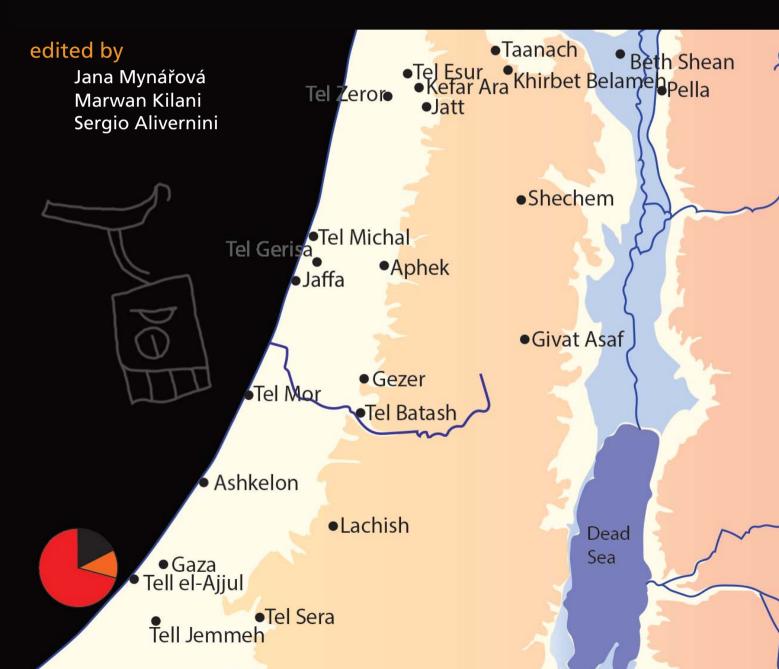# A Stranger

## in the House –
## the Crossroads III.

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

edited by
Jana Mynářová
Marwan Kilani
Sergio Alivernini

Taanach
Beth Shean
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Tel Mor
Tel Batash

Ashkelon

Lachish

Dead
Sea

Gaza
Tell el-Ajjul

Tel Sera
Tell Jemmeh

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

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

Gaëlle Chantrain

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Keywords*: Ugarit – Hittites – House of Urtenu – Alalaḫ – vassal's obligations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

*Keywords*: Egypt – Levant – early 18th Dynasty – material culture – military

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Marta Valerio

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

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

Sarah Vilain

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

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

Federico Zangani

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

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

## Preface

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In Prague on July 21, 2019

Jana Mynářová, Marwan Kilani,
and Sergio Alivernini

# Contributors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# "THE MEN OF URA ARE A HEAVY BURDEN UPON YOUR SUBJECT!": THE ADMINISTRATION AND MANAGEMENT OF STRANGERS AND FOREIGNERS IN UGARIT

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## Preface

King Niqmepa of Ugarit complained to the Hittite king Ḫattusili III about the growing economic power of foreign merchants within Ugarit, stating that, in Beckman's translation, "The men of Ura are a heavy burden upon your subject".[1] These merchants were, at least in King Niqmepa's conception, foreigners at Ugarit (Ura was in Cilicia) and it would seem that their economic power within Ugarit, leveraged through debt relationships, had become too great. The juridical ruling of the Hittite king was that these merchants were not allowed to own real estate in Ugarit and that real estate could not be used to fulfill debt obligations owed towards them. However, individual Ugaritians could enter into service with them as a means of fulfilling debt obligations. Furthermore, the merchants of Ura were only allowed to be physically present at Ugarit during favorable seasons, seemingly based on the concern that they might be stranded their permanently (more on that shortly).[2]

The particular case of the merchants of Ura points to a number of interesting issues related to the subject of foreigners at Ugarit. Minimally it attests to the presence of foreigners with what could be described as a liminal residency status. That is to say they are not permanent residents but their presence at the site (both physically but perhaps economically and politically) was sufficient enough to make Ugaritians nervous about that presence. That the merchants of Ura were not necessarily welcome at Ugarit is hinted at through some of the actions that were known to have been taken against them. RS 17.319 records an instance when they were robbed (their property was ordered restored) and so one must presume that the presence of foreigners was contested in different ways, such as by criminal acts or violence being enacted against them. The Hittite king's role in the dispute resolution shows that the internal administration of Ugarit lacked final authority over the presence and activities of these merchants within the kingdom and that the resolution of disputes had both formal and informal qualities. The formal qual-

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[1] For a translation of this text, see text 32 in Beckman 1999: 177. It is preserved in three copies: RS 17.130, RS 17. 461, and RS 18.03. See the original publications in PRU 4, 103–104.

[2] For more on this historical situation, see Klengel 1992: 137 and Singer 1990: 660–664.

ities are reflected by the juridical role of the king of the Hittites and the legal mechanisms and processes that inform the resolution of the dispute. Yet there is an *ad hoc* element to this situation that is resolved through international correspondence. The decision of the Hittite king further informs about Hittite views of what constitutes fair obligations in respect to foreign merchants. It is fine for these foreign merchants to press Ugaritians into service in fulfillment of debt obligations. The holding of real estate, however, lies beyond the scope of what foreigners should be allowed. The people are alienable but the land is not. Debt was clearly recognized as a fundamental means through which relations were structured, through which foreigners could become entangled with locals, and so was subject to juridical oversight.

## The Construction of Difference in the City

The site of Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra), located on the Mediterranean coast of Syria has been identified as a locus of Late Bronze Age cosmopolitanism since the first excavations in 1929 under the direction of Claude Schaeffer. The varieties of material culture and languages attested at the site, seemingly Hittite, Hurrian, Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Aegean, and Canaanite led scholars to presume that the city was a lynchpin of eastern Mediterranean trade. As the political history of the site has become clearer over the past almost one hundred years of research and scholars have gained a greater understanding of the hybridity of LBA North Syrian material culture it is now possible to complicate our understanding of the issue of foreigners and strangers as manifest at Ugarit.

It may be useful to shift the focus of this issue: rather than considering how difference was found at the site and at the city, it may be interesting to think about how difference was made at the city. This shift of focus references two levels of thinking about Ugarit. The first level shifts our thinking from the kind of simplistic approach to ethnicity and difference that was typical of culture-history approaches in archaeology, where material correlates directly to some fixed, stable, and unchanging category that presumes that Late Bronze Age people shared nineteenth-century AD conceptualizations of identity. This is not necessarily new; post-processualists have been critiquing these kinds of "pots equal people" readings since the 1980s. Yet this older logic of otherness is charismatic and often lurks beneath otherwise sophisticated understandings of the geo-political realities of the Late Bronze Age. Thus, this paper shall examine difference as something that was continuously negotiated, was dynamic, and possibly, but not necessarily, corresponded with contemporary methods for defining and negotiating difference.

The second level of thinking is at more of a metahistorical level for it involves shifting the discussion of otherness from something that archaeologists "find" in the archaeological record to something that archaeologists, philologists, and art historians "make" from their interactions with the archaeological record. This does not mean that scholars cannot find evidence for difference that is meaningful or perhaps corresponds to some kind of historical truth. What is emphasized here is that a greater degree of complexity of consideration of otherness should be allowed for than merely postulating national, ethnic, or perhaps religious difference

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as primary and fixed categories predicated on rigid ontologies. Otherness should be taken as a process not a fact.

Over the course of this paper, rather than providing an overarching view of how otherness was manifest at Ugarit and what life was like for strangers, and rather than explaining a series of set conditions in which strangeness functioned at Ugarit, different moments within the operation of otherness shall be examined as exemplars of these processes. Here the approach is explicitly bottom-up rather than top-down. The paper takes specific situations that are explicitly apparent from an evidentiary perspective and uses those as examples of potential other past moments and situations. Thus, for this paper, I have selected different evidence that relates to the questions upon which this conference volume has been predicated and have selected different bodies of critical theory that can be invoked to make sense of these situations.

Who were "others" at Ugarit then? While Ugarit is often associated with Canaanite culture in contemporary scholarship with qualifications, it is clear from the Ugaritic texts that Ugarit was not perceived to be part of Canaan in antiquity. The textual record from Ugarit also clearly distinguishes Egyptians, presumably Cypriotes, and others in a manner that seems consistent with Ugaritians deeming people from these regions as foreign (as one would expect). Issues are less clear when dealing with Hittite and Hurrian culture and in terms of identifying boundaries within Syria. Similarly, the administration of locations within the kingdom of Ugarit but outside of the city points to more complex forms of identification beyond simple self and other. The territorial boundaries of Ugarit's kingdom are clear from the Hittite treaties and so there is a sense in which the conceptions of who is part of and who is not part of the kingdom is established by an external polity. Van Soldt (1999: 769–773) has studied this issue in great detail and has noted that there is a consistent ordering of site names listed in the administrative documents related to the periphery and concludes that there was some kind of administrative division of the periphery. This issue shall be returned to later but the use of toponyms in these lists presupposes some element of difference from Ugarit but formally, the borders of who is Ugaritian and who is not are established by the Hittite king. For everyday life, however, this probably meant the simple of binary of foreign or not foreign was blurrier than usually presumed. Can an administrative act of the Hittites make an urban Ugaritian feel a sense of connectedness with someone from a rural location more than a day's walk from the city? Operating from a patrimonial model, a scholar would assume "yes" and from a two-sector perspective, a scholar would assume "no". Perhaps both are correct and the feelings of connectedness were inconsistent not only with different people and places but constantly shifting.

## Thinking about the City

Since this particular paper is predicated upon the construction of otherness at the level of the city, it is useful to start out at that scale of consideration. Thinking about what a city actually "is" or "was" has become more complicated as scholars have come to realize that an urban environment was not a monolithic space and

that becoming urban was not simplistic as a binary urban or non-urban. "The Urban Mind" project, under the IHOPE umbrella, presumes from the outset that urbanism needs to be understood in relation to, not distinct from, human cognition (Sinclair 2010: 12–13). Take for example Ben Jervis's recent work on Medieval British towns. By employing a form of assemblage theory (Jervis 2018: 141–142), he is able to illustrate that the city is not just physical, bounded space but a form of social performance. The performance of urbanism by the actors within the city space actually shapes different aspects of life and thus the city is not just a reflection of social roles but an agent of their creation. Fluidity, rather than stability is to be expected, even if the archaeological record is suggestive of one particular moment in the process of being urban.

As already mentioned, the city is understood here as a location where difference is made not where it is found. This conceptualization is borrowed from the field of human geography and specifically from the work of Engin Isin and others who have built on that work. Julie Young (2011: 544) characterizes Isin's readings of the city as: "a 'difference machine' because it is a space in which differences are labelled and perpetuated through spatial practices and technologies of governance". The city is not a monolith but a spatial location in which numerous individuals who varying align themselves with others in the city in different ways negotiate and live their lives while consciously and unconsciously making sense of otherness. Perhaps residency may seem like a fundamental constraint on the sense of self or other manifest at Ugarit. Certainly, it was a potentially contested status as evidenced by the merchants of Ura incident. Yet as shall be explored, residency is not the sole defining trait of non-foreign-ness and different factors play a role in who is welcomed in the city as part of the power of the city was as a meeting place for different individuals. Perhaps the observation of Patricia Wood (2006) that people outside of the city must go to the city to engage in politics is relevant for consideration of Late Bronze Age life, and that even though she is discussing a situation that emerged out of industrial capitalism, perhaps we can see situations where this is true before the emergence of that structuring of economic relationships. In a Late Bronze Age context, can we think of a dominant modality that imposes a normative model of who belongs where and legitimizes certain locations for encounters with the other? Or, is this anachronistic and is the process of legitimization and access one that emerges *ad hoc* from lived practice? Furthermore, the evidence at Ugarit suggests that power relations were also manifest more complexly than merely foreigner versus self and that economic wealth and status of both categories further complicated issues. While we often think of the foreigner as "precarious" in a Late Bronze Age context and travel literature of the ancient Near East seems to support this, other evidence suggests that the city may have been a more precarious location for poor individuals within Ugarit who would not have been considered foreigners. Wealthy foreigners seemed to have experienced the city with a level of privilege that was alien to non-elite resident Ugaritians.

Rather than thinking of the city as an almost primordial, bounded and coherent entity in which the stranger is a similarly bounded and coherent entity that is in full juxtaposition to the city, this paper shall attempt to make this dichotomy

messier. David Seitz's (2016) use of queer theory in the context of contemporary human geography is helpful for he uses it to invoke unstable identities that are formed more out of power relations than any particular connection. Thus, people with little to do with one another end up with shared identity; in the case of this volume, did those constituted as "foreigners" at Ugarit bear a shared identity? Or is this a latter scholarly imposition? Using Amin's notion of micropublics (2002: 976), this paper shall explore some of the locations of everyday life in which identities like "foreigner" or "stranger" may emerge or be elided. It shall explore specific instances, constituted as spatial locations of interactions or as administrative moments in which identity is imposed, negotiated, or asserted and presumes that there is a situational flexibility in these constitutions of identity.

For Julie Young (2011: 535–536), who studies contemporary issues of refugee status, the city is a place of contestation where, as she explains in regards to young refugees in Toronto (2011: 566), "their ascribed identities as non-citizens are negotiated in everyday spaces and relations of the city". For her, it is the intersection of everyday life and bureaucratic imposition that lead to the ascription and negotiation of different statuses and these statuses do not remain stable in all spaces of the city. For Young (2011: 536), "notions of hospitality and sovereignty exclude people from membership in the state" but, simultaneously, what she refers to as the practice of the city by its inhabitants, the lived experiences of navigating the city, provide alternative means of belonging that lie outside identities defined by the state. Despite the temporal difference between Young's Toronto refugees and the Late Bronze Age, her approach offers opportunities for thinking about the ancient world because she concentrates on urban refugees' interaction with the city since it is through municipal affairs that these individuals engage with the state materially, not merely in an abstract ideological form.

## Urban legibility

That urban design plays a role in people's engagement with a city environment is a presupposition of much work in human geography. One of the classic books in this field, Kevin Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960) established a now seemingly self-evident concept in urban design of "legibility" (Lynch 1960: 2–6). It is a concept that moves urban design out of simple considerations of physicality by demonstrating how cognitive issues such as memory, sensation, emotion, and symbol all interact as the individual passes through the urban environment. It presumes that cities have both temporal and spatial elements, with components created by many different people with diverse motivations, and are experienced differently by individuals in embodied fashions that are framed by a variety of factors that are not consistent. For strangers or foreigners, the embodied experience of the city is a fundamental, potentially troubling, but perhaps unconscious means through which a sense of "out-of-placeness" is established. How legible the city is has implications for those experiences. For Lynch (1960: 49–83) there are five components of urban legibility, all of which there is evidence for at Ugarit: paths (how one moves through the city); edges (essentially borders although not necessarily explicitly marked as such); districts (spaces of common function or

status); nodes (locations like squares); and landmarks (visually distinct physical features that act, perhaps unintentionally, as important spatial markers).

The question that this poses for the discussion here is how "legible" was Ugarit to foreigners? In relation to urban legibility, Pamela Robinson (2018: 30) uses the design competition for the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste facility in Nevada as an interesting point of entry. This was not a competition to make a real set of signage but rather an artistic exhibition intended to expose the problems associated with the long-term storage of nuclear waste. The fundamental question is how to make a warning sign that will be effective for 10,000 years; presuming language changes and other changes to the cognitive elements of legibility, how can a sign explain the dangers of nuclear waste in a way that will remain legible for the 10,000 years over which such waste will still be dangerous? Invoking the Yucca Mountain exhibition in the context of a discussion of the Late Bronze Age brings up two interesting issues: what elements of urban legibility are still intelligible to us three thousand years after their use; and, what elements of urban legibility would have made the city comprehensible to non-residents at the time? Perhaps the first question will be answered indirectly here; the second should be addressed explicitly and so here the discussion will be oriented along Lynch's components of urban legibility.

## Paths

Thinking about paths, the roads in the city of Ugarit were, as is expected, the main means of orienting movement throughout the city. Yon's analysis of the road infrastructure of the site suggests a generally *ad hoc* approach to the planning, construction, and maintenance of these paths (Yon 1992b: 25–27; Callot – Yon 1995: 161). Terrain was not leveled before the construction of the roads and the width of the streets is highly variable throughout the site, although most would readily facilitate the movement of wagons and animals. In particular, the roads around the palace seem to have been more labyrinthine than elsewhere and while perhaps not purposefully intended to limit access, provided invisible social messages that others were not welcome. However, the excavators have identified a major thoroughfare in the middle of the city that they have designated "main street" (Yon 2006: 85). In the location excavated, this north-south thoroughfare is intersected by a large east-west road, suggesting that this would have been the main road for traffic in the city. To the north, this road likely leads to a major plaza in the "south city" and southwards seems to lead directly to a bridge over the Nahr ed-Delbeh. This main street also seems to be surrounded by very high quality buildings, of the construction type typical of the elite areas. Of course, it is not just the physical movement facilitated by paths that conveys meaning. The paths are framed by various kinds of material culture that offer their own messages. For example, the roads leading into ancient Rome communicated directly to visitors who the most powerful families in the city where. This emerged out of Roman prohibitions against burial within the city; mausoleums were not forbidden directly outside of the city so monuments to the dead, through their varying degrees of lavishness, communicated important information about whose descendants were the most

important people within the city. Monumental and public architecture within Rome and other Roman cities that flanked different paths functioned similarly. Visitors to Ugarit, walking along the main street would have seen imposing monumental architecture on either side, have been somewhat limited in being able to actually gain access to those regions, and would have seen the acropolis and acropolis temples from these vantage points.

### Nodes

A number of nodes where roads meet and space widens into plazas are discernible. The "main street" likely led up to a plaza in the south city and between the fortifications and palace another plaza has also been discerned. The royal plaza was demarcated by walls and benches surrounding the walls suggest that this was a location that allowed the possibility of lingering (Yon 2006: 35). Staircases led up to the acropolis and the temples themselves have walls that delimit large enclosures. Thus, the ritual space would have acted as nodal space but likely access to these nodes was limited based on liturgical and other criteria.

### Edges

While the large buildings and narrow side roads (in comparison to the wide main road) would have presented potentially permeable borders, more significant edges to the urban space where the walls and gates. As with other Levantine cities, Middle Bronze Age Ugarit likely featured a substantial fortification system, which, in the Late Bronze Age, was reused and heavily modified (Yon 2006: 31). The best understood wall and gate complex is that on the western edge of the tell that gave access to the palace. Its exact appearance at the last phase of Ugarit's habitation is not clear but at least at some point in the city's history, it was an impressive, monumental structure flanked by a tall tower. The complex certainly signaled the control of access to this part of the tell and to the royal complex.

### Districts

Distinct districts of the city have been identified by the excavators and these could be generally categorized as the royal zone, the elite area, the domestic quarters, and the acropolis. The physical construction and layout of these different zones signals the distinctiveness of these sectors. The acropolis was set apart by its height in relation to the rest of the tell. The elite and palatial zones feature fine ashlar construction in comparison to the cramped spacing and less high quality building materials used in the residential areas. The different zones would likely have been readily apparent to strangers to the city.

### Landmarks

A number of different landmarks would have also been legible to strangers. The palace would have been very obvious. Almost 7000 square meters, the palace was constructed in numerous stages through the Late Bronze Age. Made of finely

hewn ashlars, and cut timbers, the palace was by far the largest structure on the Late Bronze Age mound, and an imposing symbol of authority. Yon has suggested that access to the palace was limited and that entrance was gained through the western side (Yon 1997: 48). This was in keeping with other major Levantine cities of the Late Bronze Age where palaces were located not on the acropolis but on the western edge of the site near a gate system. Thus, strangers to the city who were at least familiar with Levantine cities would have found the palace where it was expected. The palace and activities related to foreigners will be returned to later but it should be noted that the physical structure of the palace offered easily legible arguments about royal authority.

The temples on the acropolis were likely the most readily apparent landmarks and likely would have been legible as such to strangers to the city. Both the Temple of Baʿl and the Temple of Dagān would have been visible from outside of the city and from most exterior locations within the city (Yon 2006: 106). That seventeen stone anchors were found within the courtyard of the Baʿl temple suggests that sailors offered their thanks or requested favour from Baʿl in this location (Yon 2006: 110). If at least some of these anchors can be presumed to have been offered by non-residents, than here is evidence for the kinds of activities that foreigners engaged in at the site. However, this cannot be known for certain so a softer claim is that at the very least the visitor to the city would have had visual cues of the importance of this cultic activity and the prominence of these temples within the community.

## Urban Legibility Conclusion

Based on this brief survey of the materiality of urban Ugarit, some key elements of legibility in Lynch's sense are readily apparent. Parts of the city were extremely legible for the foreigner. The palace location was consistent with Late Bronze Age norms and the acropolis temples were likely apparent as such from far outside of the city's confines. A southern entrance and large main street channeled the flow of people and goods axially into the city and the few plazas that have been identified suggest that spatial nodes for lingering were available. The distinct architecture of different locations told visitors where they were to some extent and nodal control points, like near the palace, allowed for the management of access. Despite what may look like a complex urban environment depending on the scale of map viewed, specific sections of the city would have been highly legible to foreigners and the areas that were less legible, like the domestic areas, were where less legibility would have been expected (and would have been less appropriate space for visitors to enter, so that lack of legibility fulfilled a function as well). Much of Ugarit could be described as an "open city", one that enables and encourages unpredictable encounters between people who did not necessarily know one another (Sennett n.d.).

## Regulations and International Law

Moving away from embodied experiences of the city, considering the more abstract issues of law and regulation, did the city constitute a level of ancient emic

thinking about difference? It would seem so from the ample textual evidence in which that is presupposed by the authors. This issue shall be returned to again in a discussion of administrative categories used in specific administrative moments. From the Hittite juridical and administrative perspective, certainly Ugarit, as a city with a hinterland, was a meaningful designation of otherness and was understood as a distinct polity.

There is multiple evidence that illustrates that there were administrative means of regulating foreignness at the site. For example, there is some contestable evidence that trade concessions at Ugarit could be purchased. This is indicated by administrative tablets in which the term *ntbt* is employed. The word, which may have cognates in Aramaic and Eblaite, seems to have a base meaning of "path". Sasson (1966: 136) and Astour (1970: 120) equate it with Akkadian *ḫarrānu* and Sumerian KASKAL, which both mean not only road but trade venture. In KTU 2.36, Egypt is said to have a *ntbt* through Ugarit and in 4.366, an individual purchases one for 220 units of gold. While the mechanisms of this are not clear from the evidence, it seems that foreigners could purchase rights to economic activities within the kingdom.

As already discussed in terms of the well-known merchants of Ura case, extra-municipal legal obligations seemed to have facilitated and regulated the movement of foreigners into and out of the city. Sauvage (2011: 435–436) has argued that the activities of merchants were highly regulated through a complex series of diplomatic policies and laws. Basing her analysis on the Hittite legal corpus, Ugaritic correspondence, and stories like Wenamun, she has shown that the safety of traders was one of the key issues addressed in this fashion. When traders were robbed, even if this was by the actions of individuals and not the state, as Sauvage argues (2011: 429), punishment or restitution was made at the international level. She argues that this indicates that the traders were "controlled by the throne in their own country" (Sauvage 2011: 431) but this does not need to have been the case. These traders may have been acting independently, and as Routledge and I have argued elsewhere, the distinction between public and private is not so clear cut in the Late Bronze Age (Routledge – McGeough 2009). Rather, the state-based level of compensation reflects how the larger international system of the Late Bronze Age facilitated the movement of peoples by providing protection for both foreigners and people who welcomed foreigners through recourse to a judicial authority beyond the scale of the individual. These travelers need not have been directed by their home thrones; rather they need merely have been seen to have been under their jurisdiction in order to make sense of this evidence.

How strictly enacted these laws and regulations where is debatable; it is the same problem for dealing with any Near Eastern code of laws. Take for example the issue of when traders were allowed to enter Ugarit. There is some discussion about how safe the Mediterranean Sea was for shipping during all seasons and that laws existed that prevented ships from sailing during the more difficult times (see, for example, Tammuz 2005). One of the key sources of evidence for this is the Hittite king's edict about the merchants of Ura where the king makes it explicit, as part of his larger forbidding of them owning real estate, that these men

were not allowed to remain at Ugarit during the winter. Often this is taken to mean that trade was conducted mainly in non-winter months and that arriving in Ugarit in winter meant that one was stuck there for an extended period due to the conditions. Whether or not this was the case is not as important for what this instance does show is that the actual residency of these men, regardless of weather, was predicated on the *ad hoc* decree of the Hittite king. For real purposes, that was the limiting factor. Thus, however regulated one perceives Late Bronze Age trade to have been, the actual movement of foreigners was conditional upon the nego- tiations of elite and especially royal agents.

That being said, international elite contacts were numerous and there is sig- nificant evidence in the Ugaritic epistolary record to indicate that elites, both royal and non-royal from Ugarit engaged in relations of various sorts with other elites outside of the city. Dynastic alliances with Amurru indicate that a queen poten- tially viewed as foreign would not have been unusual at Ugarit. Close commercial connections with Emar, Carchemish, and other Syrian locales are well attested. How much these people would have been viewed as "foreign" is not clear, but as shall be discussed further, gentilic categories are one of the primary identifiable administrative categories related to identity.

## Foreign-ness in Internal Administration

Returning to the scale of otherness within the city, textual records offers some ev- idence of how "selfhood" and "otherness" were dealt with in local administration. The most significant micropublic in which administration occurred at Ugarit was the Royal Palace. Here, invoking David Seitz's use of queer theory, the palace ad- ministration renders all of those who come into its orbit as "queer" and then labels them with an administrative identity, an identity that is constituted in relation to the palace and its invocation of power. These identities are normalized through a variety of different processes but most powerfully through their repeated invo- cation in administration.

In his early reports (see especially Schaeffer 1952; 1957; 1962), Schaeffer noted that there are five major groups of rooms with tablet depositions, as well as nu- merous individual rooms. The five major sections of the palace are in the west, the east, the south, the southwest, and the centre and are often called "archives". Many individual rooms also contained large amounts of tablets. The designation of sections of the palace as "archives" is based on early suppositions that the tablets were purposefully placed by officials who acted in an administrative or custodial function. There are some common characteristics of each of these five "archives". Each of the archives is in close proximity to, or has fallen into, a court- yard. This is a functional attribute, since it is much easier to read tablets in direct light. It seems that each "archive" was kept in rooms on both the ground and upper floor of the palace. Van Soldt has shown that what was once considered separate strata by the excavators were actually collapsed upper stories that had fallen onto the ground floor (van Soldt 1991: 57, 107). By making joins through separate layers of deposition, van Soldt has shown that texts cannot be associated with a trustworthy stratigraphic context. Scholars at the University of Chicago

continue to work on this issue and so perhaps in the future more substantive conclusions will be drawn. The collapse of the upper story of the palace on to the ground floor prevents an exact reconstruction of the palace's layout.

Despite efforts of many to identify a rigid bureaucratic system within the palace archive, most scholars have described the filing system as haphazard and disorganized. From this, some have concluded that the palace's role in governance was indirect and decentralized (see, for example, Whitt 1993). However, when one considers the administrative activities that include organizing people, activities that do not necessarily involve rigid, definable structures and offices, then we can see that many aspects of ancient lives were affected by administration. Given the uneven amounts of data preserved in the archaeological record, this day-to-day influence must have been striking.

Here perhaps David Seitz's (2016: 6) metaphor of the waiting room is helpful. In the context of his work, the waiting room is both literal and metaphorical, the physical space in which refugee claimants are made into a formal category of "asylum seeker" in relation to the state government and the metaphorical location of liminality where their old identities are transformed into new ones. The Ugaritic palatial administration categorized and organized people into specific groups and perhaps this was one of the most meaningful elements of administrative power—to render individuals into categories that were meaningful to the state and inscribe upon people identities in relation to this power. Perhaps the palace administration can be seen as a body that renders the stranger into the non-strange?

To identify what the Ugaritic palace found to be "strange" and "not strange", some effort must be made to identify ancient emic categories and not presume that these categories line up with contemporary identity categories. Lynn Meskell has recognized that archaeology has tended to not be successful in reconstructing emic categories, given that archaeologists themselves have tended to focus on particular topics of identity of interest in Western political discourse (i. e., gender, age) without acknowledging the complexity and mutability of how other variables may have been at play in the individual's own understanding of identity (Meskell 2001: 187–188). Indeed, Meskell has suggested that Western notions of identity tend to be rigid and she states, "that rigidity necessitates that all individuals be neatly pigeonholed and categorized according to a set of predetermined labels" (Meskell 2001: 187). The concern here is that the scholar attempting to understand how the palace pigeonholed people ends up simply coming up with her or his own types of pigeonholes.

Administrative categories that are employed offer one particular avenue for exploring emic categories, at least as seen by the palace. The very act of inscribing a tablet is symbolic of the agency held by an institution or person engaging in record keeping. Tablets record instances of administrative relation—moments when social roles are circumscribed and reified. These documents, the remnants of a particular administrative moment, are witness to a specific instance when social identities are designated by the administrator and the message of the administrator is passed on in a subtle but very powerful way to those being administrated. Documentation and the ability to document gives administration the

power to label and create identity at a very fundamental level. Here is where, in Seitz's waiting room metaphor, the stranger is made recognizable and determined to be foreign or not.

Administration, when enacted, becomes a part of everyday, lived experience. At Ugarit, people encountered the palace administration in many situations, including when land was transferred; debts were incurred or repaid; inventories of ships, agricultural estates or available military equipment were taken; requests for raw materials were made; trading concessions were given; and various goods were distributed to or received from specific individuals and places—to name a few. In these kind of day-to-day activities, administration became a fundamental, and often unquestioned component of everyday life. This lack of questioning is the truly powerful force behind successful, administrative practice. When those on both sides of the administrative schema, the administrators and the administered accept the system (or series of values) as a "proper" way of relating to one another, then this means of interaction becomes a dominant, though nearly unconscious means of orientation.

Bourdieu labels this kind of "naturalization of arbitrariness" as "doxa" (Bourdieu 1977: 164). "Doxa" describes the understanding of the world or environment that the individual takes for granted or sees as self-evident. These are the unquestioned classificatory categories of everyday life (such as age, gender, race, class, ethnicity) that are considered as given for the purposes of day to day functioning, and are not recognized as arbitrary criteria for organization. These classificatory categories are much more powerful than ideology. Whereas ideology involves a conscious argument (although to varying degrees), doxa becomes an unquestioned aspect of everyday life. Even more powerful is that each time a participant in a society acts according to one of these underlying organizing principles, that participant is reinforcing, and reeifying that value—entrenching it even more.

The work of Anthony Giddens provides similar insight. Giddens states (Giddens 1984: 19) "that the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction." Human social activity is recursive. It is through actions that the conditions for the enacting of these same actions is made possible (Giddens 1984: 2). This creates agency, which is the ability to engage in action (as opposed to the intent to engage in action) (Giddens 1984: 9). It is this agency (gained by day-to-day activities, based on unquestioned but not unquestionable assumptions) that creates the power of the administrative apparatus.

In the process of the constitution of the self, Peirce's conceptions can merge well with Bourdieu's and Giddens' observations on the perpetuation of knowledge. As will be shown at Ugarit, but presumably the process is similar elsewhere, administrative identity creation involves the creation of sign categories that become an accepted component of the ontological framework of the object. The evidence from Ugarit is such that it is possible to identify emic categories (emic from the perspective of the palace) that were used in the day-to-day administration of economic and juridical life at the site. The identification of the usage of specific types of referents for the identification of the individual in the ancient context, through a Peircean perspective helps understand the role that ancient authority

played in the articulation of ancient identity and rendering the stranger into a known quantity, perhaps a foreigner, perhaps not.

Peirce's notion of "Thirdness" is instructive for analysis of administration and the articulation of categories of identity through administration. Working from the philosophies of Hegel and Kant, Peirce articulated three interdependent categories of phenomena (Peirce 1931: 148). Lele well summarizes these three categories (Lele 2006: 53–54): "Firstness corresponds with undifferentiated possibility, pure quality … Secondness corresponds with the existent or predominance of a dyadic relationship … Thirdness corresponds with habit,…law-governed phenonomena … representation…and mediation…" Administrating, and the act of governing cannot be untangled from all three of these categories, and certainly, it is no use to attempt to rigidly attempt to categorize a phenomenon solely into one of these three groups. However, the manner in which administration and government create and reify identity can well be understood through the concept of Thirdness. As shall be shown at Ugarit, a significant component of royal administration involved the organization of people through categories of identity. While most of these administrative categories (as shall be shown) have a "real" or First or Second component (such as an indication of the city where the person lives or the type of work that they engage in), the use of certain categories of identity as administrative markers indicates, from a semeiotic perspective, the creation or reification of a sign of identity (based on Secondness) through a relationship of Thirdness.

Peirce was the first to demonstrate that "Thirdness" has a direct bearing on an individual's own sense of identity. As Lele demonstrates, Peirce is explicit in demonstrating that habits (regulative and practical) help formulate a notion of the self that extends beyond isolated moments or encounters (Lele 2006: 55). The bombardment of messages, manifest as signs, especially the interpretant component of a sign that reflects only some aspects of the object, condition the object's sense of self, and especially informs the object about which aspects of the self differentiate the object from other "selfs".

## Internal Administrative Categories at Ugarit

In the Ugaritic administrative system, different referents are used in different contexts—though never uniformly. That is to say, there are a wide variety of possible ways of referring to a specific individual—there are a number of possibilities for the scribe to choose from. The palace used a limited set of categories by which to identify people and in reifying these as natural categories the palace claimed them in its role as designator and arbiter. These choices are further conditioned by the particular circumstances of the administrative moment. Some referents are just not appropriate in all contexts.

### bêtu âbi *terminology*
Referents using familial terminology are commonly employed in the Late Bronze Age throughout the Near East. The use of these kinds of referents has been well-

discussed by many scholars including Mario Liverani (2001) and David Schloen (2001). Schloen has illustrated that this terminology rooted in the household is a dominant metaphor for the structuring of social relations at Ugarit. Following Stager's Weberian study of ancient Israel, Schloen has illustrated how authority was nested in various levels of patrimonial authority (Schloen 2001).

Thus, it is not surprising that one of the most frequent means of recording individuals is by patronym. Individuals at Ugarit are frequently referred to (in the administrative record) as "x son of y" or simply as "son of y." This identifies the individual in patrimonial terms and is by the far the most common means of identifying the individual in records kept by the palace. Schloen has shown that the individual's name, patronym, or name and patronym together can be used interchangeably (Schloen 2001: 211). That is to say, all three of these methods of identification are used within the same contexts. For example, KTU 4.371 is a list of individuals living in a particular village. Individuals are listed in all three ways. The fact that all three are used interchangeably indicates that all three types of identification, revolving around the use of names and patronyms were used to provide essentially the same information—the identity of the individual in question.[3] Here then is one referent through which someone's identity is constituted as non-foreign—as someone with a recognizable or administratively "categorizable" genealogy.

Another kind of referent is used (often in reference with a name or patronym) that indicates a specific social relationship between two individuals, not necessarily of the same household. These attached referents express this specific, social relationship to a particular individual by the addition of a possessive suffix. This possessive suffix specifies a particular person to whom the reference is made. The most common four terms of this nature (besides familial terms such as wife, brother, and daughter) are *nḥl*[4], *lmd*[5], *s/śġr*, and *n ʿr*, meaning "heir", "apprentice", "servant/child"[6], and "assistant" or "youth", respectively. The use of each of these terms (though the exact meanings are arguable) indicates that person could be identified to the palace solely by their social relationship to an individual identi-

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[3] The name and/or patronym is used extremely frequently in the Ugaritic administrative corpus. Examples of alphabetic texts where this is the sole referent used include (note that incomplete tablets are marked with an * to indicate that other referents may have been employed in the tablet, but simply have not survived: include KTU 4.334, KTU 4.114, KTU 4.115*, KTU 4.84, KTU 4.97, KTU 4.130*, KTU 4.147*, KTU 4.148*, KTU 4.159*, KTU 4.289, KTU 4.662, KTU 4.672, KTU 4.678, KTU 4.679, KTU 4.321, KTU 4.445, KTU 4.448, KTU 4.449, KTU 4.452, KTU 4.453, KTU 4.455, KTU 4.458, KTU 4.520, KTU 4.524, KTU 4.537, KTU 4.539, KTU 4.543, KTU 4.354, KTU 4.364 *, KTU 4.372, KTU 4.406, KTU 4.229, KTU 4.233 *, KTU 4.112, KTU 4.543. This type of text is also well attested in the syllabic corpus. Examples include: PRU 3 196 (RS 15.42 + 110), PRU 6 82 (RS 17.242), PRU 6 83 (RS 17.430), PRU 6 84 (RS 19.30), PRU 6 85 (RS 19.79), PRU 6 86 (RS 19.82), PRU 6 88 (RS 19.94), PRU 6 89 (RS 19.110), PRU 6 90 (RS 19.114), PRU 6 91 (RS 19.132), PRU 6 92 (RS 19.173A), Ug. 5 97 (RS 20.20), and Ug. 5 98 (RS 20.07).

[4] This referent can be found in: KTU 4.311, KTU 4.315, KTU 4.413, KTU 4.571, KTU 4.581, and KTU 4.605.

[5] See tablets KTU 4.194 and KTU 4.227 for examples of this.

[6] This word is somewhat problematic in that it appears mostly in the context of shepherding activities, and Watson understands this term to reflect some sort of lower-ranked shepherd (Watson 2002: 204–205). Del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín (2004: 755) suggest that this is cognate to the Akkadian *suḫāru* and suggest a related translation of "child" or "servant".

fied by name or patronym. KTU 4.69 is a text that lists individuals by occupation. A common expression within this list is "son of PN and his heir." Whether these terms originate in household terminology is not clear, but what is clear is that they are not derived from terminology used to designate biological family members.

### Geographic terminology

Related to patronymic references but separate from them are descriptions of individual by location of residence or origin. Here is, arguably, the most clear evidence for conceptions of foreign-ness within the Ugaritic administration. This kind of referent manifests itself in two basic forms: the description of individuals who are at a specific location and the description of individuals with a geographic name modified by a gentilic ending.

The first type of individual referent is employed when the important aspect of the administrative relationship is the determination of residence. In KTU 4.122 individuals (possibly plowmen, although the first line of the tablet is somewhat broken) are listed who are at a specific geographic location. These people are further listed by patronym, but their administrative *connection* is where they are located at that administrative moment.

More related to issues of identity and identity creation at Ugarit are instances of the use of gentilic descriptions. The gentilic at Ugarit is rendered by a geographic name with a -*y* suffixed to the end of the word. Individuals can be designated with a gentilic for a specific village within the kingdom of Ugarit (see for example KTU 4.45; 4.50; 4.51; and 4.85), or neighboring Northern Levantine villages (for example see KTU 4.96:3). Or individuals are referred to in less local terms, possibly national terms, like Egyptian (see for example KTU 4.96:7; KTU 4.352:4) or Cypriote (KTU 4.352:2).

The location of origin, and possibly ethnic identity, was an important criterion for establishing boundaries of *otherness* within the city of Ugarit—both in terms of other villages and other states. The need to list and account for these groups is very closely tied to the creation of identity through opposition. Certainly, every time an individual was recorded as a non-Ugaritian in a list, this difference was reified. Sorting out which localities were thought to be "foreign" is difficult and likely this conception was not consistent, shifting depending on circumstances and individuals.

### Occupational terminology

Scholars have argued that some of these gentilic titles (especially "Egyptian") actually refer to professions (Pardee – Bordreuil 1992: 715).[7] Whether this was the case or not, occupational groups were another important category of identification

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[7] Certainly, this is the case with the Sherdana at Ugarit. While this is the name of one of the groups of Sea People, at Ugarit it appears listed along with other military professionals (see for example KTU 4.137). See Astour 1972 for more on his suggestion that the use of "Egyptian" (*mṣr*) similarly refers to an occupational group (Astour 1972: 23).

in the administrative record. Occupational designation is an important organizing principle in many of the economic texts at Ugarit. That this was the case is clear from the consistent order of occupational categories within administrative records at Ugarit. Gray had noticed as early as 1952 that occupation names appeared in a consistent order, with *mryn* always appearing at the top (Gray 1952: 51). His conclusion based on this, which was followed by Rainey (1962: 166) was that these occupational groups reflected "guilds". The evidence that these groups reflected "guilds" in the Medieval sense of the term is minimal, and this kind of structured, internally organized corporation in opposition to royal authority was not likely present at Ugarit (*contra* Craigie 1982; Gray 1952: 50–51; and Rainey 1962: 166–167).

However, there does seem to be evidence that people of the same occupational category took some collective economic action in terms of resource acquisition. KTU 4.626 records the request for various items by "potters". Wool distributions are made to shepherds and recorded in KTU 4.378. And the account of some sort of smith (*sbrdn*) is preserved in KTU 4.337. Whether these were groups organized by the palace or independently organized, or even organized at all, is not clear.

Other evidence that the palace thought of people in terms of occupational category can be found in those texts explicitly recording and listing people according to occupational category. There are numerous examples of texts at Ugarit with the heading "Tablet of x occupational group". This heading is then typically followed by a list of personal names.[8] Other times, lists of personal names beneath various different occupational headings can be found in the same texts.[9] In these cases, the occupational groups are listed in the standard order. Sometimes this type of list also records distributions to individuals. Distributions include fields[10]; equipment and weapons[11]; silver[12]; and other precious metals[13].

In other situations, the occupational category when used as a referent seems to be simply secondary information recorded by the scribe. KTU 4.332 and KTU 4.224 both list personal names with an occupational category in apposition. The purpose of these texts seems to be to record the geographic location of certain individuals; it is telling of the role of occupational category as identity referent that this information would be included.

The occupational category was clearly a meaningful referent for individuals from the palace's perspective. People were grouped and identified by specialized skills; at some level this was an important component of individual identity. Here then is perhaps a way that individuals were made known from the palace's perspective. How much being categorized as a member of a specific occupational group made one more or less "foreign" is again unclear but the confluence of oc-

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[8] See for example, KTU 4.134; KTU 4.155; KTU 4.320; and KTU 4.542.
[9] See for example, KTU 4.412 and possible KTU 4.183.
[10] For example, KTU 4.416.
[11] For example, KTU 4.624 (RS 19.049 [A] + [C]).
[12] For example, KTU 4.69; KTU 4.71; and PRU 6 136 (RS 17.240).
[13] For example, KTU 4.396.

cupational and geographic referents within the same list suggest that this kind of identity complicated the conception of who was foreign.

## A Designation of Possession and/or Obligation

A particularly controversial subject in the study of Ugaritic economics and social structure is the designation *bnš*. This term used to identify individuals in the Ugaritic administrative record is often modified by its appearance in construct with another noun (most often *mlk* = king). For example, KTU 4.370 is a list of *men of the king* who had been requested by a certain individual. Differing models of Ugaritic society have been proposed based on understandings of this word. We are certain that *bnš* is equated with the Akkadian term *amīlum* (=*awīlum*) in the Ugaritic polyglots. Roth (1997: 268) suggests that it can have two uses in Akkadian literature. It can refer to a member of a privileged class, in distinction to the *muškēnu* class and the slave class, a use most notably found in the Laws of Hammurabi. In this same text, it can also refer to, according to Roth (1997: 268): "a general, non-specific person." The latter of these uses seems the most likely in the Ugaritic administrative material. The word *bnš* is often used to simply refer to a "person" (without reference to that person's name, patronym, geographic origin, or profession). The kinds of contexts in which it is used are the same as the contexts for other kinds of chattel, such as animals and mobilia. When *bnš* is used in construct with another noun, there is an implication of possession, control, origin and/or obligation.[14] For example, Márquez Rowe (2002) takes the more specific *bnš mlk* as indicating that a person owes some kind of debt service to the palace; Prosser (2010) takes it as referencing an almost patron-client relationship. Here then, either a debt relationship or a patronage relationship makes an individual "belong" in the sense of identity referents, to another and thus may be another meaningful category that intersects with and complicates the foreign-self binary.

## Census Texts

Particularly direct evidence about the presence of foreigners at Ugarit may be what have been referred to as census texts that were recovered from the palace archives. The lists identify the occupants (human and sometimes oxen) in the houses of various individuals who, it is stated on the tablets, are Cypriotes. A typical tablet is KTU 4.102 (II:4–7), which reads:

A pre-eminent wife in the house of PN (*artṯb*).
A wife and her two sons in the house of PN (*iwrpzn*).
A wife and an unmarried woman in the house of PN (*ydrm*).
Two pre-eminent wives and an unmarried woman in the [house of PN?]

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14  For more on the nature of the grammatical relationship of words in construct at Ugarit, see Sivan 1997: 82–86, 209.

Van Soldt (2002: 816–817) notes that these names seem Semitic but the tablet does indicate that these people are Cypriote, so there is some confusion about the situation as presented here. Given the case that there is some Cypriote connection to these tablets, there are interesting implications for the consideration of foreigners at the site. Since these types of tablets are not attested for Ugaritians themselves, it suggests that there was some degree of administrative oversight of the presence of foreigners at Ugarit, to the extent that their household members are listed. Presumably these are the family members of the men listed in the tablets although, given that we know that Ugaritians could enter into debt service to foreigners, perhaps the reason for the palace's recording of this information was to keep track of just such service. If these are family members and not Ugaritians in service, then it suggests that resident foreigners were not just the individuals engaged directly in economic activity but family as well. Since oxen are also indicated, these foreigners seem to have been involved in some degree of agricultural activity and the palace seems to have been interested in this kind of record keeping. Many uses for these texts have been postulated; Astour (1970: 121–122) suggested that these were foreigners with a trade concession at the site and Rainey (1965: 11–12) argued that this was some kind of fiscal record in which the debtor's family members were kept track of in case the foreigner defaulted on a loan (and thus the palace would seize a family member in response). No firm conclusions can be reached about these texts other than that they illustrate the palace's concern to keep records of foreigner's household composition within Ugarit.

## Foreign-ness, Strange-ness, and Known-ness as Constructed Through Internal Administration

These administrative tablets represent moments of contact between individuals and a larger administrative body. Each time this kind of contact is made, the social roles of the players are identified and the classificatory categories are strengthened. The act of circumscribing an individual or group by a specific designation upholds the social norm in a very conservative fashion. These distinctions become a kind of "common-sense"—unquestioned assumptions about the natural ordering of the everyday world. It may seem obvious that the palace would record people by the criteria mentioned above, but this is exactly the point. There is no *natural* imperative that these are the ways people should be identified, but each time the individual is identified and recorded as such, the right of the palace to do so (its agency) is strengthened.

While Ugarit is an unusual Late Bronze age site for its volume and variety of preserved texts in many different languages, evidence from other sites (such as Alalaḫ) suggest that administration at Ugarit seems to broadly reflect administrative *mentalités* throughout Late Bronze Age Syria. Administration is understood as a means of organizing from the top down, and one of the ways it does this is through *naturalizing* arbitrary categories and using them to label individuals and create identities, a process recoverable in the archaeological record through tablets. This evidence should not *just* be viewed as the remnant of information storage. These documents were intended to communicate a message to the parties privy to the administrative moment - and in fact acted as a symbol of that administra-

tion. The actual practice of administration, as well the symbolic (in the Peirceian sense) messages conveyed through administrative practice both reflect phenomena of Thirdness.

## Cosmopolitanism

So, these are identifications of self and other that are made explicit by the palace administration. Does this mean that the state had the authority to define self and other? To what degree does this palatial administration mirror the 21st-century state's ability to define citizenship? Let us now turn to other signs of foreign-ness at the site; the site's seemingly explicit cosmopolitanism. When thinking about cosmopolitanism in the Late Bronze Age, we are most likely to look to signs of internationalism as evidence of positive views of foreign-ness, that the other is welcome in the context in which such evidence is discovered. Yet we should consider the contrary as well, that cosmopolitanism is often a language through which otherness is made explicit and defined. Here I return to Julie Young's work on Toronto refugees and her observations derived from reading Derrida. Derrida (2001: 19) toys with Kant's law of cosmopolitanism in respect to its dictum that foreigners be treated with specific rights as visitors. These rights of hospitality are explicitly invoked to encourage safe travel to other places. Yet they are just as important in preserving the boundaries of self and otherness when the other enters one's space. Hospitality serves to preserve the "other" as "other" even if done in gentle and appealing ways. There is, in Derrida's view, an underlying hostility that Young has categorized as "hostipitality" (2011: 540). The city, or whichever political body is viewed as the "host" comes to be defined as a concrete entity in relation to the hosted who, must by definition, be an "other" to the host. Thus, signs of cosmopolitanism at Ugarit signify both an acceptance of otherness (or perhaps a fetishization of otherness) but also the creation of boundaries that define otherness.

## Hints of Foreign Forms of Administration

A curious class of object found at Ugarit hints at potential methods of regulating or administering those who may have been thought of as foreigners. Two clay balls inscribed with what Ferrara believes are names seem to be analogous to the types of Cypro-Minoan clay balls found especially in Cyprus (Ferrara – Valério 2017: 72). While these types of objects are well attested in the Aegean there is some disagreement in regards to their function and significance. Most scholars seem to believe that these are some kinds of identity bearing device. Some suggest that the inscriptions bear the names of labourers; others suggest that they bear the names of elites (Ferrara – Valério 2017: 73). Ferrara and Valério (2017: 85), basing their argument on the round shape of the balls and the fact that they were baked, suggest that these were lots. If this is the case, the casting of lots may have been a means of choosing labourers for a work assignment, settling disputes, or for other religious, ceremonial, juridical, or economic activities.

Perhaps this should be considered in tandem with the Ugaritic inscription found at Tiryns. The inscription appears on a broken ivory rod (of which 3.7 cm survives). While it is too fragmentary to know for sure, the original publishers of

the rod suggest that it was either a label or some sort of measuring device (Cohen – Maran – Vetters 2010: 11–12). Identifying its exact use is not necessary here; what is important for this discussion is it suggests that just as administrative activities in Cypro-Minoan are apparent at Ugarit, so too are activities in Ugaritic (or at least some sort of cuneiform) in the Peloponnese.

The use of different languages and writing systems at Ugarit is often cited as further evidence of the city's cosmopolitanism and returning to the questions posed for thought during this conference, perhaps sheds light on the role of the scribe in facilitating the presence of foreigners in the city. Both van Soldt (van Soldt 2001) and Cohen (Cohen 2017: 281) have identified Assyrian scribes who operated in the city, with Cohen arguing for one whose traces have been identified in the *Maison aux tablettes*, a location in which many works of the Mesopotamian scribal tradition have been recovered. Within that building school texts have been identified and, while this is not surprising, provides evidence of individuals who may have been understood as foreigners participating in delivering a scribal curriculum. Mesopotamian lexical, literary, and omen texts found at the site show that Mesopotamian education was available at the site and perhaps an Assyrian teacher resided in the city.

More broadly speaking, the material culture of Ugarit defies easy description of foreign or local. Varieties of cylinder seals, stamp seals, art, and other material culture reflect connections from around the Mediterranean and Near East. Feldman's (1998) argument that some of the artistic themes constitute an international koine is well known and need not be explained in any detail here yet it is an important point to reiterate within the context of this discussion. That symbols of foreignness are invoked at Ugarit in a way that communicates elite status points to the role of foreignness in articulating and mediating local identity. One's relationship to the foreign provides a means for articulating one's identity within the city.

## Conclusions: Foreigners at Ugarit

This discussion has wound between different examples of engagements with otherness at Ugarit and different kinds of critical theory that can help make these engagements more apparent. As a form of conclusion, I want to return to some of the critical questions that were posed as a means of orienting Crossroads III. First, how do we recognize a foreigner in an ancient society? The short answer here is that this is more difficult than is typically thought. The usual stance has been that gentilics and personal names offer an easy diagnostic but when one looks at this evidence at Ugarit, there seems to be a greater fluidity here than a simple "self-other" binary could accommodate. There is much evidence for people with non-Ugaritian names or gentilics operating within the city with as much or even more fluidity and/or power than those who might be deemed Ugaritic by such standards. Where the situation is most clear in regards to significant "foreign" status, from an administrative perspective, seems to be when another polity has authority over the legal or juridical status of the individuals in question. Thus, the merchants of Ura were, at least emically, foreigners.

Despite the murkiness of clearly identifying foreigners, it is perhaps easier to offer answers to the question of what were the roles of foreigners at Ugarit. From the administrative perspective addressed here, the obvious answer is that they operated as mediators of exchange relationships, facilitating the movement of goods in different ways. A mere economic reading is insufficient, even though that is mostly what has been discussed so far. Feldman's identification of an international koine shows one way in which foreign-ness operated as a means for the articulation of power and identity within the city. This is not the place to address this further but Egypt seems to have offered much exotic or auratic appeal that has long been identified, and this perhaps goes beyond mere displays of power but hints at the religious and ideological value that the foreign can play. And, as well discussed by Devecchi (2015), Hittite suzerainty played a complex role as a foreign power holding political and juridical authority over Ugarit.

Debt may have been one of the most meaningful economic relationships that connected foreigners with Ugaritians. The case of the merchants of Ura shows that this was not only a significant means for which foreigners could gain economic power in the city, it was also a contested means of doing so. The palace census texts, the category of *bnš mlk*, and perhaps other types of administrative tablets demonstrate that in this non-monetary economy, debt and credit were important instruments that foreigners could access.

Thinking about the experiences of foreigners at Ugarit, this paper has attempted to understand what that embodied experience would have been like, trying to evaluate the legibility of the city to a newcomer. It was possible to identify locations that were legible and those that were less so and these seem consistent with where one would imagine a stranger would want to participate in civic life. The roads and urban planning not only facilitated movement towards these areas and away from non-legible space, the physical layout of the city communicated messages of power that seem consistent throughout the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean.

Another guiding question has been what were the roles of scribes and interpreters in the interactions between foreigners and Ugaritians? The answer is not monolithic. Typical Mesopotamian scribal curricula have been identified at Ugarit and the multilingualism of the site is clear. How multi-lingual individuals were, is less clear but this is an academic problem that is typical of the Late Bronze Age. What Ugarit perhaps offers that is different are the hints of foreign administrative practices that have been identified at the site and the fact that an Ugaritic inscription was found at Tiryns. While the foreign administrative elements do not constitute a large proportion of the administrative tools in evidence, their presence suggests a level of *ad hoc* flexibility in these experiences. More systematic roles of scribes are perhaps less evocative but more meaningful. The actual textual recording of individuals, by the palace, in relation to specific categories of identity naturalized categories in a way that made these identities perhaps unquestionable. If this logic can be pushed further, and maybe exaggerated, one could argue that the scribes actually generated these identities to some extent, or at least were the arbiters of who was foreign and who was not.

If we consider Henri Lefebvre's (1996) more activist argument that citizenship should not be a binary status constituted by a relationship to the city-state but

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rather, as Julie Young (2011: 537) paraphrases him, reframed as the "substantive practice engaged in by all residents of the city", then perhaps our thinking of foreignness in antiquity needs to be reconsidered. Is our work in defining ancient foreigners just continuing the larger enterprise of 18th and 19th-century nationalism, where the mechanisms of the state are naturalized as entangled and inseparable with a kind of racialized ethnicity? Or perhaps a softer reading, are we perpetuating early 20th-century archaeological "culture-history" approaches that no longer need be adopted given the more advanced state of our discipline? Here the conclusion is not that the concept of "foreign" was foreign to the Late Bronze Age Near East. Rather, it is suggested that scholars also approach the issue from avenues distinct from the state, the nation, or the ethnos, or at least allow that these may not have been the constitutive elements of what it means to be foreign. Administratively, the city of Ugarit was not as coherent of an entity as academic approaches tend to presume. Lived experience at Ugarit was one of different scales of power, with nested hierarchical and heterarchical spheres that were fluid and situational. It was not the place where Ugaritian and foreigner met but was one of the locations where the idea of Ugaritian and non-Ugaritian was created and enacted.

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