact that the carrying chair used by the elite up to the end of the Middle Kingdom was replaced by the chariot in the New Kingdom.

In addition to these practical features, a very important aspect of this analysis is that feelings of the traveler himself, of those he left behind, and of the hosting society are hardly mentioned. The emotions of those who remained at home are even more rarely documented, while the attitude of the host society is sometimes stated. The fact that feelings are seldom referred to is not characteristic for all the texts from ancient Egypt, since emotions in the ancient Egyptian love songs are described very vividly.[221] The inclusion of such information is therefore due to the type of source referring to the travel undertaken.

Nevertheless, mobility is of fundamental importance in later times in Egypt as well; therefore an analysis as compiled in this volume is highly desirable. Using the derived information on travel and mobility in pharaonic times up to the end of the New Kingdom offers the opportunity to highlight development trends toward the period of the first millennium BCE. The fact that a high level of mobility did not develop in later times but is already attested in the period up to the end of the New Kingdom is very significant.

Of course, there are many research avenues that, upon closer investigation, could provide much needed insight into the topics of travel and mobility. For example, a detailed study on the visitors' graffiti[222] is sure to offer new insights into travel and mobility in ancient Egypt in the

period analyzed in this paper and in later times as well.

Moreover, the change in travel habits in the period after the New Kingdom needs further investigation. While carts and wagons were not used in the earlier times for the transport of passengers, passenger vehicles are attested in Greco-Roman times. Moreover, the traffic system on the whole and its development in the subsequent periods after the New Kingdom needs closer analysis. A change in the traffic system after the New Kingdom can be noted, since, for example, the amount of evidence for transport wagons increases significantly in Greco-Roman times.[223] Another item of urgent interest is change in the travel behavior of certain categories of the population[224] in the time after the New Kingdom, to analyze how, whether, or to what extent it changed under foreign domination. No less interesting is the question of whether the amount of evidence referring to the feelings of the traveler or the reaction of the host society—which are rather rare until the end of the New Kingdom as stated above—increases.

Abbreviation

Urk. *Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums. Abteilung I–VIII* (Leipzig—Berlin: Hinrichs, 1903–1988).

1 I am most obliged to Dr. Melanie Wasmuth for giving me the opportunity to present my research results in this volume. Moreover, I am grateful to Marissa A. Stevens (M.A., University of California, Los Angeles), Manon Schutz (M.A., University of Oxford), and Samuel Butterick (University of Trier/Borger, Texas) for reading a previous version of this article. Moreover, I am indebted to Dr. Frank Förster (Egyptian Museum, Bonn) for his tireless readiness for discussion and his valuable advice.

2 See J. Baines, *Die Bedeutung des Reisens im Alten Ägypten*, Siegfried-Morenz-Gedächtnis-Vorlesung 13 (Leipzig: Ägyptisches Museum der Universität, 2004), 1–56; J. Baines, "Travel in Third and Second Millennium Egypt," in Colin Adams and Jim Roy (eds.), *Travel, Geography and Culture in Ancient Greece, Egypt and the Near East*, Leicester Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 10 (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 5–30; H. Köpp, "Reisen in prädynastischer Zeit und Frühzeit," in E.-M. Engel, V. Müller and U. Hartung (eds.), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*. Menes 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008a), 401–412; H. Köpp, "Weibliche Mobilität: Frauen in Sänften und auf Streitwagen," in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf* (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der Universität, 2008b), 34–44; H. Köpp-Junk, "Travel," in Elizabeth Frood and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eSchoarship, University of California, 2013a), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3945t7f7, accessed 7 November 2016; H. Köpp, "Desert Travel and Transport in Ancient Egypt: An Overview Based on Epigraphic, Pictorial and Archaeological Evidence," in H. Riemer and F. Förster, *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond*, Africa Praehistorica 26 (Köln: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2013), 107–133; Patricia Berg, *Perspectives on Mobility and Travelling: A Study of References to Functionally-bound Forms of Individual Movement in Non-literary Texts from New Kingdom Deir El-Medina* (University of Helsinki, Department of World Cultures, 2014); H. Köpp-Junk, "Mobilität, Tod und Jenseits," in M. M. Grewenig (ed.), *Götter. Menschen. Pharaonen. Ägypten—Meisterwerke aus dem Museum Egizio Turin*, Ausstellungskatalog Völklinger Hütte (Völklingen: Edition Völklinger Hütte; Heidelberg: Verlag Das Wunderhorn, 2014a), 31–33; H. Köpp-Junk, *Reisen im Alten Ägypten. Reisekultur, Fortbewegungs- und Transportmittel in pharaonischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015a); Heidi Köpp-Junk, Heiko Riemer and Frank Förster, "Mobility in Ancient Egypt—Roads and Travels in the Nile Valley and Adjacent Deserts," in S. Scharl (ed.), *Mobilität in sesshaften Gesellschaften*, Kölner Studien zur prähistorischen Archäologie (forthcoming).

3 H. Köpp-Junk, *Reisen im Alten Ägypten. Reisekultur, Fortbewegungs- und Transportmittel in pharaonischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015a).

4 Köpp-Junk 2015a, 19, 213; Baines 2007, 5–6.

5 The primary sources are mentioned in the endnotes of this article. In case they exceeded the scope of this study, the relevant pages of Köpp-Junk 2015a are mentioned, where the sources are listed in detail.

6 See, e.g., Julia I. Giblin, Kelly J. Knudson, Zsolt Bereczki, György Pálfi, and Ildikó Pap, "Strontium Isotope Analysis and Human Mobility during the Neolithic and Copper Age: A Case Study from the Great Hungarian Plain," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40 (2013): 227–239.

7 See for example A. Jockenhövel, "Räumliche Mobilität von Personen in der Mittleren Bronzezeit des westlichen Mitteleuropa," *Germania 69/1* (1991): 49–62.

8 For detail on mobility, travel, transport and locomotion in ancient Egypt see R. Partridge, *Transport in Ancient Egypt* (London: The Rubicon Press, 1996); Köpp 2008a, 401–412; Köpp 2013; Köpp-Junk 2013a; H. Köpp-Junk, "The Chariot as a Mode of Locomotion in Civil Contexts," in André J. Veldmeijer and Salima Ikram (eds.), *Chasing Chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference (Cairo 2012)* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013b),131–142; Köpp-Junk 2014a, 31–33; H. Köpp-Junk, "Sledges in Religious Contexts in Ancient Egypt," *Material Religion* 10.1 (2014b), 122–124; Köpp-Junk 2015a; for female

mobility see H. Köpp, "Weibliche Mobilität: Frauen in Sänften und auf Streitwagen," in C. Peust (ed.), *Miscellanea in honorem Wolfhart Westendorf (*Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie der Universität, 2008b), 34–44; H. Köpp-Junk, "Ikonographische und textliche Belege für Frauen auf Streitwagen in der Amarnazeit," in C. Huyeng and A. Finger (eds.), *Amarna in the 21st Century*, Kleine Berliner Schriften zum Alten Ägypten 3 (2015b), 102–149.

[9] See, e.g., the sledge made of cedar wood found near the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht from the Twelfth Dynasty (D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, The South Cemeteries of Lisht I, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition XXV [New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992], 59, pl. 72–73) or the one in the vicinity of the pyramid of Senwosret III at Dahshur (Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CG 4928; D. Arnold, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), fig. 6.35). For a listing of sledges found in Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015, 122–123; for the religious connotation of sledges see Köpp-Junk 2014b, 122–124.

[10] Several chariots are attested from Thebes, such as the ones from Amenophis II, Thutmose IV, Yuya and Tuyu, Amenhotep III, and Tutankhamun. The tomb of the last included six specimens (M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* [Leiden: Brill, 1979], 75, n. 17). Moreover, a large number of chariot pieces have been found (M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, "An Egyptian Wheel in Brooklyn," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 65 [1979]: 107–120; Herold 2004, 129–130; André J. Veldmeijer, Salima Ikram and Lucy Skinner "Charging Chariots: Progress Report on the Tano Chariot in the Egyptian Museum Cairo," in André J. Veldmeijer and Salima Ikram [eds.], *Chasing Chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference [Cairo 2012]* [Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2013], 277–29)1.

[11] A wagon dating to the Middle Kingdom or the Greco-Roman Period was found in Medinet Madi (K. H. Dittmann, "Der Segelwagen von Medinet Mâdi," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo* 10 [1941]: 60–78). Furthermore, a sarcophagus equipped with wheels was excavated in the tomb of Sennedjem (Deir el-Medineh, TT 1, Nineteenth Dynasty; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 27301; V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager, mumiekister, og mumiehylstre i det gamle Aegypten: typologisk atlas* [Copenhagen: Frimodt, 1919], 123, nos. 625, 626; A. G. Shedid, *Das Grab des Sennedjem* [Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1994], fig. 110); in detail on wheeled vehicles in Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 215–160, 188–212; H. Köpp-Junk, "Die Entwicklung von Fahrzeugen und Landverkehrswegen im Alten Ägypten," *Das Altertum* 60.2 (2015): 125–153; H. Köpp-Junk, "Wagons and Carts and Their Significance in Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 9 (2016): 14–58; H. Köpp-Junk: "The Development and Introduction of Wheeled Vehicles in Ancient Egypt: Technical Innovations and Their (Non-)acceptance in Pharaonic Times," in G. Graßhoff, S. Hansen, J. Renn, and F. Klimscha, *Contextualising Technical Innovations in Prehistory* (forthcoming).

[12] Several boats dating to the First Dynasty were found in Saqqara and Abu Roash (S. Vinson, *Egyptian Boats and Ships* [Princes Risborough, U.K.: Shire Publications, 1994], 17–18; Institute française d'archéologie orientale, "La Nécropole protodynastqiue 'M' d'Abou Rawash," http://www.ifao.egnet.net/archeologie/abou-roach/#necropole_M, accessed 18 May 2016). In the boat pits near the pyramid of King Khufu two ships were found (M. Z. Nour and Z. Iskander, *The Cheops Boats I* [Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Office, 1960], pl. 31, 37, passim; B. Landström, *Die Schiffe der Pharaonen* [München: Bertelsmann, 1974], 26–34; Z. Hawass, "The Royal Boats at Giza," in Z. Hawass (ed.), *Treasures of the Pyramids* [Vercelli: White Star, 2003], 165–171), and six boats near the pyramid of Senwosret III in Dahshur (Partridge 1996, 48, fig. 33; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 82–94, fig. 17, pl. 2e–f, 3a–e).

[13] The palanquin belonged to queen Hetepheres, the mother of Khufu (Giza, G 7000x, Dynasty 4; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 52372; G. A. Reisner and W. S. Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis II: The Tomb of Hetep-Heres, the Mother of Cheops* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955], pls. 5b, 26e, 27a; M. Saleh, M. and H. Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke im ägyptischen Museum Kairo* [Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1986], nr. 29). In detail on women in carrying chairs, see Köpp 2008b.

[14] Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga, beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty; Egyptian Museum Cairo, JE 4681 = CG 52666 (barque) and JE 4669 = CG 52668 (wagon); Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, nr. 123.

[15] Model vessels are attested since Predynastic times. In the tomb of Tutankhamun 35 model vessels were found (H. Carter, *Tut-ench-Amun: Ein ägyptisches Königsgrab III* [Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1934], pl. 3, 39, 59; A. Wiese and A. Brodbeck, *Tutanchamun. Das Goldene Jenseits* [München: Hirmer, 2004], 274). See as well H. Köpp-Junk 2014a.

[16] For the motif of traveling in Egyptian literature see G. Moers, "Travel as Narrative in Egyptian Literature," in G. Moers (ed.), *Definitely: Egyptian Literature: Proceedings of the Symposium "Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms,"* Los Angeles, March 24 –26, 1995, Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 2 (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 1999), 43–61; G. Moers, *Fingierte Welten in der ägyptischen Literatur des 2.*

Jahrtausends v. Chr.: *Grenzüberschreitung, Reisemotiv und Fiktionalität* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 167–283; A. Loprieno, "Travel and Fiction in Egyptian Literature," in D. O'Connor and S. Quirke, *Mysterious Lands* (London: UCL Press, Institute of Archaeology, 2003), 31–51; J. Galán, *Four Journeys in Ancient Literature*, Lingua Aegyptia, Studia Monographica 5 (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 2005); Köpp-Junk 2013a, 11–12.

17 This is not the place for a detailed source criticism of the different texts that will be mentioned in the following. Therefore only a short reference will be given to every source as being, e.g., a literary work, a biography, a private letter, or a royal decree.

18 See, e.g.. the biographies of Harkhuf (*Urk.* I, 124, 9–127, 12–15), Sabni (*Urk.* I, 135,8–140,11) or Pepinakht (*Urk.* I, 131, 15–135, 7), dating to the Old Kingdom.

19 See, e.g., the Coptos Decree of King Pepi I (*Urk*. I, 214, 11–17; H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 14 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967], 42–54, fig. 4).

20 A group from a village near Qubân traveled to the Hathor temple of Thutmose III in Deir el-Bahri, which is a distance of about 350 km, and left an inscription there (M. Marciniak, *Deir el-Bahari I. Les Inscriptions Hiératiques de Temple du Thoutmosis III* [Warszawa: PWN, Edition Scientifiques de Pologne 1974], 61–63, nr. 4).

21 For expedition texts, see further discussion here in detail.

22 One of the few sources in which the itinerary is attested is the biography of Harkhuf in his tomb on the Qubbet el-Hawa (tomb nr. 34, Sixth Dynasty), in which the Elephantine road and the oasis road are mentioned (*Urk*. I, 124, 17–125, 4; 125, 12–126, 4); see as well Köpp-Junk 2015a, 40, 69, 225 and Förster 2015, 49, 227, 474–476.

23 A rare example is the biography of Sabni, since in the text it is stated that Sabni's final destination was Memphis (inscription in the tomb of Sabni on the Qubbet el-Hawa [Sixth Dynasty; *Urk*. I, 139, 3]).

24 One of the few exceptions is the biography of Weni, where two kinds of transport ships are referred to (*Urk*. I, 99, 15; 107, 7–9; 108, 4, 13). Another one is, e.g., the letter of Sennefer (TT 96, Eighteenth Dynasty), stating his arrival at Diospolis Parva by ship (pBerlin 10463; R. A. Caminos, "Papyrus Berlin 10463," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 49* [1963]: 31, pl. 6, line 5).

25 Only during the campaigns of Thutmose III the installation of the encampment and the pitching of pharaoh's tent are mentioned; see subsequent discussion in the present paper.

26 See for example the description of the travel of Senneferi to Lebanon (*Urk*. IV, 532, 12–536, 4). In the annals of Thutmose III the land Djahi (*Urk*. IV, 687, 9–688, 1) and the river Euphrates (*Urk*. IV, 697, 3–9) is described in more detail.

27 *Urk*. I, 126, 17–127, 3. See as well the biography of Sabni (*Urk*. I, 137, 8: elephant tusks).

28 See Köpp-Junk 2015a, 273–274 with further details.

29 Papyrus Anastasi I 20, 1–6; H. W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 160. The literary text with a rather satirical content, dating to the New Kingdom, is composed as a letter exchange between Hori and Amenemope. Hori is making fun of Amenemope by posing numerous questions, insinuating that the latter is unable to calculate the number of workers necessary for some building projects and that he has no knowledge about the geographical details of Palestine and Syria.

30 In detail see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 22–25. In the European Middle Ages traveling was mainly restricted to the drier periods of the year, when the roads were not nearly impassable because of rain and snow (N. Ohler, *Reisen im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed. [München: Artemis-Verlag, 1988], 27–28).

31 The inscriptions on the pyramid blocks from the Red Pyramid of Seneferu cover all seasons (R. Stadelmann, "Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Dahschur. Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen an der nördlichen Steinpyramide," *Mittelungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo* 39 [1983]: 235); the same applies to those from the pyramid of Senuseret I at Lisht and of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (D. Arnold, *Der Pyramidenbezirk des Königs Amenemhet III. in Dahschur I. Die Pyramide*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 53 [Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1987], 72). See as well the inscription of Weni, referring to stone transport when the water level was low (*Urk*. I, 107, 16–108, 9).

32 Modern travelers, including Thesiger and Monod, describe very vividly their experiences during sandstorms and heavy rainfall while traveling the desert; see W. Thesiger, *Die Brunnen der Wüste. Mit den Beduinen durch das unbekannte Arabien*, 5th ed. (München: Piper, 2001), 263 and T. Monod, *Wüstenwanderungen* (München: Goldmann, 2002), 161.

33 See the transport of obelisks during the reign of Hatschepsut (Naville, E.: *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* VI, Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 27 [London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1908], pl. 154).

34 W. Schenkel, "Kanal," in W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), 311.

35 Papyrus British Museum 10508, cols. 20, 24–25; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I–III* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London: University of California Press, 2006), vol. III, 175.

[36] The only exception was the chariot, which replaced the palanquin as an elite mode of locomotion in the civil context (Köpp-Junk 2013a, 8; Köpp-Junk 2013b; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 319). For detail on modes of transport and locomotion in Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 81–213.

[37] Medelhavsmuseet Stockholm, nr. MM 17976; Vinson 1994, 11.

[38] *Urk*. I 236, 12.

[39] For details on Egyptian watercraft see B. Landström, *Die Schiffe der Pharaonen* (München: Bertelsmann, 1974); N. Dürring, *Materialien zum Schiffbau im Alten Ägypten*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo: Ägyptologische Reihe 11 (Berlin: Achet-Verlag, 1995); A. Merriman, *Egyptian Watercraft Models from the Predynastic to the Third Intermediate Period*, British archaeological reports, International Series 2263 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2011); regarding travel by vessel in Egypt, see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 27–29, 81–93, pl. 2e–3e.

[40] R. Müller-Wollermann, "Ich bin ein Besitzer von Booten," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 26 (1998): 231, 235, 237. For the New Kingdom see the stela of Nefer from Deir el-Bahari, dating to the Eighteenth Dynasty (I. E. S. Edwards, "Lord Dufferin's Excavations at Deir el-Bahari," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 51 [1965]: 25, pl. 11, 2; M. Lichtheim, *Moral Values in Ancient Egypt*, Orbis biblicus et orientalis 155 [Freiburg, Göttingen: University Press, 1997], 53).

[41] Dürring 1995, 147–149.

[42] Dürring 1995, 137–154.

[43] Müller-Wollermann 1998, 234–235; Landström 1974, 60.

[44] P. Tallet, "Ayn Sukhna and Wadi el-Jarf: Two Newly Discovered Pharaonic Harbours on the Suez Gulf," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012): 148, 150, fig. 10.

[45] Nour and Iskander 1960, pl. 31, 37; Landström 1974, 26–34.

[46] E. W. Castle, "Shipping and Trade in Ramesside Egypt," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 240.

[47] Papyrus Harris I, 7, 5.

[48] B. Kemp, D. O'Connor, "An Ancient Nile Harbour: University Museum Excavations at the 'Birket Habu'," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3 (1974): 101–136.

[49] Tallet 2012, 148, 150–151.

[50] K. Bard, R. Fattovich (eds.), *Harbour of the Pharaohs to the Land of Punt: Archaeological Investigations at Mersa/Wadi Gawasis Egypt, 2001–2005* (Naples: Universita degli Studi di Napoli, 2007); A. M. A. H. Sayed, "Wadi Gasus," in K. Bard (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (London: Routledge, 1999), 866–868; A. M. A. H. Sayed, "Discovery of the Site of the 12th Dynasty Port at Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea Shore," *Revue d'égyptologie* 29 (1977): 140–178; A. M. A. H. Sayed, "The Recently Discovered Port on the Red Sea Shore," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 64 (1978): 69–71; A. M. A. H. Sayed, "New Light on the Recently Discovered Port on the Red Sea Shore," *Chronique d'Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth* 58 (1983): 23–37.

[51] C. Ward, "Building Pharaoh's Ships: Cedar, Incense and Sailing the Great Green," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 18 (2012): 221.

[52] On Egyptian sandals see, for example, F. Feindt, "Botanische Untersuchungen altägyptischer Sandalen," *Alt-Ägypten* 30 (2000), 284–309; A. J. Veldmeijer, "Studies of Ancient Egyptian Footwear: Technological Aspects Part X: Leather Composite Sandals," *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 6.9 (2009): 1–27; A. J. Veldmeijer, *Tutankhamun's Footwear: Studies of Ancient Egyptian Footwear* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2011). Several sandals from ancient Egypt are nowadays in several museums, including Turin (H. Köpp-Junk: "Sandalen," in M. M. Grewenig (ed.), *Götter. Menschen. Pharaonen. Ägypten—Meisterwerke aus dem Museum Egizio Turin*. Ausstellungskatalog Völklinger Hütte [Völklingen: Edition Völklinger Hütte; Heidelberg: Verlag Das Wunderhorn, 2014], 150).

[53] See the depictions in the tombs of Kahief (H. Junker, *Giza VI. Die Mastaba des Nfr [Nefer], Kdfjj [Kedfi], K3hjf [Kahjef] und die westlich anschließenden Grabanlagen*, Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 72,1 [Wien, Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1943], fig. 45), Neferiretenef (B. van de Walle, *La Chapelle Funéraire de Neferirtenef* [Bruxelles: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, 1978], pl. 12), and Methethi (Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs in the Old Kingdom* [London—New York: KPI, 1987], fig. 212). For a compiling of the records on donkey riding, see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 165–166).

[54] See, e.g., an armed rider on horseback from the time of Thutmose III (Metropolitan Museum of Art New York, nr. 05.3.263). On the horse as a mode of locomotion in Egypt, see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 166–171.

[55] See, e.g., the one depicted on the Narmer macehead (Hierakonpolis, Dynasty 0, Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, AN1890.1908.E.3631; J. E Quibell, *Hierakonpolis I*, Egyptian Research Account 4 [London: Quaritch, 1900], pl. 26 b). Another carrying chair including passenger is shown in the tomb of Nimaatre (Giza, Fifth Dynasty; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza II [1930-1931[* [Oxford: Johnson, 1936], fig. 240). Even two are represented in the tomb of Djehutyhetep (el-Bersha, Twelfth Dynasty; British Museum London,

nr. EA 1147; P. E. Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 3 [London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1895], pl. 12–13, 29). For further information see Köpp 2008a, 407; Köpp 2008b; Köpp-Junk 2015, 173–188.

56 In ancient Egypt the chariot was used not only for warfare, but likewise for sport, hunting and as a mundane mode of locomotion (T. G. E. Powell, "Some Implications of Chariotry," in J. L. Forster and L. Alcock [eds.], *Culture and Environment: Essays in Honour of Sir Cyril Fox* [London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963], 165; A. R. Schulman, "Chariots, Chariotry and the Hyksos," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 10.2 (1980): 144–146, 148; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 196–199). On its use in civil context see Köpp 2008b; Köpp-Junk 2013b, 131–142; Köpp-Junk 2015b, 102–149; H. Köpp-Junk, "Der ägyptische Streitwagen zwischen Kriegsgerät und Fortbewegungsmittel," *Antike Welt* 1/2016 (2016): 70–75.

57 For a compiling and interpretation of the records concerning this kind of transport see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 93–103; on its use for travel see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 105–107.

58 Regarding an inscription in the Wadi Hammamat (J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât* [Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1912], inscription nr. 114), poles were used on long-distance travels. A hunting scene in Beni Hasan depicts the use of a yoke in the desert (P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II* [London: Paul Kegan, Trench, Trübner, 1894], pl. 13).

59 J. G. Landels, *Die Technik in der antiken Welt* (München: Beck, 1989), 206.

60 Ohler 1988, 35, referring to the European Middle Ages. The figures concerning the carrying capacity of donkeys vary considerably; in detail see Frank Förster, *Der Abu Ballas-Weg: eine pharaonische Karawanenroute durch die Libysche Wüste*, Africa Praehistorica 28 (Köln: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2015) 407–418.

61 This is attested in the *British Army Manual* of 1923 (D. P. S. Peacock, and V. A. Maxfield, *Survey and Excavation at Mons Claudianus 1987–1993 II: Survey and Excavation* [Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2001], 297). On the use of donkeys along the Abu Ballas Trail see Förster 2015, 385–456.

62 Ohler 1988, 35–36.

63 This is not the place to discuss the use of the camel in Egypt before the Greco-Roman period in detail; see Köpp 2013, 107; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 112–116, 171–173 with further literature; P. Rowley-Conwy,"The Camel in the Nile Valley: New Radiocarbon Accelerator (AMS) Dates from Qasr Ibrihm," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 74 (1988): 245–248. On the domestication, see M. Heide, "The Domestication of the Camel: Biological, Archaeological and Inscriptional Evidence from Mesopotamia, Egypt, Israel and Arabia, and Literary Evidence from the Hebrew Bible," *Ugarit Forschungen* 42 (2010), Münster: Ugarit-Verlag 2011: 331–384.

64 See, e.g., M. Ripinski, "The Camel in Dynastic Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71 (1985): 134–141, 135; U. Braukämper, *Migration und ethnischer Wandel*: *Untersuchungen aus der östlichen Sudanzone*, Studien zur Kulturkunde 103 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 157; R. T. Wilson, "The One-Humped Camel as a Producer of Rural and Urban Energy," in R. A. Pearson, P. Lhoste, M. Saastamoinen, and W. Martin-Rosset (eds.): *Working Animals in Agriculture and Transport: A Collection of Some Current Research and Development Observations,* EAAT Technical Series No. 6 (Wageningen: Academic Publishers, 2003), 186.

65 In detail on carts and wagons in ancient Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 132–160; H. Köpp-Junk, "Die Entwicklung von Fahrzeugen und Landverkehrswegen im Alten Ägypten," *Das Altertum* 60.2 (2015): 125–153; Köpp-Junk 2016, 14–58.

66 On sledges as a mode of transport in Egypt, see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 117–132.

67 The scene is depicted in the tomb of Djehutihetep in el-Bersha (tomb nr. 2) and is dated to the Twelfth Dynasty (Newberry 1895, 18–19, pl. 12, 15; Arnold 1991, 277, fig. 3.5; A. Badawy, "The Transport of the Colossus of Djehutihetep," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung* 8 [1963]: 325–332). Willems even assumes a weight of 80 tons (H. Willems, C. Peeters, and D. Verstraeten, "Where Did Djehutihotep Erect His Colossal Statue?," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 132 [2005], 173–174, n. 6).

68 For details see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 28–29. No costs concerning passenger transport are available.

69 In detail on this topic see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 267–278; F. Förster, H. Riemer, A. Bolten, O. Bubenezer, S. Hendrickx, and F. Darius, "Tracing Linear Structures: Remote Sensing, Landscape Classification and the Archaeology of Desert Roads in the Eastern Desert," in W. J. G. Möhlig, O. Bubenezer, G. Menz (eds.), *Towards Interdisciplinarity: Experiences of the Long-Term ACACIA Project,* Topics in Interdisciplinary African Studies 16 (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2010), 49-75.

70 *Truth and Falsehood*, papyrus British Museum 10682, 7, 1–2; *The Two Brothers*, papyrus D'Orbiney 12, 10–13, 2); *CT* I, 10 (spell 3) and 72 (spell 23); *The Eloquent Peasant*, R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991), R I, 1–7

71 For long-distance travels, vessels were used as containers for wine, oil, and other products, but not for water. The latter was transported in water-skins, as mentioned in several texts (Couyat and Montet

1912, inscription nr. 114; papyrus Anastasi I, 25, 7f.; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 224; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical IV: Merenptah and the Late 19th Dynasty* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), 14, 8 (Israel Stela). Those water-skins called *guerba* are nowadays made of the skins of goats or antelope and have a volumetric capacity of 20–25 liters (Monod 2002, 140; C. Bergmann, *Der letzte Beduine. Meine Karawanen zu den Geheimnissen der Wüste* [Hamburg: Rowohlt, 2002], 303). On the botanical remains of traveler sites in the Theban desert, see R. T. J. Capper, L. Sikking, J. C. Darnell, D. Darnell, "Food Supply Along the Theban Desert Roads (Egypt): The Gebel Roma, Wadi el-Hôl, and Gebel Qarn el-Gir Caravansary Deposits," in R. T. J. Cappers (ed.), *Fields of Change: Proceedings of the 4th International Workshop of African Archaeobotany* (Groningen: Barkhuis and Groningen University Library, 2007), 127–138. On supply during desert travels see Köpp 2013, 122–123; on the supply chains at the Abu Ballas Trail see Förster 2015, 341–372; for the grain storage, Förster 2015, 316. On the inscriptions of desert travelers see J. C. Darnell, *Gebel Tjauti Rock Inscriptions 1-45 and Wadi el-Hôl Rock Inscriptions 1-45*, Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert I, Oriental Institute Publications 119 (Chigaco: Oriental Institute, 2002); J. C. Darnell, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert 2. The Rock Shrine of Paḥu, Gebel Akhenaton, and other Rock Inscriptions from the Western Hinterland of Naqada*, Yale Egyptological Publications 1 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2013).

72 On formalities such as passports and permissions see Köpp-Junk 2015, 315–317.

73 See for example the water depots on the Abu Ballas Trail in the Libyan Desert, dating to the Old Kingdom (F. Förster, "With Donkeys, Jars and Water Bags into the Libyan Desert: The Abu Ballas Trail in the Late Old Kingdom/First Intermediate Period," *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 7 [2007]: 1–36; Förster 2015).

74 Fischer-Elfert 1986, 230–235.

75 See TT 57 and TT 324; U. Hofmann, *Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im Alten Ägypten* (Bonn: Hochschulschrift, 1989), 288, pl. 70, 72.

76 *The Doomed Prince*, papyrus Harris 500 vso. 4, 13–5, 1; A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 1 (Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), 2, 14–16.

77 A. H. Gardiner, "The Map of the Gold Mines in a Ramesside Papyrus at Turin," *Cairo Scientific Journal* 8 (1914): 41–46; J. Harrell and V. M. Brown, "The Oldest Surviving Topographical Map from Ancient Egypt (Turin Papyri 1879, 1899, and 1969)," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 29 (1992): 81–105.

78 In detail on the usability of the map for travelers see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 275–276, pl. 15c–16c.

79 On some of those being attested in Egypt see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 271–272.

80 See, for example, those on the Hatnub road to quarry P (I. M. E. Shaw, "A Survey at Hatnub," in B. J. Kemp [ed.], *Amarna Reports III*, Egypt Exploration Society [London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1986], 195); Köpp-Junk 2015a, 57, 68, pl. 1a. On the *alamat* along the Abu Ballas Trail see Förster 2015, 78–85.

81 See for example those flanking the Dahshur road or the Fayum road (Köpp-Junk 2015, 69).

82 Schulgi A 29–35; S. A. Meier, *The Messenger in the Ancient Semitic World*, Harvard Semitic Monographs 45 (Atlanta: Scholar Press, 1988), 94, note 75.

83 I. M. E. Shaw, "Master of the Road: Quarrying and Communication Networks in Egypt and Nubia," in B. Mathieu, D. Meeks, and M. Wissa (eds.), *L'apport de l'Égypte à l'histoire des techniques. Méthodes, chronologie et comparaisons,* Bibliothèque d'études, Institut français d'archéologie orientale 142 (Cairo: Institute français d'archéologie orientale, 2006), 253–266: 258, fig. 6.

84 Förster 2015, 50, 106, 108, 111, 115, 123, 127, 312, 316, 588, figs. 21, 98, 111, 120, 136, 141.

85 J. Harrell and T. M. Bown "An Old Kingdom Basalt Quarry at Widan el-Faras and the Quarry Road to Lake Moeris," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 32 (1995): 77–78, figs. 3, 8–10.

86 Shaw 1986, 198–200.

87 Kemp 1991, 166, 247, fig. 83.

88 Shaw 1986, 191.

89 For further details see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 261.

90 *Urk*. IV, 655, 12; 655, 15; 656, 6; 656, 13. The same applies for Ramesses II in the battle of Kadesh (K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical II* [Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1979], 102), and Pije [*Urk*. III, 40, 11–15]. For Akhenaton a tent is mentioned as accommodation for his overnight stay at his first visit to Amarna [*Urk*. IV, 1982, 11–12].

91 Reisner and Smith 1955, pls. 5b, 26e, 27a.

92 It was covered by a rosette-embroidered cloth (Wiese and Brodbeck 2004, 85, fig. 6).

93 H. Carter, *Das Grab des Tut-ench-Amun*, 6th ed. (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1981), fig. 57.

94 *Sinuhe* B 25–28; *Sinuhe* B 94–98.

95 Papyrus Harris 500 vso. 5, 7–10.

96 Papyrus Anastasi I 25, 7.

97 *Urk*. IV, 325, 12–16.

98 Egyptian Museum Cairo nr. 41890; *Urk*. I, 214, 11–17; Goedicke 1967, 42–54, fig. 4; translation by M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I: The Old and Middle Kingdom* (Berkeley—Los Angeles—London:

University of California Press, 1984), 28.

99 *Urk*. I, 131, 4–7.

100 Köpp-Junk 2015a, 231-232; F. Hagen, "On Some Movements of the Royal Court in New Kingdom Egypt," in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Another Mouthful of Dust: Egyptological Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Thorndike Martin*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 246 (Leiden: Peeters, 2016), 155-181.

101 W. Helck, "Das Dekret des Königs Haremhab," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 80 (1955): § 5, 120, 133.

102 B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London—New York: Routledge, 1991), 218–219.

103 Papyrus Anastasi IV 20; R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Brown Egyptological Studies 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1954b), 198-201; Kemp 1991, 218.

104 Papyrus Chester Beatty I; A. H. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931) pl. 29, G, 1-4; Lichtheim 2006, vol. II, 186. For the performance of these love songs and love poems by musicians and reciters see H. Köpp-Junk, "The artist behind the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs: Performance and technique", in R. Landgráfová and H. Navrátilová, *Sex and the Golden Goddess II: The World of the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2015), 35-60.

105 On traveling speed in ancient Egypt in detail see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 289–302, tab. 6–13.

106 In detail on traveling speed on the waterway see Köpp-Junk 2015, 298–300, tab. 12–13.

107 H. G. Fischer, "Two Tantalizing Biographical Fragments," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 61 (1975): 34.

108 Papyrus Leiden I 350 vso., IV, 32.

109 Herodotus, *Histories* II, 9.

110 See for example papyrus Anastasi I 19, 8; 23, 3–4; 23, 7–25, 2.

111 Traveling the desert was still as dangerous in the 19th century CE as it was in ancient Egypt, and it still is. Losing the track can lead to fatal consequences, as nearly happened to Richard Lepsius and Max Weidenbach, traveling from Thebes to Sinai in 1845. They were parted from their caravan, got lost in the desert and could not find the watering holes when their guide left them alone. By chance they met another caravan, which saved their lives (E. Freie, S. Grunert, S., and M. Freitag, *Eine Reise durch Ägypten* [Berlin: Henschel, 1984], 151).

112 Depriving his enemy of access to water is a common praxis. The contamination of wells by animal cadavers is even mentioned in the Bible (1 Moses 26:15; 2 Kings 3:25).

113 Köpp 2013, 122–123; Monod 2002, 147; Bergmann 2002, 265; C. Rossi, "Umm el-Dabadib, Roman Settlement in the Kharga Oasis: Description of the Visible Remains," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Abteilung Kairo* 56 (2000): 339.

114 Papyrus Wise. 1174; translation after R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 40.

115 Papyrus Anastasi I 25, 8–26, 1; H. W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I. vol. 2. Textzusammenstellung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 147.

116 *Urk*. I, 180–188; E. Schott, "Die Biographie des Ka-emtenenet," in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, and R. Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Festschrift Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977, 443–461; N. Kloth, *Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches: Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie und Entwicklung*, Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte 8 (Hamburg: Buske, 2002), 35, 210–211.

117 Papyrus Leningrad 1115 33–39; A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 2 (Bruxelles: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932), 42, 11–13; translation by Galán 2005, 31.

118 *Wenamun* 2,50.

119 *Admonitions* 2, 2; 5, 11–12; translation by R. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 171, 176.

120 Papyrus Anastasi I 23, 7–8.

121 Papyrus Anastasi I 20, 1–6; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 160.

122 Regarding the dating of the text see R. A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe: From a Hieratic Papyrus in the A. S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1977), 4; J. F. Quack, "Ein neuer Versuch zum Moskauer literarischen Brief," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 128 (2001): 172.

123 Papyrus Pushkin 127, column 3, lines 4–7.

124 ARM II, 133.19–24; SLA 34.6–1r; Meier 1988, 80–81.

125 Ohler 1988, 86; E. Schubert, *Fahrendes Volk im Mittelalter* (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 1995), 80–84.

126 In detail see Köpp-Junk 2015, 278–280.

127 W. Gutekunst, "Min," in W. Helck, and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1982), col. 137.

128 D. Wildung, "Ha," W. Helck, and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1977), col. 923.

129 An expedition inscription in the Wadi Hammamat refers to Mut and Min (K.-J. Seyfried, *Beiträge zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-Wüste*, Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 15 [Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981], 247, 276–277, inscription M 199).

130 Private letters from Deir el-Medineh invoke Amun as the god of travelers (P. Berg, "Perspectives on Travelling in the Texts from Deir e-Medina," in V. Gashe and J. Finch [eds.], *Current Research in Egyptology 2008: Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Symposium* [Bolton: Rutherford Press, 2008], 6).

131 Amun-Ra and Min were addressed in the Wadi Gawasis by Nitocris, Psammetikh, and Shepenupet (G. Schweinfurth and A. Erman, *Alte Baureste und hieroglyphische Inschriften im Uadi Gasus* [Berlin: Verlag der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1885], 3–23, 10–15).

132 Dieter and Dorothea Arnold, *Der Tempel Qasr el-Sagha*, Archäologischen Veröffentlichungen 27 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1979), 25. According to the Edfu texts, Horus is the protector of the way to Punt as well (Edfou I², 425, 13–14; S. H. Aufrère, "Religious Perceptions of the Mine in the Eastern Desert in Ptolemaic and Roman Times," in Olaf E. Kaper, *Life on the Fringe: Living in the Southern Egyptian Deserts during the Roman and Early-Byzantine periods*, Contributions by the Nederlands-Vlaams Instituut in Cairo 2, CNWS Publications 71 [Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1998], 11).

133 In the Ptolemaic Period Isis served as a protective maritime deity (Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina—Zeus Sarapis: die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* [München/Leipzig: Saur Verlag, 2001], 66; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* [Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1971], 330; W. Gutekunst, "Schutzgott, -göttin," in W. Helck, and W. Westendorf [eds.], *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), col. 751; F. Dunand, *Le culte d'Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée III* [Leiden: Brill, 1973], 331).

134 Papyrus Lansing 4, 10–5, 2; A. H. *Gardiner, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7 (Bruxelles: Éditioin de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937), 103, 13–16; translation after Lichtheim 2006, vol. II, 170.

135 *Wenamun* 1, 34; 2, 55. In detail on the travels of Wenamun and their chronology see A. Egberts, "The Chronology of 'The Report of Wenamun,'" *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77 (1991): 57–67.

136 Papyrus Insinger 28, 14; A. Volten, *Kopenhagener Texte zum Demotischen Weisheitsbuch. Analecta Aegyptiaca II* (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1940), 214; translation after Lichtheim 2006, vol. III, 207.

137 For detail on the motivations for traveling see Köpp-Junk 2013a, 4–5; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 217–222.

138 The text is inscribed in the temple of Karnak and deals with the military campaigns of pharaoh Thutmose III to Syria-Palestine (*Urk*. IV, 645–734).

139 *Urk*. I 246, 4.

140 J. Kahl, "Ein Zeugnis altägyptischer Schulausflüge," *Göttinger Miszellen* 211 (2006): 29; V. Davies and R. Friedman, Unbekanntes Ägypten (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1999), 63; W. Helck, "Ägypten im frühen Neuen Reich, Grundzüge einer Entwicklung," in A. Eggebrecht (ed.), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1987), 20; L. Casson, *Reisen in der Alten Welt* (München: Prestel, 1974), 27; D. Wildung, *Die Rolle des ägyptischen Königs im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, Münchener Ägyptologische Studien 17 (München, Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1969), 66.

141 See for example the inscription of the scribe Amenhotep, son of Hapu (*Urk*. IV 1832–1833); J. Yoyotte, "Les pelerinages dans l'Égypte ancienne," in *Sources orientales* 3 (Paris: Seuil 1960), 19–74; Beinlich, "Wallfahrt," in W. Helck, and W. Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie VI* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), col. 1145; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 233–235.

142 D. Wildung, "Besucherinschriften," in W. Helck and E. Otto (ed.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), cols. 766–767.

143 For further details see Köpp-Junk 2015, 235.

144 Ostracon Oriental Institute 12074; W. Guglielmi, "Eine 'Lehre' für einen reiselustigen Sohn," *Welt des Orients* 14 (1983): 147–166; J. Foster, "Oriental Institute Ostracon 12074, 'Menna's Lament' or 'Letter to a Wayward Son,'" *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14.4 (1984): 88–99; John L. Foster, *Echoes of Egyptian Voices: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Poetry* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 56–59.

145 Köpp-Junk 2015a, 218 with further references.

146 For detail see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 221.

147 For detail on various professions of travelers see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 213–266.

148 For detail see Köpp-Junk 2015.

149 *Urk*. I, 135, 17–140, 11.

150 Guglielmi 1983, 147–166.

151 T. G. H., James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 19 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1962); J. P. Allen, *The Heqanakht Papyri*, Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Edition 27 (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002).

152 On Egyptian marriage customs see S. Allam, "Ehe," in W. Helck and E. Otto (ed.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*

I (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975), col. 1167.

153 For further information see Köpp 2008b; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 227–230. A detailed analysis is currently being done by the author of this article.

154 *Urk*. IV, 7; Köpp-Junk 2015a, 229–230; D. Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re. Eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Abteilung Kairo 16 (Berlin: Achet-Verlag, 1999), 277–278.

155 According to the literary work *Wenamun* (II, 69), the Egyptian chantress Tanetnut was a resident at the palace of the ruler of Byblos (see as well Köpp-Junk 2015a, 230).

156 W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 2. und 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr*., Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1971), 434.

157 On Egyptian marriage customs in detail see Allam 1975, col. 1167.

158 Inscription on the statue of her son Mai (dating to the reign of Ramesses II); Egyptian Museum Cairo, JdE 67878; Raue 1999, 197–198, 287.

159 Jockenhövel 1991: 50.

160 P. Posener-Kriéger, "Les papyrus de Gébélein. Remarques préliminaires," *Revue d'égyptologie* 27 (1975): 211–221 212.

161 For detail see Köpp 2008b.

162 Reisner and Smith 1955, pl. 27 a.

163 N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna I* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903), pl. 10, 17 (tomb of Merira I); Amarna, Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Akhenaten; Davies 1905, pl. 13, 15–16 (tomb of Panehesi). For detail see Köpp 2008b; Köpp-Junk 2015b, 102–149.

164 M. G. Daressy, "Une représentation de cavalier égyptien," *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 6 (1905): 97, fig. 1; A. R. Schulman, "Egyptian Representations of Horsemen and Riding in the New Kingdom," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (1957): 269.

165 Köpp-Junk 2015a, 166–171.

166 See, for example, J. Garstang, P. E. Newberry, and J. G. Milne, *El Arʻabah*, Egyptian Research Account 6 (London: Quaritch, 1901), pl. 9.

167 Köpp-Junk, H. (2015a), 97; see U. Bouriant, *Le tombeau de Harmhabi*, Mémoires Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 5, 3 (Paris: Leroux, 1894), pl. 4 (tomb of Haremhab, Thebes, TT 78, Eighteenth Dynasty); N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes II*, Egyptian Expedition XI (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), pl. 21 (tomb of Rekhmira, Thebes, TT 100, Eighteenth Dynasty); Eberhard Dziobek and Mahmud Abdel Raziq, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep Theben Nr. 63*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 71 (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1980), pl. 2a (tomb of Sobekhotep, Thebes, TT 63, Eighteenth Dynasty); N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna II,* Archaeological Survey of Egypt 14 (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905), pl. 38 (tomb of Merira II, Amarna, Eighteenth Dynasty).

168 For the 700 wine jars found in the tomb U-j and imported from Palestine see U. Hartung, "Bemerkungen zur Chronologie der Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Südkanaan in spätprädynastischer Zeit," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes Kairo* 50 (1994): 110.

169 E. Teeter, *Before the Pyramids: The Origin of Egyptian Civilization*, Oriental Institute Museum Publication 33 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago 2011), 162–163; R. Gundlach, *Die Zwangsumsiedlung auswärtiger Bevölkerung als Mittel ägyptischer Politik bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches,* Forschungen zur Sklaverei 26 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), 53–54.

170 J. Baines and J. Malek, *Ägypten* (München: Christian, 1992), 20–21.

171 Hartung 1994: 112.

172 L. Watrin, "The Relative Chronology of the Naqada Culture: A View from Buto, Maʿadi Harageh and Gerzeh," in H. Hanna (ed.): *Proceedings of the International Conference in Naqada und Qus Region's Heritage*, International Council of Museums (ICOM), Alexandria, Egypt (Cairo: Egyptian Printing Company, 2007), 11; C. Ward, "Boat-building and its Social Context in Early Egypt: Interpretations from the First Dynasty Boat-grave Cemetery at Abydos," *Antiquity* 80 (2006): 120; F. Feindt and M. Fischer, "Untersuchung botanischer Proben," in G. Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsgrab U-j und seine frühesten Schriftzeugnisse,* Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 86 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998) 191–192; S. Vinson, "Seafaring," in E. Frood and W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles: eSchoarship, University of California, 2009), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9d93885v, 3, accessed 7 November 2016.

173 Palermo Stone, reign of Sahura; *Urk*. I, 246, 4.

174 See the physician Idu in the Sixth Dynasty (E. Edel, *Ägyptische Ärzte und ägyptische Medizin am hethitischen Königshof* [Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1976], 49).

175 Edel mentions two Egyptian messengers residing at the Hittite court (E. Edel, "Neue keilschriftliche Umschreibungen ägyptischer Namen aus den Bogazköytexten," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 7 [1948]: 17–18). See as well the several physicians sent to the land of Hatti, such as the scribe and physician Pareemhat (KUB III 67; Edel 1976, 46–47, 82–84, 87–89, 104).

176 The inscription was found in his tomb on the Qubbet el-Hawa (tomb nr. 34; Sixth Dynasty; *Urk*. I, 124, 9–127, 12–15). For the calculation of the length of this travels see Edel 1955: 66, note 2. The localization of Yam is nevertheless still in discussion; see for example D. M. Dixon, "The Land of Yam," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 44 (1958): 40–55; D. O'Connor, "The Locations of Yam and Kush and Their Historical Implications," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23 (1986): 27–50; C. Obsomer, "Les expéditions d'Herkhouf (VIe dynastie) et la localisation de Iam," in M.-C. Bruwier (ed.), *Pharaons noirs. Sur la Piste des Quarante Jours.* Catalogue de l'exposition du 9 mars au 2 septembre 2007 par le Musée royal de Mariemont (Mariemont: Musée royal de Mariemont, 2007) 39–52; J. Clayton, A. De Trafford and M. Borda "A Hieroglyphic Inscription found at the Jebel Uweinat mentioning Yam and Tekhebet," *Sahara* 19 (2008): 129–134; J. Cooper, "Reconsidering the Location of Yam," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 48 (2012): 1–21; Förster 2015, 474–476, 479–487.

177 H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung. Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit*, Bonner Historische Forschungen 26 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1964), 64.

178 Inscription from the tomb of Weni in Abydos (Sixth Dynasty; Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 1435; *Urk*. I 98–110).

179 Partridge 1996, 77. He argues that "this is not unusual, for it is only in the last two hundred years that the population of modern countries have had the ability to move easily over great distances." For later times see Braunert 1964, 335, quoting H. I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest: A Study in the Diffusion and Decay of Hellenism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), 119: "The average man was fixed for life in the station to which he was born."

180 Sinuhe B 159–160; *The Shipwrecked Sailor* (papyrus Leningrad 1115, 120–123); Jan Assmann, "Zum Konzept der Fremdheit im alten Ägypten," in Meinhard Schuster (ed.), *Die Begegnung mit dem Fremden. Wertungen und Wirkungen in Hochkulturen vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart*, Colloquium Rauricum 4 (Stuttgart, Leipzig: Teubner, 1996), 80; see the subsequent discussion in the present paper as well.

181 Bagnall 1993, 40, referring to pFay. 136 from Arsinoites (Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 10811).

182 *Urk*. I, 98–110.

183 *Urk*. I, 120–131.

184 Papyrus Anastasi IV 6, 11; Caminos 1954b, 155.

185 Papyrus Anastasi IV 12, 6–13, 8; Caminos 1954, 188–189.

186 James 1962, 6; Allen 2002, 106, 125, 180. The household consists of different relatives, namely his mother, brother, sister, an aunt or sister, his wife, his son, and a daughter (Allen 2002, 116).

187 Letter I, 1–3; Allen 2002, 15.

188 Letter I, vo. 13–15; Allen 2002, 16. For the discussion concerning her position within Heqanakhte's household as his potential second wife see Allen 2002, 108–109.

189 Letter I, vo. 17 and letter II, 1–2; Allen 2002, 16. See as well letter IV, 1–4 (Allen 2002, 18), written by a daughter to her mother.

190 *Eloquent Peasant* R 1.5; R. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: A Reader's Commentary*, Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica 10 (Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 2012), 28.

191 Letter II, vo. 2–5a, 24–29; Allen 2002, 16–17.

192 *Sinuhe* B 225; translated by Parkinson 1997, 38.

193 Assmann 1996, 77–99.

194 Papyrus Pushkin 127, 3, 7–9; Assmann 1996, 93-94.

195 Papyrus Leningrad 1115, 41–45; Blackman 1932, 14–16; translation by Galán 2005, 31.

196 Papyrus Leningrad 1115, 120–123; *Sinuhe*, B 159–160; E. Otto, "Die Geschichte des Sinuhe und des Schiffbrüchigen als 'lehrhafte' Stücke," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 93 (1966): 100–111, 103; in detail on dying abroad see Köpp-Junk 2015, 283–289.

197 Papyrus Leiden I 384, 5, 14–21; Assmann, 1996, 88.

198 Couyat and Montet 1912, 38, inscription nr. 12, 19.

199 *Urk*. I ,135, 17–140, 11; *Urk*. I, 131, 15–135, 7.

200 Parkinson 1991, R I, 1–9,

201 Stela Tübingen nr. 458.11; K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke. Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1959), 88, lines 22–23.

202 *Wenamun* 2, 75; 2, 80.

203 *Sinuhe* B 25–29.

204 *Sinuhe* B 30–31.

205 *Sinuhe* B 78–81, 86–87.

206 *Sinuhe* B 159–160.

207 A detailed analysis of this topic is beyond the scope of this article; see therefore A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 48 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988); Assmann 1996; Jürgen Zeidler, "Fremde im Alten Ägypten. Zur kulturellen Konstruktion von Fremdheit," in U. Riemer und P. Riemer, *Xonophobie—Philoxenie. Vom Umgang mit Fremden in der Antike* (Stuttgart: Frankz Steiner Verlag, 2005), 31–64; Christina Riggs and John Baines, "Ethnicity," in Elizabeth Frood and Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (Los Angeles:

eScholarship, University of California, 2012), https://escholarship.org/uc/item/32r9x0jr, accessed 4 June 2016.

208 Lichtheim 2006, vol. II, 98–99.

209 See for example *Sinuhe* B 63. In detail on late Egyptian fictional texts see C. Di Biase-Dyson, *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian Stories: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Perspectives*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 32 (Leiden: Brill 2013).

210 Berlin Museum 1157; R. B. Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 45. For the hieroglyphic text of the stela see Parkinson 1991, 44.

211 Weni, *Urk.* I 101, 13–16; S. J. Seidlmayer, "Nubier im ägyptischen Kontext im Alten und Mittleren Reich," in S. Leder and B. Streck (eds.), *Akkulturation und Selbstbehauptung: Beiträge des Kolloquiums am 14.12.2001*, Mitteilungen des SFB "Differenz und Integration" 2, Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte 4 (Halle-Wittenberg: Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum der Martin-Luther-Universität, 2002), 96.

212 Tomb of Maiherperi, Thebes, KV 36; N. Reeves and R. H. Wilkinson, *Das Tal der Könige* (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 2000), 179–181. His *Book of the Dead* is now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 24095; see Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, nr. 142a.

213 The earliest finds date to the Twelfth Dynasty. For a compact overview on the Hyksos with detailed bibliography see M. Bietak, "From Where Came the Hyksos and Where Did They Go," in M. Marée (ed.), *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth–Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven 2010: Peeters, 2010), 139–181.

214 For details see H. Köpp-Junk, "Mobilität, Fremdheit und Integration im Alten Ägypten," in H. Meller and R. Risch (eds.), *Migration und Integration von der Urgeschichte bis zum Mittelalter* (forthcoming).

215 Köpp-Junk 2013a, 5.

216 P. A. Bochi, "Gender and Genre in Ancient Egyptian Poetry: The Rhetoric of Performance in the Harpers' Songs," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 35 (1998): 91, n. 11.

217 Some of the Amarna letters are addressed to Egyptians staying in Syria-Palestine (Kemp 1991, 224). Physicians (Edel 1976, 46–47, 82–84, 87–89, 104), chantresses (*Wenamun* II, 69), scribes (W. F. Albright, "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 23* (1937): 191f.), and traders are attested at foreign courts (Köpp-Junk 2015a, 216).

218 On the expeditions of the Old Kingdom see E. Eichler, *Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, Göttinger Orientforschungen Reihe 4, Ägypten, 26 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 36–44, 120–127, 113, 155, 325. With regard to the Middle Kingdom see Seyfried 1981, 219–220, 269; for the New Kingdom see T. Hikade, *Das Expeditionswesen im Neuen Reich. Ein Beitrag zu Rohstoffversorgung und Außenhandel*, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägypten 21 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 2001), 23–53, 199–204, 227–228. For further details referring to the total number of expedition members see Köpp-Junk 2015a, 256–259, 264.

219 Köpp-Junk 2015a, 264.

220 Köpp-Junk 2015a, 262–264.

221 See for example "Beginning of the Sayings of Great Happiness," papyrus Chester Beatty I verso, C1–5; Gardiner 1931, 30–34, pl. 22–26. For further detail on the ancient Egyptian love songs see, e.g., Renata Landgráfová and Hana Navrátilová (eds.), *Sex and the Golden Goddess* (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2009); Landgráfová and Navrátilová 2015.

222 See for example H. Navrátilová, *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara* (Praha: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2007).

223 This item is currently being analyzed in detail by the author of this article.

224 For an analysis of this topic in the Greco-Roman Period see Braunert, 1964. Due to the publication year, a new investigation seems appropriate.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

The Standard of Living of the Judean Military Colony at Elephantine in Persian Period Egypt

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Abstract
The settlement of Judean military colonists at Elephantine island at the southern border of Egypt is by far the best-documented foreign community in this province of the Persian empire. The religious life of this military colony as well as the tension between the Judeans and the priests of the local god Khnum culminating in the destruction of the local temple of Jahu at the end of the 5th century BCE have been in the focus of scholarly discussion for decades. Recent excavations at Elephantine Island and Syene (modern Aswan) indicate that the settlement of foreign colonists there was organized by the Persian administration including the creation of entirely new living quarters. Both the Aramaic papyri as well as the archaeological record provide deeper insights into the daily life and living conditions of these colonists. This paper discusses rations disbursed to military colonists at Elephantine as well as household sizes as proxies for the standard of living of the Judean settlers at Elephantine.

Introduction[1]

The Aramaic papyri discovered by Otto Rubensohn and Friedrich Zucker at the island of Elephantine in 1906–1908 have been attracting the interest of scholars for more than 100 years[2] because of principally two reasons: 1) The papyri indicate the existence of a temple of Jahu besides the one in Jerusalem, thus raising questions on the nature and religious life of the Judean settlement living at the southwestern periphery of the Persian Empire. 2) Two drafts of a petition in the archive of Jedaniah son of Gemariah include a vivid description of the destruction of the Yahu temple at Elephantine at the end of the 5th century BCE. The fact that the priests of the nearby temple of the ram-headed local god Khnum played a major role in this conflict indicates religious motives that led to the destruction of the temple.[3] The reconstruction of the religious life of the Judeans at Elephantine is still in the focus of the scholarly discussion of the Elephantine papyri although most of the documents are legal documents, lists, accounts, letters, etc. referring to the daily life as well as legal issues of these military colonists.[4]

Additionally, new source material has been published since the discovery of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine:

- The Aramaic ostraca excavated by a French mission on the eastern part of the southern Kom of Elephantine published in 2006—almost 100 years after their discovery—mostly consist of lists and letters reflecting matters of daily life of the Judean settlement.[5]
- The excavations of the German and Swiss Archaeological Institutes contributed not only to the identification of the Yahu temple but also to a better understanding of the living quarters of the military colony.[6]
- Recent excavations of a garrison town surrounded by a great wall in the Persian period by the Swiss Institute at Aswan revealed that living quarters with houses similar to those at Elephantine were erected simultaneously at Syene.[7]

In order to explore the full potential of the papyrological and archaeological evidence from Elephantine for a history of foreign settlements in the Persian Empire, it is necessary to ask new questions and to apply new methods. Economic history, currently being subject of a revival in ancient history, provides research questions (e.g., on demography, economic growth, standards of living) and methodological approaches (e.g., quantifications, proxies, new institutional economics) that may be applicable to our material.[8] In this paper, I will discuss rations disbursed to military colonists at Elephantine as well as household sizes as proxies for the standard of living of the Judaean settlers at Elephantine.

Wheat Wages

In recent years, several methods were developed to compare standards of living on the basis of quantifiable data. Robert Allen, for instance, introduced the concept of welfare ratio/consumption baskets.[9] For this purpose, he calculated the daily wages of a laborer as well as the costs of supporting a family. The so-called "consumption basket" includes all items that a family would supposedly consume in the course of a year. By multiplying the quantities of items with their actual prices, Allen was able to estimate the costs of living for a family. By comparing the costs of living with the yearly income of a laborer, he established the so-called welfare ratio indicating how much of these costs were covered by the income of the laborer.[10] Walter Scheidel, however, criticized Allen's approach because of the lack of relevant data for many regions and time periods in antiquity.[11] In his opinion, only Roman Egypt would provide sufficient data for this method. Even the basis for Allen's consumption basket, Diocletian's price edict (301 CE) setting price maxima for different goods, did not reflect real prices, as Scheidel demonstrated by comparison with data from Roman Egypt.

As an alternative approach, Scheidel proposed the concept of wheat wages. He defines wheat wage as "the daily wage of an unskilled laborer expressed in liters of wheat."[12] The idea is to convert the wages of workers into wheat equivalents and to calculate the daily wage of a worker in kind. In doing so, it is possible to compare wages from different regions and time periods no matter if paid in silver or in kind. Due to the work of Scheidel, a broader data set is already available: His analysis revealed comparably high wages for Babylonia in the Neo-Babylonian Period (9.6–14.4 l) or Classical Athens (8.7–15.6 l), Byzantine/early Arabic Egypt (7.7–13.4 l), and high medieval Cairo (7.5-13.5 l), but relatively low wages for Ptolemaic Egypt (3.2–6.2 l).[13] Scheidel notes that most estimates fall within a core range of 3.5–6.5 liters of wheat per day.

Although it is well documented that the military colonists at Elephantine and elsewhere received a salary (*prs*) in silver, the exact amount of silver per month is unknown.[14] But they were also provided with rations in kind (*ptp*), as some documents show.[15] TAD C3.14, a fragmentary account, reveals that the garrison at Syene was provided with barley coming from the provinces of Thebes and the Southern District.[16] Moreover, it contains an account on the disbursement of barley to different groups of people:

(26) *[k]l npš 20 20 10 4 bgw*
(26) [A]ll (told) 54 souls. Herein—

(27) *[2] lḥd šʾ 1 r 2 lšʾ 3*
(27) [2]: for (each) one b(arley), 1 a(rdab), 2 q(uarters amounting) to b(arley), 3 a(rdabs);

(28) *20 2 lḥd šʾ 1 lšʾ 20 2*
(28) 22: for (each) one b(arley), 1 a(rdab) to b(arley), 22 a(rdabs);

(29) *[n]pš 20 10 lḥd šʾ 1[1 r 2 l]šʾ 20 20 20 10 5*
(29) 30 [s]ouls: for (each) one b(arley), 1[+] (= 2) a(rdab), [2 q(uarters) to] b(arley), 75 a(rdabs).

(30) *kl npqtʾ yw.[..]*
(30) All the outlay ...[...]...

(31) *šʾ 100*
(31) b(arley), 100 a(rdabs).

While 22 persons received a minimum ration of 1 artaba per month, 30 persons got a maximum of 2.5 artabas per month. In order to compare these data with other regions and time periods, it is necessary to convert the rations of barley (in artabas) into wheat wages (in liters). Thus, we need to know the exact size of an artaba and the ratio of barley and wheat in terms of their caloric value. Although it is widely accepted that the Persepolitan artaba equals ca. 30 liters, the exact size of an artaba in Persian Period Egypt is actually subject of discussion.[17] The artaba was a dry measure introduced in Egypt under Persian rule, as our account as well as other Aramaic texts show.[18] Vleeming pointed out that the Egyptian artaba attested in demotic texts of the Ptolemaic Period was in some cases larger in size than the Persepolitan one (40 liters).[19] Although the Aramaic documents from Persian period Egypt give no hint on the actual size of the artaba, I assume that the measure used by the Judean settlers at Elephantine was similar to the Persepolitan one (ca. 30 l).[20]

As for the caloric value of barley and wheat, scholars refer to different numbers.[21] Although the caloric values of 1 kg of wheat and barley are quite similar[22], differences occur when calculating with liters because of the specific weight of both cereals.[23] Thus, Scheidel and Michael Jursa assume that 1 liter of barley equals 0.8 liter of wheat in terms of caloric value.[24] On the basis of this assumption, it is possible to calculate the wheat wages of the different groups of recipients (Table 1).

BARLEY IN ARTABAS/MONTH	BARLEY IN LITERS/MONTH	WHEAT IN LITERS/MONTH	WHEAT IN LITERS/DAY
1	30	24	0.8
1.5	45	36	1.2
2.5	75	60	2

Table 1: Rations mentioned in TAD C3.14 converted into daily wheat wages.

The comparison of these numbers with wheat wages from other regions or time periods reveals that the provision of the military colonists of Elephantine with rations of barley of 0.8–2 liters per day was relatively low and is even lower than the very modest numbers from Ptolemaic Egypt. It definitely does not reach Scheidel's core range of 3.5-6.5 liters per day.

Caloric Value of Rations

Another approach is to estimate the caloric value of the barley rations. The basic question is how many people could have been fed through the caloric value of the monthly rations. For this purpose, it is necessary to convert the liters of barley into their corresponding weight that is the basis for the calculation of the caloric value: 1 liter of barley corresponds to 0.62 kg because of the specific weight of barley,[25] with 1 kg barley providing 3,320 kcal.[26] Based on these assumptions, it is possible to calculate the caloric value of each ration per month/day (Table 2).

BARLEY IN LITERS/MONTH	BARLEY IN KG/MONTH	BARLEY IN KCAL/MONTH	BARLEY IN KCAL/DAY
30	18.6	61,742	2,058.4
45	27.9	92,628	3,087.6
75	46.5	154,380	5,146.0

Table 2: Caloric values of the rations mentioned in TAD C 3.14.

Many scholars assume that the average need for calories would be about 2,000 kcal per day.[27] Thus the basic ration of 1 artaba of barley per month would be sufficient to feed one person, but not a whole family. The papyri inform us that the military colonists lived with their families at Elephantine, as we shall see below in the section on housing. Therefore, it is reasonable to compare the rations with the caloric needs of a nuclear family. If we assume a caloric need of 7,300 kcal per day for a family of four,[28] even the highest ration would not be sufficient to feed the whole family. Jursa, for instance, assumes that the monthly ration of 90 l of barley attested for Uruk may be sufficient for a family of four persons.[29] On the other hand, the payment of 1 artaba barley (or 30 l) is also attested as remuneration for *kurtaš* workers in Persepolis.

How can we explain these relatively low rations? On the one hand, women at Elephantine probably received rations for themselves (cf. TAD B5.5). Thus, their rations were also part of the monthly income of a family at Elephantine. On the other hand, military colonists received payments (*prs*) in silver as a number of documents from Elephantine and elsewhere demonstrate.[30] Hitherto no document is known mentioning the amount of silver the military colonists received as a salary.[31] This money, however, was certainly used to buy supplementary food and other things of daily use. Regular payments in silver also explain the important role that silver played in the economic life of the Judeans at Elephantine.[32] Legal documents like sales, loans, dowries, etc., as well as several letters, demonstrate the high degree of circulation of silver and its important role for business activities.[33]

Household Size

The comparison of costs/incomes is a relatively simple approach to discuss living standards in ancient societies. Ian Morris discussed the following proxy data for living standards: stature, nutrition, mortality/life expectancy, disease patterns, and housing.[34] For our purpose, the aspect of housing may be of special interest. Two different categories are distinguishable: house size and house inventories. According to Morris, increasing house sizes and far richer house inventories are indicators for changing consumption patterns and an increasing standard of living. Especially, dowry lists provide valuable information on actual prices for different goods and give an impression of the relative wealth of a household. Jursa, for instance, compared dowry lists of the Old and Neo-Babylonian Period in a diachronic perspective. He came to the conclusion that dowries of the Neo-Babylonian Period included greater quantities of metal objects (e.g., bronze vessels, but also silver money) than those of the Old Babylonian Period.[35] This tendency corresponds to the increasing size of houses in the same time period.[36] In a synchronous perspective, dowry lists may provide useful information on social inequality. Michael E. Smith, for instance, differentiates three categories to estimate the relative wealth of a household: diversity, value, and origin of goods.[37] Both proxies, house size and house inventories, are to some extend available for Elephantine.

In this paper, I would like to confine myself to the size of houses at Elephantine as witnessed by the archaeological and papyrological record. As mentioned above, the living quarters of the Judeans at Elephantine have been re-examined by Achim Krekeler in the late 1980s.[38] The Judaean quarter at Elephantine (Fig. 1) consisted of compact multi-storey buildings that were probably built in a short period of time on the leveled remains of the older building layer. According to the excavator, the use of standardized mud bricks indicates that there was a centralized supply with building material. The Judean quarter was probably built on behalf of the Persian rulers in order to settle military colonists there.

Two types of houses are distinguishable: The one-party-house and the double-house. These houses were separated by narrow streets. This new type of house differed considerably from older one-storey houses and allowed settlement of a dense population on a limited space at Elephantine. The houses M, Q, and Z provide examples of a simple house consisting of three rooms covering an area of approximately 30 m²: an entrance room with staircase, a dwelling, and a sleeping room. A saddle quern in the entrance area is attached to each housing unit. In the course of the 5th century BCE, the houses were modified

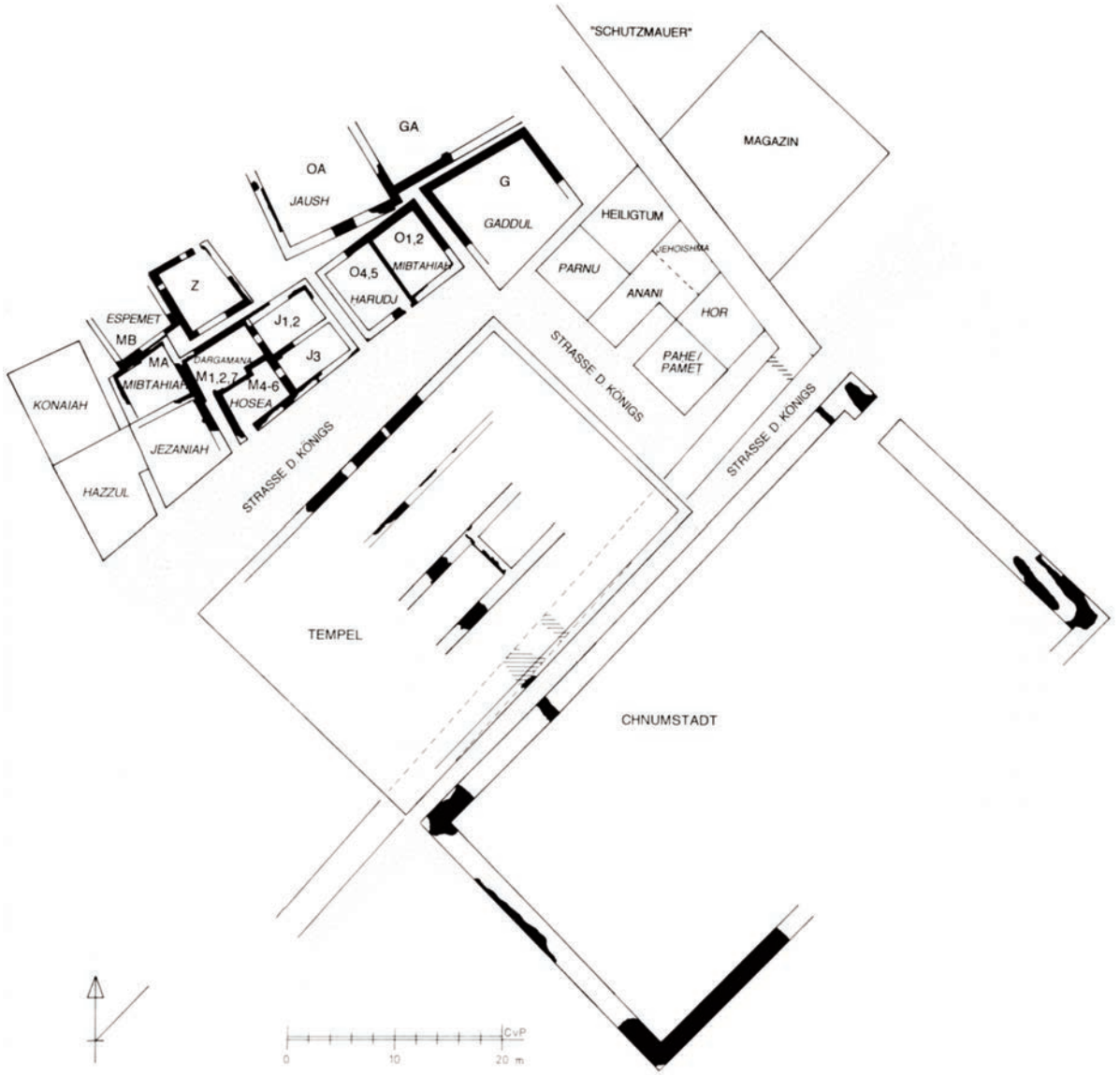

Figure 1: The Judaean quarter at Elephantine (von Pilgrim 2002, 195 Abb. 12**).**

by installations of inner walls and staircases in order to create new housing units.

House M (Fig. 2) is a good example for the development of these houses in the course of the 5th century BCE:[39] House M (54 m²) originally consisted of two roofed rooms and an open court including two troughs. The walls of the former one-storey house were built of 2–1½ rows of mud bricks. In a second building phase, the house unit originally intended for one family was transformed into two separate units by the installation of supplementary walls. The western unit consisted of an entrance unit with saddle quern (M3), a staircase (M2), and a room that can be identified as a workshop according to the findings of vessels, two unfinished stelae, tools, etc. (M1). In room M7, 44 almost complete vessels were found, some of them resembling those of the so-called Aramaean house (house G). The eastern unit consisted of an entrance room with saddle quern and a staircase in the northeastern corner (M5). Several terracotta figurines were found in this room. The other room (M4) is characterized by a fireplace. According to the excavator, an increasing population or divisions of property may have been the reason for these modifications.

It is also possible to refer the archaeological record to the papyrological evidence: Based on the dimensions mentioned in TAD B2.3, Cornelius von Pilgrim was able

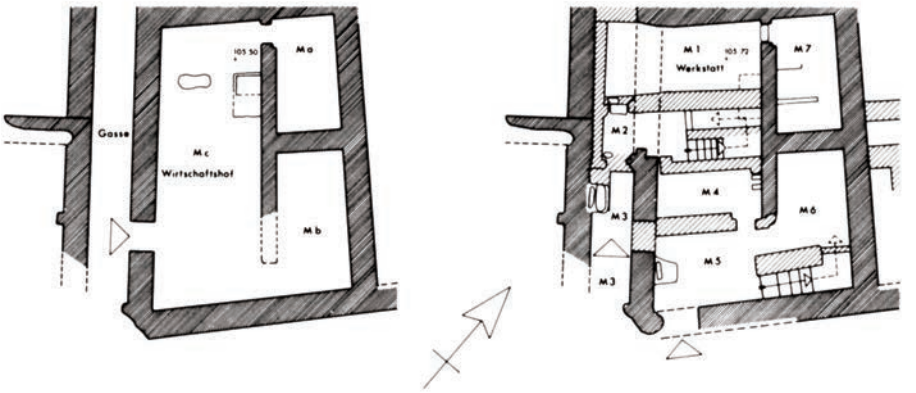

Figure 2: House M in the Judean quarter at Elephantine (Krekeler 1988, 171 fig. 12b).

to correlate the rather small house of Mahseiah/Mibtahiah (39.88 m²) with the remains of house MA in the archaeological record.[40] Consequently, he identified the two units of house M with the houses of Dargamana and Hosea. Mahseiah possessed another house that he handed over to Mibtahiah in 446 BCE (TAD B2.7). This house is to be identified with the northeastern part of house O in the archaeological record—just opposite house G (the "Aramaean house") where Rubensohn and Zucker found several amphoras.

The papyrological record also allows the reconstruction of the lifecycle of a house at Elephantine as the archive of Ananiah son of Azariah shows: In 437 BCE, two Caspians, Bagazushta and Ybl, sold the abandoned house of ʾpwly to Ananiah for 1 karsh and 4 shekels (TAD B3.4). The courtyard of this house was not built yet and there were no beams in the windows. The Caspians obviously did not hold any legal title to the house. Therefore, the legal document includes an extensive defensive clause against third-party claims. Three years later (TAD B3.5; 434 BCE)—the time period necessary to get clear title on a property according to Egyptian law—Ananiah gave half of a large room and a chamber (11 x 7 1/3 cubits = ca. 81 area cubits [42,525 m²]) to his wife Tamet. In 420 BCE (TAD B3.7), Ananiah gave another room, as well as half of the courtyard and the staircase, to his daughter Jehoishma. In 404 BCE (TAD B3.10), he arranged that Jehoishma would inherit the southern room (8 ½ x 7 cubits = 59 ½ area cubits; total: 98 area cubits [51,45 m²]), as well as half of the courtyard and the staircase after his death. Finally, he gave it to her immediately (TAD B3.11; 402 BC). In the same year, Ananiah and his wife Ta(pa)met sold the remaining parts of the house (150 area cubits [78,75 m²]) to his son-in-law, Anani son of Haggai, for 1 karsh and 3 shekels. Anani noted that he delivered the old document written on behalf of Bagazushta.

Both house M and the archive of Ananiah demonstrate that the original houses at Elephantine were modified considerably in the course of time. The foundation of new households may have been a mayor incentive to divide larger houses into smaller apartments. The archaeological and papyrological record, however, provides us with a number of house sizes as Table 3 shows.

The archaeological record shows that the houses or apartments at Elephantine had a rather modest size of 33–65 m². This general picture is confirmed by the papyrological evidence indicating that these apartments were inhabited by nuclear families of 4–5 persons. The houses at Elephantine are smaller than contemporary civilian houses in Egypt or Babylonia.[41]

House/apartment	Size
House Q	33 m²
House Z	36 (49) m²
TAD B2.3–4 (House MA)	39.88 m²
TAD B3.5	42.525 m²
TAD B3.10	51.45 m²
House M	54 m²
House J	65 m²
House P	65 m²
TAD B3.11	78.75 m²

Table 3: House/apartment sizes according to the papyrological/archaeological record.

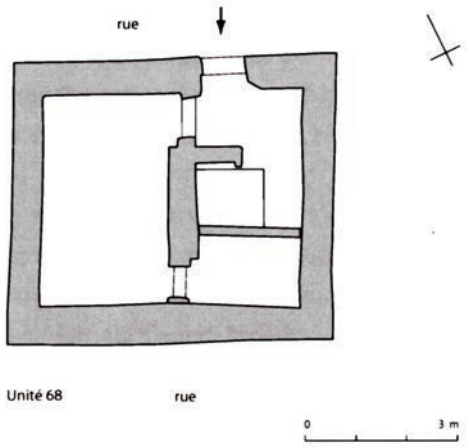

Figure 3: House type III at Tell el-Herr (Marchi 2014, 41 fig. 52**).**

Recent excavations in Egypt reveal that the Judean quarter at Elephantine was by no means an exception. The Swiss Institute, for instance, excavated buildings at Syene dating to the Persian Period resembling those at Elephantine in design and dimensions.[42] Similar observations were made by the excavators of Tell el-Herr, a fortress of the Persian Period in northwestern Sinai.[43] In the last quarter of the 5th century BCE, house units characterized by their uniform shape were built within the fortress: House type III (Fig. 3) is of almost quadratic shape and consists of three rooms.[44] This house type is comparatively small (ca. 25 m²), providing space for a maximum of 1–2 persons.[45] In contrast to the houses at Elephantine/Syene, there are no traces of a staircase leading to a second storey that would have provided supplementary space. A functional analysis of the rooms within the houses allows an identification of kitchens, living rooms, and storage rooms.

Within the fortress, the houses were arranged in *insulae* consisting of two rows of houses of type III attached to each other.[46] The overall design of the quarter indicates that it was built on behalf of a central authority, as it is the case for the Judean quarter at Elephantine.

The entirely new design of these house units compared to contemporary houses in Egypt must have had a considerable impact on the organization of social life. The houses were no longer closed units consisting of rooms concentrating around an inner courtyard, but were open to the outside world through windows that were necessary to regulate the climate of these compact buildings. Due to the smaller size of the ground floor, there was the tendency to build multi-storey houses.[47] Because of the limited space for domestic activities, in both Elephantine and Tell el-Herr there were special buildings with batteries of ovens for the production of bread that were probably commonly used. Moreover, there is evidence that the quarter in the western sector of Tell el-Herr was specialized in the production of garments. Production facilities were also part of the settlement at Elephantine, as the workshop in house M discussed above shows. It is not clear if these production units were intended for the supply of the military settlement only or also for commerce.

Conclusions

This paper discussed different approaches in order to evaluate the standard of living within the military colony at Elephantine. The observations made on rations disbursed to the military colonists as well as household sizes at Elephantine can be summarized as follows:

The provision of the military colonists with rations of barley was relatively modest compared with other regions and epochs, as the application of the concept of wheat wages on data from an account regarding the disbursement of barley shows. A calculation of caloric value of these monthly payments of barley revealed that they were not sufficient to feed a whole family. The Aramaic papyri, however, show that the colonists lived with their families at Elephantine/Syene. Thus, only the combination with payments in silver may have provided a sufficient income for them. The supply with silver is reflected by many references to silver as a means of payment in economic transactions among the Judeans of Elephantine.

Recent archeological investigations indicate that the building of the settlement was organized by a central authority at the beginning of the Persian Period in Egypt. This settlement consisted of modest houses sufficient to house nuclear families of 4–5 people. A comparison with excavations at Syene and Tell el-Herr indicates that the living quarter at Elephantine was an example for a more or less uniform type of settlement for foreign military colonists in Persian period Egypt. The rather modest buildings at Elephantine (33–65 m²) constituted an entirely new type of housing with considerable consequences for the organization of social life.

Archeological and papyrological evidence shows that, in the course of time, the Judeans of Elephantine divided parts the house units to provide apartments for new households. Although the overall design of houses at Tell el-Herr was similar to those at Elephantine/Syene, the purpose of the quarters at Tell el-Herr was not housing whole families because the house units provided only space for one or two persons. The archaeology in Elephantine and Tell el-Herr indicates that, due to the limited space, commonly shared facilities were in use (e.g., for bread production). Additionally, specialized zones for leather production are observable at Tell el-Herr.

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1 Research for this paper was conducted by the author within the DFG research training group 1878 "Archaeology of pre-modern economies" at the

University of Bonn. I thank the participants of the workshop as well as Dr. Renate Müller-Wollermann for their comments and suggestions.

2 Most of the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine were originally published by Eduard Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militärkolonie zu Elephantine. Altorientalische Sprachdenkmäler des 5. Jahrhunderts vor Chr.* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911). Emil Kraeling published the archive of Ananiah son of Haggai: Emil G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953). The siglae for Aramaic documents used in this paper refer to Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1986–1999). Cf. Bezalel Porten, "The Aramaic Texts," in Bezalel Porten (ed.), *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*, 2nd ed., Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 75–275.

3 For the discussion of the motives, see Pierre Briant, "Une curieuse affaire à Élephantine en 410 av. n.e.: Vidranga, la sanctuaire de Khnum et la temple de Yahweh," *Méditerranées* 6/7 (1996), 115–138; Cornelius von Pilgrim, "Tempel des Jahu und 'Straße des Königs'. Ein Konflikt in der späten Perserzeit auf Elephantine," in Sibylle Meyer (ed.), *Egypt: Temple of the Whole World: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, Studies in the History of Religions 97 (Leiden—Boston: Brill, 2003), 303–317.

4 E.g., Angela Rohrmoser, *Götter, Tempel und Kult der Judäo-Aramäer von Elephantine. Archäologische und schriftliche Zeugnisse aus dem perserzeitlichen Ägypten*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 396 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014); Gard Granerød, *Dimensions of Yahwism in the Persian Period: Studies in the Religion and Society of the Judaean Community at Elephantine*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 488 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

5 Hélène Lozachmeur, *La collection Clermont-Ganneau. Ostraca, épigraphes sur jarre, étiquettes de bois*, 2 vols., Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres 35 (Paris: de Boccard, 2006).

6 Cf. the discussion below.

7 Wolfgang Müller, "IV. Excavations in the town centre from the Late Period to Late Roman times (Area 15)," in Cornelius von Pilgrim et al., "The Town of Syene: Report on the 5th and 6th Season in Aswan," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 64 (2008): 314–338.

8 For an overview, see Walter Scheidel, Ian Morris and Richard P. Saller, *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

9 Robert C. Allen, "How Prosperous were the Romans? Evidence from Diocletian's Price Edict (AD 301)," in Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson (eds.), *Quantifying the Roman Economy. Methods and Problems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 327–345.

10 Recently, Reinhard Pirngruber adopted this concept to data from Babylonia of the 1st millennium BCE: Reinhardt Pirngruber, "The Value of Silver: Wages as Guides to the Standard of Living in 1st Millennium BC Babylonia and Beyond" (version 1, August 2014), *Imperium and Officium Working Papers* (2014), http://iowp.univie.ac.at/sites/default/files/IOWP_Pirngruber_ValueofSilver_v01.pdf, accessed 7 November 2016.

11 Walter Scheidel, "Real Wages in Early Economies: Evidence for Living Standards from 1800 BCE to 1300 CE.," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 53 (2010): 427–436.

12 Scheidel 2010, 436–437.

13 Scheidel 2010, 452–458, esp. 453 tab. 4; cf. Michael Jursa, *Aspects of the Economic History of Babylonia in the First Millenium BC: Economic Geography, Economic Mentalities, Agriculture, the Use of Money and the Problem of Economic Growth*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 377 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2010), 814–815.

14 Cf. TAD A2.3; A3.3; B4.2; B4.4; D7.9; see also O. Clermont-Ganneau X11 (Lozachmeur 2006, 421 pl. 292–293).

15 E.g., TAD B3.13, B5.5.

16 Cf. Bezalel Porten, *The Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 81–82.

17 For a summary of discussion, see: Christopher Tuplin, *The Arshama Letters from the Bodleian Library, Vol. 3: Commentary* (Oxford: Bodleian Library 2013), http://blogs.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/116/2013/10/Volume-3-Commentary-20.1.14.pdf, 91–94, accessed 7 November 2016, with further literature.

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19 Sven P. Vleeming, "The Artaba, and Egyptian Grain-

measures," in Roger S. Bagnall, Gerald M. Browne, Ann E. Hanson, and Ludwig Koenen (eds.) *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology: New York, 24–31 July 1980* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1981), 537–545. On the artaba in Greco-Roman Egypt, see Roger S. Bagnall, "Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary," in Roger S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 186–187 with further literature.

20 Richard T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, Oriental Institute Publications 92 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 72.

21 For the discussion of these numbers, see Rainer Nutz, *Ägyptens wirtschaftliche Grundlagen in der Mittleren Bronzezeit*, Archaeopress Egyptology 4 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), 155–157.

22 3,320 kcal for 1 kg barley; 3,340 kcal for 1 kg wheat; cf. Lin Foxhall and Helen A. Forbes, "*Sitometreia*: The Role of Grain as a Staple Food in Classical Antiquity," *Chiron* 12 (1982): 46; see also Alan Bowman, "Agricultural Production in Egypt," in Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson (eds.), *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organization, Investment, and Production* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 247; Nutz 2014, 156–157.

23 1 kg barley equals ca. 0.6 kg; 1kg wheat ca. 0.75 kg; Nutz 2014, 155–156.

24 Scheidel 2010, 439; Jursa 2010, 812.

25 Jursa 2010, 812; Nutz 2014, 155–156.

26 Foxhall/Forbes 1982, 46; see also Bowman 2013, 247; Nutz 2014, 156–157.

27 Willem M. Jongman, "The Early Roman Empire: Consumption," in Walter Scheidel, Ian Morris, and Richard P. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 598: ca. 2,000 kcal; Allen 2009, 340: 1,940 kcal; Pirngruber 2014, 3: 2,100 kcal; see also Nutz 2014, 93–94.

28 Cf. Jongman 2007, 599: 1 man 2,600 kcal + 1 woman 2,100 kcal + 2 children 1,300 kcal; Bowman assumes 13,000 kcal per day for a family of 5 persons (Bowman 2013, 248).

29 Jursa 2015, 359.

30 Cf. note 14.

31 Porten assumed 12 shekels per month, an extraordinarily high amount of silver compared with data, e.g., from contemporary Babylonia (Porten 1968, 73–75; cf. Michael Jursa, "The Remuneration of Institutional Labourers in an Urban Context in Babylonia in the First Millenium BC," in Pierre Briant, Wouter F. M. Henkelman, and Matthew W. Stolper [eds.], *L'archive des Fortifications de Persépolis. Ètat des questions et perspectives de recherches*, Persika 12 [Paris: de Boccard, 2008], 387–427; Michael Jursa "Labor in Babylonia in the First Millennium BC," in Piotr Steinkeller and Michael Hudson [eds.], *Labor in the Ancient World: A Colloquium held at Hirschbach [Saxony], April 2005* [Dresden: ISLET-Verlag, 2015], 345–396).

32 On the circulation of silver in the oases of the western desert of Egypt in the Persian Period, see Damien Agut-Labordère, "L'orge et l'argent. Les usages monétaires à Ayn Manâwir à l'époque perse," *Annales. Histoire Sciences Sociales* 69 (2014): 75–90.

33 E.g., TAD B2.5, B2.6, B3.3, B3.8 (dowries); TAD B3.1, B4.2, B5.5 (loans); TAD B3.4, B3.12 (sales). For the letters, cf. TAD A2.2; A2.6; A3.8; A4.10.

34 Ian Morris, "Economic Growth in Ancient Greece," *Journal of Institutional and Theoretical Economics* 160 (2004): 709–742.

35 Jursa 2010, 810.

36 Jursa 2010, 806–7.

37 Michael E. Smith, "Household Possessions and Wealth in Agrarian States: Implications for Archaeology," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 6 (1987): 297–335.

38 Joachim Krekeler, "VII. Untersuchungen im Stadtgebiet nordwestlich des späten Chnumtempels," in Werner Kaiser et al. "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 15./16. Grabungsbericht," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 44 (1988): 172–174; Joachim Krekeler, "Spätzeitliche Bauten," in Werner Kaiser et al. "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 17./18. Grabungsbericht," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 46 (1990): 214–217; Joachim Krekeler, "Stadtgebiet nordwestlich des späten Chnumtempels: spätes Neues Reich bis Spätzeit," in Werner Kaiser et al. "Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 19./20. Grabungsbericht," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo* 49 (1993): 177–179; Joachim Krekeler, "Stadtgrabung am Westkom von Elephantine. Wohnbauten des 1. Jahrtausends v. Chr.," in Manfred Bietak (ed.), *Haus und Palast im Alten Ägypten*, Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 14 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1996), 109–111; Joachim Krekeler, *Stadtgrabung am Westkôm von Elephantine: Stadtentwicklung und Bauten vom Neuen Reich bis in die Römerzeit* (PhD dissertation, Hannover University, 1998), esp. 73–76

39 Cf. Krekeler 1988, 172–174.

40 Cornelius von Pilgrim, "Textzeugnis und archäologischer Befund. Zur Topographie

Elephantines in der 27. Dynastie," Heike Guksch and Daniel Polz (eds.), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1998), 485–497.

41 Egypt: priestly house VII at Karnak temple: ca. 70 m² (Aurelia Masson, "Le quartier des prêtres du temple de Karnak: rapport préliminaire de la fouille de la Maison VII, 2001–2003," *Cahiers de Karnak* 12.2 [2007]: 593–623); Babylonia: part of a house: 73.5 m²; small house: 90 m² (Heather D. Baker, "House Size and Household Structure: Quantitative Data in the Study of Babylonian Urban Living Conditions," in Heather D. Baker, Michael Jursa [eds.], *Documentary Sources in Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman Economic History. Methodology and Practice* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014], 19).

42 Müller 2008, 315–327, esp. 316 fig. 3: house 4: 50 m²; house 5: 58 m².

43 Séverine Marchi, *L'habitat dans les fortreses de Migdol (Tell el-Herr) durant les Ve et IVe siècles avant J.-C. Étude archéologique* (Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, 2014) with further literature. Tell el-Herr may be identical with Migdol, a fortress mentioned in the Aramaic letter TAD A3.3 (Marchi 2014, 6).

44 Marchi 2014, 40–41.

45 Marchi 2014, 189.

46 Marchi 2014, 163–164.

47 This development culminated in the so-called tower house in the Greco-Roman period; cf. Felix Arnold, *Elephantine XXX. Die Nachnutzung des Chnum-tempelbezirks. Wohnbebauung der Spätantike und des Frühmittelalters*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 116 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2003); Séverine Marchi, *Les maisons-tours en Égypte durant la Basse-Époque, les périodes Ptolémaïque et Romaine. Actes de la table-ronde de Paris, Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), 29–30 novembre 2012*, NEHET. Revue numérique d'égyptologie 2 (Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2014).

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Cultural and Religious Impacts of Long-Term Cross-Cultural Migration Between Egypt and the Levant

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Abstract

An increase of cross-cultural learning as a consequence of increased travel and migration between Egypt and the Levant during the Iron Age occurred after millennia of migration in earlier times. The result was an Egyptian-Levantine koine, often not recognized as relevant by historians due to an uncritical reproduction of ancient myths of separation. However, the cultural exchange triggered by migration is attested in the language, in the iconography of the region, in the history of the alphabet, in literary motifs, in the characterization of central characters of the Hebrew Bible and, last but not least, in the rise of new religions, which integrated the experience of otherness in a new ethos.

> "Egypt and the Levant: two areas that have continually shaped societies and the advancement of civilization in both the past and the present."
>
> —Anna-Latifa Mourad (2015, i)

1. Introduction[1]

1.1. The Challenge: The established use of "Egypt" and "Canaan" as separate entities hinders the recognition of the creolizing effects of migration as highly relevant for the history of cultures and religions in the region

The impact of migration on religious development both in Egypt and the Levant has, to date, hardly been investigated, and especially not in a long-term perspective. Wilde,[2] for instance, investigated the impact of migration on technology and communication in the Levant and northern Egypt for the time before, during, and after the "Hyksos" reign. In the important study on the relationship between Israel and Egypt during the era of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, Schipper concentrated on political contacts, personal contacts, and trade relations. The reason for the oversight of religious development is that both Egyptologists and biblical scholars—those who are often responsible for the history of the Levant—focus much more on phenomena of war, ideologies of separation, and contrasts than on what the two regions have in common and how they are interdependent.[3]

Even the term "Egypt" is an inadequate simplification, which obscures the perception of the reality. The inhabitants of *Kemet*, however, were aware of this and characterized their own country as the connection of two countries. In reality, the relations between the eastern Delta and the Levant were probably, for many centuries, more intense than the relations between the eastern delta and Thebes.

In other words, in order to deal seriously with the Levant and northern Egypt as an area of intensive migration over many millennia and with a focus of the effects of this migration on culture, and especially religion, the magic of the biblical Exodus paradigm and its counterpart, the Egyptian expulsion paradigm, must be removed. Modern research should disengage from the academic discourse that—banned by the separation rhetoric of ancient ideologists—uncritically reproduces or even exacerbates the ancient national-religious ideology and ignores the wealth of material that attests to the intensive exchange between the Levant and Egypt.[4]

Anyone who studies the material culture of northern Egypt and the Levant will agree that migration, trade, translation, and assimilation were common practice. This is not to deny the realities of conflict, suppression, flight, and expulsion, but these were rather the exception. These moments of conflict and shock triggered traumata between long periods of peaceful coexistence and mutual inspiration. This is the reason why the Exodus paradigm became such a powerful part of the cultural memory. Nevertheless, the overemphasis on the traumatic memory darkens the memory of the positive effects of cultural encounter in a unique region of long-lasting migration.

1.2. The Thesis: Long-lasting migration shaped a Levantine-Egyptian koine with important cultural and religious effects

The aim of this paper is to understand the impact of long-lasting cross-cultural travelling between the Levant and Egypt on culture and religion. The two regions are separated by the Sinai desert, which serves as a natural barrier. This geographical setting hindered the creation of a political entity, but could not totally prevent it. Connection of the two regions was accomplishable by ship on the Mediterranean and by foot or by transport animals along the sandy coast.

The two separated regions are very different in character. The Levant is a hilly region, fertilized by rain mainly from October until April and open to a long coast. Egypt is a valley in the desert, fertilized by the River Nile mainly from June until October, and only open to the sea in the delta region, while the access to the Red Sea was only possible via caravan routes. Traffic in Egypt was mainly based on shipping; in the Levant, it was primarily based on transport animals (donkeys, mules, horses, camels) and ship travel was limited to the coast.[5] Politically, Egypt tended to be a centralized kingdom while Canaan was a complex conglomerate of small city-states and tribes. Subsequently, the cultural and religious symbol systems of the two regions were also quite different.

The different products, human resources, and human abilities of the two regions made exchange and trade attractive. At the same time, travelling and migration between the two regions brought about a strong experience of foreignness. The pervasive contact between the two cultures and the permanent challenge to adapt to the foreign nature of the "other" were constitutive for the development of the language (2.1.), the writing system of the alphabet (2.3.2; 3.1), the literature (3.5.4–5), the perception of "nations" (2.5.1; 3.5.1–3; 3.5.6-10; 4.2.–4), the shaping of signs of blessing (2.4.2) and images of gods (2.5.2.–3; 3.2–4; 4.1), theological concepts (2.4.1; 3.5.11–12), and new forms of universal secondary religions[6] (4.3). This exchange was so long-lasting, intensive, and fruitful that it led to the formation of what can be termed an Egyptian-Levantine (or Egyptian-Canaanite) koine.[7] This could be a common "*Lebensraum*" (e.g., the eastern delta during the Fifteenth Dynasty), or a common intellectual world, or both.

1.3. The Method: Puzzle of longue durée

Sources for the southern Levant and northern Egypt during the 8th to 6th centuries BCE are vastly different from Mesopotamian sources. The former lacks larger state archives;[8] rather, information stems from other material sources and from biblical literature (below, 3.5). Biblical literature is a form of tradition literature, which is a collection of texts that were written in a certain historical constellation and then appreciated by later generations who not only preserved them but also updated and commented on them. The reconstruction of this process is sometimes possible—for instance, by the comparison of the Hebrew and the Greek texts of the Old Testament—but often extremely difficult, as demonstrated by the diverging interpretations on the part of exegetes. However, the texts can illustrate the effects of historical events in a perspective of *longue durée*. Thus, while the state archive's letters, lists, bills, receipts, etc. can answer the precise questions of the who, where, when, why, and how of people on the move, these alternative sources reflect the impact of long-lasting migration processes on the formation of human concepts, cultural identities, and religious beliefs.

In addition to textual sources, a second type of source used in this article is images, mainly from stamp seals. Stamp seals were used for centuries as a form of mass media in the Levant and in Egypt, and came mainly in the shape of scarabs. The motifs on the reverse of the scarabs are an important source for the reconstruction of the symbol systems of the region and of the religious history.[9] Like biblical texts, the iconography on scarabs does not document migration as such, but rather the effect of a long-lasting cultural exchange and mutual learning.

For an adequate understanding of the effects of migration in the 8th–7th centuries BCE (chap. 3), it is imperative to be familiar with the preconditions, that is, the developments of earlier periods relevant for the establishment of an Egyptian-Levantine koine (chap. 2). In an overview (chap. 4), some effects of the ongoing migration in this region in Hellenistic and Roman times are highlighted. Embedding it in the *histoire de longue durée,*[10] it is hoped that the profile of the cultural and religious impact of migration of the relevant period in this volume will be clearer.

2. Developments prior to the 8th–7th centuries BCE

It is fascinating to recognize that the earliest traces of the effect of migration between the Levant and Egypt are recorded in the language (2.1). The early archeological evidence is the subject of ongoing research in relevant regions (2.2). The main forming phase of the Egyptian-Levantine koine was the Middle Bronze Age. The synopsis of the currently available archeological material serves to correct the traditional image that the "Hyksos" were a temporally limited foreign intrusion in Egypt, in favor of the opinion that in the eastern delta and in parts of the southern Levant a creolized society had formed (2.3). In fact, the most important cultural and religious effects of this creolization appear only during the Nineteenth Dynasty—itself a product of the creolization. At this time, Egypt's neighbors may have been perceived as equals (2.5.1), the Levantine weather god Baal as Set (among many other Canaanite concepts) is very positively integrated into the Egyptian symbol system (2.5.2), and the Memphite god Ptah reaches the peak of popularity in the Levant (2.5.3). Still, between the period of the "Hyksos" and the Nineteenth Dynasty, the Theban Eighteenth Dynasty, was the catalyst for intercultural learning between Egypt and the Levant, especially during the Amarna period (2.4).

2.1. Languages as testimonials of an early Egyptian-Levantine koine

Orel and Stolbova collected material for a reconstruction of a Proto-Hamito-Semitic (Afro-Asiatic) language that was "spoken not later than 10,000–9,000 BCE. in the areas of the Levant and/or North Africa."[11] Semitic, Berber, Egyptian, Chadic, and Cushitic are the main families belonging to the Hamito-Semitic phylum from which the language material of the reconstructed roots is taken.[12]

Although Berber and Cushitic are more closely related to Semitic than Egyptian, the language of the lower Nile Valley is nevertheless a Proto-Afro-Asiatic language as well.[13] It is evidently linked with Semitic by lexical and morphological isoglosses. At the same time, Old Egyptian "has series of suffix-conjugations, which are peculiar to Egyptian and are not paralleled in the other Afro-Asiatic languages."[14] Therefore, it seems likely that an indigenous language of the lower Nile Valley intermingled at an early stage with the language of Levantine migrants.

2.2. Some early archeological evidence

Archeologically, there is evidence for the migration of Levantines to Lower Egypt pointing to the 4th millennium BCE at Buto I,[15] at Tell el-Farkha,[16] and possibly at Tell el-Ginn.[17] Thus, there was early exchange between Egypt and Levant on the "way of Horus",[18] but early seafaring was also likely due to abandonment of the "way of Horus."[19] Levantine presence in Egypt is mainly detectable thanks to the conservative burial customs among the immigrants, but there is also evidence of trade ware.[20]

As Egyptian presence during the Late Chalcolithic at Tall Hujayrat al-Ghuzlan and Tall near Aqaba demonstrate, contacts between Egypt and the Levant flourished not only along the Mediterranean coast but also along the Red Sea and the Aravah.[21] Recently, the first evidence of the early trade of animals during Bronze Age II from Egypt to Canaan at Tell es-Safi/Gath has been published.[22]

2.3. The Middle Bronze Age as the main forming period of the Egyptian-Levantine koine

Acculturation (a multi-faceted process through which individuals adopt cultural elements of their host country/of the dominant group),[23] hybridization (a reflected and self-conscious mixture of individuals or groups),[24] and creolization (the social encounter, mutual influence, and cultural exchange between or among two or more groups resulting in a new "creole" culture)[25] are different models of cultural development as a consequence of migration. In the case of the Canaanite settlement in the eastern delta of Egypt, the term creolization seems to be more adequate than acculturation or hybridization to characterize the process, thoroughly reconstructed by Mourad.[26] Mourad explicitly refutes the invasion model: "There was no sudden or radical change in the material culture of the eastern Delta or the Memphite capital. […] There is no evidence for an Egyptian antagonism against a foreign Levantine force that dates specifically to the early Fifteenth Dynasty, and neither is there support for a Levantine antagonism against the Egyptian culture."[27] The evidence collected by Mourad favors a gradual infiltration of Levantine people in Egypt.

2.3.1. Establishment of long-term trade between Egypt and the Levant (first half of the Twelfth Dynasty)

Mourad sees the Levantine warriors that helped to secure the Twelfth Dynasty against rebellious elements in Middle Egypt as the starting point of stronger interconnections, and cites the tombs of Baqet, Khety, and Khnumhotep I at Beni Hassan and the graffiti from the "alabaster" (travertine) quarry at Hatnub as evidence. These warriors facilitated intercultural exchange and stimulated diplomatic relations between the elites in Egypt and the Levant, especially with Byblos. Egyptian trade with the northern Levant flourished. *The Prophecy of Neferti* reflects the fear of the elite of the Twelfth Dynasty of facing the stronger physical presence of Levantines in the eastern delta.[28] The sinister xenophobic prophecy presented in the text, which claims the Asiatics would be excluded by a wall and by war, has been disproven by history. The Levantine presence in the delta and in other parts of the country became stronger during the two succeeding dynasties. Nevertheless, *The Prophecy of Neferti* continued to be copied and studied until the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, an indication that the creolization of the delta continued for centuries. The Egyptian elite were not involved in this process but, on the contrary, were anxious to observe the ancient traditions and continued in their wishful thinking of an ethnically "clean" homeland. The exact same phenomenon can be seen in a later period in Israel and Judah (see below). A further famous literary document of the period, *The Tale of Sinuhe*, also contains xenophobic elements—in the letter of the Egyptian court, the promise that "the Asiatics will not enter you" is music to Sinuhe's ears,[29] and the text also mentions a wall separating the Asiatics. On the contrary, the story also praises certain qualities of the Levant: the hospitality of its people and the richness of its soil. Sinuhe makes his career in the Levant and marries a daughter of a local sheikh.[30] What seemed to be a curse from the gods—to live in the country of the "foreigners," the potential enemies—turned out to be a blessing. While on a royal level under Amenemhat I, the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, and his son Senwosret I the military domination of the "dog-like" Asiatics and the rhetoric of dominion is prevalent, the findings of Levantine pottery on Tell el-Dabʿa and the representation of Levantine pottery in the tombs of Sobeknakht and Rehuerdjersen in el-Lisht and of Amenemhat at Beni Hassan, as well as the carefully executed characterization of Asians in the tombs of Beni Hassan, document an emerging demographic change in northern and middle Egypt: Levantine people were living and working in Egypt as can be traced at Tell el-Dabʿa, Dahshur, Beni Hassan, and Meir. Egyptians and Levantines were also exchanging gifts.[31] The manifold Egyptian elements in ancient Syrian and glyptic art

presupposes strong Egyptian influence on local elites during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, namely in Alalakh and Byblos.[32]

2.3.2. Diffusion and growth of Canaanite presence in Egypt; invention of alphabet (second half of the Twelfth Dynasty)

The evidence of the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty demonstrates that the Levantine presence—not only in terms of ceramics but also in terms of citizens—in Egypt spread to the south and intensified all over the country. It is newly attested at el-Lahun, el-Lisht, Abydos, and Wadi el-Hol.[33] The famous tombs of Khnumhotep II and III at Beni Hassan in addition to other monuments document trade, diplomatic contact between Egypt and the Levant, and skilled Levantine people hired by Egyptians for special labors.[34] In temples, they are depicted as singers, dancers, retainers, and even as priests.[35] A military skirmish at *Skmm*, probably Shekhem in Palestine, under Senwosret II remains the last documented Egyptian military action in Palestine for a long period to follow, although we still find the pharaoh smiting Asiatics on a pectoral of Mereret and numerous groups of execration texts from the time of Amenemhat III.

The earliest known proto-alphabetic texts at Wadi el-Hol, along with the attestation of positions such as those of a "scribe of the Levantines" and of an "overseer of the expedition of the Levantines," document the involvement of Levantines in administration and intercultural exchange. The proto-alphabet of Wadi el-Hol combines the Canaanite phonetic system with the Egyptian writing system and is therefore an intercultural product of extreme value. The starting point of the alphabetic script marks a major step in the development of intercultural intelligence as a base for global human development[36] (see also below 3.1).

Under Amenemhat III and IV trade in Sinai reaches its culmination. Only two hostile inscriptions have been found, in Wadi Hammamat. Otherwise, the relations between Egyptians and Canaanites in the southeastern desert and on the Sinai Peninsula are depicted as peaceful. Local Semitic sheikhs are "portrayed" with respect as riding on a donkey, led and followed by servants.[37] The Hathor Temple of Serabit el-Khadim was a unique place of intercultural exchange. Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions are located on a reclining sphinx, on a block statuette, on two busts of typical Egyptian design, and in combination with a standing Ptah in his shrine.[38] Hathor, the mistress of turquoise, the material dug in the mines of Serabit el-Khadem, is called Baʿalat in the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions. Ptah and Hathor are the anthropomorphically represented deities, which are also found on the Canaanite scarabs of the period. It is evident that they are adapted in the Levantine cultic symbol system.

2.3.3. Establishment of the Canaanite presence in Egypt (Thirteenth Dynasty)

The urban centers in the eastern delta prospered and trade between the Levant and Egypt increased during the Thirteenth Dynasty. The elites of Tell el-Dabʿa, Tell el-Habwa I, and Tell Basta were not buried in Memphis, but followed Canaanite burial rites in their cities. Concurrently, they produced hybrid, Egyptian-Canaanite seals (see below) and even a statue. The latter, however, was intentionally destroyed during turmoil in the early Thirteenth Dynasty. After a famine or pestilence a large temple in northern Levantine style was built at Tell el-Dabʿa (Avaris). While the material culture indicates a continuity of mixed Egyptian and Levantine elements, the burial rite customs are Canaanite and included infant burials.

Levantines were present all over Egypt up to Aswan in the south. Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 provides a lengthy list of Canaanites in Upper Egyptian households. Their status as slaves as suggested by Hayes[39] is justifiably questioned by Mourad.[40] She interprets the Canaanite burial customs, the Canaanite-style temple at Avaris, and some graffiti evidently made by Canaanites as evidence of "freedom to express ethnicity, wealth, status, and religion."[41] Many representations "suggest that the individuals were of mixed Egyptian-Asiatic ancestry."[42] While the connections with the northern Levant were previously dominant, ties with the southern Levant subsequently increased.

2.3.4. Scarabs as strong evidence for the Egyptian-Levantine koine[43]

> The evidence for the use of scarabs by non-Egyptian populations in the second millennium BCE in Nubia and the Levant shows that this practice was inspired by *close cultural interaction with Egyptians*. Yet, unlike in the case of Nubia, where no local scarab production is attested, *the nature of the relations between Egyptians and Canaanites in the first half of the second millennium BCE triggered the Canaanite production of scarabs*, first at Tell el-Dabʿa and later in Palestine.[44] (Emphasis added.)

Ben-Tor differentiates between Egyptian "late Middle Kingdom scarabs" and "Intermediate Period scarabs" and the Canaanite "Early and Late Palestinian Series" (Table 1). The early scarabs from Tell el-Dabʿa (Mlinar Type II and III) are a special case. These are a kind of prototype of the Early Palestinian Series produced and used only by the inhabitants of Avaris.

The *Egyptian scarabs of the late Middle Kingdom* are stylistically homogenous, thus reflecting a politically centralized and culturally unified country. The main theme of these scarabs is the arrangement of hieroglyphs (Fig. 1; design class 3) denoting light.[45] Outside Egypt, scarabs are found in Byblos while Egyptian Second Intermediate Period they are completely absent in Byblos.

The only exception to the homogeneity is Tell el-Dabʿa, with its unique proto-Canaanite scarabs. Among the new features we find the gazelle (Fig. 2a), the weather god (Fig. 2b), the "sheikh" (Fig. 2c), and new variants of Hathor (Fig.

<table>
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<tr><td>Egypt</td><td colspan="3">late Middle Kingdom scarabs</td><td colspan="3">Second Intermediate Period scarabs</td><td colspan="2">New Kingdom scarabs</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Tell el-Dabʿa stratig-raphy</td><td>H</td><td>G</td><td>F Establishment of Canaanites</td><td>E/3</td><td>E/2</td><td>E/1</td><td>D/3</td><td>D/2</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td colspan="3">Mlinar Type II/III</td><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>Palestine</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td colspan="2">Early Palestinian Series</td><td colspan="3">Late Palestinian Series</td></tr>
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Table 1: Chronology-scheme of Egyptian and Palestinian scarabs prior to the Nineteenth Dynasty (based on Ben-Tor 2007).

2d). It should be noted, however, that these new designs are combined with Egyptian hieroglyphs such as the *ʿnḫ* (Fig. 2a), the red crown (Fig. 2b), the *nfr* (Fig. 2c), or the *nb* sign (Fig. 2d). Thus, the pattern of scarab distribution clearly demonstrates that the palatial-controlled trade between Royal-Egypt and Byblos disappears in favor of a less hierarchically controlled commerce between (northern-) Egypt and the Levant, including Palestine, under the so-called Hyksos, with their center in Avaris. The scarab workshop of Avaris, most likely through means of kin relations, inspired local Canaanite scarab workshops.

As Ben-Tor identified, the *early Palestinian series* (Fig. 3), while locally produced, imitates late Middle Kingdom prototypes. Excavated exemplars stem mainly from early Middle Bronze IIB cemeteries, thus indicating their use as funerary amulets. Their funerary function corresponds with the light symbolism as the main motifs of the scarabs. They symbolize a last wish for light for the deceased. The arrangement of signs as pseudo-names in a cartouche (Fig. 3a and c) or in a palace (Fig. 3b) is a new element. Among the signs we find the alphabetic writing of Ptah's name (Fig. 3d), thus indicating that the seal carvers understood the meaning of the signs quite well and that the Canaanites had integrated the Memphite god in their symbol system.

The *late Palestinian series*—a much larger corpus than the early one—shows Egyptian and Levantine cultural features as well, sometimes even with blends of Syrian glyptic motifs. These are attested throughout the Nile Valley up to Kerma in the south. The majority have been found in tombs. Some impressions on local vessels are attested, but, in contrast to the late Middle Kingdom scarabs, they were used only as amulets and not for administrative purposes. The pseudo-names are still prominent (Fig. 4a), as is the light-symbol arrangements (Fig. 4b). Hathor becomes even more popular (Fig. 4c–d).[46]

While the scarab itself and most of the symbols engraved on it are of Egyptian origin, the use of these elements is often typically Canaanite. The same is true for the royal-name scarabs. More than 80% of them stem from Palestine and all names are of West Semitic origin. These facts, along with the two million amphorae found at Tell el-Dabʿa, reflect the strong ties between the southern Levant and northern Egypt in terms of large-scale trade during this period. At the same time, there are marked differences in the motif repertoire on scarabs between Canaan and the eastern delta, where the toga wearer and the nude goddess are almost totally absent. On the other hand, Hathor and Ptah are adapted in Canaan's symbol system, although sometimes in a local variant.

A typical product of the Levantine-Egyptian interconnections is the falcon-headed god. The motif of the falcon, pushed as a royal symbol since the beginning of the Middle Kingdom,[47] was well known to the Canaanites from the Egyptian ideology of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty, as objects with the falcon of Horus from Serabit[48] and from the necropolis of Byblos[49] demonstrate. In Canaan, the motif was combined with vegetal elements from the realm of the weather god, the local patron of the kings (Fig. 5a). Combined with a branch-scepter (Fig. 5b) or a flower-scepter (Fig. 5c) and as a dominator over chaos represented by crocodiles[50] (Fig. 5d), Horus returns in a Canaanized form to Egypt. There the "Hyksos" adapted the motif. It is interesting to recognize that the Nineteenth Dynasty did not follow the amalgamation of Horus and Baal, but preferred the amalgamation of Set and Baal (see

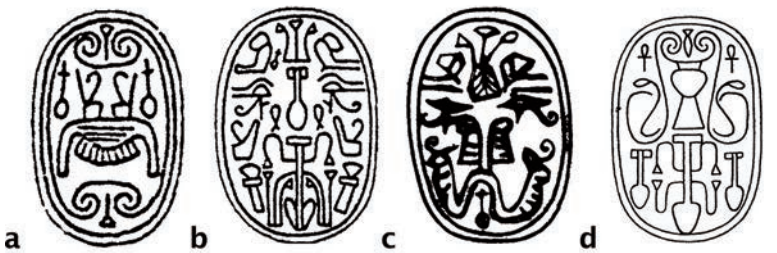

Figure 1: Early stamp seal amulets from Egypt: **a:** Uronarti (Tufnell 1975: 2,7) **b:** Uronarti (Tufnell 1975, 2,54) **c:** el-Lisht (Ben-Tor 2006, pl. 8,9) **d:** Mirgissa (Dunham 1967, fig. 12, 32.1.189).

Figure 2: Stamp seal amulets from Tell el-Dabʿa: **a:** (Ben-Tor 2006: pl. 30,2) (Mlinar Type II); **b:** (Ben-Tor 2006, pl. 30,8) (Mlinar Type II); **c:** (Ben-Tor 2006, pl. 30,16) (Mlinar Type III); **d:** (Ben-Tor 2006, pl. 31,11) (Mlinar Type III).

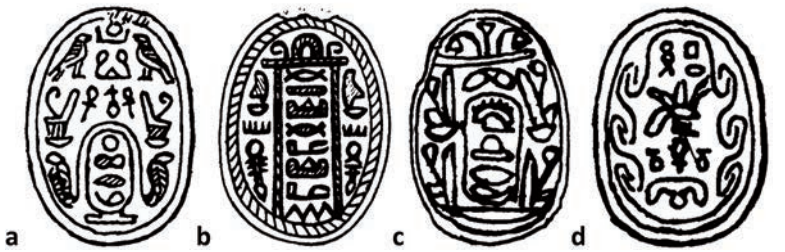

Figure 3: Stamp seal amulets of the early Palestinian series: **a:** Jericho (Kirkbridge 1965, fig. 282,8); **b:** Jericho (Kirkbridge 1965, fig. 286,12); **c:** Azor (Gorzalczany/Ben-Tor/Rand 2003, fig. 4); **d** Jericho (Kirkbridge 1965, fig. 287,10).

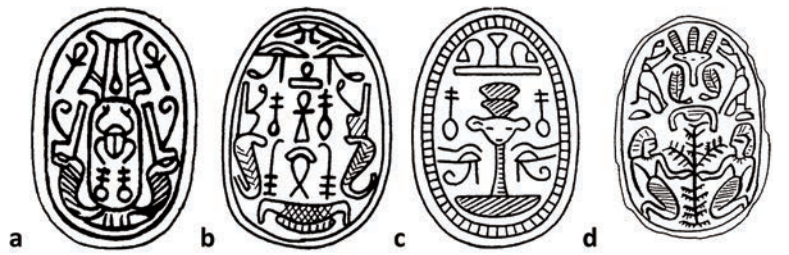

Figure 4: Stamp seal amulets of the late Palestinian series: **a:** Jericho (Kirkbridge 1965, fig. 297,13); **b:** Tell Fara South (Price 1977, fig. 5,5); **c:** Tell el-Adschul (CSAPI 1, Adschul Nr. 777); **d:** Levant (unprovenanced) (IPIAO 2, Nr. 418).

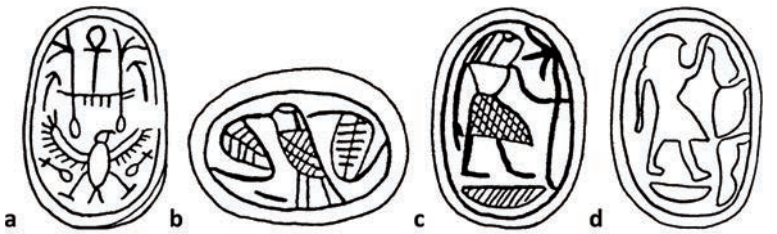

Figure 5: The falcon and the falcon-headed in Canaanite contexts: **a:** Megiddo (IPIAO 2, Nr. 315); **b:** Shilo (IPAO 2, Nr. 316); **c:** Tell el-Farʿa South (IPIAO 2, Nr. 329); **d:** Tell el-Yehudiye (Petrie 1906, pl. IX, 160 [drawing after Keel 1989a, 274, Nr. 101]).

below 2.5.2). Both gods, however, were already seen as partners in the early Middle Kingdom, visually represented as connectors of the two lands.[51]

Second Intermediate Period Egyptian design scarabs are inspired by late Middle Kingdom scarabs, but also by Canaanite prototypes. Compared with the Canaanite scarabs, the scarabs featuring Egyptian design are rare.

2.3.5. Avaris: center of the Egyptian-Levantine koine (Fifteenth Dynasty)

Under the Fifteenth Dynasty, Avaris was a growing commercial center of the eastern delta with a large palatial complex, a workshop quarter and magazines with imported goods, with a ritual hall and a cultic courtyard. The ceramic findings illustrate strong connections to the Levant alongside trade with Memphis and the Fayum, the Egyptian oases, Nubia, Mesopotamia, and Cyprus. It is evident that the strong and intensive commerce was the strength of the "Hyksos" dynasty. The temples of this period show elements of Egyptian and Canaanite traditions, while the burial customs remain traditionally Canaanite. Regional pottery and scarab workshops produced local products with mixed influences. According to Mourad, "a growing regionalization or 'Nilotisation' is discernible."[52] During this period, Tell el-Habwa I and Tell el-Maskhuta prosper as satellites of Avaris. Other sites of the eastern delta such as Tell Rarasha, Inshas, Tell el-Yahudiyah, El-Khata'na, and Tell el-Sahaba attest to Levantine presence by Levantine burials, while only two sites between Memphis and Upper Egypt, Deir Rifeh and Mostagedda, bear evidence of definite Levantine presence. All the more remarkable is an inscription of the Seventeenth Dynasty in Wadi Hammamat attesting to the inclusion of Asiatic-Egyptians in expeditions to the Eastern Desert, thus bearing evidence of an ongoing trade with Levantine people even in the time of a politically *de facto* divided Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period.

2.4. Canaanite influx under Egyptian supremacy (Eighteenth Dynasty)

Even under the very self-confident Theban Eighteenth Dynasty and despite the expulsion of the Hyksos from the delta, the Canaanite-Egyptian koine was not annihilated.[53] From a long-term perspective, Egypt's expansion to the north, far beyond the Nile Valley, favored the Canaanite-Egyptian symbiosis by the sheer fact that northern Egypt and the southern Levant now advanced geographically to the center of the empire. The impact of the ongoing cultural exchange may be illustrated with two salient points: the Canaanite presence in Amarna and the production of scarabs at Beth-Shean.

2.4.1. Amarna: an intercultural laboratory (Eighteenth Dynasty)

According to Hoffmeier,[54] Akhenaten's aim was to revive the solar cult of the Fifth Dynasty—which represented a Golden Age in the history of Egypt in his opinion. This impetus was probably connected with a deep personal religious experience of a solar theophany. Akhenaten's uncle was high priest of Re at Heliopolis, and the Aten temples erected under Amenhotep IV early in his reign resemble solar sanctuaries of the Fifth Dynasty. These temples contain no mention of Amun, although they stood in the middle of his sanctuary. Nevertheless, Hoffmeier does not believe in a political, anti-Amunistic motivation for Akhenaten's monotheistic revolution; rather, he thinks that Akhenaten experienced a kind of theophany. However, a theophany experience does not explain the monotheism of Akhenaten's Aten-religion, as Kilchör[55] rightly notes.

Much more important in understanding the "enigma" of the Amarna monotheism is the unique cultural mix of Akhenaten's entourage and city, as illustrated by a series of facts. A new type of spindle whorl of Levantine origin characterized by a hemispherical or conical body, together with an upright two-beamed loom for wider lengths of cloth than produced with the traditional Egyptian loom, and with "Levantine" Z-spun (clockwise) fibres of textiles in contrast to S-spun (anti-clockwise) "Egyptian" fibers,[56] and a Levantine weight,[57] are attested in Amarna. Furthermore, a stela of the Canaanite *Trr* and his wife *Irbr* drinking in an "Asiatic" manner with straw from an amphora,[58] strainer tips for these straws,[59] and crescent-shaped amulets of Levantine origin were also discovered at Amarna.[60]

In addition to these objects from daily life illustrating the presence of Levantine manners and customs in Amarna, there is also direct evidence for intercultural exchange on the highest cultural level, namely the meeting of indigenous and Canaanite music bands, in the tomb of Huya (Fig. 6).[61] The musicians from the Levant or Syria are clearly portrayed as foreigners by their costumes and music instruments, among them a typically Levantine lyre (Ugaritic *knr*; Hebrew *kinnōr*).[62]

The foreign legionnaires, the foreign women in the textile production, the foreign musicians, singers and dancers, the foreign princesses in the royal harem, and the princes of vassal kings educated in Egypt[63] illustrate the multicultural atmosphere of Akhenaten's city. In sharp contrast to the former periods when Levantines creolized at a relative distance from the Egyptian political center, they became a substantial part of the society in the otherwise almost hermetically isolated center of the empire. I believe that the international atmosphere of Amarna provides a crucial backdrop for the development of Akhenaten's propaganda of one single and universal god. The experience of "the other" with a mixture of similarities and differences, the knowledge of foreign stories, hymns, and melodies, and the awareness of a world outside of Egypt blessed by light, rain, and life throughout Akenaten's lifetime was constitutive for the development of a monotheistic belief system, much more so than inner-Egyptian rivalries or a private theophany.[64] Indeed, the factor that Aten is also a benefactor outside of Egypt is a constitutive element of the famous Amarna hymn from the tomb of Ai.[65]

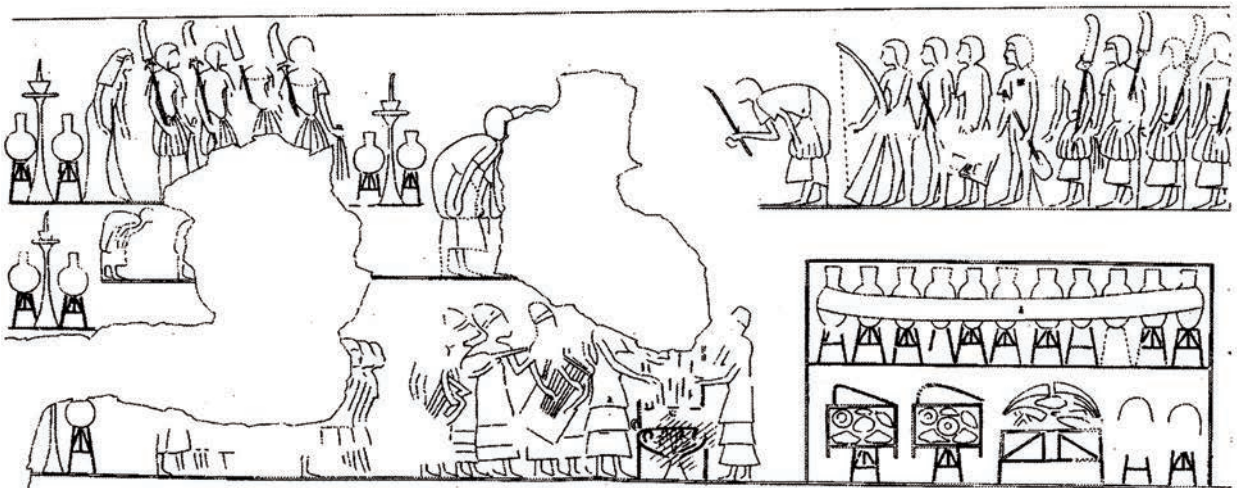

Figure 6: Stone relief; Amarna, Tomb of Huya; ca. 14th century BCE (Davies 1905, pl. VII).

In summary, the experience of plurality and diversity among human beings in Egypt, their cultural exchange and, as a consequence, the awareness of godly blessings outside of Egypt gave birth to the concept of a universal god. However, isolated from the rest of the society, the intellectual laboratory of Amarna remained an experiment very much limited in time and space.

2.4.2. Local themes in the Egyptian scarab factory of Beth-Shean

As the "Beth-Shean level IX group,"[66] a limited amount of locally produced silicate scarabs manufactured in molds as replicas (a legless beetle with a reversed image on the bottom side) of imported Egyptian scarabs, nicely illustrates, the development of Egyptian culture during the Late Bronze Age I (Eighteenth Dynasty) in Palestine was modest and highly dependent on the heartland of Egypt. For most of the motifs of this group[67] parallels are attested in Egypt. However, one of the most favored motifs of this group, a striding man holding a lotus flower (Fig. 7a) or a staff (Fig. 7b), and a cognate motif, an enthroned man with a lotus (Fig. 7c), are rather affiliated with the older local Middle Bronze Age motif of the god or man with the lotus flower.[68] Furthermore, the motif of the caprid combined with a branch (Fig. 7d), also found in this group, is an adapted Egyptian icon of Canaanite origin. Thus, the "Beth-Shean level IX group" documents a certain sensibility for locally favored motifs and, taken together with the locally adapted Egyptian technique, argues for a syncretistic Egyptian and Canaanite cult at Beth-Shean.[69] Nevertheless, Beth-Shean is a singular case. An autonomous local Levantine production of seals is missing during this era and probably also during the Ramesside period.[70] However, two motifs that were largely propagated by the Egyptians during the Eighteenth Dynasty, the image of Hathor and the name of the pharaoh, were integrated into the local symbol system as the shining face of the deity and the deity's name installed in the temple.[71]

2.5. The Canaanite-Egyptian koine as an inspiration for Egypt's religion (Nineteenth–Twentieth Dynasty)

The general situation, however, changed remarkably with the Egyptian military campaigns of the early Nineteenth Dynasty. These campaigns were not isolated actions but followed a Ramesside policy for the Levant. Pi-Ramesse (Qantir), the capital of the imperium, was built in the eastern delta, just north of Avaris. The creolized local people were thus controlled, but concurrently, the Egyptian elite were physically closer to them and their culture. The "way of Horus" was strengthened. The significant increase in Egyptian and Egyptian-type pottery in the southern Levant during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty is believed to indicate a much stronger physical presence of Egyptians in the region.[72] The Egyptianization of the southern Levant

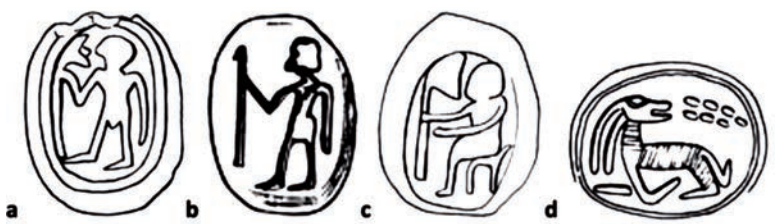

Figure 7: Egyptian silicate scarabs of the "Beth-Shean level IX group" with Canaanite motifs: **a:** Beth-Shean (Ben-Tor and Keel 2012, fig. 3); **b:** southern Levant (Ben-Tor and Keel 2012, fig. 23); **c:** Qubeibeh (Ben-Tor and Keel 2012, fig. 20); **d:** Beth-Shean (Ben-Tor and Keel 2012, fig. 5).

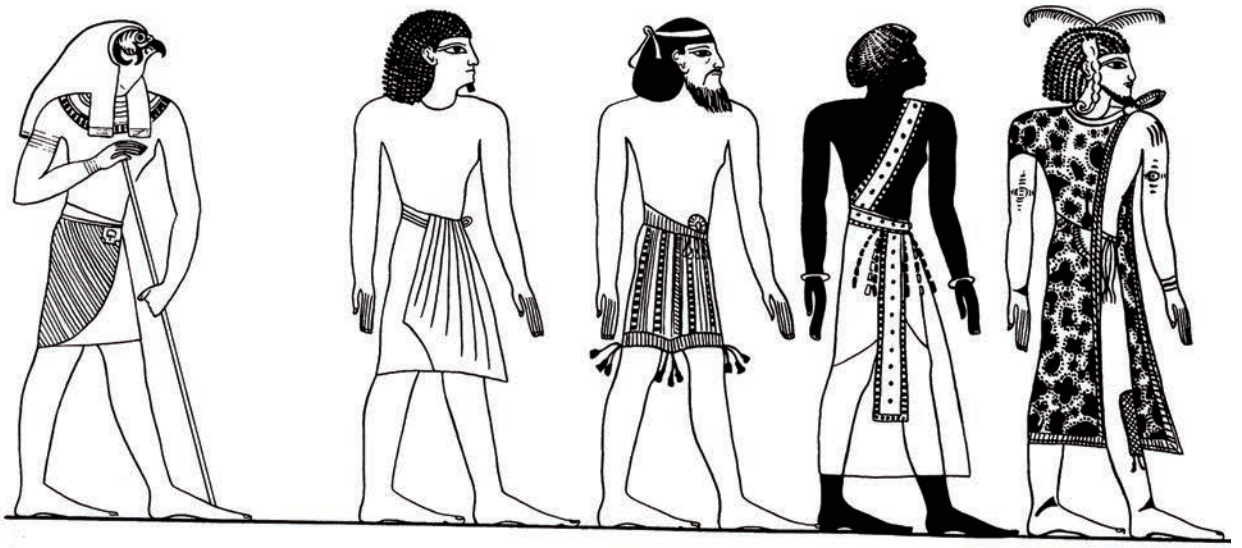

Figure 8: Re as pastor of the nations. Note that Egypt is the first after Re. There is no further hierarchy. The non-Egyptian nations from the Levant (northeast), Nubia (south), and Libya (northwest) are not depicted as bound and/or dominated enemies of Egypt (after Lepsius 1849–1858, Abth. III, Bd. VI, Bl. 136).

results in the emulation of Egyptian administration by the local notability.[73]

2.5.1. Universalism, cosmotheism and intercultural gods

Peter J. Brand characterizes Seti I as a governor affected by the personal piety of his time,[74] expressed with statues of the king humbly kneeling and praying and the frequent use of the term "beneficial" (*ỉḫ*) in his inscriptions.[75] As a result, he was not only a successful commander during his campaigns to the Levant but also a restorer of the cult of divine kingship, similar to the times of Amenhotep III. A unique painting in his tomb shows Re as shepherd of all races, thus testifying to Seti's universal understanding of God (Fig. 8) in great contrast to the traditional depiction of the foreign countries as enemies. Furthermore, we find a cosmotheistic view in the hymns of the time, as Assmann has demonstrated.[76] The mixture of personal piety, military royalism, and theological universalism enables an astonishing exchange of religious ideas in the Levantine-Egyptian realm of the *Pax Aegyptiaca*. The Canaanite gods Reshef, Qudshu, Anat/Astarte, and Hauron were venerated in Egypt[77] and in Beth-Shean the Egyptians venerated the local deities Mekal and Anat.[78]

2.5.2. Baal-Set, the Canaanite-Egyptian god as god of the Dynasty

Politically most important was the veneration of Set as the Egyptianized version of the Canaanite god Baal. The cult of Baal was officially introduced in Egypt during the 5th year of Amenhotep II, when in *Prw-nfr*—the harbor of Memphis and the preferred residence of the pharaoh—the Astarte temple was inaugurated. According to the fragmentary myth of "Astarte and the Sea,"[79] the title of the myth was "New Copy of What He (Baal-Set) Did for the Ennead (of Gods) by Defeating the Sea." The distinct stamp-seal motif of Baal-Set's battle against the Sea—already well known as a motif on Syrian cylinder-seals of the Middle Bronze Age—was broadly propagated and existed in an astonishing diversity of stylistic versions, sometimes tending to Egyptian and other times to Levantine features (Fig. 9a–d). The variants illustrate the intercultural mixture of the Levant and northern Egypt in all its dimensions. Othmar Keel mentions a Baal-Set ligature, which later on becomes a Baal-Set-Yahwe ligature in Israel/Judah.[80] As he demonstrates, both Baal-Set and Yahwe fight in favor of the sun. Thus, the maverick god (Set/Yahwe) becomes a prestigious leader.[81]

As the pharaonic names of Seti (I and II) and Setnakhte ("victorious is Set")[82] attest, Set, until then associated with bad events, had a programmatic, positive function for the Ramessides, as patron of the fight for justice and the country's security. One should add that the name of the father of Ramesses I, an officer from the delta, was already Seti.[83] Thus, it is very probable that the Nineteenth Dynasty, founded by Ramesses I, also an officer who made his career under Horemheb, had Canaanite roots. On his 400-year stela Ramesses II celebrates his dynasty as the offspring of Set and not of Re, as would have been appropriate according to the royal Egyptian tradition. He called himself "Son of Set."[84]

Under Seti II the "Tale of the Two Brothers" was composed. This tale was a very complex and sophisticated

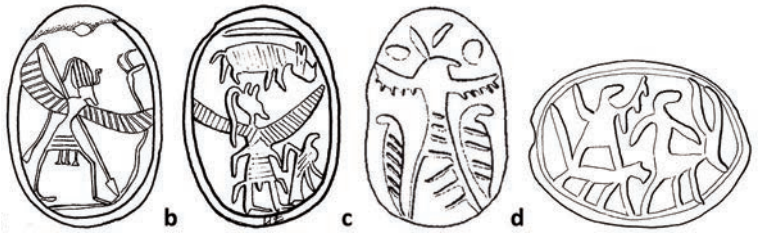

Figure 9: Baal-Set on scarabs from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-second Dynasty: **a:** Scarab; enstatite; Tell Farʿa South; Nineteenth Dynasty; London, Institute of Archaelogy EVI.24/29 (CSAPI 3, Tell Farʿa Süd Nr. 138; BODO object no. 16707); **b:** Scarab; enstatite; Tell Farʿa South; Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty; London, British Museum L.604 (CSAPI 3, Tell Farʿa Süd Nr. 718; BODO object no. 18441); **c:** Scarab; enstatite; Jerusalem, Gihon; 10th century BCE; Reg. 16773; (Keel 2012: fig. 99); **d:** Scarab; enstatite; Dor; Twenty-first/Twenty-second Dynasty; Tel Dor Excavation storage (CSAPI 2, Dor Nr. 27; BODO object no. 18273).

literary product consisting of 24 chapters corresponding to the hours of a day. According to Wolfgang Wettengel,[85] the highly reflected and construed myth transforms the Canaanite myth concerning the procreative encounter between the weather god and the earth to a story that is compatible with the Re-Osiris cycle. In the myth, Baal-Set is encoded as Bata[86] and the animal of Set/Baal is the bull, a transcultural symbol. The text is full of motifs that inspired later literature, including the biblical story of Joseph (see below, 3.5.5). The " Tale of the Two Brothers" is an impressive product of creative power, of transformation, and translation in the creolized Egyptian-Canaanite milieu of the eastern delta, which under the Ramessides was at the forefront of Egyptian society.

The scarce information about chaos toward the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty suggests that other, perhaps less integrative, parts of this population with Levantine roots and high-ranking positions in the state were in conflict with the integrative Ramesside elite and had temporarily taken over the power in the delta.[87]

2.5.3. Long-lasting Canaanite veneration of Ptah at its zenith

In addition to the reception of Canaanite gods in Egypt during the Ramesside period, there was also a climax of the veneration of the Memphite god Ptah in Canaan. As mentioned above, the earliest Canaanite Ptah seals on the early series of the Palestinian stamp seals during the Middle Bronze Age use the quasi-alphabetically written name of Ptah (see above, 2.3.4, with Figs. 3d and 10a). This feature is still to be found on a Beth-Shean level 9-group seal (Fig. 10b) and on a late Ramesside scarab (Fig. 10g) with the inscription *j Ptʿḥ nb mꜣʿt*, "O Ptah, Lord of truth,"[88] It is very telling for the Canaanite-Egyptian koine that on seals from Canaan Ptah is associated with Canaanite gods such as Set/Baal and Astarte (Fig. 10c) (called *tꜣ*-š*rj.t ptḥ,* "daughter of Ptah" in the myth of "Astarte and the Sea"), but also with his Egyptian companion, the lion-headed Sekhmet (Fig. 10e) on a seal from Gezer. Sekhmet was very popular in the southern Levant as an amulet.[89] Note that on this rectangular plate from Gezer the Ptah scenery is combined with the sphinx and the typical Canaanite motif of the suckling caprid on the other side. On the Ramesside glyptic the god's presence in its cult image is favored. On Fig. 10d, for instance, Ptah blesses the pharaoh with life for his sacrifice of "humanity" (the lapwing in the pharaoh's hand reads *rḫjt*, "humanity").[90]

A hitherto neglected aspect of the Canaanite Ptah iconography is the strong connection with light symbols: on the Hyksos seal (Fig. 10a) the *ꜣḫ*-sign, on the Ramesside seals (Fig. 10e, g) the Shu/Maat-feather and the falcon-headed sun-god Re-Harakhte, on a seal from the 7th or 6th century (Fig. 10h) a figure of Harpocrates as sun-child (see also below, 4.1.) above the winged sun disk. According to the Berlin "Hymn to Ptah," the Memphite creation god was praised with the following words:[91] "The tree of life is growing on you (the god Ptah). You vegetate the earth so that the Gods have plenty, as well as the people and the cattle. Thanks to light they can see. If you go down, darkness arises. Either of your light eyes creates light." The text perfectly expresses the strong connection between light and vegetation, felt and admired by the Egyptians and Canaanites and fashioned in manifold symbolic arrangements on their amulets.[92] According to the so-called Memphite theology on the Shabaka Stone (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), Ptah creates the world by speaking out loud what he conceptualized in his heart. In Genesis 1, we find a god who first creates the world by speaking, then creates light with his word. The plants sprout on the third day after the separation of the upper and the lower waters. The Memphite cosmogony and the one from Genesis 1 seem to be cognate.

Thus, Ptah is not just any figure in a Canaanite context. The Memphite god—a god of creation—was venerated with his Egyptian name, socialized with Canaanite gods, and the creation theology associated with him was known and integrated in the Judean theology of Elohim.

3. Developments during and around the 8th–7th Centuries BCE (Twenty-first–Twenty-fifth Dynasty)

Egypt's weakness compared to earlier periods from the late Twentieth Dynasty onward does not mean that the contacts between Canaan and Egypt diminished, but that

Figure 10: Ptah through the ages on stamp-seal amulets from the Southern Levant: **a:** Scarab; enstatite; Atlit; late Thirteenth/Fifteenth Dynasty; Jerusalem IAA 96-1955; CSAPI 1, Atlit Nr. 38 (BODO object no. 22308); **b:** Scarab; composite material; Gat; early Eighteenth Dynasty; Bar-Ilan University; CSAPI 4, Gat Nr. 58 (BODO object no. 31380); **c:** Human-face scaraboid; black stone; Akko; Late Bronze II; Hazorea, Wilfried Israel Museum; CSAPI 1, Akko Nr. 457 (BODO object no. 4416); **d:** Scarab; enstatite; Gat; Ramses II; Bet Shemesh, Magazine IAA 1995.5574; CSAPI 4, Gat Nr. 34 (BODO object no. 18139); **e:** Rectangular plate; enstatite; Geser; Ramses III; Istanbul, Arkeoloji Müzeleri Müdürlügü 92.476; CSAPI 4, Geser Nr. 100 (BODO object no. 2173); **f:** Scarab; enstatite; Dotan; Nineteenth/beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty; Rockefeller Museum; CSAPI 2, Dotan Nr. 30 (BODO object no. 18819); **g:** Scarab; enstatite; Tell Farʿa South; Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasty; London, Institute of Archaeology E.XIII.99/21; CSAPI 3, Tell Farʿa Süd Nr. 624 (BODO object no 30862); **h:** Scarab; enstatite; Akko; Twenty-sixth Dynasty; Jerusalem IAA 73-171; CSAPI 1, Akko Nr. 106 (BODO object no. 19441).

they changed, in that they were less one-sided. Sheshonq tried to safeguard the commercial routes to Megiddo and the Aravah with a military campaign.[93] Sheshonq's efforts to dominate the southern Levant are reflected in the Judean bone stamp seals,[94] which appear to confirm the successfulness of his endeavors. However, the new and indigenous form of the nearly quadratic stamp seals, which are used in place of scarabs, document a new self-confidence in the Levantine kingdoms and the birth of local styles. Nevertheless, the Egyptian culture remained important. This is illustrated by: the use of the Egyptian measure *ḥqꜣt* in the Judean fortress of Arad,[95] the use of Egyptian weights in Israel, Judah, Philistia, and Edom,[96] diplomatic gifts or merchandise from Egypt in the form of alabaster amphoras,[97] the presence of Judean and/or Israelite seafaring in the Red Sea,[98] political asylum of Canaanite kings in Egypt,[99] the Egyptian name "Pashur" in Judah,[100] a Kushite high official in Jerusalem,[101] intermarriage,[102] Canaanite foreign workers in Egypt as gardeners/vintners,[103] and the expression *rmṯʿ-mḥtj* "man of the north" for Asian foreigners in Egypt,[104] to mention some examples.

After the achievements of the Ramesside period the Levantine-Egyptian koine was more certain than ever before, but during this period the Levantine side became the more active participant. In the northern Negev and in the Syrian Desert we find the first proto-Bedouins—stock-breeders also engaged in long-distance trade with camels—demonstrating the rising power of international trade.[105] The use of writing for the purposes of administration, communication, law, and memory was widespread in local city-states of the Levant. The alphabet, based on Egyptian signs but developed as a writing system in the Levant and in Arabia, was used even in Egypt (3.1). While the powerful Ramesside culture adapted Canaanite deities in Egypt, Egyptian religious symbols featured prominently in the craftwork of political centers of the Omride Dynasty in Samaria (3.2) and the Davidic Dynasty in Jerusalem (3.3). Notably, the Egyptian iconography of light is integrated in the Levantine symbol system (3.4).

The Israelite and Judean geographical, ethnographical and theological concepts—transmitted in the Hebrew Bible—reveal the ongoing importance of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine for the identity and social memory of its authors. Canaan and Egypt are perceived as very cognate cultures (3.5.1). The biblical patriarchs and matriarchs are characterized as migrating in the Canaanite-Egyptian koine (3.5.2). Abraham's firstborn and representative of the Ishmaelites is seen as born by an Egyptian slave, thus incarnating the Canaanite-Egyptian koine (3.5.3). The story of Joseph mirrors in many ways the Egyptian story of

Sinuhe (3.5.4) and rewrites settings of the Ramesside "Tale of the Two Brothers" (3.5.5). The Egyptians are seen as mourning for Jacob (Israel; 3.5.6), and an Egyptian princess is depicted as saving and naming Moses (3.5.7). The figure of Moses is connected not only with the house of Pharaoh but also by marriage with the Midianites and Kushites, who at times played an important role in the Egyptian-Levantine koine (3.5.8–9). Eventually, the importance of the Egyptian proximity to Judah becomes apparent in the privileged acceptance in the Judean cult according to the Deuteronomic law (3.5.10). In Persian times, Egypt seems to be an important place for the shaping of a universalistic Judean religion on its way to Judaism and Christianity (3.5.11). In this context, the Egyptians can be seen as "people of YHWH" (3.5.12).

3.1. The writing system as a product of the Egyptian-Levantine koine

Some Egyptian sources[106] deliver evidence that there was a defined series of one-consonant signs in use, a kind of alphabet, during the Late Period (7–4th centuries BCE). The series comprises 25 signs. The number fits with a note of Plutarch,[107] according to which the number of Egyptian characters corresponds to the square number of 5 and starts with the ibis. The order of the alphabet corresponds to the South Arabian alphabet. Some of the South Arabian characters are missing in the Egyptian alphabet, while other characters, not used in the South Arabian alphabet, are added at the end of the Egyptian alphabet. This points to the hypothesis that the South Arabian alphabet order was adapted in Egypt. As the South Arabian alphabet order is also attested in Bet Shemesh (Palestine) and Ugarit, there is some discussion of the possibility that the alphabet was conveyed to Egypt via the Levant.[108] Attention should be called to the fact that the liaison between the Levant, Arabia, and Egypt, found behind the history of the alphabet, is also expressed in terms of genealogy in the biblical narrative of Abraham (see below 3.5.3).

3.2. Samarian iconography reflecting the Egyptian-Levantine koine

Most noteworthy on the level of religious symbols are the iconographic motifs on the Israelite ivories from Samaria. The dominant theme here is "light"[109] in its different aspects, lavishly designed with Egyptian iconography:

1. The striding light-god with the *k3*-like arm position of Shu, enabling the growth of plants.[110] It is a main motif of the Iron Age Canaanite-Egyptian koine, often combined with other elements of the Shu-iconography such as the Shu/Maat-feather and the falcon-headed god (see above, Fig. 5), whereas the striding position continues the ancient imagery of the Levantine weather god (Figs. 2a and 9).
2. The sun-child in the opening flower (Fig. 12c),[111] an image for the morning light, the triumph of light over darkness, also a favored motif of Phoenician stamp seals and a motif that remains connected with YHWH/IAO in northern Egypt into the Roman era (Fig. 12r).
3. A variant of the Shu iconography is the kneeling Heh, god of the endless time with the palm panicle (*rnpt*, "year") in his hands under a sun disk, similar to the falcon-headed god.[112]
4. Isis and Nephthys flanking the djed-pillar under a sun disk, symbol of the enduring aspect of light from the Osiris complex.[113]

The ongoing Canaanite-Egyptian koine is now visible in the center of the Israelite kingdom as it was visible in the Egyptian kingdom of Akhenaten about 700 years before, in the zenith of Egypt's power (see above, 2.4.1 with Fig. 6).

3.3. Judean iconography reflecting the Egyptian-Levantine koine

While no palatial equipment from Judah has been discovered, the iconography of the official seals are no less telling than the Egyptian forms and contents used: Judah was part of an Egyptian-Levantine koine. On amulets the *wedjat*-eye and Bes appear often, and the Memphite triad is present with Sekhmet, Nefertem, and Pataikos.[114] A typical Judean product of the Egyptian-Levantine koine is the four-winged uraeus, locally known as *seraph*. The motif is found on inscribed stamp seals as a symbol of godly protection and blessing.[115] The *seraphim* became part of the Judean religious symbol system as a marker of holiness (Isaiah 6:2, 6) and as a symbol of healing (Numbers 21:6–9). On stamps of the Judean administration the winged scarab and the winged sun disk appear in combination with paleo-Hebrew inscriptions.[116] Toward the end of the Iron Age, the Egyptian forms diminish in favor of a local, partly aniconic art.[117] The healing seraph symbol is even officially eliminated from the cult (2 Kings 14:4). Additionally, it is evident from the biblical record that local reform could not deny the strong ongoing impact of the Egyptian-Levantine koine (see below, 3.5.9–11).

3.4.1. A Canaanite-Egyptian character: the striding light-god

One of the most important anthropomorphic motifs on Levantine stamp seals of the 1st century BCE is the striding light-god with outstretched arms. The character is probably inspired by stamp seals of the Eighteenth Dynasty, depicting Shu—god of air and light—as *nb t3.wj*, carrying the sky (Fig. 11a), as suggested by Othmar Keel.[118] It has been tentatively identified with Baal by Keel and Uehlinger, but, if this is indeed appropriate, then it is a "Baal of light" rather than a "Baal of weather and storm." In addition to the fixed Shu-gesture, the figure can appear on the *nbw*-sign to emphasize his aspect as a god of "splendor" and "radiation" (Fig. 11b). The figure may bear the white crown (Fig. 11b), the red crown (Fig. 11c), or the double crown (Fig. 11d). The crowns underline the splendid and inapproachable character of the figure. The

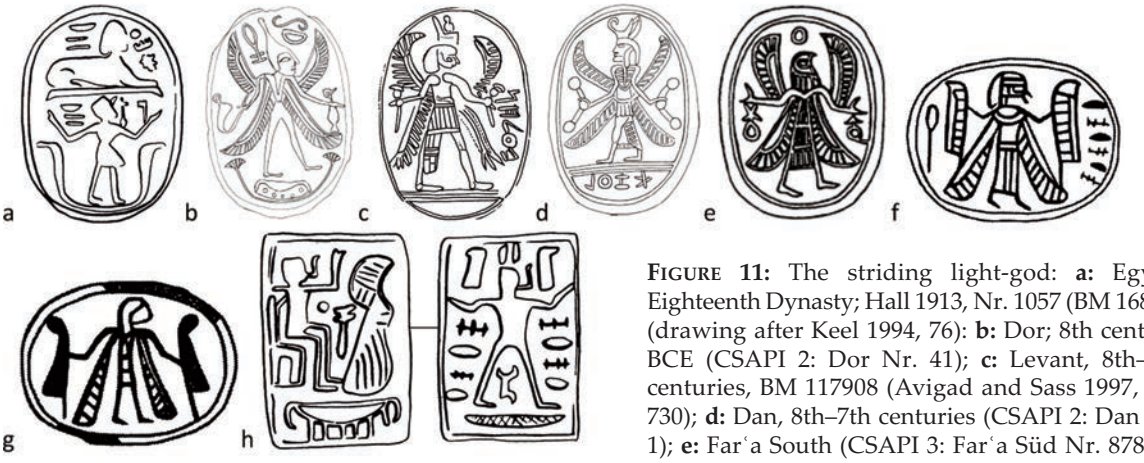

Figure 11: The striding light-god: **a:** Egypt, Eighteenth Dynasty; Hall 1913, Nr. 1057 (BM 16828) (drawing after Keel 1994, 76): **b:** Dor; 8th century BCE (CSAPI 2: Dor Nr. 41); **c:** Levant, 8th–7th centuries, BM 117908 (Avigad and Sass 1997, Nr. 730); **d:** Dan, 8th–7th centuries (CSAPI 2: Dan Nr. 1); **e:** Farʿa South (CSAPI 3: Farʿa Süd Nr. 878); **f:** Lebanon, 8–7th centuries (Boschloos 2014, 2.2); **g:** Achziv, 10th–9th centuries (Boschloos 2014, 10.5); **h:** southern Levant, 10th–9th centuries (Keel 1994, Abb. 13a).

same is true for the uraeus (Fig. 11a–b). The light characteristic of the deity is all the more clear when the figure is depicted with a falcon head and sun disk (Fig. 11e). The objects in the hands of the figure—*ankh*-signs (Fig. 11e),[119] or plants such as lotus (Fig. 11c)[120]and bent papyrus stalks (Fig. 11d)[121]—mostly symbolize the effect of the deity as progenitor of life. A Phoenician Iron Age II scarab workshop[122] preferred to render the type with only one pair of wings holding Shu/Maat-feathers (Fig. 11f–g), thus again emphasizing the light character of the figure, constitutive of the cosmos. This variant possibly developed from the striding Shu on rectangular plates of the 10th century BCE, where the character is combined with an enthroned light-deity on the other side (Fig. 11h).[123] Note that nearly the same kind of pseudo-scripture is found on Fig. 11f and h, whereas the shining face, indicated by the uraeus in front of it on Fig. 11h is now missing. Only on a scarab from Dor (Fig. 11b) the striding god still has a uraeus in his hand.

3.5. Reflexes of the Egyptian-Levantine koine in the pre-exilic and early post-exilic Bible

The biblical tradition literature is a unique source within the Levant of the 8–5th centuries BCE, especially for Israel, Judah, and the diaspora communities associated with these two "city-states." For the first time, we learn from generically very different texts about the relationship with Egypt from a Levantine point of view. It is well recognized that the biblical wisdom literature arose in a milieu of international education. Excerpts from "The Book of Amenemope" were found in Proverbs 22:17–23:14,[124] parallels to motifs in Psalm 104 in Egyptian hymns,[125] and cognate motifs of the "Song of Songs" in Egyptian love poetry and in the craftwork of the Egyptian-Levantine koine.[126]

In addition to this implicit presence of Egypt in Levantine literature, we find texts explicitly introducing the question of the relationship with Egypt. They testify to the huge impact of migration on the history of the Southern Levant.

3.5.1. Closeness of Canaan and Egypt according to Israel's ethno-geography

In the so-called Table of Nations—a text compiled in Persian times,[127] which situates Israel in the context of all nations known to it—the nations Kush,[128] Mizraim,[129] Put,[130] and Canaan are listed as sons of Ham (Genesis 10:6). Thus, the three traditional neighbors and enemies of Egypt—Kush, Libya, and Canaan[131]—are closely linked with Egypt. This corresponds with the historical fact that Egypt was ruled by Canaanites or creolized Egyptians with Canaanite roots (Fifteenth–Sixteenth, Nineteenth–Twentieth Dynasties), Libyans (Twenty-second Dynasty), and Kushites (Twenty-fifth Dynasty). The biblical concept has an iconographic counterpart in the tomb of (the Egyptian-Canaanite) Seti I, where Re as shepherd of the Egyptian, the Canaanite, the Kushite, and the Libyan corresponds to "father" Ham in the biblical text (cf. Fig. 8).

3.5.2. The patriarchs and matriarchs as part of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine

The story of the patriarchs and matriarchs starts with the episode of a famine and the decision of Abraham to reside as an alien in Egypt. At customs he declares his wife to be his sister and his beautiful wife is taken into the house of the Pharaoh. Abraham benefits in two ways from this: firstly, he is not murdered, and, secondly, the Pharaoh "for her sake dealt well with Abram; and he had sheep, oxen, male donkeys, male and female slaves, female donkeys, and camels" (Genesis 12:16). The short text condenses many elements, which were quite characteristic of the relations between the Levant and Egypt for centuries: refuge in hard times, human trafficking, trade, Egyptian border control, diplomatic relations between Canaanites and Egyptians, and stock-breeding of the Canaanites in the eastern delta. The episode is so central to the identity of

Canaanite people that the story is given in two more variants within Genesis (20:1–18; 26:1–11). The story of Joseph (see below, 3.5.4–5) may be seen as an enlarged fourth variant on the theme.

3.5.3. Abraham as the prime father of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine

Abraham's firstborn is the son of an Egyptian slave. If the story of the patriarchs and matriarchs are stories of people in the garment of family stories,[132] and if the story of Abraham's firstborn is deliberately composed for its place in the larger context of Israel's pre-history,[133] then the mixed-blood is representative of the creolized Canaanite-Egyptian people. It should be noted that the story of the repudiation of Hagar and her son (Genesis 21:9–21) never mentions his name and that it is therefore quite possible that Hagar's stories are the product of a collage of originally independent stories.[134] The text, however, is closely related to Genesis 16, explaining the name Ishmael, "God listens," in the sense that God heard the cry of the son, while the first story emphasized that God heard the cry of Hagar (cf. Genesis 16:11 and 21:17). Both chapters emphasize the strong tensions between Sara, representative of the inland Canaanites, and Hagar, representative of the creolized Egyptian-Canaanites of the coast.

Sara and Hagar are representative of the regions farthest south in the Levant and northern Egypt, where the places mentioned in these stories are located. In this region, the inland Canaanites had contact with the Ishmaelites, Hagarites, and the proto-Bedouins who were engaged in long-distance trading.[135] This explains the non-Egyptian names of Hagar and her son Ishmael. Ishmael's mother, Hagar, is strongly connected with Egypt (Genesis 21:21b): "His mother got a wife for him from the land of Egypt." Thus the names of persons and places and the relationship between the protagonists of these stories reflect the creolized milieu of the region between the southern Levant and Egypt from a Judean point of view during the late Iron Age, when the proto-Nabatean influence along the incense road became stronger. A similar reflex is given in the so-called Philisto-Arabian coinage, the earliest coinage of Palestine,[136] although here there is an additional strong Greek influence, not present in the biblical texts.

3.5.4. Joseph as the Israelite Sinuhe, or the literary testaments of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine

Joseph is a Levantine complement to the Egyptian Sinuhe. "The Story of Sinuhe" is a product of the Twelfth Dynasty. The author was very well informed about the circumstances in Canaan. However, during the 750 years in which his text was copied,[137] the local color of his original masterpiece was diminished in favor of a *lectio facilior*.[138] The Joseph story goes back to pre-exilic times (8–7th centuries BCE), but was probably rewritten until the Hellenistic era and is thus a typical product of tradition literature.[139] There are many parallels between Joseph and Sinuhe. However, a thorough comparison of the two stories has not yet been formally drawn.[140] The list in Table 2 is only an attempt to collect some evidence and is not intended to be exhaustive.

Not only are there at least twelve cognate motifs in both works but the motifs also proceed in approximately the same order. Of course, there are also significant differences between the two works, although the differences as well as the similarities are part of the Canaanite-Egyptian symbiosis. For instance, it is not a coincidence that the career of Sinuhe culminates in the image of a warrior and in the pose of triumph over his enemy, while Joseph succeeds as an ingenious economist, quasi-Pharaoh of the country, and as an oneirocritic.[141] The stories emblematically condense the characteristics and excellences of the Canaanites and the Egyptians that made their symbiosis so fruitful over centuries.

Sinuhe is written in the first person; as a result, the burial of the hero is not articulated, although the preparation of his burial in the necropolis is an important topic. The biblical redactors, meanwhile, used the motif of the interment in the homeland for another monumentalization of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine, as they placed it at the end of the so-called Hexateuch at the end of the book of Joshua (24:32). Thus, the Egyptian coffin with the embalmed body of Joseph must be imagined as present during all the years of the migration of the Hebrews between Egypt and the Promised Land.

The fact that Joseph succeeds in Egypt and not in Assyria or Babylonia is key to understanding the impact of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine for the fate of the Israelites. The figure of Akhikar, the successful Canaanite official in Mesopotamia, was not unknown in Israel (cf. Tobit 1:21f; 2:10; 11:19; 14:10; Akhikar manuscripts of Elephantine), but does not have the same importance, although Daniel shows traits of him. The migration of Canaanites to Egypt and of Egyptians to Canaan was an obvious option for centuries and, therefore, a central part of the collective memory on either side.

3.5.5. Joseph in the role of Bata-Set-Baal: demythologization of Baal in the context of the Canaanite-Levantine koine

The Joseph narrative uses some settings of the Ramesside "Tale of Two Brothers" very consciously, as is well known (Table 3).[142]

Based on the blessing of Joseph by Jacob (Genesis 49:22–26) and Moses (Deuteronomy 33:13–17), Wettengel considers further parallels between the regeneration motifs connected with Bata and Joseph. Both are considered to be bulls, both are associated with the fertile earth. Joseph "resurrects" from a pit (37:24, 28)[143] and from the prison (39:20; 41:14), thus coming back to life from a death-like period in the earth as Baal and Osiris. Eventually, he interprets Pharaoh's dream as a cycle of fertility and drought, abundance and hunger. Wettengel believes that via the figure of Joseph and using the "Tale of Two Brothers" as a blueprint, qualities of Baal were assimilated and made fruitful for the YHWH religion.

	Cognate motif	Sinuhe	Joseph
1.	Both leave their homeland because of troubles.	Flight due to his fear of a palace revolt (§§4–5)	He is sold by his envious brothers as a slave to traders on the way to Egypt (Genesis 37)
2.	Both have to endure many difficulties.	Dangerous journey from the western delta to the eastern delta; crossing of the Egyptian border; desert journey (§§5–7)	Working as a slave, sexually pressured and wrongly accused and imprisoned (Genesis 39–41:38)
3.	Both are saved by a man in the fields. (A proleptic saving of the hero in both narratives [Koenen 1997].)	A Bedouin finds him in a dehydrated state (§7)	A man finds him wandering in the fields in search of his brethren (Genesis 37:15–17)
4.	Both are saved by a very high-ranking member of the foreign society in which they live.	Saved by the governor of Upper Retjenu (§§7–8)	Saved by the Pharaoh (Genesis 41:37–40)
5.	Both marry the daughter of a high-ranking man.	Oldest daughter of Ammunesh (§15)	Asenath, daughter of Potipher, priest of On (Genesis 41:45)
6.	Both make a fantastic career.	Ruler of a tribe (§15:18); great land owner (§15); commander of the army (§17); smites the enemy (§§18–21); rich in cattle (21:18–19)	Set over all the land of Egypt (Genesis 41:41, 43, 45); bearer of the Pharaoh's signet ring (Genesis 41:42); reformer of the country's economy (Genesis 47:13–26)
7.	Both eat the food of the host country.	Many sweets things and milk in every dish (§16:6–7)	He eats separately with the Egyptians (Genesis 43:32)
8.	Both suffer homesickness.	Wants to see the residence in Egypt (§21:32–22:3)	Wants to know about his father and to see his brother Benjamin (Genesis 42:20; 43:27–30)
9.	Both want to be buried in their homeland.	Nothing is better than a burial in the homeland (§22:4–7)	He is embalmed and placed in a coffin in Egypt, but made the Israelites swear to carry him up to the land of his fathers (Genesis 50:24–26)
10.	Both are not immediately recognized by their relatives.	The royal wife and the king's children cry when they see Sinuhe as a Bedouin (§36)	The brethren do not recognize Joseph (Genesis 42:7) and when Joseph shows himself they are dismayed at his presence (Genesis 45:3)
11.	Both reconcile with the kinfolk of the homeland.	He is newly accepted by the pharaoh and his entourage: "He shall not fear" (§38)	The brethren ask Joseph to forgive and he reconciles with them: "Do not be afraid!" (Genesis 50:15–21)
12.	Both are buried in their homeland.	A pyramid is constructed and its cult established (40:9–24)	He is buried in Shekhem on a portion of ground bought from the sons of Hamor by his father Jacob (Joshua 24:32)

Table 2: Example cognate motifs in the stories of Sinuhe and Joseph.

3.5.6. The encounter between Israel and the Pharaoh, and the mourning of the Egyptians for Israel

When Jacob (an alias for Israel) came down to Egypt, his son Joseph arranged an encounter between him and the Pharaoh. The short and highly stylized episode in Genesis 47:7–10 consists of a short dialogue between the two men, framed by blessings of Israel to Pharaoh. Pharaoh asks Jacob for the number of years of his life and Jacob presents himself in a singular wording as a 130-year-old migrant. The episode of the peaceful encounter between the affable king and the forthright patriarch is an affecting image of the Egyptian-Israelite koine as a showcase of the Egyptian-Levantine koine.

When Joseph went up to Canaan to bury his father, "with him went up all the servants of Pharaoh, the elders of his household, and all the elders of the land of Egypt" (Genesis 50:7) and "when the Canaanite inhabitants of the land saw the mourning on the threshing floor of Atad, they said, 'This is a grievous mourning on the part of the Egyptians'" and therefore the place was named Abel-mizraim (Genesis 50:11). Thus, the Canaanite-Egyptian koine in the Hebrew Bible is monumentalized in a place

	Cognate motif	Tale of Two Brothers	Joseph
1.	A young man living and working in the house of an older/superior man.	Bata, the younger, lives and works in the house of Anubis, the older (1:1–3).	Joseph, the Canaanite, lives in the house of the Egyptian Potiphar, captain of the guard (Genesis 39:1).
2.	The young man is successful.	The cattle prosper greatly (2:1–2)	House and field are blessed (Genesis 39:5)
3.	The young man is strong/beautiful.	Bata is beautiful and strong (1:4; 3:6)	Joseph is beautiful, blessed, and proficient (Genesis 39:3, 6)
4.	Seduction of the foreign young man by superior woman.	She wants to know Bata as a man (3:6f)	She wants to sleep with Joseph (Genesis 39:12).
5.	The woman wants to make clothing for the man./The man leaves his clothing to the woman.	She wants to make beautiful garments for Bata (3:7f)	He leaves the garment in the woman's hand (Genesis 39:12f)
6.	Defamation of the young man by the spurned woman.	The woman, draped as a beaten victim of rape, defames Bata (4:4–5:4).	The woman with the garment as *corpus delicti* defames Joseph (Genesis 39:14–18).

Table 3: Example cognate motifs in the "Tale of Two Brothers" and the story of Joseph.

name in Transjordanian Canaan that harks back to the Egyptian mourning of Israel. The Egyptian reference to the ancestor of Israel/Jacob as part of the Israelite collective memory clearly demonstrates the fundamental impact of the good relations with Egypt for the Israelite culture. A greater contrast to the Exodus tradition is not conceivable.

3.5.7. Moses, saved and named by an Egyptian princess

Another very emblematic monumentalization of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine is the naming of Moses by the daughter of Pharaoh (Exodus 2:10). However the name is interpreted,[144] the sheer fact that the princess saved the Hebrew boy and gave him a name is a deep sign of recognition of the humanitarian side of the Egyptian culture by the Hebrew writer and his audience. The episode is all the more touching if the name is understood as a Hebrew name, thus insinuating that the Egyptian princess knew some Hebrew and was a real mediator between cultures.[145]

3.5.8. Moses and his god as incarnation of the Midianite-Egyptian-Levantine koine

Moses is not only saved and educated by Egyptians, according to the book of Exodus, but also related by marriage with the Midianites. The Biblical story (Exodus 2:15–22) recounts that Moses, on his flight from Egypt, was recognized as an Egyptian by the daughters of Reuel, who was a Midianite. Moses marries Zipporah, one of them. He calls his firstborn Gershom. The name is interpreted as an explanation for Moses' life as a foreigner among the Midianites. As the Midianites are portrayed as archenemies of Israel in most of the biblical texts (e.g., Numbers 10:29–32; 22–31; Judges 6–8), this seems to be an old, inerasable social memory. According to 1 Kings 11:18, the only instance in the Bible where Midian denotes a county and not a people, it is said that the region is located south of Edom on the way to Egypt. In the land of Midian, the Hebrew Moses, who was married as an Egyptian foreigner with a Midianite woman, encounters the local god YHWH—another old memory[146]—who will be the savior-god of the Hebrew slaves in Egypt. Thus, the Biblical memory delivers—again, in the mode of a folk tale—another important memory of the Egyptian-Levantine-Arab (Midianite) koine.

3.5.9. Moses' Kushite wife and the riffraff among the Israelites and between Egypt, Canaan, and Arabia

According to the book of Numbers, Moses' wife was Kushite and thus a woman from the descendants of Ham. Moses' wife Zippora was a Midianite, as we have seen. Possibly northwestern Arabia, the land of the Midianites, and not Ethiopia, was associated with Kush from an Israelite point of view.[147] Miriam's and Aaron's criticism of Moses' racially mixed liaison is drastically echoed by the punishment of Miriam with leprosy (Numbers 12:1, 10) and by emphasizing the undisputable authority of Moses compared to (other) prophets. Along with the accentuation of Moses' authority that the episode holds, it also shows that opposition against mixed couples is to be sharply refuted. In the episode, Moses and his Kushite wife serve as a model for mixed couples of the highest social rank. It does not come as a surprise that this position was positively absorbed by the Hellenistic Jews, while it was relativized—not refuted—by Rabbinic traditions, who interpreted Kushite metaphorically as denoting "distinctive" or "beautiful."[148]

On a lower social level, the mixed population among the migrating Israelites is mentioned twice in the Torah: as a "mixed multitude" (*ʿeræv rav*) in Exodus 12:38 and as "riffraff" (*ʾasafsuf*) in Numbers 11:4.[149] In a list of (all) people, Jeremiah mentions twice a mixed population (*ʿeræv*): once after the Pharaoh and his people (Jeremiah 25:20) and once after the kings of Arabia (Jeremiah 25:24). If we combine the two statements, we may conclude that for Jeremiah the region of northwestern Arabia and northeastern Egypt was characterized by a mixed population—probably the descendants of the creolized population of the times of the Fifteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside period and of the ongoing migration in this region. Similarly, but less precisely, Ezekiel mentions "all the mixed (people)" (*ʿeræv*) in a prophesy for the nations after Kush, Put, and Lud (Ezekiel 30:5).

3.5.10. "You shall not abhor any of the Egyptians" (Deuteronomy 23:7f)

According to Nehemiah 13:1, "all mixed (people)" (*kol-ʿeræv*) have been separated from "Israel." The statement is found after a passage that harks back to a Torah lecture from the book of Deuteronomy (Nehemiah 13:1–2 = Deuteronomy 23:4–5):

> On that day they read from the book of Moses in the hearing of the people; and in it was found written that no Ammonite or Moabite should ever enter the assembly of God, because they did not meet the Israelites with bread and water, but hired Balaam against them to curse them—yet our God turned the curse into a blessing.

Significantly, the following passage, which prohibits abhorring an Edomite "for they are your kin," and any of the Egyptians, "because you were an alien residing in their land," is not quoted in the book of Nehemiah. The reason that the book of Deuteronomy gives for the practice that an Egyptian of the third generation—the children of a second—shall be integrated to the assembly of YHWH follows, of course, the Exodus paradigm that is so important for the Deuteronomist, and thus a worldview that sees Israel and Egypt as sharply distinct ethnic groups. The historic truth, however, may have been different. Edomite and Egyptian blood was likely to be found among the mixed people living in the triangle where the Canaanite, the Arabian and the Egyptian cultures were in permanent contact. The Deuteronomic law is not a concession to the Egyptians and Edomites, but rather the legal ratification of the fact that migration and the mixture of these nations had, over centuries, become normal to a certain degree.[150]

3.5.11. Gender-mixed, inter-religious dispute of Judeans in Egypt

The book of Jeremiah records in chapters 43–44 two episodes of civil disobedience by the Judean people confronted with words of YHWH as transmitted by Jeremiah. The first episode recalls that Johanan, son of Kareh, led the rest of the Judeans, who were not deported, to Egypt despite YHWH's warning to stay in the country and not to be afraid of the Babylonians. The second episode recalls the Judean women who, when confronted by Jeremiah, openly contradict YHWH's word that Jerusalem's destruction is the consequence of idolatry.

The women insist that the disaster is rather the consequence of the interruption of sacrifices for the queen of heaven (Jeremiah 44:18). The two episodes illustrate vividly that for the Judeans Egypt was still the first place to go in times of distress. Migdol,[151] Tahpanhes,[152] Memphis,[153] and the land of Pathros[154] are listed explicitly as places with Judean communities. That the dispute between Jeremiah and the Judean women is located here may indicate a less patriarchal and more liberal religious position on the part of the Egyptian Judeans in general.

3.5.12. The Egyptians as "people of YHWH" (Isaiah 19)

Isaiah 19:1–15, a poetic text, probably describes the political disaster in Egypt after about 715 BCE. The rulers of Tanis/Bubastis (Twenty-second Dynasty), Leontopolis (Twenty-third Dynasty), Sais (Twenty-fourth Dynasty), and Napata (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) were rivals, and the country suffered a deep crisis.[155] The following verses in prose (19:16–18) were added later on. The only question is *when* they were added. Niccacci recalls Sargon II: "I opened the sealed-off harbor of Egypt, mixed Assyrians with Egyptians, and let them trade with each other."[156] The biblical text on its own promises the day when "there will be a highway from Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian will come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians will worship with the Assyrians" (Isaiah 19:23). For Niccacci, the prose text might well be from Isaiah's time, whereas Schipper[157] connects Isaiah 19 with much later Egyptian prophecies, the "Potter's Oracle" (see below, 4.2) and the "Oracle of the Lamb." However, these texts stem from the late 2nd century BCE and the early 1st century CE, whereas Isaiah 19 is attested in Qumran in the early 2nd century BCE. Similarities between the texts are relatively easy to explain if we assume that not only the Egyptian prophets knew the much older "Prophecy of Neferti," after which they modelled their texts, but also biblical writers. Moreover, we should emphasize that the tone of the biblical text differs sharply from the assumed Egyptian "sources," since the biblical text does not propagate a mentality of separation and isolation, but rather evokes a never seen partnership with Egypt. The fivefold oracle reads:

> 16 [1] **On that day** the Egyptians will be like women, and tremble with fear before the hand that *YHWH Zebaoth* raises against them. 17 And the land of Judah will become a terror to the Egyptians; everyone to whom it is mentioned will fear because of the plan that *YHWH Zebaoth* is planning against them.
> 18 [2] **On that day** there will be five cities in the

land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan and swear allegiance to *YHWH Zebaoth*. One of these will be called the City of the Sun.[158]

19 [3] **On that day** there will be an altar to *YHWH* in the center of the land of Egypt, and a pillar to *YHWH* at its border. 20 It will be a sign and a witness to *YHWH Zebaoth* in the land of Egypt; when they cry to *YHWH* because of oppressors, he will send them a savior, and will defend and deliver them. 21 *YHWH* will make himself known to the Egyptians; and the Egyptians will know *YHWH* on that day, and will worship with sacrifice and burnt offering, and they will make vows to *YHWH* and perform them. 22 *YHWH* will strike Egypt, striking and healing; they will return to *YHWH*, and he will listen to their supplications and heal them.

23 [4] **On that day** there will be a highway from Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian will come into Egypt, and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians will worship with the Assyrians.

24 [5] **On that day** Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth, 25 whom the *YHWH Zebaoth* has blessed, saying, "Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my heritage."

The text is crammed with the ostinato-like mentioning of Egypt/Egyptians (14 times), and YHWH (13 times, 5 of them with the epithet Zebaoth). Furthermore, Assyria (6 times), Judah, Canaan, Israel, and the City of the Sun (1 time each) are mentioned. "Egypt" in its fear starts the sequence and delivers the theme. Judah (v.17) and Israel (v.24) form an inclusion of the rest: a promise. I hold, therefore, that the verses form a unit. The formula "on that day" (5 times) structures the text into five oracles with the longest and most important in the center, "naturally" speaking of the altar of YHWH and of the Egyptians worshipping YHWH in the center of Egypt. If "on that day" refers to Isaiah 19:1, then it means the day when YHWH, alias Baal, alias Set—God's face of the Levant—travels swiftly on a cloud to Egypt.

The Septuagint renders the end of the oracle in a much more Judeo-centric version. Instead of the blessing over Assur and Egypt we find a blessing over the Judeans in these countries. Furthermore, the Egyptians are seen as slaves of the Assyrians. Thus the last two last oracles read:

23 [4] **On that day** there will be a *way* from Egypt to the Assyrians, and the Assyrians will enter into Egypt, and the Egyptians will go to the Assyrians, and the Egyptians *will serve* the Assyrians.
24 [5] **On that day** will Israel be third with the Egyptians and the Assyrians, blessed in the land which the Lord Sabaoth has blessed, 25 saying, Blessed be *my people that is in* Egypt, and *that is among* the Assyrians, and Israel mine inheritance.

In fact, the Egyptians became vassals of the Assyrians under Esarhaddon, and the sorrow for the prosperity of Judean communities in Egypt is well attested by the Judean Elephantine archive of the Persian Period. Evidently, the Septuagint is closer to the historic reality (and therefore the Hebrew "Vorlage" of the Septuagint may well have been the original text) whereas the Masoretic text is more utopic and probably of a later date.[159] Most noteworthy however is the uncontroversial notion of a "language of Canaan" (*śfat knaʿan*; *glôssa tê Chananítidi*; Isaiah 19:18) in both versions. Judeans and Egyptians are seen as part of an Egyptian-Canaanite koine. In any case, the sequence of oracles in Isaiah 19:16–24 is an impressive testimonial of this koine, and the different versions illustrate the very dynamic character of the fruitful but also highly vulnerable multi-ethnic relationships of the region.

4. Exemplary Outlooks to the Following Periods

Trade on donkeys and camels (cf. Isaiah 30:6) between the Levant and Egypt was more important than ever before in Persian times and later on. The effect and importance of the alliance with a country such as Egypt, which had lost its former power, was, however, a subject of different opinions. While the Masoretic text of Isaiah 30:7 holds that Egypt is a sleeping dragon ("Rahab who sits still"), the account in the Septuagint version holds that any Egyptian help is consolation in vain. Despite this pessimistic view, commerce between the Levant and Egypt grew, and when the Romans invaded the Levant, they portrayed the Judeans on a coin (58 BCE) as camel riders, as they had previously done with the Nabateans.[160] Indeed, the Levant, with the northern end of the incense road, the coast road, the king's road in Transjordan, and some important connecting roads in between these highways, continued to be a key region for international trade.[161]

The Hellenistic culture brought a new element into the puzzle. However, it is impressive to see how iconographic themes of Canaanite-Egyptian koine persist from the Late Bronze Age until the Roman period, as the example of Harpocrates demonstrates (4.1), thus attesting to the ongoing sharing of cultural concepts in the Levant and Egypt.[162] Judeans in Egypt were variably integrated. In Edfu, Thebes, and Leontopolis we find Hebrew names among the military, administrative, and economic elite. The Jews of the *politeuma*[163] of Herakleopolis had their own Greek names. In the village of Trikomia in the Fayum they are seen as part of the tax-privileged "Greeks." In the village of Boubastos in the division of Herakleides of the Arsinoite nomos we find a group of Judeans alongside a group of Persians and Arabs. In Alexandria they are gathered in a *politeuma* with their own *ethnarchês*.[164] The Hellenistic Judeans of Egypt or rather of the Levantine-

Egyptian koine had their lobby in Palestine. The story of Joseph the Tobiad can be read as a piece of propaganda, intended for Judeans and others, for life in Ptolemaic Egypt.[165] However, the vivid Hellenistic literary scene also enabled the propaganda of voices of demarcation and separation (4.2).[166] The Levantine-Egyptian koine was one of the environments that shaped the highly syncretistic new religion called Christianity. Egypt served as a background that could not be neglected, not only for the Hellenist Luke but also for the Jewish-Christian Matthew (4.3). The Levantine-Egyptian koine remained a cosmos of inspiration for the times of the Greek koine in the eastern Mediterranean (4.4).

4.1. Harpocrates

The motif of Harpocrates on objects from Egypt and the Levant illustrates the shared symbolic world as a consequence of ongoing migration. The often highlighted Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian imperialism did not erase Levantine-Egyptian trans-cultural traditions, nor did Hellenistic dominance. The young child with his finger in his mouth became one of the most important images of the rising sun, and of legitimate kingship, during the 1st century BCE in the Levant and Egypt, where, starting around the mid-11th century BCE,[167] the motif was called "Horus the child" (*Hor-pa-khered*; in Greek, Harpocrates). The oldest examples from the southern Levant are gold amulets of the Early Iron Age from Megiddo (Fig. 12a).[168] Gold was mainly used to symbolize light. Figurative amulets of the god remain popular in the Levant into the Hellenistic period (Fig. 12p). The Egyptian motif of Harpocrates on the lotus flower (Fig. 12b) was adapted by the Levantine ivory workshops, as attested in Samaria (Fig. 12c), in Nimrud, and elsewhere, and on Levantine and Egyptian seals (Fig. 12g, h, k, l, n, o). The simplest types on seals show only the crouching child with different crowns (Fig. 12d, f). The motif is well attested on name seals (Fig. 12e, m).[169] Sometimes venerators emphasize the godly aspect of Harpocrates (Fig. 12l-m). Complex scenes associate Harpocrates with the papyrus thicket of the Nile (Fig. 12h), the Memphite gods Mut (Fig. 12h) and Ptah (Fig. 12i = fig. 10h), and the triad of Abydos (Osiris, Isis, Horus; Fig. 12j, n). The deity was propagated by the Lagides and remained popular into Roman times on gems (Fig. 12q-r). The connection of the image of the sun-child in the lotus flower with YHWH, which can only be assumed for Samaria (Fig. 12c), is made explicit on one of these Roman gems almost a thousand years later (Fig. 12q). The other side of the item has the word CABAW. Comparing it with Fig. 12c and q, we note that the flagellum of Osiris has been exchanged by the flagellum of Helios (in quadriga), often depicted in synagogues of the 4–5th centuries CE.

4.2. Voices of demarcation and separation

The Egyptian-Levantine koine is also attested indirectly by its opponents, those circles in Egypt and the Levant who characterized their neighbors as enemies or at least as distant foreigners—a well-known strategy to deny the challenging multicultural reality.

The "Potter's Oracle," a Greek text, written by an Egyptian at the end of the 2nd century BCE, describes Egypt in distress and waiting for a legitimate king.[170] The "Prophecy of Neferti" (see above, 2.3.1) and other ancient texts are used as models. The setting is the court of a certain King Amenophis as known from the writings of Manetho (see below) and Chaeremon of Alexandria.[171] Thus, the oracle updates the traditional setting to the new situation after the Macedonian invasion of the country. Alexandria, the "city by the sea," is characterized as the city of the "Typhonians," the followers of Set, a designation for foreigners of all sorts.[172] The oracle foretells their expulsion from Egypt and the return of idols to Alexandria—a new motif compared to the older pattern of the prophecy. The oracle propagates an isolationist attitude in great contrast to the "Alexander romance" (3rd century CE), where Alexander is portrayed as a new Pharaoh.[173] Likewise, the Judeans saw Alexander as a redeemer (Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* XI). Again, we find a Canaanite-Egyptian koine alongside or as a backdrop to an isolationist ideology.

Manetho tells the story of a people suffering from leprosy. They were first assigned to toil in the stone quarries by a certain king Amenophis and then were settled in Avaris, the city of the god Set (Typhon). There Osarseph, a priest from Heliopolis (an alias for Moses), initiated a revolution, prohibited the exercise of Egyptian religion, and allied with the Hyksos in Jerusalem, who had been previously expelled from Egypt. Egypt experienced a time of disaster. After 13 years, Amenophis, who lived in exile according to an oracle, returned from Ethiopia, defeated the Hyksos (Judeans), killed many, and threw the remainder out of the country.[174] Interestingly enough, even in this proto-anti-Judean account the enemies are not pure foreigners but a mixture of Egyptian lepers and Hyksos, thus still illustrating the Levantine-Egyptian koine.

To express and probably also to encourage distance from Egypt in Israel and Judah, Egypt was labeled a "slave-house" (*beīt ʿavādīm*; Exodus 13:3, 14; 20,2; Deuternomy 5:6; 6:12; 7:8; 8:14; 13:5, 10; Joshua 24:17; Judges 6:8; Jeremiah 34:13; Micah 6:4) by the Deuteronomist in the 7th century BCE. The miraculous exodus of Hebrew emigrants from Egypt was the Israelite founding myth of this national-religious party in Jerusalem. However, the label "Egyptians" could also hint to an exploitative elite in their own country (cf. Deuteronomy 17:16).[175]

In Persian times, in the so-called Table of Nations (Genesis 10),[176] "Egypt is perceived as close geographically or spatially, but distant in terms of kinship."[177] Despite the fact that the Israelite and Judean language were dialectal variants of the Canaanite language, as is the case of the Philistine, Tyrian, Ammonite, Moabite, Edomite, and other languages, the fictional genealogy construes the largest distance possible to separate Israel, son of Sem, from Canaan, son of Ham and brother of Mizraim (Genesis

Figure 12: Sun-child/Harpocrates: **a:** gold amulet, Megiddo, ca. 12th century BCE (Herrmann 1994, Nr. 7); **b:** gold bracelet, Sais (?), ca. 9th–8th centuries BCE (Meeks 2010, Nr. 194); **c:** ivory, Samaria, ca. 8th century BCE (Keel 1997, fig. 58); **d:** Dan, ca. 9th–6th centuries BCE (CSAPI 2, Dan Nr. 21); **e:** Israel/Juda, 8th century BCE, Israel Museum 68.35.197 (Avigad and Sass 1997, Nr. 126); **f:** Acco, 8th–6th centuries BCE (CSAPI 1, Akko Nr. 197); **g:** Acco, 8th–6th centuries BCE (CSAPI 1, Akko Nr. 105); **h:** Acco, 664–525 BCE (CSAPI 1, Akko Nr. 71); **i:** Acco, 664–525 BCE (CSAPI 1, Akko Nr. 106); **j:** Amrit; 664–525 BCE; British Museum E48235; **k:** Amrit; 664–525 BCE; British Museum E48227; **l:** Amrit; 664–525 BCE; British Museum E48218; **m:** steatite scaraboid, Revadim, 7th century BCE (Giveon 1961, pl. III A); **n:** Levant; 664–525 BCE; private collection; **o:** scarab, Naukratis, 600–570 BCE, British Museum EA66500; **p:** Atlit, 3rd–1st century BCE (Herrmann 1994, Nr. 15); **q:** hematite scarab, eastern Mediterranean, 1st century BCE–1st century CE; British Museum OA.9562; **r:** heliotrope gem, eastern Mediterranean, 2nd–3rd centuries CE; Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Auktion 292, lot 1527, http://www.coinhirsch.de/index.php?p=auction&sub=292, accessed 10 November 2016 (j–l, o, q, from the British Museum Collection online, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx, © Trustees of the British Museum).

10:6), while the brotherhood of Canaan and Ham attests to the awareness of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine (see above, 3.5.1).

In the "Priestly Code" in the introduction of a list of sexual taboos the people of Israel are taught (Leviticus 18:3): "You shall not do as they do in the land of Egypt, where you lived, and you shall not do as they do in the land of Canaan, to which I am bringing you." This racist teaching[178] was generalized and humanized by the allegorical exegesis of the exegetes of Alexandria, who explained that Egypt is a symbol for debauchment or the world, and Canaan for vice or illusion.[179]

A certain ambivalence between feelings of attraction and disgust still applies to Hellenistic and Roman times. In the "Book of Wisdom" (early 1st century BCE) the "people of God" are contrasted to "those people" who deserved punishment because "they worship even the most hateful animals, which are worse than all others when judged by their lack of intelligence" (Wisdom 15:18–16:1).[180] At the same time the "Book of Wisdom" adapts certain theological concepts from the Egyptian Isis cult[181] and from Maat[182] to express the relation between God and wisdom.

4.3. Persistence of the Egyptian-Levantine koine reflected in the New Testament

One of the speeches of the Hellenistic Jewish-Christian proto-martyr Stephen[183]—the first of seven prototypes of Hellenists introduced in Acts 6:1–6—recapitulates the main events of salvation history from his point of view.

Regarding Moses, he says (Acts 7:21–22): "Pharaoh's daughter adopted him and brought him up as her own son. So Moses was instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians and was powerful in his words and deeds." The adoption by Pharaoh's daughter emphasizes Moses' status among gentiles. The "wisdom of Egypt" parallels the wisdom of Joseph (Acts 7:10), another famous Hebrew who lived in Egypt, and that of Stephen and his Hellenistic colleagues (Acts 6:3, 10). Stephen (in Luke's words) underlines here diaspora education and learning from the gentiles. To what degree, however, Moses learned from the Egyptians was debated among Jewish writers in antiquity. Jubilee 47:9 holds that Moses' father Amram taught him to write. Philo, on the other hand, emphasizes the (Hellenistic!) Egyptian education of Moses.[184] For Josephus, Moses' learning from the Egyptians was not a problem because he believed that Abraham had taught the Egyptians everything they knew about arithmetic and astronomy.[185]

According to the Gospel of Matthew 3:14, Joseph, after the magicians' visit in Bethlehem, "got up, took the child and his mother by night, and went to Egypt" to escape the persecution of Herod. To Jewish-Christian ears, the episode evokes Egypt as a country of shelter in times of persecution. For Matthew, it is important to depict Jesus as the new son of God (cf. Exodus 4:22) coming out of Egypt: "Out of Egypt I have called my son."[186] Celsus was aware of a tradition that the adult Jesus worked as a day laborer in Egypt.[187] Is this a hint that the Egypt episode is founded on a historical truth?[188] However, for Hellenistic Christians the flight to Egypt was proof that the gentile neighborhood of Judah was a place of hospitality for the savior. At the same time, the story was an obligation to continue in the path of "Egyptian" philanthropy. The icon of the "Holy Family's flight into Egypt" in the Coptic Church carries still today this exact same message.[189] Given the fact that the episode was stylized as an icon, it is quite possible that the iconography of Horus, persecuted by Set, sheltered in the papyrus thicket of the Nile delta together with his nursing mother, is the motivation behind the episode in the Gospel. A fixed iconem of the Coptic icon, not mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew, is the donkey. The reverse side of a Horus stela shows Horus as a falcon on a donkey[190] in front of a shrine protected by a snake and guided by a fighter—evidently in the tradition of Baal-Set fighting for the sun (cf. Fig. 9)—and driven by a god with the *was* scepter (Fig. 13). Above this scene is Isis in the papyrus thicket, protected by a snake. The constellation of a donkey, supporting a prince, with a guide and a driver, well known in the iconography of Serabit el-Khadem and in the biblical literature (Genesis 22:3; Numbers 22:22),[191] is a Levantine concept. The stela with its pseudo-hieroglyphs on the front side seems to be a product of the Egyptian-Levantine koine and possibly connected to a mythological story, which is a precursor to Matthew's episode of the Holy Family's flight to Egypt.

Figure 13: Detail from the verso of a Horus stela, 2nd to 1st centuries BCE; Fribourg, Bible + Orient Museum, ÄFig 2001.12 (drawing by the author).

4.4. Two testimonials for the Egyptian-Levantine koine

According to Josephus, the Philistines were part of the Egyptians and they possessed the country from Gaza to Egypt. Furthermore, he quotes Strabo:

> There were four classes of men among those of Cyrene; that of citizens, that of husbandmen, the third of strangers, and the fourth of Jews. Now these Jews are already gotten into all cities; and it is hard to find a place in the habitable earth that hath not admitted this tribe of men, and is not possessed by them; and it hath come to pass that Egypt and Cyrene, as having the same governors, and a great number of other nations, imitate their way of living, and maintain great bodies of these Jews in a peculiar manner, and grow up to greater prosperity with them, and make use of the same laws with that nation also. Accordingly, the Jews have places assigned them in Egypt, wherein they inhabit, besides what is peculiarly allotted to this nation at Alexandria, which is a large part of that city. There is also an ethnarch allowed them, who governs the nation, and distributes justice to them, and takes care of their contracts, and of the laws to them belonging, as if he were the ruler of a free republic. *In Egypt, therefore, this nation is powerful, because the Jews were originally Egyptians, and because the land wherein they inhabit, since they went thence, is near to Egypt.* They also removed into Cyrene, because that this land adjoined to the government of

> Egypt, as well as does Judea, or rather was formerly under the same government.[192]

A quotation from Lucian (ca. 120–180 CE), who was a living example of the Levantine-Egyptian koine, will conclude the overview. Offspring of a Hellenistic family of Syrian origin, he was born in Samosata and died probably in Alexandria. In his description of the Syrian goddess, he testifies to the consciousness of the Egyptian-Levantine koine for his class, time and region:[193]

> Of alle peoples whereof wee knowen, Egyptyens weren firste, as men seyn, for to taken conceyte of Goddes, and to stablisschen holy places and closes, and to apoynten feste dayes. And thei firste knewen holy names and maden holy tales. *But no long tyme after, Assuryens*[194] *herden rumour and speche of Egyptyens as touching to goddess, and rereden seyntuaryes and temples, in the whiche thei lette putten ymages and setten symulacres*.

Summary

The increase of cross-cultural learning as a consequence of intensified travelling and migration between Egypt and the Levant during the Iron Age was a result of millennia of migration in earlier periods. The Proto-Hamito-Semitic language is reconstructed proof of early migration. Levantine burial customs among immigrants in northern Egypt during the Chalcolithic era illustrate, at an early stage, the migration of ideas, mentalities, and customs along with people. Triggered by the first, proto-colonial expansion of Egypt to the Levant during the Twelfth Dynasty, Semitic-speaking immigrants in Egypt developed the alphabetic script on the base of the Egyptian characters, an invention with tremendous effect on the development of the civilizations of the ancient Near East. During the Fifteenth Dynasty, the intensive migration in the regions caused a creolization of the population in the eastern delta and in parts of the Levant. Avaris was the center of this creolization. The Amarna experiment and the cosmotheism of the Eighteenth Dynasty presuppose a multicultural society due to migration, mainly from the Levant. The Ramessides built their own capital, Pi-Ramesses, near Avaris. They venerated Set, the Egyptian adaptation of the Canaanite Baal, as dynastic god, as well as other Canaanite gods.

The material culture of the centers of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah in the 8th–6th centuries BCE still reflects the long, quasi-natural affiliation with Egypt. Under the pressure of the Mesopotamian aggressors, the exchange with and migration to Egypt is stronger than ever before. The stories of the patriarchs also reflect the Levantine-Egyptian koine. Abraham figures as progenitor of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine, Jacob is mourned and honored by the Egyptians, Joseph rules in Egypt as a Pharaoh, the Hebrew Moses is educated by Egyptians, married to a Midianate, and saves his people with a Midianite god. Thus, the Egyptian-Levantine koine is incorporated in the migrating founding fathers of the Israelite narratives. Furthermore, the Joseph story processes Egyptian literature: "The Tale of Sinuhe" and the Bata story, both of which take place partly in the Levant. On a legal level, the Egyptians are a privileged group in Israel, and on a theological level they are even seen as a "people of YHWH."

Even more explicit than in the texts, the imprint of migration and mutual cultural appreciation is evident in the imagery of the stamp seals, the local mass medium, as has been demonstrated exemplarily for the early and late Palestinian series of the Middle Bronze age, for the falcon-headed god, Baal-Set, Ptah, the striding light-god, and Harpocrates. From the iconography it becomes apparent that the themes of the epoch under research, the 8th–7th centuries BCE, are connected with earlier periods and with later periods as well. The Levantine-Egyptian koine was a phenomenon of *histoire de longue durée.*

Conclusions and Outlook

Migration in the Levant was often triggered by hunger ("Now there was a famine in the land. So Abram went down to Egypt…," Genesis 12:10a), persecution ("Solomon sought therefore to kill Jeroboam; but Jeroboam promptly fled to Egypt, to King Shishak of Egypt, and remained in Egypt until the death of Solomon," 1 Kings 11:40), and slavery ("When some Midianite traders passed by, they drew Joseph up, lifting him out of the pit, and sold him to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver. And they took Joseph to Egypt," Genesis 37:28). However, the effects of migration were mainly positive. The foreign became a homeland, migration became trade and welfare, the language, the writing, and the religion of the host country generated new insight, new literature, and new religions.

During the Persian era Judean soldiers built a Yahu-Anat-temple on the island of Elephantine. Long-distance trade, and therefore also exchange between Egypt and the Levant, was intensified thanks to new developments in the riding technology by means of camels. However, this does not mean that there were not also tensions. The Judean temple of Elephantine was destroyed by enemies. But the immigration of Judeans increases under the Lagides, who thus requested a translation of the Hebrew Torah to Greek. The result is a unique product of cultural transmission and an important base for the future development of the Hebrew religion(s) in a Hellenistic context. Even more so, for the development of the pagans in the cities of the Near East, who were fascinated by the biblical way of thinking. According to Philo this achievement was celebrated year by year by a public picnic of Jews and Gentiles at the seashore of Alexandria.[195]

Subsequently, cultural exchange and cultural borders were a theme of religious self-reflection and self-criticism more than ever before. Jesus and to a greater extent Paul are restless travelers, networkers, and translators of ideas of human solidarity beyond traditional borderlines.

This sketch of the cultural-religious *histoire de longue durée* of the Levantine-Egyptian relationship offers a

different view of the genesis of the so called "Abrahamite," "monotheistic" secondary religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. They are not found to be the result of: a global transformation, called "Achsenzeit" (Jaspers),[196] a mental revolution (Freud),[197] a genius intuition of a single man (Kaufmann), a Mosaic difference (Assmann), a revolutionary YHWH-only movement (Smith, Lang),[198] or the outcome of the temple theology of the city-state of Jerusalem (Keel);[199] rather, these new, universal religions are the multiform results of deeply deliberated transformational processes in two or (if we include northwestern Arabia) three regions with a very different physical nature, but at the same time a long-lasting, intense exchange on all levels of human life. More and more people in the region understood that the feelings of justice and the experiences of love and forgiveness here or there are similar and more important than local manifestations of gods and their animosities. As a result, in these new religions the communities and their solidarity became more important than the country, and as a consequence the local temple cults were replaced by communitarian houses of prayer, study, and care.

It should be noted that despite the strong relations between Canaan and Egypt, based on migration, the two regions never fused into a political entity with one identity. It was in all periods the koine of two different cultures that was so fruitful.

The downside of the long-lasting process of cross-cultural learning and reciprocal acculturation in the southern Levant and northern Egypt is the production of negative images on both sides as a result of cultural conflicts and traumata.

The *Deuteronomistic* view of Egypt as a place of slavery and oppression has been generalized as Egypt's image in the Bible, even by scholars who have remarked the very different view of the Joseph story and the circles behind it.[200] Wettengel, along with Görg,[201] regards the Joseph narrative as literary fiction, which at the same time evokes the memory of formerly Canaanite migrants in Egypt. As we have seen, the Joseph narrative is, of course, literature with fictional elements based on older literature. Literature is born of literature, as art is born of art, and the allusions to older literature are constitutive for the value of a literary text. However, the sheer fact that the allusions to Sinuhe and the "Tale of Two Brothers" presuppose a strong exchange between Canaan and Egypt, demonstrates that migration between the two countries was not an exception or fiction, but rather the expression of an existing Canaanite-Egyptian symbiotic culture. This literature, with all its fictional elements, was not a work of fantasy, but was indeed plausible—and therefore copied for centuries—based on the reality of a very long-lasting exchange between two regions with very different character. The exchange between the two discrete and strong cultures facilitated incredible innovations such as the alphabet and universalistic monotheism. However, at any given moment it was easy to emphasize the differences in order to separate, demonize, and/or annihilate the other in order to stabilize one's own weak identity. Of course, situations of flight and expulsion may have occurred over these thousands of years. However, I have tried to demonstrate in this article that there are good reasons to assume that migration, acculturation, creolization, and reciprocal learning, as well as understanding and appreciation, were much more characteristic realities of daily life in the region of northern Egypt and the Levant.

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[1] Many thanks to Sterling Ellsworth, Tori Finlayson, and Pearce Paul Creasman for editorial support. All remaining mistakes are mine.

[2] Wilde 2013.

[3] See the influential works of Jan Assmann. He emphasizes the radical difference between the religion of Egypt and the Mosaic religion in the cultural memory. By doing so, he reproduces and reinforces the categories of cultural separation. Recently published: Jan Assmann, *From Akhenaten to Moses: Ancient Egypt and Religious Change* (Cairo/New York: The American University In Cairo Press, 2016).

[4] For instance, the mass of Egyptianizing, non-epigraphic material (e.g., amulets) is often underrepresented with selected examples (if ever), whereas singular objects of Mesopotamian origin appear as illustrations of an important impact of the Assyrian and Babylonian culture in the Levant. Thus, the Mesopotamian influence is overestimated in a statistically biased presentation of the archaeological material of the Levant (e.g., Ephraim Stern, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, vol. II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian Periods [732–332 BCE]* [New York: Doubleday, 2001]).

[5] The time of a trip from Gaza to Avaris (= ca. 160 km) is 6 days at a daily distance of at most 30 km, probably the maximum for a donkey caravan. The average speed of a 19th century CE camel caravan was 4,772 km/hr. The average time of a daily journey of a camel caravan was 7.45 hr/day which corresponds to about 35 km/day (Staubli 2013). Thus a trip from Jerusalem to Avaris was about 8 days, a trip from Jerusalem to Memphis about 10 days. A ship with an average speed of 3 knots could cope with the route in one and a half days. But this was only possible with favorable weather.

[6] The distinction between primary and secondary religions was introduced by Theo Sundermeier 1987 and 1999. See also the discussion of the categories in Wagner 2006.

[7] The Greek word *koinê* for "common" was applied already in antiquity to the common Greek dialect of the eastern Mediterranean that developed in Hellenistic times and was used until the start of the Middle Ages.

[8] For the little information on riding and caravan trade in the Levant see Staubli 2010 and 2013.

[9] On the relevance of iconography for the reconstruction of religious history see Christoph Uehlinger, "Neither Eyewitnesses, nor Windows to the Past, but Valuable Testimony in its Own Right: Remarks on Iconography, Source Criticism, and Ancient Data Processing," in H. G. M. Williamson (ed.), Understanding the History of Ancient Israel, Proceedings of the British Academy 143 (Oxford—New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 173–228; Christoph Uehlinger, "Approaches to Visual Culture and Religion: Disciplinary Trajectories, Interdisciplinary Connections, and Some Conditions for Further Progress: Method and Theory," *Study of Religion* 27.4–5 (2015): 384–422.

[10] Cf. Fernand Braudel, "Histoire et Sciences sociales: La longue durée," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 13 (1958): 725–753.

[11] Orel and Stolbova 1995, IX.

[12] As an example: From Agaw **sil-*, reconstructed from Xamir *sil* ("knife") and Central Chadic **sil-*, reconstructed from Gulfey *sīl* ("arrow") and West Chadic **sil-*, reconstructed from Paa šila ("axe") and Egyptian *s^{3}ḫ.t* ("knife") and Semitic *šilāḥ-* ("weapon," "javelin"), reconstructed from Ugaritic *šlḥ*, Hebrew *šelaḥ*, Aramaic *šilḥā* and Arabic *silāḥ*, the Proto-Hamito-Semitic root **silaḥ-* ("sharp weapon") is reconstructed (Orel/Stobova 1995, 473), with another word: a "silex."

[13] Lipiński 2001, 42.

[14] Lipiński 2001, 25.

[15] Watrin 2000 and 2003a.

[16] Czarnovizc 2011.

[17] Watrin 2003b.

[18] Van den Brink/Levy 2001.

19 Beck 1995; Marcus 2002.

20 For Levantine combed ware at Lisht, Gizeh, and Heit el-Ghurab see Arnold et al. 1995, Wodzińska and Ownby 2011, Sowada 2011.

21 Klimscha 2011.

22 Arnold et al. 2016.

23 Schneider 2010, 144–145; Mourad 2015, 16.

24 Bader 2013, 261; Mourad 2015, 16.

25 Eriksen 2007, 172–175; Mourad 2015, 16.

26 Mourad 2015 replaces older synopses of the material on the illustration of the relation between Egypt and the Levant in this period, such as Posener 1957, Ward, 1961, Helck 1962, and Wastlhuber 2010.

27 Mourad 2015, 215.

28 (17ff) "He gathered his thoughts on the events in the land, he recalled the turmoil of the East, the rampage of Asiatics with their forces, disrupting the hearts of those at harvest, seizing those yoked in ploughing." […] (30ff) "Utterly destroyed are those (times) of happiness at those basin lakes, with men set to slitting fish, overflowing with fish and fowl. All happiness has departed, flung down in the land of hardship, from those (weights) of supplies of the Asiatics who are throughout the land. Men of violence have emerged in the East, Asiatics are coming down into Egypt, the confines are lost, another is beside, who will not be heard. The ladder will be blocked in the night, the camps will be entered, the bleary-eyed will be overpowered, as the sleeper says 'I am awake'." (35f) "The herds of foreign lands will drink from the rivers of Egypt. They will be refreshed on their shores, for want of any to drive them back." […] (63f) "The Asiatics will fall at his (the king's) slaughter, the Libyans will fall at his fire" […] (65ff) They will build the Walls of the Ruler may he live, prosper, and be well, to prevent the Asiatics from coming down into Egypt if they request water in the proper manner, to let their flocks drink" (University College London, "Prophecy of Neferty," *Digital Egypt for Universities*, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/literature/nefertytransl.html, accessed 10 November 2016.

29 The same is true for Jacob. He wants to be interred in his family grave in Hebron (Genesis 49:29–33), and Joseph fulfills the last wish of his father (Genesis 50:3–9)—moreover Jacob is mummified, mourned by the Egyptians for forty days, and the servants of Pharaoh and the elders of Egypt even pay their last respects to Joseph's father by accompanying the funeral procession in Palestine.

30 Again, there is a parallel in the biblical tale of Joseph: He makes an excellent career in Egypt and marries an Egyptian wife (Genesis 41:38–45).

31 The most important sources for this are the daybooks of Mit Rahina and the findings of the temple from el-Tod, both from the reign of Amenemhet II. According to Wastlhuber 2010 (183f), the exchange of diplomatic gifts (not to be confused with personal legacy and trade objects) was the normal form of intercultural contact at that time flanked by the magical power of the execration texts. Only in emergency cases did the Egyptians use military force to secure the trade routes to the north.

32 Eder 1995, 194f. Egyptian motifs on Syrian and Levantine glyptic: (royal scenes) purification of the king, *sm*ꜣ *t*ꜣ*wj*, smiting of the enemy; (gods) Horus, Hathor, Montu, Sobek, and Osiris, Amun-Re and Re-Harakhte, Ptah, leonine gods (Sekhmet?, Bastet?, Mahes?), Set, Isis and Nephthys, Bes and Aha.

33 Wimmer et al. 2001.

34 Stelae from Abydos from the reign of Amenemhat III mention Asiatics in the positions of: overseer of a storehouse, hall-keeper, butler, brewer, cook, agricultural worker. Levantines are attested in cultic contexts and associated with the titles: overseer of a storehouse, overseer of the law-court, sealer of the king of Lower Egypt, and majordomo of the great house. Less precisely dated stelae of the period still mention a carrier of provisions, a steward, a retainer, an overseer of the military, an overseer of craftsmen and ladies of the house (Mourad 2015, 100).

35 Cf. Mourad 2015, 70f with the evaluation of unpublished papyri from Berlin.

36 The alphabet will spread all over the globe with a few exceptions (the most important being China) and modify human processes of documentation, learning, and remembering.

37 The motif of honor is also attested in Byblos and in the Bible (Genesis 22:3 and Numbers 22:22), where women of the elite are also riding on a donkey (cf. Judges 1:12–15; 5:10; 10:4; 1 Samuel 25:20, 42; 2 Samuel 16:2; 2 Kings 4:22ff). For an iconographic list of evidence see Staubli 1991, 100–106, Staubli 2001, and IPIAO 2, 38 and 57f.

38 Mourad 2015, 140–141 with fig. 5.14–17.

39 Hayes 1972, 99.

40 Mourad 2015, 117.

41 Mourad 2015, 128.

42 Mourad 2015, 128.

43 Mourad is right to insist on the critique of the so-called "pots equal people" theory. Indeed, traded objects are not necessarily a proof of the presence of people from the place of origin of imported ware in the place of its destination. But there are differences between different merchandise. While the importation and exportation of pots, which function

everywhere in the same way, may simply be the result of supply and demand, this is not the case for amulets. The exchange of amulets presupposes the intellectual understanding of the symbolical world of the amulet. Therefore, the widespread attestation of Egyptian amulet forms in the Levant implicates strong cultural contacts and exchange of ideas and, therefore, implicates migration of people.

44 Ben-Tor 2007, 186.

45 According to the book of Shu from the Coffin Texts (CT 75–83; Jürgens 1988) of the 20th and 19th centuries BCE, light was understood to be a pair of gods, namely, Shu (air) and Tefnut (brightness). The siblings represent not only the spatial concept of light but also its timeline as endless, fulfilled respectively circular time (*nḥḥ*-eternity/Neheh, evoked by the *ḥ*-sign [V28, two of which frame the sun disk in the standard writing for *nḥḥ*]) and incommutable, incalculable or linear time (*ḏt*-eternity/Djet; often symbolized by the Djed-pillar [Gardiner sign list R11, *ḏd* = "to be stable, enduring"]). Shu gets the name "life" (*ꜥnḫ*/Ankh, S34). and Tefnut the name "truth" (*mꜥꜣt*/Maat; CT 80 II 35f–h = Bickel 1994, text 155; cf. ÄHG 75,23f.). The *šw*-feather (Shu, H6), a symbol to visualize invisible air, is an element of the writing for Shu and Maat. Atum's watching eye (*wḏꜣt*/Udjat-eye, D10) in search of his children Tefnut and Shu finds its place occupied by a new eye when it returns. It becomes very angry, wherefore Atum places the angry eye as *ꜣḫt*-/Akhet-eye (also written with and symbolized by D10) on his forehead. In its most frequent manifestation as a uraeus, it is personified as the snake-goddess Nesret (*nsrt*, I12). Hathor can appear in the role of the Horus eye and in the role of Tefnut as well. The awe-inspiring aspect of the king is also expressed by the bright red crown (*dšrt*, S4; which via the color evokes danger [*dšrt* = "red," "fire," "desert"]) and by the pectoral on the breast of the queen or the king, condensed in the hieroglyph *nbw* ("gold," S12). The overwhelming brightness of the cosmic light rising behind the eastern mountains in the morning is meant by in the *ḫ*ꜥ-hieroglyph (N28).

Furthermore, Ptah and the plants also belong to the realm of light-symbols. According to the Berlin "Hymn to Ptah," the Memphite creation god was praised with the following words (English text based on ÄHG Nr. 143, 112–118): "The tree of life is growing on you (the god Ptah). You vegetate the earth so that the Gods have plenty, as well as the people and the cattle. Thanks to light they can see. If you go down, darkness arises. Either of your light eyes creates light." The text expresses perfectly the strong connection of light and vegetation, felt and admired by the Egyptians and Canaanites and fashioned in manifold symbolic arrangements on their amulets (For the relation between Ptah and vegetation see also Keel 1995, Abb. 566 and Keel 1989b, Abb. 25 and 29; for the relation between Ptah and light/air see Keel 1989b, Abb. 97–102, 117, 122–126). That is why we find the light symbols very often combined with vegetal iconems (iconic elements) such as the sedge plant (*swt*/Sut, M23), the papyrus column (*wꜣḏ*/Wadj, M13), the papyrus-bush (*ḥꜣ*/Ha, M16), or the Levantine tree of life.

In summary, light and air as the primordial cosmos-constituting elements between earth and heaven are in my opinion the cardinal themes of the hieroglyphs used for the design class 3 ("Egyptian signs and symbols"; Tufnell 1984,117–124 with pl. 7-20 and Keel 1995, 165–181) of the Egyptian and Levantine stamp-seal amulets. Keel recognizes that many of the symbols used for the arrangements were used as amulets in earlier periods (Keel 1995, 167), but he does not interpret the arrangements as such, thus insinuating that they constitute an arbitrary accumulation of signs for good luck. I will develop these arguments in a publications that is in preperation. For the hieroglyphic signs behind the alphanumeric references see the hieroglyphic sign-list in Gardiner 1957, 438–548.

46 For a commented introduction to the themes on the seals see IPIAO 2, although the selection there underrepresents the more abstract design classes in favor of the figural motifs.

47 Cf. a temple relief from Tod from the time of Mentuhotep III (IPAO 2, Nr. 321).

48 IPIAO 2, Nr. 309–310.

49 IPIAO 2, Nr. 311–312.

50 The crocodile, the Sea, and the chaos are associated with the godly monster Leviathan; cf. DDD, 511–515.

51 IPIAO 2, Nr. 317–318.

52 Mourad 2015, 129.

53 The story of the "Siege of Yafo" (ANET 22f; HTAT Nr. 35) demonstrates the colonial attitude of the Egyptians toward the Canaanites. But the plot of the story—the cunning ruse of soldiers clandestinely brought into the city in sealed baskets for trade—at the same time presumes ongoing friendly contacts and trade between Egypt and the Levant.

54 Hoffmeier 2015.

55 Kilchör 2016.

56 B. J. Kemp and G. Vogelsang-Eastwood, *The Ancient Textile Industry at Amarna* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2001).

57 Sparks 2004, with fig. 3.4d.

58 Sparks 2004, with fig. 3.4a. Indicated by a spear on the stela *Trr* was most likely one of the Levantine warriors, attested in the army of Akhenaten (Staubli 1991, Abb. 25a–28).

59 Sparks 2004, with fig. 3.4c; Griffith, F. Ll. 1926, "A

Drinking Siphon from Tell el-'Amarnah," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 12: 22–23.

60 Sparks 2004, with fig. 3.6a–b.

61 N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, Part III: The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905), pl. VII; Staubli 2007, 20 with Abb. 37.

62 Braun 1999, 77–83; Staubli 2007, 19–22.

63 Cf. for instance EA 296:23–29.

64 A personal mystical, godly experience is, however, not separable from the totality of exoteric experiences in a life.

65 "One God, like whom there is no other. Thou didst create the earth by thy heart (or will), thou alone existing, men and women, cattle, beasts of every kind that are upon the earth, and that move upon feet (or legs), all the creatures that are in the sky and that fly with their wings, [and] *the deserts of Syria and Kesh (Nubia),* and the Land of Egypt. […] O thou *Lord of every land, thou shinest upon them,* O ATEN of the day, thou great one of majesty. T*hou makest the life of all remote lands.* Thou settest *a Nile in heaven, which cometh down to them. It maketh a flood on the mountains like the Great Green Sea, it maketh to be watered their fields in their villages.* How beneficent are thy plans, O Lord of Eternity! *A Nile in heaven art thou for the dwellers in the foreign lands (or deserts), and for all the beasts of the desert that go upon feet (or legs).*" My emphasis; from the translation of, "A Hymn to Aten by Ai, Overseer of the House" by Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge (*Tutankhamen: Amenism, Atenism and Egyptian Monotheism* [London: Hopkinson, 1923], 122–135).

66 Keel 2004a, 52; 2004b, 1549; Ben-Tor and Keel 2012.

67 Cross pattern; lion with *ʿnḫ* or other signs; inscription: *s ʿnḫ Jmn* or *ʿnḫ.s n Jmn*: *mꜣʿt* feather and uraeus above nb; Hathor symbol flanked by uraei; falcon standing on uraeus, with *mr* behind; name of Amun-Re; Thoeris; Ptah with *ʿnḫ* and *ḏd*; inscription: *Jmn-ḥtp*; Anubis as a reclining jackal with *ʿnḫ* or *nfr*; kneeling fecundity figure (*ḥʿpy*) holding a *ḥs* vase.

68 Cf. IPIAO 2, Nr. 2.9.

69 The religious sensibility of the Egyptians is also documented by two letters of an Egyptian official to Talwišar, in which the prince of Taanach is greeted with blessings of the weather god (TUAT 3, 233f).

70 Possibly there was still a seal workshop at Qantir, producing archaizing scarabs of the MB-style (Ben-Tor 2011, 36 n. 83).

71 Staubli 2009.

72 Martin 2011.

73 Higginbotham 2000.

74 "Perhaps this king, who had lived most of his life as a non-royal during the turbulent end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, felt it was necessary to show the same pious humility towards the gods as private individuals did" (Brand 2005, 26).

75 Brand 2005, 25.

76 Assmann 1983.

77 Stadelmann 1967; van Dijk 1989; Cornelius 1994; Cornelius 2004; Lahn 2004; Tazawa 2009; Münnich 2013; IPIAO 2, 2.4–9.

78 Keel and Uehlinger 1998, §§50, 52.

79 Cf. Papyrus Amherst IX and Papyrus BN 202; Collombert and Coulon, 2000.

80 Cf. Psalm 18:8–16 par. 2; Samuel 22:8–16 (Keel 2009, 103 with Klingbeil 282–285); cf. also Psalms 21:9–13; 29:3–9; 46:7–12; 68:15–22; 83:14–18 (Klingbeil 1999, 285–301).

81 Keel 2007, 267–286, 302–305 and Keel 2009b resuming and enriching an ancient thesis of Te Velde 1977.

82 In his military actions in order to create a new order Setnakhte is called "Khepre Set" (Papyrus Harris I. 75: 8) or "Set" (Elephantine stela, line 7).

83 Cruz-Uribe 1978.

84 Stadelmann 1965; Bietak 1995.

85 Wettengel 2006.

86 Schneider 2003, 626.

87 According to Papyrus Harris I, at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty a certain "Iarsu" ("self-made man") of Syrian/Levantine origin reigned in the delta region, much like his predecessors during the "Hyksos" period. Perhaps he is identical with Bay, who was a scribe in the staff of Seti II.

88 CSAPI 3, 294.

89 Herrmann and Staubli 2010, 21 and 39.

90 CSAPI 4, 110.

91 English text based on ÄHG Nr. 143, 112–118

92 For the relation between Ptah and vegetation see also Keel 1995, Abb. 566 and Keel 1989, Abb. 25 and 29; for the relation between Ptah and light/air/Maat see Keel 1989, Abb. 97–102.

93 Cf. 1 Kings 14:25–28, parallel 2 Chronicles 12:2–13; the Sheshonq list from the Bubastite Portal at Karnak (Epigraphic Survey, *The Bubastite Portal, Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak Vol III*, Oriental Institute Press 74 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1954); the fragment of a stela of Sheshonq from Megiddo (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 60); a statue base from Byblos (Matthiae 2000, 192).

94 Keel and Uehlinger,1998, §§112, 157.

95 Cf., for instance, HTAT Nr. 213.

96 Weippert 1977.

97 Schipper 1999, 173–180.

98 1 Kings 22:49f, parallel 2 Chronicles 20:35–37; Schipper 1999, 181–185.

99 Jeroboam from Israel (1 Kings 11:40; 12:2f), Hadad from Edom (1 Kings 11:14–25), Chanunu from Gaza (HTAT Nr. 142), Jamani from Ashdod (HTAT Nr. 160), Uriya from Jerusalem (Jeremiah 26:20–23); cf. Schipper 1999, 186–191.

100 *P³-šrj-(n)-ḥr* = "Son of Horus": Arad Ostracon 8:54 (Renz and Röllig 1995, 162f); Jeremiah 20:1–6; 21:1; 38:1.

101 Jeremiah 38:7–13.

102 1 Chronicles 2:34f; 1 Chronicles 4:18.

103 Helck 1962, 360.

104 Schipper 1999, 278.

105 Staubli 1991, 184–202.

106 Sign-papyrus from Tanis; Papyri Carlsberg 7 and 43; Papyrus Saqqara 27; Papyrus Carlsberg 425+ Papyrus BM 10852+10856; Papyrus Berlin 15709 vs.; Papyrus Berlin 23861 (Quack 2003, 164–166)

107 *De Iside et Osiride* 56; *Quaestiones Convonvivales* IX, III, §11 (Quack 2003, 169 and 182).

108 See the discussion of Tropper's arguments for a Levantine impact (Josef Tropper, "Ägyptisches, nordwestsemitisches und altsüdarabisches Alphabet," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 28 [1996], 619–632) in Quack 2003, 173–177. The theory of Kammerzell that the Egyptian alphabet is an Egyptian invention is refuted by Quack because of chronological and structural reasons (Quack 2003, 178f).

109 A publication is in preparation.

110 Keel and Uehlinger 1998, § 121.

111 Keel and Uehlinger 1998, § 148.

112 Cf. Keel and Uehlinger,1998, illus. 242.

113 Keel and Uehlinger 1998, illus. 243.

114 Herrmann 1994, 147f, 240, 406–408.

115 Keel and Uehlinger 1998, § 149.

116 Keel and Uehlinger,1998, §§ 151, 155.

117 Keel and Uehlinger 1998, §§ 205-206.

118 Keel 1994b, 120f with fig. 76–78.

119 For parallels on West-Semite name seals see Avigad and Sass 1997, Nr. 715, 1087, 1092.

120 See also Avigad and Sass 1997, Nr. 1020 (lotus) and for branches instead of lotus ibid. Nr. 1036.

121 For further parallels on West-Semite name seals see Avigad and Sass 1997, Nr. 1147, 1154–1155.

122 "Provisionally named 'Tyrian Group,'" while "archeological evidence is in favour of a workshop in Achziv" (Boschloos 2014, 20).

123 Othmar Keel identified the enthroned character as "Pharaoh as sun-god." For a critique see Staubli, forthcoming.

124 Schipper 2005; Shupak 2005.

125 Knigge 2000.

126 Keel 1994a.

127 Witte 2011.

128 Cf. Isaiah 11:11; Jeremiah 13:23; corresponds with Egyptian *k³š*. The kingdom ruled Egypt as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

129 The designation of Mizraim (= Egypt) as "land of Ham" is to be found in Psalms 78:51; 105:23, 27; 106:21–22.

130 Libya (cf. Ezekiel 27:10LXX and 38:5LXX and Josephus Flavius, *Antiquities of the Jews* I,132). Nahum 3:9 puts Put and Lubim in a parallelism (Simons 1954).

131 The three neighbours in the south, in the northeast (Canaan), and in the northwest (Libya) squared constitute the nine traditional enemies (or "bows") of Egypt.

132 Wellhausen 1981, 318: "ethnographische Genealogie"; Blum,1984, 484: "erzählte Genealogie."

133 Knauf 1985, 33.

134 Teubal 1990 and 1993 reconstructs the story of a "Desert Matriarch" in Genesis 16 and 21. Only Genesis 16:7–15 and 21:14–21 apply to Hagar, according to her. Following Skinner 1969, 285, she points out that as a consequence of the early Egyptian occupation of the Sinai Peninsula the Hagarites and Ishmaelites were predominantly Egyptian (Teubal 1990, 168).

135 Staubli 1991, 240f; cf. 1 Samuel 27:8.

136 Mildenberg 1998; Gitler and Tal 2006.

137 Currently, about 36 copies of Sinuhe's tale are known (Moers 2008).

138 Morenz 1997.

139 Still, the most recent exegetical analysis of the story remains very vague about its dating: "Das Märchen, dessen Motive in Gen 39; 40-41 durchaus auf älteren Traditionsstoff zurückgehen könnte, setzt mit der Verortung Josefs im ägyptischen Exil den Verlust der Staatlichkeit wohl zumindest für das Nordreich voraus […] Die Komposition Gen 37*; 39-41* beschäftigt sich demnach primär mit einer 'Darstellung und Deutung der israelitisch-jüdischen Diasporaexistenz'" (Ede 2016, 514). Given the background of the long-lasting tradition of migration between the Levant and Egypt, the connection of Joseph's time in Egypt with the exile of the Israelite upper-class after 722 BCE or with the Judean elite after 586 BCE is not at all compulsory, although there is no doubt that the story was quite relevant for the

displaced Judeans in Egypt.

140 Despite its promising title, M. Bárta's study *Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs* (Praha: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2003) does not offer a close reading of the relevant biblical texts, nor does Moers 2008.

141 Von Rabenau 1997, 47 parallels Sinuhe's duel with the envious enemy with Joseph's imprisonment. By doing so, he implicitly emphasizes Joseph's abilities as dream reader.

142 This paragraph is mainly based on Ringgren 1989 and Wettengel 2003, 228–233. Cf. also von Rabenau 1997.

143 A motif also found in Egypt (Hellmut Brunner, "Die Strafgrube" *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 80, 1955, 73f; Fieger 67f.).

144 Hebrew *mošæh* can be interpreted as an Egyptian name ("born" from *mś*/*mśj*, "to bear") normally used with a theophoric element (Ramoses, Ptahmoses, etc.) that is missing, or as a Hebrew name ("pulled" [out of the water] from *mšh*) as explained by the biblical text (Exekiel 2:10).

145 This monumentalization has been seen very clearly by Benno Jacob and the Midrash. Jacob (1997, 31) writes: "Freudig hat sein Volk zugestimmt (dass der von den Familienangehören gegebene Name des Kindes durch den der Königstochter verdrängt wurde), dass Niemand (sic!) hebräischer sprechen, israelitischer denken und seinen größten Mann prophetischer kennzeichnen konnte als diese Ägypterin. Einen nobleren Ausdruck der Dankbarkeit kann es nicht geben, und dauernder konnte kein Denkmal sein."

146 Cf. Deuteronomy 33:2; Judges 5:4; Habbakuk 3:3; DDD, 911f.

147 Cf. "the tents of Kushan… the dwellings of Midian" in Habbakuk 3:7.

148 For the relevant sources and a differentiated view see Goldenberg 2003, 52–59.

149 Following the translations of Milgrom 1990, 83.

150 The sharp borderline between Judeans and Moabites has found an inner-biblical critique in the book of Ruth. Although the amalgamation of people in the region where the southern Levant, northern Egypt, and northwestern Arabia meet reached a much higher level than the rather casual intermarriage of Judeans and Moabites.

151 Cf. Numbers 33:7; Jeremiah 46:14; Ezekiel 29:10, 30:6. The most northern place with Judeans in Egypt. Probably located 1 km north of Tell el-Ḥēr (20 km northeast of Qantir); mentioned in the Amarna Letters (234:29f) and in texts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasty (Manfred Görg, "Migdol," in NBL 2, 805).

152 According to prophecies of Jeremiah (43:8–9) and Ezekiel (30:18), the place where Egypt has to surrender its power to Babylon. May be identical to Tell Defenne (Egyptian *Ṯbn*, Greek Daphnai), where Greek mercenaries are attested at an early stage (Manfred Görg, "Tachpanhes," in NBL 3, 767).

153 Cf. Isaiah 19:13; Jeremiah 46:14; Ezekiel 30:13, 16. Memphis (from *mn nfr*, "remaining and beautiful") was one of the biggest centers of Egypt, with the famous sanctuary of Ptah. The scarabs of the sanctuary were well known in the Levant (see above 2.5.3; Manfred Görg, "Memfis," in NBL 2, 757f).

154 Cf. Genesis 10:14; Isaiah 11:11; 1 Chronicles 1:12; Ezekiel 29:14 and 30:14. The land between Egypt and Kush. From Egyptian *pꜣ tꜣ rśj*, "the land of the south" (Manfred Görg,"Patros/Patrositer," in NBL 2, 87).

155 According to Wildberger 1978, 704ff an original prophecy of Isaiah (v.1–5.11–15) has been "filled" with a very general description of Egypt's suffering, using motifs of Egyptian prophecies and even Egyptian vocabulary (Wildberger 1978, 701, 714: Hebrew *yʾwr*, Egyptian *Jrw*, "Nile"; Hebrew *swf*, Egyptian *ṯwf*, "reed"; Hebrew *ʿrwt*, Egyptian *ʿrt*; "stipe (of lotus)"; Hebrew *šttyh*, cf. Coptic *štyt*, "weaver" (?) and Hebrew *znḥ*, Egyptian *ḫnš*, "to stink".

156 Kahn 2001, 9.

157 Schipper 2013, 14f.

158 Heliopolis, Greek designation of the Egyptian city named Iunu, mostly rendered phonetically simplified with On in Hebrew (Genesis 41:45, 50; 46,20; Ezekiel 30:17), but also translated with regards to content as *beīt šæmæš* (LXX *Hêliou polis*; Jeremiah 43:13). The designation as *ʿīr hahæræs* "city of ruins" is either a malapropism or an update from an original *ʿīr haḥæræs* "city of the (rising) sun" (cf. Job 9:7), rendered as *polis-asedek*, "city of Justice" in the Septuagint, thus assigning a theological attribute of the city of Jerusalem (cf. *ʿīr haḥædæq* LXX *Pólis dikaiosynês* in Isaiah 1:26) to Heliopolis (Keel 2007, 273), at least for Semitic ears.

159 Niccacci 1998, 234f holds with Hayes and Irvine 1987, 266 that the oracle goes back to the days of Sargon II and reflects the ecumenical euphoria of that time. This may be true for the Hebrew Vorlage of LXX, but not for the utopian eschatological perspectives of the Masoretic text. Rather, this text reflects the ecumenical euphoria of the post-Alexander times (cf. Deissler 1993; Schenker 1994).

160 Théodore Reinach, *Jewish Coins* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1966), 29.

161 For details and maps, see Staubli 2013.

162 For another example, the gazelle feeding among lotus, attested in Hebrew love poetry and in the Egyptian Hathor temple of Koptos, see Staubli 2016.

163 A structure "that guaranteed internal legal autonomy to homogenous ethnic groups in Ptolemaic Egypt"

(Honigmann 2009, 125).

164 Honigmann 2003 and 2009; Sänger 2014; Moore 2015.

165 Gera 1998, 52–58.

166 It is irritating that even the contemporary academic reconstruction of the social history of religions at times uncritically follows the patterns of ancient ideologies of separation. See my critique of Civie-Coche and Dunand on this point (Staubli 2015).

167 Meeks 2010, 1.

168 For a parallel see Oriental Institute A21133.5, BODO object no. 31513

169 For parallels on name seals see Avigad and Sass 1997, Nr. 175, 316, 712, 733, 1121.

170 English text by Kerkeslager 1998.

171 Stern,1974, 417–421.

172 Cf. Commentary of Koenen 2002.

173 Pseuo-Callisthenes, Manuscript A: I, 4.5, 34.5; Alexander as "Sesonchosis"; cf. Ladynin 2007.

174 Stern 1974, 62–86.

175 (The king) "must not cause the people to return to Egypt in order to acquire more horses…" Due to the open formulation in Hebrew it is debated if that means to return to Egypt to purchase horses from there or to bring people as slaves to Egypt in exchange for horses or to return to an Egyptian political system of expoitation in favor of an elite with horses and chariots.

176 See above, 3.5.1.

177 Greifenhagen 2002, 27f.

178 As far as we know the sexual taboos of ancient Egypt were similar to those in ancient Israel (cf. Book of the Dead Spell 125). Therefore the undifferenciated disqualification of the Egyptians as people without sexual moral in Leviticus 18:3 must be labeled racist.

179 Philo, *De Congressu Eruditionis Gratia*, 83; Clemens, *Stromateis*, X, 47,1.

180 Note that the opinion that animals are less intelligent than human beings is of Greek origin (esp. to be found in stoic thinking; cf. Sorabji 1995, Chap. 9). The Bible emphasizes the unique qualities of animals. That is why many animal names are used to name a person. Otherwise, demonized animals such as the donkey (in Egypt) or the snake (in parts of Europe) are seen to be gifted with knowledge that human beings lack (cf. Genesis 3:1; Numbers 22:33).

181 John S. Kloppenborg, "Isis and Sophia in the Book of Wisdom," *Harvard Theological Review* 75 (1982): 57–84.

182 Silvia Schroer, "Die Gerechtigkeit der Sophia," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 57 (2001): 281–290.

183 The comments to this instance are inspired by Craig S. Keener, *Acts: An Exegetical Commentary* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2013), 1384–1389.

184 *De Vita Mosis* 1.5.20–24.

185 *Antiquities of the Jews* 1.168; cf. Artapanus frg. 3 (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.27.4). Artapanus identified Moses with Mousa, the teacher of Pythagoras. Thus, the line of teaching would have gone from Abraham via the Egyptians and Moses to the Greeks.

186 The quotation from Hosea 11:1 does not follow the Masoretic text or the Septuagint precisely. Therefore Luz (2002, 181) thinks that Matthew follows a story of Jesus' childhood known in his community.

187 Origenes, *Contra Celsum* 1:28, 38.

188 Luz 2002, 183.

189 For an icon of the 17th centuries CE with this motif from the church of Sergius and Bacchus in Cairo see: Anonymous, "File:Flight into Egypt (coptic icon).jpg," Wikimedia Commons, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Flight_into_Egypt_(coptic_icon).jpg, accessed 10 November 2016.

190 According to Bickel 2004, 75, it is Horus of Hebenu on a gazelle. This *interpretatio Aegyptica* is not self-evident from the sketchy relief. According to the myth, Hebenu is the place of encounter between Horus and Set.

191 Staubli 1991, 100–106; Staubli 2010; the constellation is also to be found in the realm of gods. Habbakuk 3:4–5 describes a procession of a shining god (like Horus on the stelae!), guided by Deber and followed by Reshef.

192 Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* 14,110 (transl. by W. Whiston).

193 Lucian, *De Dea Syria* 2, translated by A. M. Harmon (Loeb Classical Library [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961]) in the style of Sir John Mandeville, to give an idea of the archaic Ionic dialect in which Lukian wrote.

194 This means Syrians/Levantines in this context.

195 Philo, *Vita Mosis* 2:42.

196 Cf. Hans Joas, *Was ist die Achsenzeit? Eine wissenschaftliche Debatte als Diskurs über Traszendenz* (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2014).

197 Sigmund Freud, *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion*, 16th ed. (Frankfurt am Main Fischer, 2013).

198 Bernhard Lang (ed.), *Der einzige Gott. Die Geburt des biblischen Monotheismus*, mit Beiträgen von B. Lang, M. Smith und H. Vorländer (München: Kösel-Verlag, 1981).

199 Othmar Keel, *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

[200] As, for instance, Wettengel 2003, 229: "Das Ägyptenbild, das uns die Josefsgeschichte vermittelt, ist im Gegensatz zum Ägyptenbild des Alten Testaments (sic!) ein positives. Hier gilt Ägypten gemeinhin als Ort der Knechtschaft und der Sklaverei."

[201] Görg 1993.

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Cross-Regional Mobility in ca. 700 BCE: The Case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924

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Abstract
The Neo-Assyrian administrative and juridical documents feature a striking characteristic: while persons identified as "Egyptians" seem to have been viewed as integral part of society, the scarcity of preserved biographic information defies a micro-historical approach in each case. Nevertheless, the corpus of sources explicitly mentioning "Egyptians" is exceedingly suited for opening up research questions on the perception of "foreigners," the practicalities of cross-regional mobility, and the academic challenges to research these issues. This will be exemplified by a critical review of a specific case study, which provides an exceptionally high density of indications for cross-regional mobility.

Introduction
Cross-regional mobility—in ancient times as well as today—is characterized by a highly complex set of impacts on personal, local, regional, and cross-regional levels. This contribution highlights the potential as well as the limitations of investigating this complexity from a regionally specialized perspective based on a case study from the Neo-Assyrian text corpus of private legal and administrative documents. In contrast to presentations of hardships of travel or of enemy constructions as means of promoting literary or political agendas, these juridical and administrative documents primarily aim at solving and regulating practicalities of living. Therefore, they are prone to reveal insights into the actual workings of ancient societies and consequently also into the direct social impact of mobility.

As exemplified by artifact Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924, a clay tablet inscribed in Guzana (modern-day Tall Halaf) in ca. 700 BCE with a private property sale deed, these kinds of sources provide other pitfalls: Most prominently, their potential is limited by corpus-inherent issues like the highly underdetermined identification information on the persons involved in the documents. In addition, academic research is inclined to linear explanation lines or to focus primarily on collecting evidence while providing only some basic level of interpretation. Multiple lines of further implications tend to be disregarded. Though a much more critical approach will prove to severely question some basic assumptions of current research, it will also open up and facilitate new angles for tackling questions of cross-regional mobility and its social, economic, administrative and personal impacts.

The Archaeological and Archival Context
The artifact constituting the case study of this paper[1] was unearthed in the first decade of the last century during the early scientific excavations at Assur (modern-day Qal'at aš-Šerqāṭ) under the aegis of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft. In the subsequent find division it was assigned to the Istanbul lot—hence, the find number Ass. 8642a and the inventory number IstM A 1924 of the Archaeological Museum Istanbul.[2]

The clay tablet was found in the quarter of private houses built—as far as can be ascertained—in the 7th century BCE on the palace terrace of Tukulti-Ninurta I, who reigned in the 13th century BCE.[3] The *Inventar* specifies "Dezember 1905" for the three find complexes of clay tablets found in house 12: Ass. 8448, 8642a–d and 8645.[4] The *Tagebuch* refers to clay tablets found in the area and time frame in question only on the 6th of December, thereby indicating this day as the likely date of discovery.[5]

The find spot of the tablets discovered first—Ass. 8448—is marked on the plan of houses published by Conrad Preusser in 1954; Ass. 8642 and Ass. 8645 are explicitly noted in the *Inventar* as found in the same place as Ass. 8448.[6] The difficulty remains to decide what is meant by the specification of the find spot "wie 8448": Does this refer to *in the same spot* or *in the same house* or *in the area of less preserved houses south of d6*? All these readings are equally conclusive, as no other finds are specified as coming from house 12, but from another place than Ass. 8448, and the find spot specified for Ass. 8448 is "im Wohngebäude."[7]

Given the finds recorded immediately after Ass. 8448 respectively next to Ass. 8642 and Ass. 8645, the question

arises whether these texts constitute an *archive*, i.e., a depot for documents stored together for safekeeping and further reference: According to Olof Pedersén, "archive N 18" found in house 12 consisted of at least 17 clay tablets including two Aramaic dockets, which were found together with two sets of 3 (Ass. 8449) respectively 24 spindle whorls (Ass. 8643).[8] In the *Inventar*, some further small finds are described as also coming from the same place: theriomorphic pieces of baked clay (Ass. 8450), two pieces of lead (Ass. 8451), a small shell (Ass. 8452), and an unspecified clay object (Ass. 8644).[9] Unfortunately, no detailed information on the stratigraphic correlation between the find complexes is provided. However, the separation of the tablets into three and the spinning whorls into two different lots indicates that they were not actually found together, but that all of them were unearthed in the debris filling house 12 (see also note 6).

Consequently, these tablets were probably discarded in a house that was not in use anymore. Whether they originally belonged to the same "archive" or were separately disposed of in the fallen down house cannot be ascertained on the basis of the limited stratigraphic information provided.

The Persons Involved in the Contract

The tablet records a sale deed of a property, which is specified as *tuanu* (StAT 2, 53.4), respectively "bath" (l. 7), as property of a certain Sama' (l. 2–4, 7), as having walls and a roof, which are also part of the sale (l. 5–6), and as being situated in the city of Guzana (l. 7) between the properties of Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš (l. 7).[10] The buyer is Qišeraya, about whom nothing further is known other than his name and the fact of his purchase of the *tuanu* in question; even the indication of his profession/rank is only partly preserved and no other currently known document features this name (see also Table 2, pp. 110–112).

> [1][Instead of] his [se]al he impressed his fingernail. [2][Fingernail] of Sama' LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*, [son[?] of [md]U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel- ketti{,[?]} from Guzana, owner of the *tuanu* (bath) being sold. (five fingernail impressions)
> [5]A *tuanu* (bath) with its beams (and) doors, and a wall between Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš, (property) of Sama' in the City of Guzana — [8]Qišeraya, chief […]jean, has contracted and bought it for fifty shekels of silver.
> [10]The money is paid completely. The bathroom in question is acquired and purchased. Any revocation, lawsuit or litigation is void. [13]Whoever in the future, at any time, whether Sama' or his sons, his grandsons, his brothers, his relatives or any litigant of his who seeks a lawsuit or litigation with Qi[še]raya and his sons,
> [19]shall place ten minas of refined silver (and) one m[ina] of pure gold in the lap of Adad who resides i[n G]uzana, shall tie four white horses at the feet of [Sîn] who resides in Harran, and shall return the money tenfold to its owner. He shall contest in his lawsuit and not succeed.
> [r6]Witness Abba-…aya, *scholar*. [r7] Witness Zanbalâ, *Arab*. [r8]Witness Abarrâ, *scholar* of the temple of Adad. [r9]Witness Uširihiuhurti, Egyptian. [r10]Witness Adda-bi'di, merchant. [r11]Witness Adad-ahu-uṣur of the temple. [r12]Witness Haya-ereš. [r13] Witness Gabrî. [r14] Witness Adda-sakâ, son of Huriri. [r15]Witness Balliṭ-Ia, visitor. [r16]Witness Mizi-Ia, ditto. [r17][Witness] Ah-abi, ditto. [r18][Witne]ss Mini-ahhe, leather-worker of Il-nemeqi. [r19][Witne]ss Ṣiranû (and) Alara, his …s. [r20][Witness] Buraya, chief beer-brewer [of?] the governor of Guzana. [r22][Witness …]ayâ.
> [s1]Witness Ni…ni. Witness Nabû-ahu-[…], keeper of the tablet.
> [s2]Month Tishri (VII), 1st day, eponym year of Mi[tunu] (i.e. 700-vii-1).
> [s3]One shekel of silver for his fingernail. (StAT 2, 53)[11]

In a first step, I will address the identities of the involved persons (see Table 2, pp. 110–112), especially the questions of "who is who" and "how do we know," for which I suggest to distinguish as strictly as possible between information stated in the text vs. information inferred by academia. Later sections deal with the implications of the find context and the text contents of the clay tablet on the scope, impact and some practicalities of cross-regional mobility.

Explicitly Specified Identifications

Regarding the information value concerning cross-regional mobility, Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 is both highly conventional and exceptional: While Neo- and Late Babylonian documents usually provide at least basic filiation information, identification in the Neo-Assyrian documents varies substantially, but is—from an academic perspective looking for biographical information—highly deficient. The tablet provides a perfectly representative collection of identifications:

- just by the name: Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš, the owners of the neighboring properties (StAT 2, 53.6), and the witnesses Haya-ereš (StAT, 2, 53.r12), Gabrî (StAT 2, 53.r13), […]ayâ (StAT 2, 53.r22), and Ni…ni (StAT 2, 53.s1);
- by name plus filiation: the witness Adda-sakâ, son of Huriri (StAT 2, 53.r14);
- by name plus a geography-related identifier: the witnesses Zanbalâ, man of the Arabs[?] (StAT 2, 53.r7), and Uširihiuhurti, man belonging to Egypt (StAT 2, 53.r9);
- by name plus profession: Qišeraya, chief […]jean (StAT 2, 53.8), the buyer, the witnesses Abba-…aya, scholar[?] (StAT 2, 53.r6), Abarrâ, scholar[?] of the temple of Adad (StAT 2, 53.r8), Adda-bi'di, merchant (StAT 2, 53.r10), Mini-ahhe, leather-worker of Il-

nemeqi (StAT 2, 53.r18), and Buraya, chief beer-brewer [of?] the governor of Guzana (StAT 2, 53.r20);
- by name plus one piece of information related to the issue of the contract: not attested in this form in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924;
- by name plus one less clearly discernable category connected to the profession or status: the witnesses Adad-ahu-uṣur of the temple (StAT 2, 53.r11) and the "visitors" Balliṭ-Ia, Mizi-Ia, and Ah-abi (StAT 2, 53.r15–17; see also below the section on "residents from afar") as well as the witness and keeper of the tablet Nabû-ahu-[…];[12]
- or by combinations of these: as in the case of Sama', who is identified by a geographic identifier to be discussed below, by his filiation[?], and as seller of the *tuanu* (bath) (StAT 2, 53.2–4).

The identifiers for the witnesses Ṣiranû and Alara (StAT 2, 53.r19) are not sufficiently preserved to allow their categorization, while the reading and categorization of the identifying information on Šamaš-bel-ketti, possibly father[?] of Sama', poses problems, the solution of which has considerable impact on discussing the issue of cross-regional mobility and cultural diversity (for a detailed discussion see below, the section on "inferred identifications III").

Inferred Identifications I: by "foreign" names

As indicated above, the witnesses or other persons referred to in Neo-Assyrian contracts and other private legal documents are very commonly identified by just their name. This is probably one reason why academic discussion concerning cultural diversity focuses so strongly on the etymological analysis of the names, implying that the etymological origin of the name indicates the cultural and gentilic/"ethnic" affiliation as well as the geographical "origin" of the name bearer. In contrast to this prevailing assumption,[13] it can be shown, e.g., by the corpus of texts mentioning explicitly "Egyptians" that the equation *foreign name = foreigner from the implied area* does not work, although in case of several individuals such an inference may be likely, as can be argued for many persons in Assur bearing Egyptian names.

About the half of the approximately 30 persons known to be explicitly denoted as "Egyptian" or parent respectively child of an "Egyptian" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus (see Table 1, pp. 105–109) bear Akkadian names; only four names can be analyzed with high probability as etymologically Egyptian. Another four persons bear possibly Egyptian names, i.e., names out of which elements may be identified as Egyptian, including Uširihiuhurti with his probable Egypto-Libyan name (see Table 2).[14] In addition, at least two West Semitic names and an Aramaic one are attested, as well as three names currently defying etymologization.

An implication, which equates "foreign name" with "foreigner rooted in the cultural affiliation matching the etymology of the name," is therefore obviously highly problematic and needs discussion in each individual instance.[15] As a consequence, the information value regarding cross-regional mobility and cultural diversity to be gleaned from the etymologically foreign names mentioned in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 is also limited. Nevertheless the variety of languages reflected in the names is striking, as is the amount of names currently defying etymologization (see Table 2 and also below, the section on "residents from afar").

The etymological spread of most attested names does not need cause irritation, except for their unhelpfulness regarding any line of argumentation: Akkadian names may have been chosen by anyone in the then Assyrian-ruled area of the Gezira and northern Euphrates region—whether by the parents in order to advance their own or their children's career, by the adult person on various occasions such as marriage, taking up special functions, etc., or by force via an institution.[16] Any Aramaean or other West Semitic names may at this period belong to inhabitants of Guzana, as well as to those living anywhere in the eastern Mediterranean region and Mesopotamia.[17] Egypto-Libyan and Egyptian names are likely to have spread at least to the southern Levant for centuries due to the close connection and long periods of Egyptian (claim to) control in that area.[18]

Consequently, Han/llabeš(e) may bear an Egyptian, Egypto-Libyan, Libyan, or Phoenician name[19] without regard to the family's (original) background: The northeastern African area and the Levant, and the southern half even more so, were closely connected in the 8th century BCE and long before,[20] facilitating both the mobility of people and of names. However, the scarcity of the name in the Neo-Assyrian onomasticon and the comparatively early date make it likely that also Hanabeš or his family were newcomers to Guzana from the south.[21] Whether or not the owner of the property adjoining the *tuanu* sold in this document is the same as the "Samarian" Hallabeše active in Guzana under Esarhaddon (Assyrian king between 680 and 669 BCE; PNA 2/1: 443 no. 1) cannot be ascertained. If this is indeed the case, he certainly belongs to the "newcomers" resident in Guzana, and it considerably strengthens the interpretation of a multi-cultural society at Guzana already in 700 BC. But whether a deportee—as Charles Draper suggests to account for his presence—may have owned a house within five years or a generation (depending on the assigned context of deportation) remains open to doubt.[22] The apparent diversity and mobility witnessed by the tablet shows that such an interpretation, which is still prevalent in order to account for foreigners in Assyria and Babylonia,[23] is not at all necessary.

Slightly more exotic seem the Arabian[?] name Ṣiranû, the many unidentified names such as Huriri, Qišeraya, or Ribiṣiṣi, as well as the hitherto uncommented[?] name Alara. As Arabian tribes are known to have been involved in the various allying and counter-allying strategies in the context of the Assyrian campaigns to the Levant and Egypt

and their aftermath,[24] Arabian names are likely to have become known and to spread within the wider region. Therefore, also an Arabian name does not necessarily imply an Arabic origin of the person.

For Alara two potential etymologies come to mind, one pointing to the Hittite sphere in analogy to names such as *A-la-ra-na-du*.[25] Another possible origin of the name may be Kush, where this or a similar name is known for one of the early 8th century BCE kings, although—as far as I am aware—only an Egyptian hieroglyphic rendering is known, thereby leaving the question of vocalization and therefore even the potential homonymy open to discussion.[26] Once more, a Hittite name does not provide much information about a person living in Guzana, while a Kushite etymology at this date may actually imply a person from Kush or at least from southern Egypt. As there is evidence for Kushites accompanying "Kushite horses" as early as ca. 730 BCE in Assyria,[27] a Kushite resident at Guzana is not completely out of the picture.

The names currently defying etymologization, i.e., Ribišiši, Qišeraya, and Huriri, may point either to more obscure origins or to the lack of comprehensive cross-disciplinary study of the Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 1st half of the 1st century BCE. In combination with the other indications for cross-regional mobility and high degree of cultural diversity, they strengthen the need for the latter: They either indicate a much more diverse naming practice than currently envisaged by academia, which is nevertheless to be expected in comparatively "globalized" societies, or they argue for an even wider scope of origins of the population of 8th and 7th century Assyria, or at least Guzana, than implied by the geography-related identifiers.

Inferred Identifications II: ethnicon, gentilic or toponym referring to a former or the current place of living?

A second issue to be addressed is the identification via a geography-related identifier. In case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924, they at least include the identifying remarks on Sama', the seller of the *tuanu*, and on the witnesses Zanbalâ and Uširihiuhurti, and possibly also on Šamaš-bel-ketti who probably is the father[?] of Sama', although this cannot be ascertained due to the destruction of the beginning of the line (see below).[28]

As can be argued for a number of other cases, the identification "Egyptian," "Damascene," etc., may denote either a gentilic (including its potential cultural or ethnic affiliations) or a geography-related affiliation, which refers to the phenomenon of being an inhabitant of a place or region rather than focusing on belonging to the specific community as "in-group member." This toponymic identifier can specify the current as well as a former place of living, as can be shown for a group of documents from Persian period Babylonia, even though the context—regarding both, time and socio-cultural setting—is admittedly slightly different: As pointed out by Caroline Waerzeggers, the same group of persons is denoted in some of the texts as "Carians," in others as "Egyptians." Most likely, this reflects that they were originally from Caria, came to Egypt as mercenaries, and were later stationed at Borsippa as part of the Persian army.[29]

Such evidence puts the prevalent equation *geographic identifier = cultural affiliation to the region* nearly as much into jeopardy as the rather generally implied equation *foreign name = cultural affiliation to the region etymologically identified* (see above).[30] This does not mean that the equations are not valid in various or even in most cases, but that they need to be discussed in each instance.

Another important and not sufficiently researched issue in this context concerns the perception of larger geographic entities of changing political and subsequently socio-cultural setups. One of the most prominent examples is Egypt at the period in question, both regarding inside and outside perceptions: What is meant by *mišir* in the 8th and 7th centuries BCE, i.e., in a period characterized by contested claims of control over the lower Nile valley and delta by the cross-regional superpowers—the Assyrian and the Kushite kingdoms—as well as various local powers, some of which feature Libyan roots or connections? Is the delta still perceived as "Egypt" or are the Kushite-controlled segments subsumed under "Kush" in the various inside and outside perceptions? Does "Libya" in the external sources from the East denote the area west of the delta or does it include or even primarily refer to the "Libyan" segments of the delta?[31] And are these shifts and changes observed e.g. in Guzana and by whom?

Inferred Identifications III: academic implications—the case of Sama', seller of the *tuanu*

In the case of Sama' (and Šamaš-bel-ketti), the reading of the identifiers in the introductory paragraph of the document is to be discussed:[32] it introduces Sama' as '$^{2\,m}$*sa-ma-a'* LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a* ^{3} [A ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI *ša* URU.*gu-za-ni* ^{4} [E]N *tu-a-ni* SUM *an*' (StAT 2, 53.2–4). There are difficulties to be dealt with at least regarding five different aspects:

1) a lacuna: Is the restitution [A ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI "[son of x]y" (beginning of line 3), suggested by Veysel Donbaz and Simo Parpola and questioned by Simonetta Ponchia in her review of the study, correct?[33]
2) the combination of this lacuna and the ambiguity of reading logographic writing: Does [^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI denote a name ([Ša]maš-bel-ketti), as suggested in StAT 2 53, or a profession or status etc., as suggested in the review?[34]
3) the unusual writing of the place name: How is the place name *si-me-ri-šu-a-a* to be identified geographically, as Damascus (StAT 2, 53 and followers), as Samaria (Ponchia 2003, and followers) or another, still unidentified place name?[35]
4) the language-characteristic lack of punctuation: Are the identifying phrases structured in parallel or hierarchically, i.e. refers "of the (town of)

Guzana" to Sama' or to [^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti?

5) the academic implications based on the interpretation of the geographic identifiers: Are they to be understood as ethnonyms/gentilics, cultural identifiers or as toponyms indicating a former or the current place of residence?

Although a lot is open to discussion, there is also some rather definitive information on Sama' in the text: Sama' is definitively identified by the geographic identifier "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*," though both, the geographic identity of *si-me-ri-šu-a-a*' and the implication of the phrase LÚ* ("man") plus *nisba* of place name, are open to discussion. He is definitively the "owner of the *tuanu* being sold," as the *tuanu* is explicitly specified as property "of Sama' in (the town of) Guzana" farther down in the text (StAT 2, 53.7). Note that at least the last apposition (StAT 2, 53.4: "[E]N *tu-a-ni* SUM *an*" is constructed in parallel to "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*," which as a consequence is to be deducted also for the identificatory phrase in (all or at least the first part of) line 3.[36]

In contrast, the restitution of the filiation of Sama' in this line cannot be ascertained with any degree of probability. All beginnings of lines 1–4 are restituted based on the contents-related standard formulas of these kinds of documents, which makes them exceedingly likely, but not certain. The only reading of these restitutions to have attracted comment is the filiation in line 3: not for linguistic reasons (e.g., unusual sentence construction, length of the lacuna, etc.), but due to its potential (and refuted) implications regarding cross-regional mobility at that date.[37] In absence of a plausible alternative for [A "son (of)"],[38] I will stick to this reading.

AS EXEMPLIFIED BY this and the other contributions in this volume, at the time in question, i.e., ca. 700 BCE, relocations and travels between Guzana and Damascus (or Samaria, for that matter) are as much in the picture as are forced or voluntary relocations, although only professionally inspired short- and long-distance travels as well as forced long-distance relocations (deportations as hostages or for breaking up local/regional communities and/or power structures) tend to be in the academic field of vision. I therefore wish to draw attention to the issue that the actual geographic identification of the (unusually written and therefore controversially interpreted) place name *si-me-ri-šu-a-a* (Damascus, Samaria, or a still unidentified place name) is of much less importance regarding the issue of cross-regional mobility than its scarcely discussed academic implications.

In order to exemplify the impact of the assumed connotations of the identifiers "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" (as toponym referring to a former or the current place of living, as gentilic or as identifier denoting Sama's cultural affiliation) and "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" (referring either to Sama' or to his father?), I will outline a number of scenarios which might have caused the specific introduction of the seller and the sold property in the sale deed Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924:

> [Fingernail] of Sama' LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*, [son? of ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti{,?} from Guzana, owner of the *tuanu* (bath) being sold. (five fingernail impressions) [5] A *tuanu* (bath) with it's beams (and) doors, and a wall between Ribišiši and Hanabeš, (property) of Sama' in the City of Guzana […].[39]

NISBA = TOPONYMIC IDENTIFIER I (CURRENT PLACE OF LIVING) – FATHER? IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: The first line of interpretation is based on the assumption that Sama' was explicitly denoted as currently living in *Simerišu*? and as son? of an inhabitant of Guzana. In this reading, we do not learn when Sama' moved to *Simerišu*? or whether he was born there. As the father? Šamaš-bel-ketti is identified as "from Guzana," it seems likely that either the son? relocated to *Simerišu*? sometime in adulthood or that his father? temporarily lived there before returning or generally moving to Guzana. We also do not know how and when Sama' acquired the *tuanu* in Guzana. Possibly he inherited it from his father?, which would easily explain the additional identification of Sama' via his filiation "son? of Šamaš-bel-ketti from Guzana" and the repeated ascription of the *tuanu* as property of Sama'. Another open question is why the *tuanu* is sold.

At least three different scenarios may be devised, which meet the circumstances indicated in the text, albeit based on different implications: If the family or at least the father? originated from Guzana and had moved for whatever reason and at whichever time to *Simerišu*?, the former place of family residence may be stated in the identification of the father?, because the *tuanu* being sold is an old family property from the time before the relocation to *Simerišu*?. A second scenario assumes that the father?/family is still based in Guzana and only Sama' moved to *Simerišu*?. In this setting, Sama' possibly disposed of the (inherited?) *tuanu* after the death of his father?, himself being firmly established in *Simerišu*?. Equally perceivable is a situation, in which the family moved temporarily from Guzana or elsewhere to *Simerišu*?. The father? may have moved on or back to Guzana at some point in his life, while Sama' still lives at *Simerišu*?, but for whatever reason sells his (bought or inherited?) property at Guzana.

Possible contexts of relocations from Guzana to *Simerišu* include the Assyrian expansion politics to the Mediterranean—e.g., as part of the army or its retinue or in the hope of being able to live in a place not under Assyrian control—or for whatever personal or profession-related reasons.

Note that in this first line of interpretation, Sama' came north—explicitly for the occasion of or for various reasons including the sale of the *tuanu*—and testified with his fingernail his presence at Guzana during the writing of the sale deed.[40]

NISBA = TOPONYMIC IDENTIFIER II (FORMER PLACE OF LIVING) – FATHER? IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: In a second line of interpretation, Sama' is identified as former resident of *Simerišu*?, thereby implying a current place of living at Guzana. Similar scenarios come to the fore as sketched out above, but indicating different motivations for the toponymic ascriptions: The different geographic identifiers may have been used to stress that only Sama' had temporarily moved to *Simerišu*?. Possibly, the author wanted to emphasize that he belongs to Guzana, not only because he is (again) living there after some time of absence but also because of his family ties. Or the double identification was meant to indicate that Sama' had moved to Guzana as his father? had done before him. This was possibly of special relevance if he was selling the *tuanu* he had bought for himself when moving to (join his father? in) Guzana or which he had inherited there.

NISBA = TOPONYMIC IDENTIFIER (CURRENT OR FORMER PLACE OF LIVING)—SAMA' IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: A third line of interpretation is based on a different interpretation of the sentence structure, in which "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" does not identify [^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti, but is a further apposition to Sama': i.e. Sama' is "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*," "[son? of ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti," and "from Guzana." In this scenario, Sama's current place of residence would be explicitly specified as Guzana, although he is perceived as *Simerišian*?. No indication is provided why this is the case: because the family originates there, because he lived there sometime during his life, because of his affiliation to *Simerišian*? cultural aspects such as religious beliefs, language, etc., or because he associates in Guzana with *Simerišian*? people (note that the same spread of potential reasons behind the ascription may also apply here).

An introduction of Sama' explicitly as both from *Simerišu*? and from Guzana suggests the wish of the author (potentially any of the persons involved including the scribe) to draw attention to this double identification of Sama'. Possibly, such an introduction should be read similarly to a statement nowadays "I am from place/country x, born in place/country y." Depending on the amount and geographical scope of experienced relocations, the details provided may be affected by the context, in which the information is given—official or unofficial/private, migration- or identity-related, self-perceived, or assumed by others, etc. Unfortunately, an analysis of such identity constructions is beyond the highly underdetermined scope of information given in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus, at least with regard to the "Egyptians" mentioned in the sources (see Table 1, pp. 105–109).[41]

NISBA = GENTILIC IDENTIFIER—FATHER? IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: As indicated above (see above, the section on "inferred identifications II"), the universal validity of the academically prevalent interpretation of geographic identifiers (and especially those constructed as *nisba* of a geographic name plus a person identifier) as gentilics implying ethnic or cultural affiliation is to be questioned. They are neither to be generally assumed nor to be refuted as potentially explicitly implied notions. In the case of Sama', the seller of the *tuanu* in the contract inscribed on tablet Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924, not enough biographical information is preserved to ascertain the underlying identity construction.

Accordingly, a fourth line of interpretation understands "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" as gentilic and "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" as toponymic identifier for the father? [^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti (hierarchical structure). This results at least in three possible scenarios: Sama' may have been seen as in-group member of the city of Guzana and specified as belonging to the subgroup of persons from *Simerišu*?. Or the father may have been perceived as in-group member at Guzana, while the son was not—as testified by his ascription as "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*." This may have been due to Sama's place of residence outside Guzana (possibly still or again in *Simerišu*?) or to displaying *Simerišian*? (cultural) identity. Depending on the social context of the sale, also a reversed in-group perception of father and son is possible: If the sale is concluded within the Guzanian subgroup of *Simerišians*?, the intention may have been to mark the son as in-group member, while the father is seen as resident of the town but not affiliated to the expat community from *Simerišu*?.

NISBA = GENTILIC IDENTIFIER – SAMA' IDENTIFIED AS *ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI*: A fifth line of interpretation understands "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" as gentilic and "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" as toponymic identifier for Sama' (parallel structure of appositions). This results in loosing information on the place of residence of the father, who may still live in *Simerišu*? or be also a resident of Guzana (or some other unspecified place). Sama' may belong to the local expat community or not (see scenarios above in the fourth line of interpretation).

NISBA = CULTURAL IDENTIFIER—*ŠA* URU.*GU-ZA-NI* = OF GUZANIAN EXTRACTION: Further alternatives come to the fore, if "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" denotes neither a gentilic nor the place of (former) residence, but rather the perceived or explicitly displayed cultural affiliation. This opens up the question of what is denoted by the expression "*ša* place name": of Guzanian extraction or of Guzanian residence.

Accordingly, the sixth line of interpretation is devoted to a reading of "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" as cultural identifier and "*ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*" as toponymic identifier denoting the geographic family origin. In this scenario, no indication is given concerning either the father?'s or Sama's place of residence. They—and especially Sama'—may have lived in Guzana, *Simerišu*?, or any other place. The cultural identifier "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*," despite Guzanian family origin, may be specified to stress that Sama' associates with the Guzanian expat group from *Simerišu*? or relocated to such an expat community or even to *Simerišu*? itself. Alternatively, the explicit denotation as "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-*

a," although of Guzanian extraction, may indicate that Sama' changed his cultural affiliation and displayed *Simerišian*? identity.

As a consequence, only one out of many equally possible reasons for identifying Sama' as "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" (and only when applying the equally problematic geographic identification of Samaria instead of Damascus or an unidentified place name) may have been that he originally came from Samaria and was possibly deported from there in the wake of 8th century Assyrian military actions in the Levant.[42] Similarly, only in this specific line of interpretation based on a parallel structure of all identifying appositions in the preamble of the contract and on a gentilic connotation of the geographical identifier, the issue of "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" referring to Damascus or to Samaria (or someplace else) is of conceptual importance. For Sama', it was evidently important in any case, but regarding the academic perception of the scope of cross-regional mobility at the time, the question of potentially repeated relocations is the key issue, while the scope of Guzana–Damascus or Guzana–Samaria is comparatively circumstantial.

On a different line of thought, the question remains whether the author of the contract used "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" just as palpable and definite identification for Sama', in which the issue of being perceived as "foreigner" may resonate or not. If the former, Sama' may equally have been marked as *outsider* or as *newcomer, who now belongs to the local community*. This opens up the further question what was considered as "foreign"—i.e., culturally different—at the given place and time: Would the Aramaic city-state of Damascus be seen as belonging to the same sphere as the Aramaic/Syro-Hittite city-state of Guzana? Similarly, would the polyglottic community of Samaria including at least Aramaic and Hebrew and possibly Egyptian-speaking residents be perceived as belonging to the same polyglottic (and culturally diverse) sphere as Guzana—potentially in contrast to Urartu and Assyria (and Egypt?), which were viewed as defining distinctly different spheres?

People-Object Inference Regarding Cross-regional Mobility

By combining archaeological and philological information, some further aspects of object-related people mobility can be observed: It is at least possible to follow the object from Guzana/Tell Halaf in the Upper Euphrates region to Assur on the Upper Tigris, within Assur, from Assur to Istanbul and within Istanbul, as well as its documentation at least from Assur to Berlin and within Berlin (see above, the section on "the archaeological and archival context," including note 2).

Mobility of objects I: from Guzana to Assur

The first step we can see of the probably much more extensive history of object mobility of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 is a transfer from Guzana/Tell Halaf to Assur. As has already been pointed out, e.g., in 1997 by Karen Radner,[43] the text found in Assur in 1905 had in all probability been written in Guzana. This is to be deducted from various comments in the text:[44]

1) The property for sale is in Guzana: "[5] A *tuanu* (bath) with it's beams (and) doors, and a wall between Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš, (property) of Sama' in the City of Guzana— [8] Qišeraya, chief of […]ean, has contracted and bought it for fifty shekels of silver."
2) Adad residing in Guzana is invoked: "[13] Whoever in the future … seeks a lawsuit or litigation with Qi[šer]aya and his sons, [19] shall place ten minas of refined silver (and) one m[ina] of pure gold in the lap of Adad who resides i[n G]uzana shall tie four white horses at the feet of [Sîn] who resides in Harran, and shall return the money tenfold to its owner."
3) One of the witnesses is connected to the governor of Guzana: "[r.] [20] [Witness] Buraya, chief beer-brewer [r.] [21] [of?] the governor of Guzana."
4) Two further witnesses are likely to be connected to the Adad temple at Guzana: "[r.] [8] Witness Abarrâ, scholar of the temple of Adad. … [r.] [11] Witness Adad-ahu-uṣur of the temple."
5) In contrast, there is no evidence at all pointing to Assur or any other place than Guzana apart from the rather general invocation of "Sîn who resides in Harran" together with "Adad who resides in Guzana" in the curse formula (obv.13–18, e.19–20, r.1–4), which also points to the Balikh and Upper Euphrates region.

As the tablet has been found in house 12 in Assur (see above the section on "the archaeological and archival context"), this instigates the questions of how, when, and why the sale deed for a property in Guzana was transferred to Assur. The questions cannot be answered satisfactorily due to lack of information on the persons involved (see Table 2, pp. 110–112). However, there are a number of plausible explanations, as the transfer may have happened due to the mobility of the owner, of the ownership and of the record of this ownership:

If the transfer of the tablet has been due to the mobility of Qišeraya, the buyer, he may have acquired the property while living in Guzana and later on moved to Assur, or he may already have been a resident of Assur when he bought the property in Guzana, or he may have lived in a third place when he bought the property in Guzana and later on moved to Assur.

Equally possible is a transfer of the object due to the mobility of the property deed, i.e., the ownership of the property: The *tuanu* may have changed hands again to someone either living in or later on moving to Assur. Plausible scenarios for this are a further sale or an inheritance.

The transfer may also have taken place due to the

mobility of the object itself, i.e., the mobility of the sale deed *record*: With regard to Neo-Assyrian legal practice, the record may have been given into custody to a friend, e.g., because of a longer absence rather in the manner of nowadays putting important documents into a bank safe. Or the record may have been given to someone in Assur as a pledge.[45]

Mobility of objects II: within Assur

We can only speculate on the circulation of the object from the time of its being written in Guzana, its transfer to Assur, and finally the place where it has been in the ground for more than 2,500 years. There is no evidence illustrating to which extent the tablet has been shifted around. As it has not been found in a context indicating a deposition for safekeeping (i.e., filed away for later reference; see above, the section on "the archaeological and archival context"), it was at least handled—and therefore moved—either before house 12 was left or after, when the tablet (was discarded and) became part of the debris.

Residents from Afar

As already indicated, the tablet contents provide important, albeit in detail underdetermined, evidence for the social impact of cross-regional mobility, i.e., for a society characterized by a high degree of cultural diversity or at least a composition of persons from a variety of family origins. The seller of the *tuanu*, Sama' LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*,[46] is probably either a (descendant of) newcomer(s) to Guzana, relocated from Guzana to *Simerišu*? temporarily or permanently, or affiliated with persons from *Simerišu*? (see above). Similarly, two further persons in the document are explicitly specified by their gentilic, cultural affiliation or former place of living: One is Zanbalâ, *Arab*, the other Uširihiuhurti, Egyptian, verbatim [r.] 7 IGI ^{m}*za-an-ba*–URU-*a* LÚ*.*arba-bi* (witness Zanbalâ, "man of the Arabs") and [r.] 9 IGI ^{m}*ú-ši-ri-hi-ú-hur-ti* LÚ*.*mi-ṣir-ra-a-a* (witness Uširihiuhurti, "man belonging to Egypt").[47] Whether they both actually came from Arabia and Egypt, identified with the respective cultural tradition, or whether they have been more loosely associated with these areas, e.g., by temporarily living there, cannot be ascertained. The combination of the roughly matching etymological origin of the names—Zanbalâ is a West Semitic, Uširihiuhurti probably a Libyo-Egyptian name (see above)—and the topographic identifiers favor their interpretation as newcomers from the south. In Guzana, they seem to have been residents at the time of the sale deed, as is strengthened by the contrasting identifications of the witnesses Adda-bi'di, merchant, and the group of three *ubaru* ("visitors").[48] While the *ubaru* Balliṭ-Ia, Mizi-Ia, and Ah-abi in all likelihood stayed in Guzana only temporarily, Qišeraya, Sama', and Adda-bi'di were either residents of Guzana, albeit in case of Adda-bi'di requiring times of absence, or not; all other witnesses and persons referred to seem to have been long-term residents of the town.

The question arises why also temporary residents of Guzana are included as witnesses of the sale: As the three "visitors" Balliṭ-Ia, Mizi-Ia, and Ah-abi are only known from this document (see Table 2, pp. 110–112), no indication is preserved of why they were in Guzana at the time, where they came from, and why they testified the contract. Possibly they were included because they were easily available: Maybe they were housed with one of the contracting partners, Sama' or Qišeraya, with the scribe, or with one of the other witnesses. Or they were drawn upon due to the specific nature of the contract: e.g., because one or both of the contracting partners were possibly not residents at Guzana (see above). Alternatively, they may have stood in for other potentially interested parties, such as the neighbors Ribiṣiṣi and Hanabeš, who are conspicuously absent in the list of witnesses. Or they and potentially also the merchant Adda-bi'di may themselves have been interested parties (see below).

The Organizational Framework of Cross-Regional Mobility

Characteristically, Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 mainly provides insights into the outcome of cross-regional mobility by testifying a community composition with a large amount of newcomers and subsequently a high degree of cultural diversity (for the potential scope of mobility to be gleaned from Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924, see Fig. 1). Information on the organizational framework of the underlying mobility is scarce within the whole text corpus as well as in the presented document.

The *Ubaru* ("Visitors")

Of specific interest, both for the issue of cross-regional mobility in the 8th–6th centuries BCE and for a transcultural history of the Iron Age eastern Mediterranean region in general, is therefore the mentioning of *ubaru* ("visitors"). As has been pointed out by Simonetta Ponchia, the other attestations of the stem *wbr* in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus (especially StAT 2, 173; SAA 1, 153; SAA 7, 151) suggest that the ascription as *ubaru* entails a "peculiar juridical status for foreigners involved in commercial activities."[49]

StAT 2, 173 reflects a court decision concerning Egyptian merchants from either 636 or 625 BCE. According to the text edition, the document reads: "[1] The Egyptian merchants have entered the house of Hakubaya as foreign guests. [3] Šamaš-reši-išši, priest, Aya-naṣir, Mar-nuri, Il-saqa', Umubadi, Nabute—in all five *criminals* who *attacked* the Egyptian merchants in the house of Hakubaya. [8] Hakubaya shall test[ify] before the magnates. [10] Month Adar (XII), 22nd day, eponym year of Sîn-šarru-uṣur" (StAT 2 173).[50] This is not the place for a detailed discussion of this text.[51] For the context of this contribution, it suffices to point out that either the court proceedings or the specific juridical procedure requiring Hakubaya's testimony before the magnates may be due to the specific status of the merchants as *ana ubaratu* in the house of Hakubaya.[52] The issue would merit a much more thorough

study, especially a diachronic comparison on the relation to the *status of stranger/foreigner* (*wabrūtu*) attested in the Old Assyrian sources.[53]

From the same stem derives the expression *bīt wabrī*, which seems to denote a *guest house* or *caravanserai*, which is well attested in Old Assyrian and probably has a similar meaning in Neo-Assyrian times as indicated by SAA 1 153 (following the greeting formula of the letter): "The Sidonites and the(ir) heads did not go to Calah with the crown prince, my lord, nor are they serving in the garrison of Nineveh. They loiter in the center of the town, each in his lodging place (r6: *ina* É–*ub-re-šú*)" (SAA 1, 153.6–r6).[54] This opens up the questions of what defines a *bīt wabrī* and how it is organized: Is it an official/semi-official/private institution or is a private house e.g. of a functionary (e.g., Hakubaya?) used in such a capacity (see also the next section below)?

As a substantial amount of the available evidence is only in list format (e.g., Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 [StAT 2, 53] and SAA 7, 151), the potential of a comprehensive diachronic study of the evidence on *wbr* is limited. Nevertheless, a compilation and critical examination of the wider semantic field "foreigner/guest" will provide some basis for a cross-regional comparative discussion on the practical and socio-psychological implications of being perceived as foe, stranger, newcomer, or guest.[55] Possible lines of investigation could be to collect evidence for specific or unspecific geographical scopes, for example, versus implicit representations of "foreignness" and for the validity of a predominantly hostile connotation of the concept "foreign(er)."

As newcomers made up substantial percentages of towns like Assur, Nineveh, Guzana, or Babylon (or, e.g., 7th century BCE Memphis in Egypt) at the time in question, a detailed discussion of the evidence contrasting expressions like "descendant/son of a town" vs. "foreigner/stranger" may shed light on the question of what was the principal issue: Was it preeminent to be an official resident of the town, whatever one's extraction? Or did issues like cultural affiliation, obvious "foreignness," etc., play a major role in the actual economic, administrative, and social workings of such culturally diverse societies? A possible outcome might be that the common academic interpretation of, e.g., "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" or "LÚ*.LÚ*.*mi-ṣir-ra-a-a*" as gentilic implying cultural or ethnic affiliation is to be rejected completely as an anachronistic modern perception: the ancient toponymic denotation may only have referred to the fact of (formerly) living or the right to settle in a specific town or geographic area.

Why bothering about a bath at Guzana?

Another potential track to open up further research questions regarding the practicalities of cross-regional

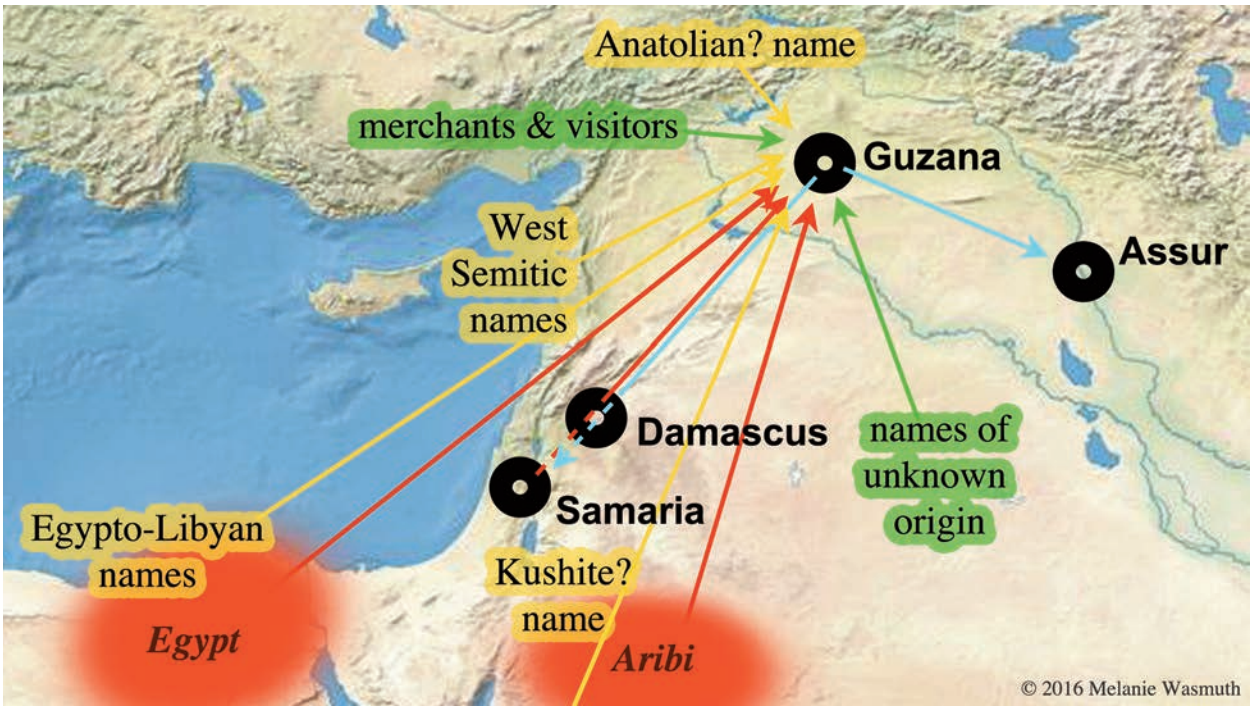

Figure 1: Scope of mobility to be inferred from Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 (underlying satellite map: NE 2).

mobility concerns the motivation behind purchasing a *tuanu*, a kind of bath as indicated in the sale deed. Though it is currently impossible to visualize the characteristics of such a *tuanu* bath (the word is a *hapax*[56]), it must have been a rather substantial architectural structure, as its walls and roof are mentioned in the contract (StAT 2 53.5–6).

But why would anyone buy (just) a bath? Likely reasons for such a purchase are financial investment or convenience. The interpretation of its potential usage is once more affected by the assumed place of living of the buyer, Guzana or someplace else, and the intended users—Qišeraya himself, associates of him, or unrelated persons.

If Qišeraya did not live or only temporarily lived in Guzana, it seems likely that the *tuanu* was bought to provide a lodging and cleaning facility for stopovers at the place, i.e., to facilitate cross-regional mobility. This may have been a matter of convenience for his own travels or for members of his social circle. Alternatively—and then we would have to consider the issue of an investment purchase—the *tuanu* could be used by any travelers passing through Guzana. The latter would provide a good explanation for why the "merchant" and the "visitors" are included in the list of witnesses. They themselves may have been interested parties, possibly using (or staying at) the *tuanu* at the time of the sale.

Other scopes of interpretation become likely, if Qišeraya has been a resident of Guzana at the time. In case of an investment purchase, similar explanations as highlighted above come to mind. But if he bought the *tuanu* for his own use while he himself was based at Guzana, a mobility-unrelated explanation is equally likely: He may have bought for himself a house characterized by a substantial or specific kind of bath that is cited as *pars pro toto* for the whole building.

Concluding Remarks

To sum up, tablet Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 was found in Assur in the debris of house 12, possibly on a level roughly corresponding to the bottom of the niche in the room adjoining the indicated findspot for Ass. 8448. It has been assigned to a find complex including tablets, referred to as "archive N 18," but no indications are preserved to the tablet's last place of deposit for storage and further referencing.

The text documents a property sale (consisting of or including a special kind of bath), which involved a number of short- and long-term residents at Guzana, modern-day Tell Halaf, thereby indicating a high degree of cultural diversity and cross-regional mobility in ca. 700 BCE. However, the biographical information provided for each person is limited, especially regarding the geographical origin and cultural affiliation. This difficulty is augmented by the prevalent academic practice of inferring more precise and consequently even more limited information than is actually given. This applies to the exceedingly problematic implication of cultural affiliation and/or geographic origin commonly assigned to persons bearing names of etymologically foreign origin as well as to the interpretation of geographic identifiers as ethnonyms or gentilics.

By critically reviewing the textual structure and explicitly provided data along different lines of interpretation, this contribution illustrates that the potential scope of underlying realities may have been much more diversified than traditionally assumed: To give an example, the geographic family origins of Sama', the seller of the *tuanu* bath, may have been in *Simerišu*[?], a place name of uncertain identification (Damascus[?], Samaria[?], or another town yet unidentified). Alternatively, his family may have been native to Guzana with temporary place of residence in *Simerišu*[?]. Even an unspecified place of origin or former place of living may be inferred.

Similarly, the probable motivations behind the sale and acquisition of the property allow a number of reconstructions regarding the persons involved in the contract and the object itself, which was inscribed at Guzana but finally discarded in Assur: Depending on the assumed biography of Sama' and on the inferred motives for the various identifying ascriptions, the property at sale may originally have been bought by Sama' or inherited by him. Qišeraya may have acquired the property as an outpost for his own or his associates' convenience in traveling or as an investment purchase designed for housing temporary residents or lodgers in Guzana.

Also, the tablet may have been transferred to Assur due to a relocation of the owner of the property, another change of hands, or the economic value of the sale deed record, which may have induced the transfer for safekeeping or as a pledge.

In addition, the source and its discussion open up various more general research questions regarding cross-regional mobility: a) Did the perception of *miṣir* "Egypt" (as case study for any other area of contested claims of control) change at the time in question? Did it refer to the Nile delta plus lower Nile valley, only to the delta, only to the non-Kushite controlled areas of the delta, or mainly to the Egypto-Libyan areas of settlement and control? I.e., was *miṣir* "Egypt" predominantly perceived as a geographical, political, or socio-cultural entity? And how does this potential multivalence show in the sources reflecting a period when these categories do not correlate? b) What can be discovered about cross-regional standards and administrative or organizational features that facilitated larger-scale mobility and especially short- and long-term immigration? How did the level of cross-regional mobility affect "inside/outside" perceptions, attitudes toward one's neighbors, and strategies of living in ancient culturally diverse societies in the Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th to 6th centuries BCE and beyond?

Abbreviations

AHW — Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. Unter Benutzung des lexikalischen Nachlasses von Bruno Meissner (1868–1947) I–III* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965–1981).

Assur. Inventar III — Ernst Walter Andrae et al., "Assur. Inventar III. (10. August 1905. – 4. März 1907.). Nr. 6931–11144. Seite 2.–149. (Assur 1905–1907)" (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin).

CAD — Martha T. Roth et al. (eds.), *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1956–2010).

CTN 3 — Stephanie Dalley and John Nicholas Postgate, *The Tablets from Fort Shalmaneser, Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud III* (Oxford: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1984).

MS Radner WVDOG — Karen Radner, "Die beiden neuassyrischen Privatarchive," in Peter Miglus, Karen Radner, and Franciszek M. Stepniowski, *Untersuchungen im Stadtgebiet von Assur: Wohnquartiere in der Weststadt I*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft (forthcoming; manuscript version: 5 November 2012).

NE 2 — Nathaniel Vaughn Kelso, Tom Patterson et al., *Natural Earth II with Shaded Relief, Water, and Drainages: Coloring Based on Idealized Land Cover* (version version 3.2.0), *Natural Earth*, http://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/10m-natural-earth-2/10m-natural-earth-2-with-shaded-relief-water-and-drainages/ (accessed 18 February 2016).

PNA — Simo Parpola (ed.-in-chief) *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire I–III* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–2011).

PNA 1 — Karen Radner (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire I*, 2 vols. (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998–1999).

PNA 2 — Heather D. Baker (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire II*, 2 vols. (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2000–2001).

PNA 3 — Heather D. Baker (ed.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire III*, 2 vols. (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2002–2011).

PNAu — Heather D. Baker, *Updates to the Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, http://individual.utoronto.ca/HDBaker/pnaupdates.html, accessed 22 May 2016.

SAA 1 — Simo Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West, State Archives of Assyria 1* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987).

SAA 6 — Theodore Kwasman and Simo Parpola, *Legal Transactions of the Royal Court of Nineveh, Part I: Tiglath-Pileser III through Esarhaddon*, State Archives of Assyria 6 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1991).

SAA 7 — Frederick Mario Fales and John Nicholas Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records I: Palace and Temple Administration*, State Archives of Assyria 7 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992).

SAAB 9 — Karlheinz Deller, Frederick Mario Fales, and Liane Jakob-Rost, *Neo-Assyrian Texts from Assur: Private Archives in the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin* 2, State Archives of Assyria Bulletin IX/1–2 (Padova: Sargon srl, 1995).

SAAS 6 — Karen Radner, *Die neuassyrischen Privatrechtsurkunden als Quelle für Mensch und Umwelt*, State Archives of Assyria Studies 6 (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997).

StAT 2 — Veysel Donbaz and Simo Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul*, Studien zu den Assur-Texten 2 (Saarbrücken: SDV, 2001).

StAT 3 — Betina Faist, *Alltagstexte aus neuassyrischen Archiven und Bibliotheken der Stadt Assur*, Studien zu den Assur-Texten 3 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007).

Tel Hadid 2 — B. Tel Hadid Tablet G/1696 (figs. 6–7), in Nadav Na'aman and Ran Zadok, "Assyrian Deportations to the Province of Samerina in the Light of Two Cuneiform Tablets from Tel Hadid," *Tel Aviv* 27.2 (2000): 169–177.

[1] The discussion of this case study was originally presented at the 9th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (Basel, June 2014). Details were also included in the author's input into the workshop discussions on "*Inside* and *Outside* in Mesopotamia" (Leiden, May 2014) and on "Living in an Ancient Multi-cultural Society: The Case of the 'Egyptians' in Early Iron Age Mesopotamia" (Landgut Castelen, Switzerland, October/November 2013). I would like to thank the participants of both workshops for entering into the discussion and for their constructive input. The study is based on data compiled and evaluated within the scope of a Marie Heim-Vögtlin grant of the Swiss National Science Foundation affiliated to Basel University: Egyptology; all persons concerned are accorded my warmest thanks, foremost Susanne Bickel, head of the Egyptology division, Sabine Rossow, who assisted me with the data compilation and filing, and Karen

Radner, who allowed me to include the information from her still unpublished manuscript on the tablets found in Assur-West (MS Radner WVDOG). I would furthermore like to thank Markus Hilgert, Joachim Marzahn, and Alrun Gutow for enabling me to consult the tablets and field diaries on sources from Assur mentioning "Egyptians" archived in the Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin (July 2014). Very special thanks for their support and friendship also go to Georg Brein, Barbara Hufft, Undine Stabrey, and my sons.

2 On the specific practice of find division at Assur in the early 20th century CE, cf. Betina Faist, "Review: Donbaz, Veysel/Parpola, Simo: Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul. (Studien zu den Assur-Texten 2). Saarbrücken: SDV, 2001," *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 94 (2004): 122–131. While the find complexes were split into an Istanbul and a Berlin lot, the documentation remains the property of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft and is currently kept in the Vorderasitisches Museum Berlin.

3 Conrad Preusser, *Die Wohnhäuser in Assur*, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Assur A. Die Baudenkmäler aus assyrischer Zeit VI (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1954), 15–17.

4 Assur. Inventar III, 54, 61.

5 "1905: Dezember—6. In den weniger guten Hausgrundrissen im Süden von d6 finden sich zahlreiche Thontafeln, ungebr. u. klein, darunter aramäisch beschriftete" (Ernst Walter Andrae et al., "Assur. Tagebuch III. 1. August 1905. Seite 188.–(Assur 1905–1907)" [Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin], 180).

6 Preusser 1954, Tf. 8; Assur. Inventar III, 61: "wie 8448." Olof Pedersén comments upon the find spot: "For a detailed description and plans of House 12 see *WHA* [= Preusser 1954, pp. 28f., pls. 8, 9, 12e]. Note however that whereas the findspot of the archive is correctly marked with [Ass.] 8848 on *WHA*, pl. 8, it is placed in the wrong room in the description, *WHA*, p. 29." (Olof Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur: A Survey of the Material from the German Excavations II*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 8 [Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1986], 106). This statement is to be qualified: a) As written in the section on "Texts and bibliography of N 18" (Pedersén 1986, 107), the find number under discussion is Ass. 8448, not 8848; b) the comment on page 29 in Preusser 1954 does not necessarily refer to the horizontal position of the find spot, but to the vertical one: the room, where the tablets were found, is not explicitly specified, although at first reading the most likely interpretation. But equally possible is a reading that only comments upon the level of the finds that corresponds to that of the bottom of the niche (in the adjoining room): "Dieser Hauptraum, an der Gassenfront auch schiefwinklig, hat in der Rückwand eine Nische, in deren Fußbodenhöhe unter anderen die beiden Tontafeln Ass. 8448a und b gefunden wurden (vgl. S. 15) …" (Preusser 1954, 29), thereby indicating that the tablets were not found on the floor, but rather in the debris above the spot indicated on the floor plan.

7 Assur. Inventar III, 54, 54–61.

8 Pedersén 1986, 106. This is not the place for a detailed discussion on what constitutes an "archive" and on the impact of Olof Pedersén's primarily philologically based definition, which was defined with regard to the contents and formats of the tablets, not based on find circumstances (cf. StAT 3, 2 and Pedersén 1986, abstract on the impressum page). In case of the so-called archive N 31 it is possible to show that tablet groups received a different find number when their place of excavation was distinctly separated. The problematic regrouping to one "archive" has in that case been the work of later emendation. Then, even tablets found more than 300 m away in another quarter of the town—although partly mentioning the same persons—were subsumed under the same "archive." For "archive" N 31 cf. Pedersén 1986, 125–129; StAT 3: 125–149; StAT 2, 117–154; Melanie Wasmuth, "Einige archäologische Überlegungen zum sogenannten 'Ägypter-Archiv' von Assur (N 31)," forthcoming.

9 Assur. Inventar III, 54–61.

10 For previous discussions or comments on the property sale and/or the persons involved see, e.g., SAAS 6, 249; StAT 2 53: 44–45; Simonetta Ponchia, "Review of Veysel Donbaz—Simo Parpola, Neo-Assyrian Legal Texts in Istanbul. Studien zu den Assur-Texten (StAT), 2. Berlin/Helsinki, Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft/Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001; in Kommission bei Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag," *Orientalia. Nova Series* 72/2 (2003): 274–282; Irene Huber, "Von Affenwärtern, Schlangenbeschwörern und Palastmanagern: Ägypter im Mesopotamien des ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends," in Robert Rollinger and Brigitte Truschnegg (eds.), *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag*, Oriens et Occidens 12, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 313; Evelyn Klengel-Brand and Karen Radner, "Die Stadtbeamten von Assur und ihre Siegel," in Simo Parpola and Robert M. Whiting (eds.), *Assyria 1995, Proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Symposium of the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project (Helsinki, September 7–11, 1995)* (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1997), 137–138; Charles Draper, "Two Libyan Names in a Seventh Century Sale Document From Assur," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7.2 (2015): 1–15.

[11] Cited from StAT 2, p. 44f. with slight adaptations. Indicated controversial readings: "LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a*" instead of "a Damacene"; "[son? of ^{md}U]TU–EN–ZI/[Ša]maš-bel-ketti{,?} from Guzana" instead of "[son of Ša]maš-bel-ketti from Guzana." The notation of the line numbering is slightly modified.

[12] On the double function of "witness" and "keeper of the tablet" see SAAS 6: 89–106; Simonetta Ponchia, "On the Witnessing Procedure in Neo-Assyrian Legal Documents," in Nicoletta Bellotto and Simonetta Ponchia (eds.), *Witnessing in the Ancient Near East, Proceedings of the Round Table Held at the University of Verona (February 15, 2008)*, Acta Sileni II (Padova: S.A.R.G.O.N, 2009), 132–135.

[13] See, e.g., Huber 2006, 303–329; or by denoting the identifier as *ethnicon* (e.g. implied in Ponchia 2003, 274–282; explicitly marked as such in Ponchia 2009, 169; Karen Radner, "The Assyrian King and His Scholars: The Syro-Anatolian and the Egyptian Schools," in Mikko Luukko, Sanna Svärd and Raija Mattila (eds.), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, And Scholars: Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, Studia Orientalia 106 [Helsinki: The Finnish Oriental Society, 2009], 225) or *gentilic* (e.g. Draper 2015, 2; Jonathan Stökl, "Gender 'Ambiguity' in Prophecy?," in Jonathan Stökl and Corrine L. Carvalho (eds.), *Prophets Male and Female, Gender and Prophecy in the Hebrew Bible, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Ancient Near East*, Ancient Israel and its Literature [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013], 73).

[14] See PNA 3/2, 1422 (H. D. Baker and R. Mattila); Charles Draper argues for a possible Libyan etymology of the name of unknown meaning, though the evidence cited—a bronze axe in the Cairo Museum supposed to date from the so-called Libyan dynasties, 10th to early 8th century BCE—is slightly problematic. The object bearing the single attestation of the supposedly underlying name *Wsjrhrt* is of unknown provenance, manufactured according to Egyptian cultural tradition and inscribed in hieroglyphs. The name, which is etymologically non-Egyptian and written in group-writing characteristic for Egyptian renderings of foreign names and words, can be paralleled to names of the contemporary "Libyan" rulers and magnates of Egypt (Draper 2015, 2). Given a (likely) production of the axe in the early 1st millennium BCE, such an etymology seems probable, but as the information on the "Libyans" in Egypt all derive from Egypt and are rendered in Egyptian, an ascription as "Libyo-Egyptian" or similar would therefore be more appropriate (see also above/below, including note 31).

[15] For the Neo-Assyrian private documents explicitly mentioning "Egyptians," a series of brief discussions is planned by the author for the journal *Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires* (*NABU*).

[16] Cf. Karen Radner, *Die Macht des Namens. Altorientalische Strategien zur Selbsterhaltung*, SANTAG. Arbeiten und Untersuchungen zur Keilschriftkunde 8 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005), 29–32; Heather D. Baker, "Approaches to Akkadian Name-Giving in First-Millennium BC Mesopotamia," in Cornelia Wunsch (ed.), *Mining the Archives: Festschrift for Christopher Walker on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday, 4 October 2002*, Babylonische Archive 1 (Dresden: ISLET, 2002), 1–24.

[17] On Guzana as part of the Assyrian, Aramaen, and Anatolian sphere see, e.g., Mirko Novák, "Gozan and Guzana. Anatolians, Aramaeans and Assyrians in Tell Halaf," in Dominik Bonatz and Lutz Martin (eds.), *100 Jahre archäologische Feldforschungen in Nordost-Syrien—eine Bilanz*, Schriften der Max Freiherr von Oppenheim-Stiftung 18 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 259–280. See also Edward Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 100 (Leuven—Paris—Sterlin, Virginia: Peeters, 2000). For introductions to the cultural diversity of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia see, e.g., A. C. V. M Bongenaar and Ben J. J. Haring, "Egyptians in Neo-Babylonian Sippar," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 46 (1994): 59–72; Muhammad A. Dandamayev, "Egyptians in Babylonia in the 6th–7th centuries B.C.," in Dominique Charpin and Francis Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien, Actes de la XXXVIIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 8-10 juillet 1991)* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations 1992), 321–325; Israel Eph'al, "The Western Minorities in Babylonia in the 6th–5th Centuries B.C.," *Orientalia* 47 (1978): 74–90; Jan Tavernier, "Non-Elamite Individuals in Achaemenid Persepolis," *Akkadica* 123 (2002): 145–152; Caroline Waerzeggers, "The Carians of Borsippa," *Iraq* 68 (2006): 1–22; Melanie Wasmuth, "Egyptians in Persia," in Pierre Briant and Michel Chauveau (eds.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*, Persika 14 (Paris: De Bocchard, 2009), 133–141; Donald J. Wiseman, "Some Egyptians in Babylonia," *Iraq* 28 (1966): 154–158; Ran Zadok, "On Some Foreign Population Groups in First-Millennium Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 6 (1979): 164–181; Ran Zadok, "Egyptians in Babylonia and Elam during the 1st Millennium B.C.," *Lingua Aegyptiae* 2 (1992): 139–146; Ran Zadok, "The Ethno-Linguistic Character of the Jezireh and Adjacent Regions in the 9th–7th Centuries (Assyria Proper vs. Periphery)," in Mario Liverani (ed.), *Neo-Assyrian Geography*, Quaderni die Geographica Storica 5 (Roma: Università di Roma "La Sapienzia," 1995), 217–282; Ran Zadok, "The Representation of Foreigners in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Legal Documents (Eighth through Second Centuries B.C.E.),"

in Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (Winonona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 471–589; Ran Zadok, "On Anatolians, Greeks and Egyptians in 'Chaldean' and Achaemenid Babylonia," *Tel Aviv* 32 (2005): 76–106. See also various contributions in Jonathan Stökl and Caroline Waerzeggers (eds.), *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 478 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), which I unfortunately only had access to in the final stage of preparing this contribution, especially: Kathleen Abraham, "Negotiating Marriage in Multicultural Babylonia: An Example from the Judean Community in Āl-Yāhūdu," pp. 33–57; Johannes Hackl and Michael Jursa, "Egyptians in Babylonia in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid Periods,"pp.157–180; Laurie E. Pearce, "Identifying Judeans and Judean Identity in the Babylonian Evidence," pp. 7–32; Ran Zadok, "West Semitic Groups in the Nippur Region between c. 750 and 330 B.C.E.," pp. 94–156.

18 For a very concise introduction see, e.g., Jan Krzysztof Winnicki, *Late Egypt and Her Neighbours*, Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplement 12 (Warszawa: Warsaw University Faculty of Law and Administration, Institute of Archaeology, and Fundacja im. Rafała Taubenschlaga, 2009), 11–27 (New Kingdom) and 104–117 (1st millennium BCE until Achaemenid rule). See also, e.g., Bernd Ulrich Schipper, *Israel und Ägypten in der Königszeit. Die kulturellen Kontakte von Salomo bis zum Fall Jerusalems*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 170 (Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1999); Michael G. Hasel, *Dominance and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 B.C.*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 11 (Leiden, Boston and Köln: Brill, 1998); Donald B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). For the position of the southern Levant in between the cross-regional powers of Assyria and Egypt/Kush see also, e.g., the collection of essays in Nadav Na'aman (ed.), *Ancient Israel and Its Neighbors I: Interaction and Counteraction* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2005); with focus on the later 7th century BCE also, e.g., Dan'el Kahn, "Why did Necho II Kill Josiah?," in Jana Mynářová, Pavel Onderka, and Peter Pavúk (eds.), *There and Back Again—The Crossroads II, Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15–18, 2014* (Praha: Charles University in Prague Faculty of Arts, 2015), 511–528.

19 All these potential etymologies have been pointed out and controversially discussed in the existing scholarly literature (PNA 2/1, 449 [H. D. Baker]; PNA 2/1, 443 [R. Mattila and A. Schuster (4.)] with further references; Draper 2015, 3–4). For a discussion of the identification of the various persons called Hanabeš/Hallabeš, see also Draper 2015, 3–4.

20 See the introductory article of this volume: Melanie Wasmuth, "The Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th–6th Centuries BCE: Setting an Agenda," and note 17, above.

21 An important issue, although beyond the scope of this contribution, would be a comparative analysis of the contemporary onomastic material across the whole Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity (see the introductory article of this volume). This may allow us to ascertain—or at least to discuss—whether the specific choice of un-Akkadian names represent cross-regionally common names or indicate more regionally specific naming practices.

22 Draper 2015, 3–4. The issues of mobility and multi-culturality implied by this specific document have been discussed by me within the scope of the workshop "Living in a Multi-cultural Society: The Case of the 'Egyptians' in Early Iron Age Mesopotamia" (Landgut Castelen, Switzerland, October/November 2013). For a brief presentation of the issues, participants and the format of the workshop, see Melanie Wasmuth, "'Living in an Ancient Multi-cultural Society: The Case of the Egyptians in Early Iron Age Mesopotamia—Rückblick auf ein Workshop-Experiment," *Collegium Beatus Rhenanus. EUCOR-Newsletter* 16 (2013): 9–10 (note that the title, given correctly here, was published with an error, "Egypt" for "Mesopotamia"); Melanie Wasmuth, "Interdisciplinary Communication: Discussion on a Workshop Format for Cross-Cultural Topics," *Collegium Beatus Rhenanus. EUCOR-Newsletter* 17 (2014): 6–7.

23 E.g., Draper 2015, 4–5.

24 See, e.g., Peter Dubovský, *Hezekiah and the Assyrian Spies: Reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian Intelligence Services and Its Significance for 2 Kings 18–19*, Biblica et Orientalia 49 (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 2006), 128. See also Israel Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs" Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent: 9th–5th centuries B.C.* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press and Leiden: Brill, 1982); Winnicki 2009, 306–371.

25 For *A-la-ra-na-du* see Knut L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 43/1 (Helsinki: [Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae], 1914), 20.

26 For the evidence preserved for the Kushite king Alara see Alexey K. Vinogradov, "'[…] Their Brother, the Chieftain, the Son of Re', Alara […]'?," *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 20 (1999): 81–94; Dows Dunham and M. F. Laming Macadam, "Names and Relationships of the Royal Family of Napata," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 35 (1949): 141, pl. XV.

27 For a discussion of the practice of people bringing and

later on also handling commodities based on the case study of Kushites and Kushite horses at the Assyrian court as early as ca. 730 BCE, see Lisa A. Heidorn, "The Horses of Kush," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 56.2 (1997): 106–110.

28 As Simonetta Ponchia questions the likelihood of cross-regional relocations ("As to l. 3 it might be observed, however, that the situation resulting from the reading proposed by the authors is quite unlikely: Sama' a Damascene, being son of [^{ld}U]TU-EN-ZI *ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*. An alternative reading might perhaps be suggested, comparing r. 21 [where the EN.NAM of Guzana is listed among the witnesses]: [*ṣu-pur* L]Ú*.EN.NAM *ša* URU.*gu-za-ni*."; Ponchia 2003, 275–276), she proposes to reconstruct "*ṣupur* ('Fingernail')" instead of "son" of XY of/from Guzana. In addition, she suggests a reading of XY as function or title ("governor of Guzana"), not as a name or specifically a patronymic ("son of Šamaš-bel-ketti"). Given the text structure, a restitution as "Fingernail of XY of/from Guzana" is problematic: why should the fingernail and comment on the identification of the fingernail be inserted in between the identification of the first person attested by his fingernail, i.e. "[Fingernail] of Sama' LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a {insertion of additional fingernail line}* owner of the *tuanu* (bath) being sold"? The ascription of the last part of the identification to Sama' is certain, as his ownership is also referred to further down in the text (StAT 2, 53.7).

29 See Waerzeggers 2006, 1–22.

30 See, e.g., the references cited in note 13, above.

31 For an introduction into the history of Egypt at the times of the Assyrian and Kushite expansion politics toward the Mediterranean, including further references, cf. Dan'el Kahn, "Taharqa, King of Kush and the Assyrians," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 31 (2004): 109–128; Dan'el Kahn, "The Assyrian Invasions of Egypt," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 34 (2006): 251–268; Jan Moje, *Herrschaftsräume und Herrschaftswissen ägyptischer Lokalregenten. Soziokulturelle Interaktionen zur Machtkonsolidierung vom 8. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 21 (Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2014); Melanie Wasmuth, "Mapping Political Diversity: Some Thoughts on Devising a Historiographical Map of 7th c. BC Egypt," in Susanne Grunwald, Kerstin P. Hofmann, Daniel A. Werning and Felix Wiedemann (eds.), *Mapping Ancient Identities. Kartographische Identitätskonstruktionen in den Altertumswissenschaften*, Berlin Studies of the Ancient World (Berlin: Edition Topoi, forthcoming); Silvie Zamazalová, "Before the Assyrian Conquest in 671 B.C.E.: Relations between Egypt, Kush and Assyria," in Jana Mynářová (ed.), *Egypt and the Near East—The Crossroads: Proceedings of an International Conference on the Relations of Egypt and the Near East in the Bronze Age, Prague, September 1–3, 2010* (Prague: Charles University, Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, 2011), 297–328.

32 StAT 2, 53: 44–45 versus Ponchia 2003, 275–276 (cited also in Draper 2015, 1 including note 14). See the section here on "inferred identifications II."

33 StAT 2, 53: 44; Ponchia 2003, 275–276. On the equally problematic restitution by the latter, see note 28, above.

34 StAT 2, 53: 44; Ponchia 2003, 275–276. See also note 28, above.

35 Damascus: StAT 2, 53: 44 and—most prominently—the entries in PNA (see Table 2); Samaria: Ponchia 2003, 275 and, e.g., Draper 2015, 1 and especially note 14 (p. 12). As discussed by Simonetta Ponchia, the reading of ^{m}*sa-ma-a'* LÚ*.*si-me-ri-šu-a-a* as "Sama', a Damascene," is not certain. As pointed out by her, the authors of the original text edition (see StAT 2, 53: 44) provide no comment on the identification of *si-me-ri-šu* "Damascus," which probably goes back to "a new spelling of the famous (and debated) KUR.*ša–imērīšu* of the royal inscriptions, or maybe, furthermore, the original form of the toponym, which provided the basis for the Assyrian scribes' writing-pun" (Ponchia 2003, 275). As already pointed out by Simonetta Ponchia herself, her alternative reading (which is cited as rather definite, corrected identification by Charles Draper; see reference previously cited in this note) also poses problems, which are equally large although different: They would require a hitherto unknown vowel change in the toponym, as Samerina is elsewhere always beginning with the syllable *sa*, not *si* (Ponchia 2003, 275).

36 Not an inserted identification statement for another person as, e.g., suggested in Ponchia 2003, 275–276 (for a discussion of this issue see note 28, above).

37 See note 28, above.

38 The only alternative that—to my knowledge—as been suggested so far is to be refuted (see note 28).

39 StAT 2, 53.2–7 (p. 44) with indications of controversial readings; see also above, note 11.

40 On the practice of testifying with the fingernail and on the issue of the witnesses testifying in advance their presence, not its validity after the conclusion of the contract, see SAAS 6, 36–39 respectively 32–33 (with further references).

41 One key result of the Swiss National Science Foundation: Marie Heim-Vögtlin project on "Constructions of Identity in Antiquity: 'Egyptians' in early Iron Age Mesopotamia" conducted by the author in 2012–2014.

42 As suggested in Draper 2015, 4–5 in accordance with the prevailing academic interpretation of such cases

(see above).

43 SAAS 6, 249.

44 StAT 2, 53.13–18, e. 19–20, r. 1–4 (p. 44–45).

45 As Karen Radner has pointed out, the practice to use not only property or persons but also contract records as pledges was quite common and included property sale records (SAAS 6, 390). For a discussion of private legal documents as object of value which could be part of an inheritance or used as pledge or means of payment cf. SAAS 6, 72–74.

46 Assyrian transcription cited from StAT 2, 53.2 (p. 44).

47 Assyrian transcription cited from StAT 2, 53.r7, r9 (p. 45).

48 StAT 2 53.r10, r15–17 (p. 45). See also the section on "the *ubaru* ('visitors')."

49 Ponchia 2003, 275. Her contribution unfortunately was only brought to my notice via Draper 2015. For their discussion and feedback of the potential implications of *ubaru*, I like to thank Tero Alstola, Jan-Gerrit Dercksen, Theo Krispijn, Mervyn Richardson, and Caroline Waerzeggers.

50 StAT 2, 123–124.

51 See note 15, above.

52 I would like to thank Karen Radner for pointing out that the juridical procedure implies consequences for the host Hakubaya for not (sufficiently) fulfilling his duties, i.e., protecting the "visitors."

53 Cf. CAD 20, 399 ("wabrūtu"); AHW 3, 1454 ("*wabrūtum*").

54 AHW 3, 1454 ("wabru(m), ubru(m)"); CAD 20, 398–399 ("wabru (*ubru*) in bīt wabrī (*bīt wabri*)"). SAA 1, 153 is explicitly cited in CAD 20, 399.

55 What are, e.g., the economic, administrative, and social implications of being perceived as *ubaru* versus *aḫû*, *nakru*, **ālû* or *mār* + place name, *ṣiddu u birtu*, *sekretu*, or coming from KUR(.KUR) *lišāna*, KUR *šanītu* etc.? How do they relate to similar termini in the semantic field "foreigner/guest" in other languages in the great area of connectivity as, e.g.. Hebrew *gēr*? (I would like to thank Theo Krispijn for bringing the latter to my attention.) For Egypt, starting points provide words/expressions such as *ḥmsj*, *wsḫ*, *ḫ3st(j/t)*, *(r3-)pḏt(j)*, *ʿ3w*, *šm3*, *ky*, *rwtj*, *(rmṯ/s) ḏrḏr*, *(jrj-)ḫppw*, *ḫftj*, etc. For Babylonia see also Kabalan Moukarzel, "Some Observations about 'Foreigners' in Babylonia during the VI Century BCE," in Markham J. Geller (ed.), *Melammu: The Ancient World in an Age of Globalization*, Max Planck Research Library for the History and Development of Knowledge Proceedings 7 (Berlin: Edition Open Access, 2014), 129–155. An insightful collection of essays on the ancient and academic perception of "Greeks and Barbarians" can be found in Thomas Harrison (ed.), *Greeks and Barbarians*, Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2002).

56 On the *hapax tuanu* "bath" see Draper 2015, 1. As a word, *tuanu* actually is known from another Neo-Assyrian text, albeit there denoting a breed or color of horses (ABL 466:10 / SAA 05 171 / TCAE 279, 10); see CAD 18, 444 and AHW 3, 1364.

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued on next page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	♂ ♀	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Ašaia (mng. unknown)	?	♀	PNA 1/1: 139 [P.D. Gesche]	a) Ass. 1990-30 = IM 124693	a) MS Radner WVDOG I.38	a) line 6: MÍ.*A-šá-a-a Mu-ṣur-tú* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as b)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
				b) Ass. 1990-36 = IM 124698	b) MS Radner WVDOG I.57	b) line 3: MÍ.*A-šá-a-a Mu-ṣur* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as a)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Ispiniša (mng. unknown?)	?	♀	not in PNA	Ass. 1990-30 = IM 124693	MS Radner WVDOG I.38	lines 6–8: [6] 6 GÍN MÍ.*A-šá-a-a Mu-ṣur-tú* [7] 6 GÍN MÍ.*E-zib-tú* : [8] 6 GIN MÍ.*Is-pi-ni-šá* : [finances a trading mission]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Zateubatte (mng. unknown)	?	♂	PNA 3/2: 1439 [H.D. Baker]	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16–r20: [r16] ⌜IGI⌝ [m]*bur–ki-[bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [r17] IGI [m]*bu–ti?-na-ah* : [r18] IGI [m]*qi?-⌜ša?⌝-a-a* : [r19] IGI [m][*hat*]-*pi-na-pi* (":"' missing in text or edition?) [r20] IGI [m]*za-te-ú-bat-te :* [witness in a property sale]	Assur (618*)
Du'uzītu ("The one born in the month Tamūz/ Du'ūzu")	Akkadian	♀	PNA 3/2: 1309 no. 1 (of 2) [C. Jean]	Ass. 1990-18 = IM 124681	MS Radner WVDOG I.35	lines 9–10: [9] MÍ.ITU.ŠU-*te Mu-ṣur* [10] DUMU.MÍ [1]ARAD-*Na-na-a* [finances a trading mission, daughter of Urdu-Nanāja (see below)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Ezibtu ("The abandoned one")	Akkadian	♀	PNA 1/2: 410 no. 2 (of 3) [W. Pempe]	a) Ass. 1990-19 = IM 124682	a) MS Radner WVDOG I.41	a) line r1: MÍ.*E-zib-tú Mu-ṣur-tú* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as b)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
				b) Ass. 1990-30 = IM 124693	b) MS Radner WVDOG I.38	b) lines 6–7: [6] 6 GÍN MÍ.*A-šá-a-a Mu-ṣur-tú* [7] 6 GÍN MÍ.*E-zib-tú* : [finances a trading mission; likely same person as a)]	Assur (no/lost date; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Karānutu ("Grape cluster")	Akkadian	♀	PNA 2/1: 606 [A. Berlejung]	a) Ass. 1990-19 = IM 124682	a) MS Radner WVDOG I.41	a) line 3: MÍ.GEŠTIN-*nu-tú Mu-ṣur* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as b)]	Assur (not dated; probably reign of Assurbanipal)
				b) Ass. 1990-17a = IM 124680	b) MS Radner WVDOG I.43	b) line r3: [MÍ.GEŠTIN-*nu*]-*tú Mu-ṣur* [finances a trading mission; likely same person as a)]	Assur (not dated; probably reign of Assurbanipal)reign of Assurbanipal)
Urkittu-kallat ("The Urukite [= Ištar] is the daughter-in-law")	Akkadian	♀	PNA 3/2: 1416 [H.D. Baker]	Ass. 1990-30 = IM 124693	MS Radner WVDOG I.38	line 4: MÍ.*Ur-kit-kal-lat Mu-ṣur-tú* [finances a trading mission]	Assur (not dated; reign of Assurbanipal)

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued from previous/on next page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	♂ ♀	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Abši-Ešu (mng. unknown; may contain "Isis")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 1/1: 15 [R. Mattila]	83-1-18.461B = BM 83-1-18.461B	SAA 6, 311	lines 1–2: 1 m*lu–šá-kin* 2 [D]UMU mr*ab*?-*ši-e-šu* LÚ.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [father of Lu-šakin, seller in a house sale (see below)]	? (found at Nineveh; sale of a house in Bit-Eriba-ilu; 666)
Kiṣir-Aššur ("Host of Aššur")	Akkadian	♂	not in PNA under Kiṣir-Aššur; see Urdu-Nabû	Ass. 1990-120 = IM 124734	MS Radner WVDOG II.9	lines 5–8: 5 1*Ki-ṣir Aš-šur* 6 A 1ARAD–dPA *Mu-*[*ṣur*] 7 *ša* A*URU TA* *Aš-šur*.KI 8 [*iḫ*]-*li-ḫa-ni* [either: son of Urdu-Nabû, the Egyptian, who has fled from the town and land of Assur; or: the Egyptian, son of Urdu-Nabû, who has fled from the town and land of Assur; or: the Egyptian, who has fled from the town and land of Assur, the son of Urdu-Nabû (see below)]	Assur etc. (not dated; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Lu-šakin ("May he be placed!")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 2/2: 671 no. 14 (of 22) [A. Berle-Jung]	83-1-18.461B = BM 83-1-18.461B	SAA 6, 311	lines 1–2: 1 m*lu–šá-kin* 2 [D]UMU mr*ab*?-*ši-e-šu* LÚ.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [seller in a house sale; son of the Egyptian Abši-Ešu and brother(?) of Issar-duri (see below, in this table)]	? (found at Nineveh; sale of a house in Bit-Eriba-ilu; 666)
Mannu-kī-Nīnua ("Who is like Nineveh?")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 2/2: 695, 696 no. 13 (of 28) [H.D. Baker]	ND 7089 = IM 75789	CTN 3 34	lines 1–2: 1 1*man-nu-ki-*uruNINA 2 lú*mu-ṣur-a-a* [father of an unnamed daughter who is sold to the queen's household]	Kalhu (642*)
Qīšāia (hypocor. or "Granted by Aia")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/1: 1015 no. 2 (of 2) [J. Llop]	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16–r18: r16 rIGI m*bur–ki-*[*bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* r17 IGI m*bu–ti*?*-na-ah :* r18 IGI m*qi*?-r*ša*?-*a-a :* [witness in a property sale]	Assur (618*)
Šarru-lū-dāri ("May the king be eternal!")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1247, 1248 no. 12 (of 38) [H.D. Baker]	K 1353 = BM K 1353	SAA 10, 112	lines r11–r12: r11 mLÚ-GAL–*lu-da-ru* LÚ.*mi-ṣir-a-a* r12 rEN–MUN *šá* md+EN–ŠUR-*ir*¬ LÚ.EN.NAM *šá* URU.HAR.KI EN–MUN *šá* m*sa-si-ia* [accused of being a friend/ally of Bel-eṭir and Sasî and co-conspirator of Šuma-iddin in a letter to the king]	? (no place specified, found at Nineveh; not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Ṣil-Aššūr ("Shade [i.e. protection] of Aššur")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1171 no. 2 (of 10) [F.S. Reynolds]	K 294 = BM K 294	SAA 6, 142	lines 11–(e.)12: 11 mGIŠ.MI–*aš-šur* LÚ*.A.BA 12 LÚ*.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [scribe, buyer in a house sale]	Nineveh (692)

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued from previous/on next page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	♂ ♀	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Sukkāia	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/1: 1153, 1155f. no. 43 (of 53) [K. Radner]	a) Ass. 1990-10 = IM 124673	a) MS Radner WVDOG I.33	a) line r5: ^{I}TE-*a-a Mu-ṣur-a*-[*a*] [finances a trading mission; likely same person as b), possibly the same as c)]	Assur (not dated; after reign of Assurbanipal)
				b) Ass. 1990-21 = IM 124684	b) MS Radner WVDOG I.42	b) line 12: TE-*a-a Mu-ṣur-a*-[*a*] [finances a trading mission; likely same person as a), possibly the same as c)]	Assur (not dated; after reign of Assurbanipal)
				c) Ass. 1990-20 = IM 124683	c) MS Radner WVDOG I.37	c) line 7: ^{I}TE-*a-a* A *Mu-ṣur-a-a* [finances a trading mission; "son of an Egyptian" or "son of Muṣuraiu"? If same person as a) and/or b), then "son of an Egyptian"]	Assur (not dated; after reign of Assurbanipal)
Ṭab-Bēl ("The/My lord is good")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1339 no. 8 (of 9) [J. Llop]	Ass. 13319o = IstM A 1845	StAT 2, 273	lines 1–2: ^{m}DÙG.GA–EN [LÚ].*mu-ṣur-a-a* [seller of a female slave]	Assur (636*)
Urdu-Nabû ("Servant of Nabû")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1408, 1410 no. 13 (of 27) [K. Radner]	Ass. 1990-120 = IM 124734	MS Radner WVDOG II.9	lines 5–8: ^{5} ^{I}*Ki-ṣir Aš-šur* ^{6} A ^{I}ARAD–^{d}PA *Mu*-[*ṣur*] ^{7} *ša* A*URU TA* *Aš-šur*.KI ^{8} [*iḫ*]-*li-ḫa-ni* [either: father of Kiṣir-Aššur, the Egyptian, who has fled from the town and land of Assur; or: the Egyptian, father of Kiṣir-Aššur, who has fled from the town and land of Assur; or: the Egyptian, who has fled from the town and land of Assur, the father of Kiṣir-Aššur (see above)]	Assur etc. (not dated; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Urdu-Nanāja ("Servant of Nanāia")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1410, 1412 no. 20 (of 30) [K. Radner]	Ass. 1990-18 = IM 124681	MS Radner WVDOG I.35	lines 9–10: ^{9} MÍ.ITU.ŠU-*te Mu-ṣur* ^{10} DUMU.MÍ ^{I}ARAD-*Na-na-a* [father of Du'uzītu, who finances trading missions (see above)]	Assur (not dated; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Ta'lâ ("Fox" with hyper-cor.)	Aramaean	♂	PNA 3/2: 1305 no. 5 (of 5) [P. Talon]	Ass. 8520b = VAT 9685	SAAB 9, 77	line r13: IGI ^{I}*ta-al-la* LÚ*.*mu-ṣur-a‹-a›* [witness in a slave sale]	Assur (date lost; reign of Assurbanipal or later)
Bur-Kūbi ("Son of Kubu")	West Semitic	♂	PNA 1/2: 354; see PNAu	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16: ^{r16} ˹IGI˺ ^{m}*bur–ki*-[*bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [witness in a house sale]	Assur (618*)

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued from previous/on next page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	☥	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Šašmâ (hypocor based on *Ssm*)	(West) Semitic	☥	1253 no 1 (of 2) [M. Weszeli/R. Zadok (etym.)]	G/1696	T. Hadid, 2	line r4–r5: r4 [IGI m][*šá*]-*áš-ma*-A+A r5 rLÚr-mu-*ṣur*-A+A [witness in a debt (with pledge) case]	Gezer? (place not mentioned; found at Gezer; 664)
Hatpi-Napi ("May the Beautiful One be satisfied")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 2/1: 466 [R. Mattila]	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16–r19: r16 rIGIr mbur–*ki*-[*bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* r17 IGI m*bu–ti*ʾ-*na-ah* : r18 IGI m*qi*ʾ-rša-ʾ-*a-a* : r19 IGI m[*hat*]-*pi-na-pi* (":" missing in text or in edition?) [witness in a house sale]	Assur (618*)
Ḫur-waṣi ("Horus is sound")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 2/1: 481, 482 no. 3 (of 11) [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 7, 1	lines II.3–7: ii.3 m*hu-u-ru* ii.4 [m]*ni-mur-a-u* [ii.5 m*hu*]*r*ʾ-*u-a-ṣu* [ii.6 PAB 3] A.BA.MEŠ [ii.7*m*]*u-ṣur-a-a* [scribe in a court circle list]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Ḫūru ("Horus")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 2/1: 481 no. 1 (of 3) [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 7, 1	lines II.3–7: ii.3 m*hu-u-ru* ii.4 [m]*ni-mur-a-u* [ii.5 m*hu*]*r*ʾ-*u-a-ṣu* [ii.6 PAB 3] A.BA.MEŠ [ii.7*m*]*u-ṣur-a-a* [scribe in a court circle list]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Puṭi-Šīri ("The one whom Osiris has given")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 3/1: 1002 no. 1 (of 6) [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 7, 5	line r.I.20: r.i.20 m*pu-ṭi-š*[*i*ʾ-*ri* LÚ.*m*]*u*ˡ-*ṣur-a-a* [in list of officials]	Nineveh (no or lost date; late reign of Esarhaddon)
Tap-nahte ("His strength")	Egyptian	☥	PNA 3/2: 1311 no. 4 (of 4) [R. Mattila]	Ass. 18219pq = IstM A 1822	StAT 2, 77; StAT 3, 130	lines e7–8, r1: e7 m*pu-ṭi-bi-na*-[*x*] e8 A m*tap*ˡ-*na-aḫ*-[*te*] r1 LÚ.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [father of Puṭi-Bina[…], who is a borrower in a debt note (see below)]	Assur (643*)
Butinah (mng unknown)	Egyptian?	☥	not in PNA; see PNAu	Ass. 13319q = IstM A 1841	StAT 2, 207	lines r16–r17: r16 rIGIr m*bur–ki*-[*bu* L]Ú.*mu-ṣur-a-a* r17 IGI m*bu–ti*ʾ-*na-ah* : [witness in a house sale]	Assur (618*)
Puṭi-Bina[…] (mng. uncertain, Egyptian element *pꜣ-dj*-?)	Egyptian?	☥	PNA 3/1: 1001 [R. Mattila]	Ass. 18219pq = IstM A 1822	StAT 2, 77; StAT 3, 130	lines e7–8, r1: e7 m*pu-ṭi-bi-na*-[*x*] e8 A m*tap*ˡ-*na-aḫ*-[*te*] r1 LÚ.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [borrower in a debt note, son of Tap-nahte (see above)]	Assur (643*)
Niḫarā'u (mng. and reading uncertain)	Egyptian?	☥	PNA 2/2: 960 [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 7, 1; PNA 2/2, 960	lines II.3–7: ii.3 m*hu-u-ru* ii.4[m]*ni-mur/har-a-u* [ii.5 m*hu*]*r*ʾ-*u-a-ṣu* [ii.6 PAB 3] A.BA.MEŠ [ii.7 *m*]*u-ṣur-a-a* [scribe in a court circle list; SAA: *mur* / PNA: *har*]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhadon)

Table 1: The names of persons explicitly denoted as "Egyptians" in the Neo-Assyrian text corpus *(continued from previous page)*.

Name (PNA)	Origin of name	♂ ♀	PNA (bibl. ref.)	Source reference nos.	Text edition	Reference as "Egyptian"	Person active in/when
Uširiḫiuḫurti (mng. uncertain)	Egyptian?, probably Libyo-Egyptian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1422 [H.D. Baker/R. Mattila (etym.)]	Ass. 8642a = IstM A 1924	StAT 2, 53	line r9: ^{m}*ú-ši-ri-hi-ú-hur-ti* LÚ*.*mi-ṣir-ra-a-a* [witness in a property sale]	Guzana (700)
Persons usually referred to as (explicitly denoted as) "Egyptians" in academic works, although their identification is ambiguous							
X-gurši	?	♂	not in PNA	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 1, 7	lines I.12–15: $^{i.12}$ ^{rm}*x*$^{¬}$*-gúr^{i}-ši* $^{i.13}$ ^{mr}*ra*$^{¬}$*-a′-si-i* $^{ii.1}$ ^{mr}*ṣi*$^{¬}$*-hu-u* $^{ii.2}$ PAB 3 *har-ṭi-bi* [*hartibi* at the court (SAA 7, 1); their being "Egyptians" is inferred from the Egyptian (word of the Egyptian) profession]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Ra'sî (mng. unknown)	Egyptian?	♂	PNA 3/1: 1033 [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 1, 7	lines I.12–15: $^{i.12}$ ^{rm}*x*$^{¬}$*-gúr^{i}-ši* $^{i.13}$ ^{mr}*ra*$^{¬}$*-a′-si-i* $^{ii.1}$ ^{mr}*ṣi*$^{¬}$*-hu-u* $^{ii.2}$ PAB 3 *har-ṭi-bi* [see X-gurši]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Ṣi-ḫû ("The face [of DN] has said")	Egyptian	♂	PNA 3/2: 1177 no. 2 (of 4) [R. Mattila]	K 1276 = BM K 1276	SAA 1, 7	lines I.12–15: $^{i.12}$ ^{rm}*x*$^{¬}$*-gúr^{i}-ši* $^{i.13}$ ^{mr}*ra*$^{¬}$*-a′-si-i* $^{ii.1}$ ^{mr}*ṣi*$^{¬}$*-hu-u* $^{ii.2}$ PAB 3 *har-ṭi-bi* [see X-gurši]	Nineveh (not dated; reign of Esarhaddon)
Issār-Dūrī ("Ištar is my [protective] wall")	Akkadian	♂	PNA 2/1: 568, 570 no. 26 (of 32) [H.D. Baker]	83-1-18.461B = BM 83-1-18.461B	SAA 6, 311	lines 1–2: ^{1} ^{m}*lu–šá-kin* ^{2} [D]UMU ^{mr}*ab*$^{?¬}$*-ši-e-šu* LÚ*.*mu-ṣur-a-a* [seller in a house sale; there is no explicit evidence delineating Issār-Dūrī from an Egyptian. The argumentation is based on the observation that joint house possession is typically due to joint inheritance. Issār-Dūrī owns the house jointly with Lu-šakin, son of Abši-Ešu, an/the Egyptian. Even if they were brothers, they need not have the same father! (see above)]	? (found at Nineveh; sale of a house in Bit-Eriba-ilu; 666)
Menas(s)ê (derived from *nšy* "forget")	West Semitic	♂	PNA 2/2: 748, 749 no. 3 (of 3) [E. Frahm]	Ass. 14067c = VAT 8274	StAT 3, 105	line 2: ^{m}*me-na-se-e* ^{KUR}*ṣur-ra-a-*^{r}*a*$^{¬}$ [seller in a slave sale; according to the collation by B. Faist (StAT 3, 105) the emendation underlying the reading in PNA is not justified: Menas(s)ê is denoted as KUR.*ṣur-ra-a-a* ("man belonging to Tyros")]	Assur (634*)

Table 2: The names mentioned in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 *(continued on next page)*.

Name	Meaning of name	Origin of Name	Frequency of Occurrence	Bibliographic Reference (PNA)
Abba-…aya	?	?	?	not in PNA
Ni…ni	?	?	?	not in PNA
…ayâ	?	?	?	not in PNA
Huriri	mng. unknown	origin unknown	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	Ḫuriru; PNA 2/1, 480 [R. Mattila]
Qišeraya	mng. unknown	origin unknown	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53); in addition, 2 Qīšāia/Qīš-Aia known from Imgur-Illil (679) and Assur (618*)	PNA 3/1, 1015 [J. Llop]
Ribiṣiṣi	mng. unknown	origin unknown	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 3/1, 1015 [J. Llop][a]
Adad-ahu-uṣur	"O Adad, protect the brother!"	Akkadian	up to 4 further namesakes known: at Kurbail (791), Kalhu (734 + not dated) and Samana (reign of Assurbanipal)	PNA 1/1, 21f. no. 4 [P. Gentili]
Haya-ereš	"Haia has desired"	Akkadian	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	Ḫaia-ēreš; PNA 2/1: 439f. [C. Ambos][b]
Nabû-ahu-[…]	"Nabû […] the brother[s]" or "O Nabu, […] the brother[s]"	Akkadian	up to 10 further namesakes known: at Nineveh (687, 683?, 682?, 655, 7th c., probably 7th century), Assur (date lost), Kalhu (probably late 7th century), Dur-Katlimmu (probably late 7th century) and unknown/unprovenanced? (not dated)	PNA 2/2, 803 no. 4 [H.D. Baker][b]
Šamaš-bel-ketti	"Šamaš is the lord of justice"	Akkadian	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 3/2, 1193 [M. Groß]
Balliṭ-Ia	"Keep alive, O Ea!"; no comment in PNA	Akkadian; no comment in PNA	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNAu; cf. Balliṭ-Aššur (PNA 1/2, 260 [M. Luukko])
Il-nemeqi	"God is my wisdom"; no comment in PNA	Akkadian; no comment in PNA	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	Ilu-nēmēqī; PNAu
Ah-abi	"The father's brother"	West Semitic or Akkadian	frequent name, especially when including the Aram. or Arab. variant Ah-abû and the hypocor. Ahâ; in all up to 40 namesakes	PNA 1/1, 57 no. 3 [K. Fabritius]
Adda-bi'di	"Adda favors me"	Aramaean	up to 3 further namesakes known: at Guzana (late 9th or early 8th century), in the Balikh area (late 8th century) and as eponym (late 8th century)	PNA 1/1, 44 no. 3 [D. Schwemer]
Adda-sakâ	"Adda has looked out" or "Adda has looked at"	Aramaean	up to 6 further namesakes known: at Guzana (late 9th or early 8th century, early 7th century), Nineveh (± 700), Assur (mid-7th century), Dur-Katlimmu (early 7th century) and Abna[na?] (not dated)	PNA 1/1, 50 no. 2 [E. Lipiński / K. Radner (no. 5)]
Zanbalâ	"The carrier"	Aramaean	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53)	PNA 3/2, 1434 [E. Lipiński]

Table 2: The names mentioned in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 *(continued from previous/on next page)*.

Name	Meaning of name	Origin of Name	Frequency of Occurrence	Bibliographic Reference (PNA)
Mizi-Ia	mng. unknown	Aramaean?	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	or Mizia; PNA 2/2, 758 [H.D. Baker][b]
Ṣiranû	mng. unknown	Arabian?	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 3/1, 1177 [H.D. Baker / R. Zadok (etym.)]
(eponym: Mi[tunu])	("Where is Mitōn")	(Phoenician)	(up to 3 namesakes of the eponym)	(PNA 2/2, 758 no. 4d [M. Jursa])
Abarrâ	based on the root *'br* "to pile up"+*ā'*	West Semitic	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 1/1, 2 [T. Breckwoldt]; PNAu
Buraya	"Son of Ea"	West Semitic	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2, 53)	PNA 1/2, 353 [H.D. Baker]
Gabrî	"Man" or "The strong one"	West Semitic	up to 7 namesakes: at Guzana (late 9th or early 8th century), at Kalhu (late 8th century, mid-7th century, late 7th century or later?), at Nineveh (early 7th century) and at Zamahu (early 8th century)	PNA 1/2, 416 no. 5 [M.P. Streck]
Sama'	"He has heard" or similar	West Semitic	up to 5 namesakes: at Imgur-Illil (710), Kalhu (late 8th century, 638*), Nineveh (± 700) and unknown place (not dated)	PNA 3/1, 1081 no. 4 [C. Ambos]
Mini-ahhe	"possibly 'Who is my brother?'"	West Semitic	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53)	or Mini-aḫi; PNA 2/2: 753 [H.D. Baker][b]
Hanabeš	Hanabeš: mng. unknown	"origin unknown"	Hanabeš only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53);	PNA 2/1: 449 [H.D. Baker]
	Hallabeše: mng. unknown	"possibly Libyan" (citing Leahy)	up to 4 namesakes known for Hallabeše: at Guzana (early 7th century?), Nineveh (634*, late 7th century or later?) and Assur (late 7th century?)	PNA 2/1: 443 [R. Mattila / A. Schuster (4.)]
	Han/llabeš(e): no comment on mng.	Libyan	potential identification of Hallabeše/Hanabeš as referring to the same person	Draper 2015, 3–4
	mng. unknown	Egypto-Libyan	all potential Libyan antetypes known from Egyptian sources	*see comment in text*
Uširihiuhurti	mng uncert., probably containing the Egypt. theophoric element *wsjr*	Egyptian	only known from Ass. 8642a/IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53)	PNA 3/2: 1422 [H.D. Baker/R. Mattila]
	no comment on mng.	Libyan	*Wšjrhrt* on unprovenanced artifact supposed to date to the Egyptian "Libyan" dynasties, i.e. the 10th–8th centuries BCE	Draper 2015, 2–3
	mng. unknown	Egypto-Libyan	all potential Libyan antetypes known from Egyptian sources	*see comment in text*

Table 2: The names mentioned in Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924 *(continued from previous page)*.

Name	Meaning of name	Origin of Name	Frequency of Occurrence	Bibliographic Reference (PNA)
Alara	no comment in PNA	no comment in PNA	only known from Ass. 8642a / IstM A1924 (StAT 2 53)	PNAu
	mng. unknown	Hittite/Anatolian?, Kushite?	possibly related to Hittite name A-la-ra-na-du or Kushite royal name	*see comment in text*

[a] The information provided that Qišeraya is from Assur is unfounded, as this text is the only known evidence for this person, and it was written in Guzana, not in Assur. Whether it was still in the possession of Qišeraya when deposited in Assur is beyond assessment (see text, the section on "mobility of objects I: from Guzana to Assur").

[b] In all likelihood a resident of Guzana at the time, not of Assur as stated in PNA (see also note a).

Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections

Synthesis: Summaries and Responses

The Editors & Authors

Introduction

The workshop "People on the Move: Framework, Means, and Impact of Mobility across the East Mediterranean Region in the 8th to 6th Century BC," which formed the basis of this volume, aimed at tackling the question of how the increased cross-regional mobility of people and commodities in the wake of the Kushite, Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and early Achaemenid expansions to the eastern Mediterranean affected a) the actual people who were leaving their homeland; b) the communities left behind; and c) the communities receiving the travelers on a visit or for long-term residence. For the volume at hand, all authors were asked to provide a brief summary of their main lines of argument as well as a specific response as to how the presented data and their discussion may help to develop a cross-disciplinary research focus addressing these general questions, especially with regard to:

Preparation and departure: What routes and means of transport were preferable to others and why? What preparations are necessary? Who or what factors decided whether to leave or to stay? How were necessary stopovers organized? How did communities cope with the loss of specialists or of comparatively large percentages of their inhabitants?

On the way: What motivations for traveling can be discerned? What routes were used? What could happen during the trip? What kind of reception would one expect?

Arrival and reception: How were travelers housed? How did this affect the receiving private or institutional households? How did local "foreign" communities deal with the enhancement of their numbers? How did the decision to integrate oneself into their community or to keep one's distance affect these "foreign" communities, the local society as a whole, and the policy toward "foreigners"? Was long-term emigration the aim or the result of traveling?

Idan Breier: "'He Will Raise an Ensign to a Nation Afar, Whistle to One at the End of the Earth': The Assyrian and Babylonian Armies as Described in Prophetic Texts and Mesopotamian Inscriptions"

This article examines the accounts of the Assyrian and Babylonian armies' incursions westward as depicted by the classical biblical prophets and Mesopotamian sources. We noted firstly the difference in genre between the prophetic texts, which portray the imminent threat standing at the gates, and the cuneiform inscriptions, which extol the mighty feats of the king and his army. We saw that the invading troops are said to come "from a far-off land," covering the distance swiftly and easily, the troops being depicted in mythical proportions, speaking unknown and incomprehensible tongues. Rapidly razing fortified cities, they show no mercy to women, children, or the elderly, the fear they induce paralyzing even the most noble of the defenders and local leaders. They raise a tumult, their shouting and yelling mingling with the cries of the wounded begging for help, this clamor eventually giving way to a deathly silence. The area attacked is left in confusion and mayhem, no voices of life or joy being heard. The Mesopotamian sources give us a closely corresponding picture, boasting of their military capabilities and highlighting the miserable fate of any who lay in their path, in particular those who rebelled against them. In some cases, the prophets appear to have employed terminology taken from Assyrian propaganda. Finally, we adduced two later examples in order to throw the comparisons into relief. These indicate that despite the difference in time and place the invasions are described in very similar terms.

With respect to the questions that arose in the working group, the Assyrian and Babylonian invaders made a long overland trek from their homeland in Mesopotamia to reach their destination, on occasion even gaining the border of Egypt. In gender terms, they were military men and administrators who were exclusively male. Although they left their families behind them, most returned at the end of the campaign to the places whence they had set

out—the exceptions being the administrative officials and troops that remained to govern and keep peace and order. These armies appear to have set out from the birthplaces well equipped for warfare and with the engineering accoutrements required for the campaign. At the same time, as was also the case in Rome, they took advantage of local resources for laying sieges. Being the best military forces of the period, they were able to overcome the resistance they encountered from smaller kingdoms, the rulers of the latter on occasion indicating their submission by sending tribute long before the armies appeared on the horizon. Others, in contrast, refused to surrender until defeated by military force.

With respect to their contact with the local populace, the prophets highlight the language barrier. Modern research indicates, however, that ties were established between the elites, in particular during the reign of Manasseh and the height of the *Pax Assyrica*, when compliant Judah, accepting the yoke of the empire, enjoyed economic prosperity. The influence is evident both with regard to material and religious culture—a fact denounced in the biblical historiographical literature.

Dan'el Kahn: "Egypt and Assyria in Isaiah 11:11–16"

Isaiah 11:11–16 is one out of several prophesies in the Book of Isaiah dealing with the downfall of Assyrian power, the accompanying relief of oppression in the southern Levant and the return of Judean (and possibly Israelite) exiles. This contribution contextualizes the oracle in the mid-7th century BCE as part of the retraction policies of the Assyrian army from Egypt as most likely historical setting. The first line of argumentation constitutes an analysis of the toponymic list in Isaiah 11:11–12 a) as original entity and b) as displaying the dispersion of Judeans (and Israelites?) across the four corners of the earth listed in northeast–southwest and southeast–northwest axes. Key issues are the prominent positioning of Assyria in first place and the continuity of the line in the southwestern direction following the Assyrian expansion into Lower Egypt and toward the core regions of one of Assyria's main opponents: Upper Egypt and Kush (modern-day Sudan). A correlation of the toponymic list with the known and assumed diaspora communities in the Neo-Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian, and Achaemenid Empires suggests a best fit for the mid-7th century BCE.

The next step deals with the geographic identification of the *tongue of the Sea of Egypt* and the *splitting of the river into seven streams* in Isaiah 9:15–16, which are identified as the Nile and its delta branches as well as the paleo-lagoon in the northeastern area of the Pelusian branch of the Nile. The *drying out of the water to cross it on foot* is contextualized in the corresponding Egyptian literary imagery. The foreseen second exodus is finally identified as most likely referring to the hope of return of Judean soldiers and further exiles out of Egypt as part of and in the wake of the Assyrian army retreat from Egypt back to the Levant.

With regard to the key workshop questions, the principal aim of the contribution is to incorporate a further relevant source by re-dating Isaiah 11:11–16 into the socio-political context of the mid-7th century BCE. While the focus of the presentation is on the chronological and geographical re-contextualization, the source in question opens up many further issues relevant to the workshop: It highlights the importance as well as the possibility of positioning religious imagery in its historical as well as geographical context. This is facilitated by cross-disciplinary approaches, in case of the contribution at hand drawing on Biblical, Greek, Egyptian, and Assyrian sources. The case study also indicates practical information on potential travel routes between the eastern Nile delta and the southern Levant. Furthermore, it provides additional indications of Judeans as part of the Assyrian army and of (potentially) dissolving diaspora communities of Judeans (and Israelites?) in Egypt in the 7th century BCE.

Heidi Köpp-Junk: "Pharaonic Prelude—Being on the Move in Ancient Egypt from Predynastic Times to the End of the New Kingdom"

As the title of this article indicates, this section precedes the main focus of the volume temporally and is to be seen as a prologue. The article provides overview information and facts about the situation and developments from the Predynastic Period to the end of the New Kingdom. This analysis offers the reader the possibility of benefiting from an evaluation of a variety of sources from earlier periods that refer to the practical side of travel and mobility. It answers key questions from the workshop concerning the previous period and puts focus on factors affecting mobility and travel that remain constant. A very important finding is that a high degree of mobility is already attested in the period between the Predynastic and the end of the New Kingdom; it is not just an issue that first emerges in later periods, such as in Greco-Roman times with pleasure trips or touristic voyages by single representatives of the upper class. Moreover, the developmental trend indicates that the number of travelers increases over the course of time. Nevertheless, it would be unwise to make generalizations about the individual experience of travel and mobility.

Although the textual, iconographic, and archaeological sources from Egypt up to the end of the New Kingdom do not have traveling and mobility as their main theme, they highlight essential features. They reveal that travel and mobility were fundamental issues in Egyptian culture. The attested travelers originate from a variety of professions and from all levels of society. One of the most characteristic features for traveling in ancient Egypt up to the end of the New Kingdom is that private travels are only seldom recorded. In most cases the travelers are, according to the texts, on the move due to a kind of enhanced mobility. Furthermore, traveling women are rarely attested. But it can be nonetheless assumed that private traveling, as well as female mobility, occurred due to social reasons, such as visiting relations. The lack of evidence to support these kinds of travel is not specific but

due instead to a general dearth of source material. However, traveling was tiring, difficult, and dangerous, and could be even life threatening, since the voyager was exposed to natural hazards including wind, rain, and sandstorms, as well as to robberies. Therefore, it should be assumed that people avoided traveling unless they were required to do so.

The modes of travel and transport an individual could choose depended on his financial background. On overland travels, members of the lower classes had to travel on foot, since it was the easiest and cheapest way to move. The use of donkeys as mount animals would presuppose that one was able to afford them. The elite traveled by palanquin and, since the New Kingdom, by chariot. Sledges, carts, and wagons were not used in ancient Egypt as a mode of passenger locomotion, but only for transport. All in all, carts and wagons are very seldom attested in the textual, archaeological, and iconographical sources. The same applies to ridden horses and donkeys. The chariot was not restricted to warfare, but it was also a highly esteemed vehicle of the elite and served as prestigious mode of locomotion for both men and women in civil contexts. On the waterway, a variety of boats and ships allowed the traveler to reach his destination in comfort with relative efficiency, so that even very long distances could be covered with comparative ease. For the transport of very heavy cargoes, the waterway was preferred as far as it was possible with regard to the destination.

Different kinds of accommodation are documented, even though no guest houses, such as ones known from later times, have been shown to have existed. Since the Old Kingdom, travelers on official duty and members of the elite could provision themselves at temples and depots. For messengers on chariots, special stations were available.

In addition, the emotional life of the traveler, as well as the psychological impact the location change had on him, is very rarely treated as an issue in the texts, be it referring to the traveler, to those he left behind, or to the host society. Feelings that are stated referring to the traveler are, e.g., loneliness, annoyance about the strange surrounding, and worrying about the family that was left behind. Although travel was surely a great experience for those who were on the move, the emotional aspect received remarkably little attention in the Egyptian texts mentioning travel and mobility. This is evidently due to the nature of the sources, since in other texts from the New Kingdom, such as the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs, feelings are addressed in great detail.

Alexander Schütze: "The Standard of Living of the Judean Military Colony at Elephantine in Persian Period Egypt"

The aim of this paper is to apply research questions and methodological approaches of economic history in order to get new insights into the daily life of the Judeans at Elephantine. The Judean military colony of Elephantine provides the unique opportunity to combine both archaeological and papyrological evidence for the study of the living conditions of a foreign settlement in the Persian period. Three concepts for the evaluation of the standard of living were discussed: wheat wages, the calculation of the caloric value of rations, and the comparison of household sizes.

The concept of wheat wages is a very simple method to convert data on rations as remuneration into a measure that is comparable with data from other regions or time periods. The application of this method revealed that the provision of the military colonists at Elephantine with rations of barley was relatively modest compared with data from other regions and epochs provided by Walter Scheidel. The calculation of the caloric value of cereals gives a basic idea of how many people could be fed by the rations provided. The caloric value of the monthly payments of barley at Elephantine was obviously not sufficient to feed a whole family. Thus, only the combination with payments in silver may have provided a sufficient income for the military colonists and their families.

Both Aramaic papyri and the archaeological record provide data on the size and design of households at Elephantine. The size of households is a rather simple proxy for comparing living conditions of different settlements. The settlement at Elephantine consisted of modest houses (33–56 m^2) sufficient to house nuclear families of 4–5 people. The buildings at Elephantine constituted an entirely new type of housing with considerable consequences for the organization of social life. A comparison with excavations at Syene and Tell el-Herr indicates that the living quarter at Elephantine was an example for a more or less uniform type of settlement for foreign military colonists in Persian period Egypt although substantial differences in the size of houses at Elephantine/Syene and Tell el-Herr are observable. Due to the limited space, commonly shared facilities (e.g., for bread production) were in use.

All three approaches, wheat wages, the calculation of the caloric value of rations, and the comparison of household sizes allow converting disparate data into a currency that is universally comparable. Limitations of these approaches are uncertainties regarding the actual size of measures like the artaba and the limited data available for analysis. They, however, provide the opportunity of comparing living conditions of people from different regions and epochs. The paper, thus, provides new perspectives for the comparison of foreign settlers in the context of ancient Near Eastern empires in the 1st millennium BCE.

Thomas Staubli: "Cultural and Religious Impacts of Long-Term Cross-Cultural Migration Between Egypt and the Levant"

The increase of cross-cultural learning as a consequence of intensified travelling and migration between Egypt and the Levant during the Iron Age happened after millennia of migration in earlier times. The Proto-Hamito-Semitic

language and Levantine burial customs in northern Egypt illustrate at an early stage the migration of ideas, mentalities and customs along with people. Triggered by the first expansion of Egypt to the Levant during the Twelfth dynasty, Semitic-speaking immigrants in Egypt developed the alphabetic script on the base of the Egyptian characters. During the Fifteenth Dynasty the intensive migration in the regions caused a creolization of the population in the eastern delta and in parts of the Levant. The Amarna experiment and the cosmotheism of the Eighteenth Dynasty presuppose a multicultural society due to migration, mainly from the Levant. The Ramessides built their own capital, Pi-Ramesses, in the delta, nearby Avaris. They venerated Set, the Egyptian adaptation of the Canaanite Baal, as dynastic god, as well as other Canaanite gods.

The material culture of the centers of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah still reflects the long-lasting affiliation with Egypt. Under the pressure of the Mesopotamian aggressors, the exchange with and migration to Egypt is stronger than ever before. The biblical stories of the patriarchs reflect the Levantine-Egyptian koine of that time. Abraham figures as progenitor of the Canaanite-Egyptian koine, Jacob is mourned and honored by the Egyptians, Joseph rules in Egypt as a Pharaoh, the Hebrew Moses is educated by Egyptians, married to a Midianate and saves his people with a Midianite god. Thus, the Egyptian-Levantine koine is incorporated in the migrating founding fathers of the Israelite narratives. Furthermore, the Joseph story processes Egyptian literature: the Sinuhe story and the Bata story, both of which take place partly in the Levant. On a legal level, the Egyptians are a privileged group in Israel and on a theological level they are even seen as a "people of YHWH."

The imprint of migration and mutual cultural appreciation is evident in the imagery of stamp seals, the local mass medium, as has been demonstrated exemplarily for the early and late Palestinian series of the Middle Bronze Age, for the falcon-headed god, Baal-Set, Ptah, the striding light-god, and Harpocrates. From the iconography it becomes apparent that the themes of the epoch under research, the 8th–7th centuries BCE, are connected with earlier periods and with later periods as well.

This sketch of the cultural-religious *histoire de longue durée* of the Levantine-Egyptian relationship offers the view that Judaism and Christianity, universal religions of a new kind, are the multiform results of deeply deliberated transformational processes in two or (if we include northwestern Arabia) three regions with a very different physical nature, but at the same time a long-lasting, intense exchange on all levels of human life. More and more people in the region understood that the feelings of justice and the experiences of love and forgiveness here or there are similar and more important than local manifestations of Gods and their animosities. As a result, in these new religions the communities and their solidarity became more important than the country, and as a consequence the local temple cults were replaced by communitarian houses of prayer, study, and care.

It should be noted however, that the two regions never fused into one single political entity. It was precisely the koine of two different cultures that was so fruitful. The downside of the koine is the production of negative images on both sides as a result of cultural conflicts and traumata. The Deuteronomistic view of Egypt as a place of slavery and oppression has uncritically been generalized as Egypt's general image in the Bible by generations of biblical scholars. However, as demonstrated, there are good reasons to assume that migration, acculturation, creolization, and reciprocal learning, as well as understanding and appreciation, were much more characteristic realities in daily life in the region of northern Egypt and the Levant.

Melanie Wasmuth: "Cross-Regional Mobility in ca. 700 BCE: The Case of Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924"

This contribution provides a detailed source criticism regarding cultural diversity and cross-regional mobility for a specific case study: a property sale deed written in Guzana, modern-day Tall Halaf in 700 BCE, excavated in the debris of a house in Assur, modern-day Qal'at aš-Šerqāṭ, and kept in the Archaeological Museum Istanbul (Ass. 8642a/IstM A 1924). The artifact is examined with respect to its archaeological and archival context, the persons involved in the contract (who are to a high percentage newcomers to Guzana or by nature of their profession or status explicitly denoted as temporarily staying there), and the additional information on cross-regional mobility to be gleaned from the history of object mobility of the artifact. Key issue is the separation of source-inherent and academically inferred information, which allows to highlight a much wider scope of interpretation than usually acknowledged in current academic research—even potentially reversing the direction of long-distance mobility. The three aspects taken into closer consideration concern the academically inferred identifications on the basis of etymologically foreign names, the interpretation of geography-related identifiers as ethnicons, gentilics, or toponyms referring to former or current places of living, and the hierarchical or parallel structure of identifying appositions, especially in the case of cited patronyms. The discussion is completed with two brief résumés on the source's potential for investigating the degree and impact of cultural diversity in ancient societies and for opening up research questions on the practicalities of cross-regional mobility. Principal issues of the latter are a brief discussion of the term and implications of the identifier *ubaru* ("visitor"), which is ascribed to three of the witnesses of the sale, and the potential reasons behind purchasing a (house with) bath in Guzana, the deed of which is later to be found in Assur.

With reference to the volume's general topic, this contribution demonstrates the background of its underlying workshop design: the rather obvious existence of intensive long-distance mobility and subsequent

cultural diversity already in the foremath of the first "world empires" and the difficulty of researching them in the current academic organizational setup and due to various sources-inherent difficulties, although they might be mostly overcome within a large-scale cross-disciplinary research context. The aim is not to provide answers to the various research question posed and even articulated as a research agenda on the practicalities and social impact of this mobility, but to exemplify their need and potential lines of investigation by a specific case study.

In addition to the issue of Assyriological source criticism focusing on the interpretation of geographic identifiers, etymologically foreign names, and parallel vs. hierarchical sentence structures for identifying phrases, the contribution highlights various pragmatic and conceptual questions with regard to cross-regional mobility: What is perceived as Egypt/*miṣir* in times of conflicting claims to control and of increasing cultural diversity? Which features characterized contemporary perceptions of cultural entities, exemplified by "Aramaic" as well polyglottic societies? To which extent is the ancient perception of persons of (geographically) foreign origin as ingroup members of social, administrative or economic relevance? Furthermore, research questions and data sets that may allow illustrating some administrative issues of housing travelers and defining their administrative status are pointed out.