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

Melanie Wasmuth
Basel University: Egyptology & Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam

Introduction[1]

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

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

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

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

The Timeframe of the 8th to 6th Century BCE

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

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

The Geographical Frame of the Eastern Mediterranean Area of Connectivity

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

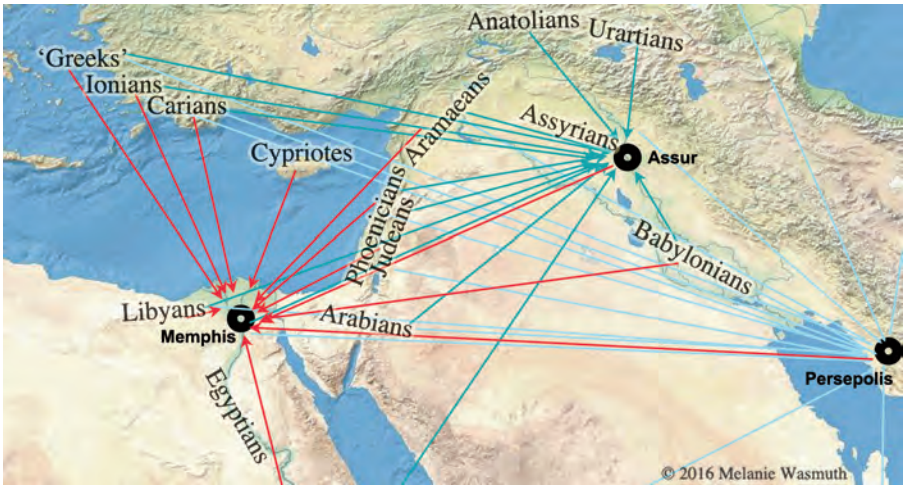


Figure 1: Simplified scope of influxes of people to Assyria, Egypt and Persia in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE (underlying satellite map: *Natural Earth II* [idealized landcover]).

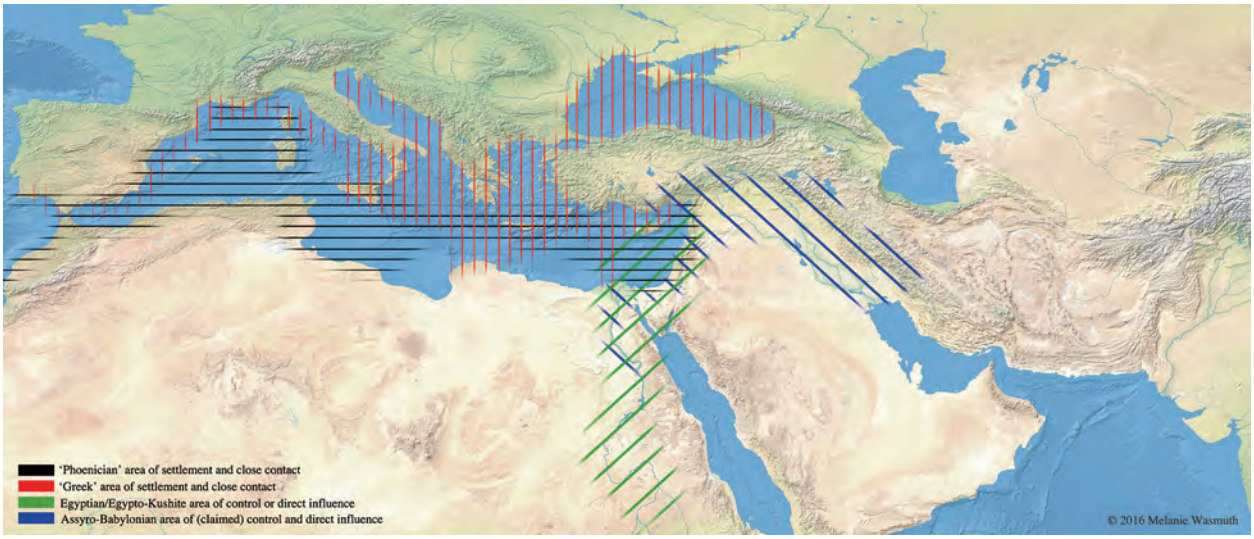


Figure 2: Sketch of the expanse of the East Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th to mid-6th century BCE—outlined by the areas of (claimed) control or direct influence of the major players overlapping in the East Mediterranean (underlying satellite map: *Natural Earth II* [idealized landcover]).

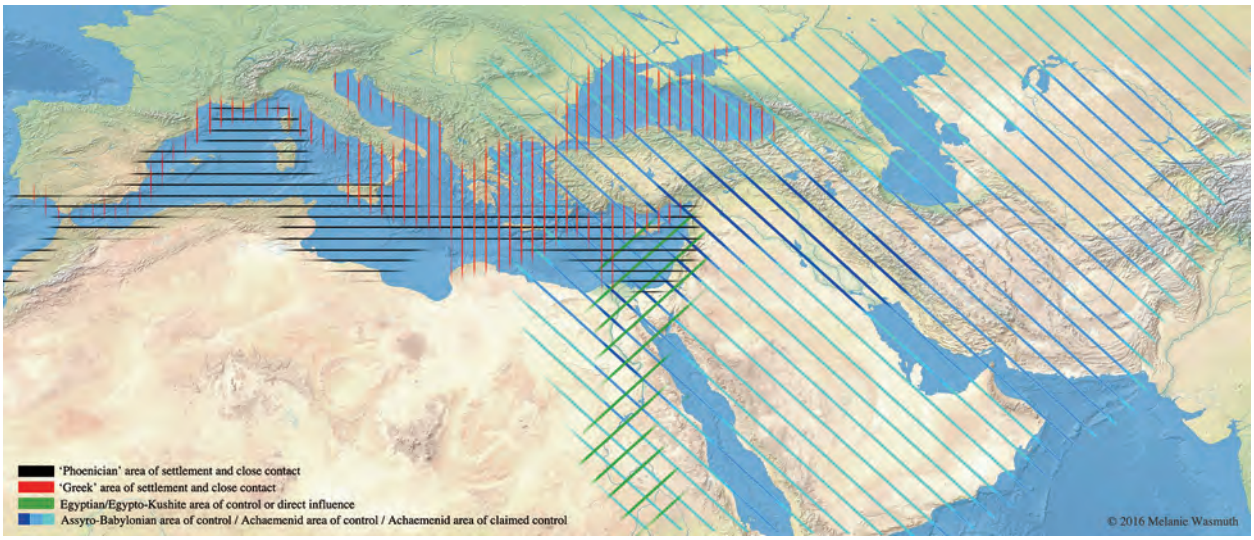


Figure 3: Extended East Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the late 6th century BCE due to the expansion of the Achaemenid Empire (underlying satellite map: *Natural Earth II* [idealized landcover]).

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

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

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

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

Some Terminological Issues

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

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

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

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

Some Sources-Inherent Issues

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

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

Structural Impediments Due to Academic Research Organization

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

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

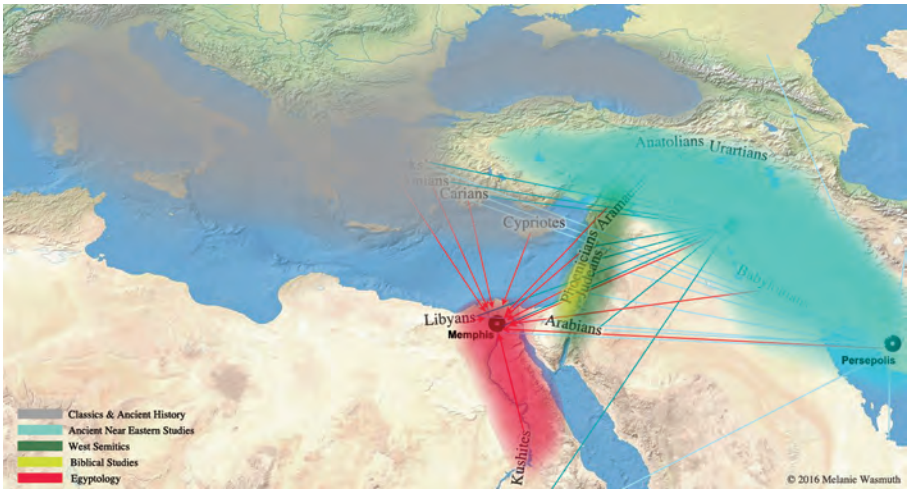


Figure 4: Simplified scope of influxes of people to Assyria, Egypt and Persia in the 7th and 6th century BCE overlayed by the core regions focused upon in teaching and research in the prevailing major academic subject areas dealing with the East Mediterranean Area of Connectivity in the 8th to 6th century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

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

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

The Organizational and Biogeophysical Framework

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

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

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

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

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

The Traveler and the Act of Traveling

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

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

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

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

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

The Yielding and Receiving Communities

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

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

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

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

Note on the Organization of This Volume

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[17] For an introductory discussion on the difficulty to

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

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

19 See, e.g., Waerzeggers 2006.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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