

# Tꜣw IN THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION

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## ABSTRACT

[AR]


الإعاء في الحضارة المصرية القديمة



تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى التحقق من لقب Tꜣw باعتباره لقبًا للمترجمين (الترجمين) والمترجمين الفوريين للتعرف على نشأتهم، وممارساتهم المهنية، ومكانتهم بمصر القديمة، باستخدام منهجية البحث النظري في تاريخ الترجمة الشفهية والتحريرية في مصر القديمة، كما أنها تناولت بالبحث والتدقيق دورهما المتميز في التواصل بين اللغات والثقافات مع دراسة لقب Tꜣw؛ تاريخياً، ولغوياً، وأثرياً. تناولت الدراسة كثير من آراء الباحثين المتعلقة باختلاف القراءة والتفسير لنفس المشاهد من مختلف عصور مصر القديمة. كما أسفرت نتائج الدراسة عن وجود تحولات وتغيرات طرأت على اللقب عبر العصور المصرية القديمة، كذا مهام المهنة، وأنشطة المترجمين، وتمثيلهم من خلال المناظر الزخرفية خاصة؛ في الحياة الاجتماعية والسياسية، مما حقق الإثراء المتبادل بين مصر والثقافات المختلفة، مؤكداً الوعي المصري القديم بأهمية المترجمين في المشهد المصري القديم بأكمله. توصلت الدراسة إلى أن أول ذكر لكلمة إعاء في مصر القديمة كان في عهد ساحورع من الأسرة الخامسة، واستمر ورودها حتى رمسيس الحادي عشر من الأسرة العشرين. وأورد العلماء كثير من التأويلات والقراءات الصوتية للكلمة، بعض منها كان قريباً من المعنى المقصود، لكن بعضها كان بعيداً إلى حد كبير. عمل المترجمون والمترجمون الشفهيون على ترجمة المراسلات الرسمية في البلاط الملكي في مصر القديمة، وعملوا على نقل الرسائل من ملوك مصر وقادتها إلى ملوك وقادة مختلف الدول المجاورة. وعملوا على إثراء التعاون في المشهد المصري. كشفت الدراسة على أن النقوش لم تُورد اختلافات تذكر بين المترجمين والمترجمين الفوريين، بالرغم من وجود شواهد على اختلافهما في الأنشطة المهنية، حيث عمل المترجمون الفوريون في المهام والتواصل الخارجي، بينما عمل المترجمون (التحريريون) في مجال المراسلات الدبلوماسية والنصوص الكتابية.


[EN] This paper aims to investigate the title Tꜣw as a title of translators/dragomans and interpreters to determine the scope of their emergence, professional practices, and status in ancient Egypt. The methodology applied a theoretical investigation of the history of interpreting and translation in ancient Egypt in terms of the oral and written forms, respectively, and their role in cross-language and cultural communication. It studied the scope of the title Tꜣw, historically, linguistically, and archaeologically. The study reviewed the opinions of many researchers and writers in Egyptology in terms of the different reading and interpretations of the same scenes from different periods in ancient Egypt. The findings showed transitions and changes in the title, the professional tasks, and the activities of interpreters and translators through ancient Egyptian history. The representation of translators/dragomans and interpreters was essential in social and political life to achieve mutual rich communication between Egypt and different cultures. The word Tꜣw was first documented under the reign of Sahure (ca. 2487-2473 BC) (the 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty), and lasted until the reign of Ramesses XI (1113-1085 BC) (the 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty). Many phonetic pronunciations and translations of the title were attempted; some came close to their intended meaning, while others were not. This profession reflected the ancient Egyptian awareness of the significance of translators and interpreters in ancient Egypt. Finally, there were no differences between interpreter and translator in reliefs, but there is proof that there was a distinction between the professional activities of interpreter and translator, i.e., interpreting served external contacts, while translation was carried out in the area of diplomatic correspondence and contractual texts.

**KEYWORDS:** Tꜣw, *Imy-rꜣ* Tꜣw, dragoman, Herminos, interpreter, linguistic duplication, translator.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The acknowledgment of interpreters and translators as members of ancient Egyptian society is noted in the second book of the Greek historian Herodotus (5<sup>th</sup> century BC)<sup>1</sup>, who states: «There were seven different castes<sup>2</sup>: Priests, soldiers, cow shepherds, swine herders, minor traders, dragomans/interpreters<sup>3</sup>, and helmsmen.» This assumption was supported when scholars discovered the distinct language unit  (*T3w*) in Old Kingdom texts<sup>4</sup>, translated as interpreter, **dolmetscher**, and dragoman<sup>5</sup>. Gardiner proposed this after prior unsuccessful attempts by other researchers<sup>6</sup>.

Gardiner demonstrated the connection of this word with the late Egyptian , preparing the way for understanding it as a professional title<sup>7</sup>, particularly its compound unit  *Imy-r3 T3w*, which had a direct reference to foreign expeditions<sup>8</sup>. It was found in distant areas, e.g., Sayaleh and Tomas in lower Nubia<sup>9</sup> and Sinai<sup>10</sup>.

The word *hermeneutics* was derived from the Greek verb *ερμηνεύω* (*hermeneuein*) (interpret) and the name *ερμηνεία* (*herminos*) (interpretation)<sup>11</sup>. Both came from the word *Ερμινός* (*herminos*) (translator or interpreter)<sup>12</sup>, with an etymological connection to the deity Hermes, who was characterized as the inventor of writing, speech, and interpreter of meanings, symbols, and divine messages<sup>13</sup>. All of these were attributes transmitted from the deity Thoth<sup>14</sup>, who represented a unique phenomenon in foreign linguistic communication after death. Thoth held the title  *T3w t3wy* (the translator of the two lands or the translator of Egypt), (chapter N°.125 of the Book of the Dead in its Demotic Version)<sup>15</sup>. This title denotes his role as the interpreter between the foreign tongues and facilitating communications among them. Additionally, his main role was the judge who defended the foreign dead in the Hall of Justice before Osiris decided their afterlife<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> KHAFAGA & BADAWI 1966: 297, N°.2; SHOAI B 2021: 191.

<sup>2</sup> Many papyri discussed the ancient Egyptian castes. Early Egyptologists disagreed on their number, considering it between three, six, or seven. While modern Egyptologists divided them into three groups: the upper caste, the middle caste, and the lower caste; the last one included the translators. KHAFAGA, 1966: 297, N°.2; RAMADAN 2004: 431-442.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus mentioned that the translators' class included pure Egyptian translators, Egyptianized translators, and others from foreign countries (Greek and Phoenician). This is evidenced by the presence of non-Egyptian names. This class's livelihood was contingent on Egypt's conditions, neighboring countries, and tourism. KHAFAGA & BADAWI 1966: 297-298, N°.2; SHOAI B 2021: 191-192.

<sup>4</sup> LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

<sup>5</sup> ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 159, 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> GARDINER 1915: 117-125.

<sup>7</sup> GOEDICKE 1960: 61.

<sup>8</sup> For their expeditions towards the south, see: GOEDICKE 1960: 62-63; ROY 2011: 245-284.

<sup>9</sup> WEIGALL 1907: PLS.50, 58.

<sup>10</sup> GARDINER 1915: 125; SETHE: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 113.

<sup>11</sup> MOSTAFA 2003: 15; SHOAI B 2012: 196.

<sup>12</sup> SHOAI B 2021: 196.

<sup>13</sup> MOSTAFA 2003: 15-19.

<sup>14</sup> GARDINER 1917: 134; SHOAI B 2021: 196-197.

<sup>15</sup> SIMPSON 2003: 276.

<sup>16</sup> SHOAI B 2021: 196.

## II. FACTUAL EVIDENCE OF TRANSLATOR AND INTERPRETER PRESENCE

There is vital evidence of how much Egyptians were seeking help from their interpreters in their disciplinary and commercial campaigns, which might have started with Djer<sup>17</sup> and Den<sup>18</sup>, during the first dynasty. This significance of reciprocal translation arose in ancient Egypt because of the expansion of the communication network with its neighbors in Nubia, the Levant, Mesopotamia, Punt, and the Aegean Islands (*h3w nbw*)<sup>19</sup>:

The oldest evidence comes from the Palermo Stone, which recorded an agreement to bring (in tribute) 7,000 male and female live captives and 40 ships filled with cedar wood to Egypt during the twelfth year of Sneferu's reign (2613-2494 BC)<sup>20</sup>. The names of those captives of Sneferu's invasion in Nubia (the ancestors of those Egyptianized Nubians settled in Dahshur) were «*ḥ3w*» «babblers»<sup>21</sup>. It stands to reason that they have an original relationship with the title «*ḥ3w*» of translator/interpreter. This became clearer with their descendants, who were incorporated into the Egyptian army battalions, served under the Egyptian leaders, and accompanied expeditions to places as far away as Sinai and Iam<sup>22</sup>, Byblos<sup>23</sup>, and Punt as interpreters<sup>24</sup>.

- The Palermo Stone also mentioned the first known expedition to Punt, which took place during King Sahura's reign, during the 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty. A pygmy from Punt was described in a biography as having arrived at King Djedkara-Isesi's court during the 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>25</sup>.
- The records from the Aswan tombs mentioned certain expeditions to Punt. One of the Aswan nobles, Khnumhotep, boasted about his eleventh trading mission with two of his chiefs to the Phoenician coast and Punt<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> The name of King Djer, the second king of the dynasty, was carved on the rocks of Sheikh Suleiman Mountain near Wadi Halfa. It could refer to the trade exchange between Egypt and Nubia or beyond Nubia. It could also describe his military campaign to protect the mining expeditions in the gold mines of Wadi Halfa. His name also appeared in the gold artifacts in his tomb in Saqqara and Abydos. RAMADAN 2002: 19.

<sup>18</sup> The several-year labels from the reign of Den (including the famous ivory label in the British Museum, allude to military campaigns (whether real or symbolic) against the Asian inhabitants of the Near East. PETRIE 1900: PL.XI [4 & 14-15], PL.XV [16- 18]; SPENCER 1993: 87, FIG.67; WILKINSON 1999: FIG.5[1]; WILKINSON 2000: 106.

<sup>19</sup> It is the Egyptian name for the inhabitants of the islands of the eastern Mediterranean. SALEH 2012: 268.

<sup>20</sup> For the text, see: WILKINSON 2000: 141.

<sup>21</sup> BELL 1976: 91; REDFORD 2004: 20.

<sup>22</sup> GILBERT 2008: 85; VITTMANN 2008: 97-98; SHOAI B 2021: 171-172.

<sup>23</sup> There was a mention of a large Egyptian colony in the port of Jubail (Phoenician Byblos) on the northern Syrian coast. GILBERT 2008: 85; VITTMANN 2008: 97-98; SHOAI B 2021: 171-172.


<sup>24</sup> Egypt's southern boundaries had a particular connection to the princes of Elephantine, but they also discovered other sites in upper Egypt, which were always accessible to Nubia along overland desert routes due to their proximity. During the first intermediate period (about 2160-2060 BC), they were discovered to have settled in Mo'alla and Dendera, and apparently in Aswan and Thebes. The majority of those Nubians were part of the New Kingdom's Viceroy of Kush Panehesy, after which they were still serving in the Egyptian army. BELL 1976: 91.

<sup>25</sup> GILBERT 2008: 77; SHOAI B 2021: 170, 172.

<sup>26</sup> SETHE: 1933: vol.1, 140-141; GILBERT 2008: 77; SHOAI B 2021: 170.

- A script from King Neferirka-Re's reign (5<sup>th</sup> dynasty) assumed that interpreters were probably part of the Egyptian expeditions overseas because they were named alongside sailors and other members<sup>27</sup>.
- The migrations of «*hryw sꜥ.sn*»<sup>28</sup> which threatened the trade routes between Egypt and its neighbors<sup>29</sup>, caused unrest on Egypt's northeastern borders during the reign of King Pepi I of the Sixth dynasty<sup>30</sup>, which necessitated that the king must assign the army commander «Weni<sup>31</sup>» to protect Egypt and its borders through five successful campaigns<sup>32</sup> (four by land, and the fifth by land and sea)<sup>33</sup>. Weni's title demonstrates that there were translators in the army, holding the title *Imy-rꜥ Tꜣw* (overseer of translators)<sup>34</sup>.
- The reliefs of Queen Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt (c.1460 BC), which were found in her funerary temple in Deir El-Bahri, depicted eight seafaring ships arriving at Punt, loading cargo, and departing Punt for their return journey on the Red Sea<sup>35</sup>.

Also, there were two exceptional cases from the Middle Kingdom:

- One official boasted in his stela (CG20765), preserved in the Egyptian Museum, with his title , that he is «*whꜥ mdwt ḥ3swt nbt*» «translator of the languages of all foreign countries»<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> HERMANN 2002: 16; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

<sup>28</sup> They were specified as *hryw sꜥ*. The latter is generally rendered «those-upon-the-sand», i.e., «sand-dwellers» and regarded as a term for desert nomads. It is mentioned in Wen's report. SETHE: 1933: vol.1, 101-105; GOEDICKE 1963: 188-191.

Another point of view considered them as a branch of the Amorite migrations that spread on the borders of the Fertile Crescent. SHOAIB 2021: 165.

In my view, both of them could be right, as they might be a branch of the Amorite migrations who settled and worked later in agriculture.

<sup>29</sup> Although the natural borders in ancient Egypt provided security and safety for the Egyptians and preserved their linguistic, ethnic, and cultural identity, the ancient Egyptians did not hesitate to perform their sacred duty to defend it in front of the Bedouin migration that never ceased throughout its ancient history. SHOAIB 2021: 165

<sup>30</sup> LECLANT 1994: 283-284; GOURDON 2009: 41-48.

<sup>31</sup> LICHTHEIM 1973: 18-23; WISSA 2011: 223-227; COLLOMBERT 2015: 145-147.

<sup>32</sup> Weni described the destruction which he inflicted upon the land of *hryw sꜥ* (t, *hryw- sꜥ*). He spoke about destroying the walled settlements (*wnwt*), cutting down fig-trees and grape-wines, and throwing fire into the abodes of the deities (*pr-ntr*). SETHE 1933: vol.1, 101-105; GOEDICKE 1963: 188-191.

<sup>33</sup> A photograph of the inscription is available in MASPERO 1890-1900: 27-28; BORCHARDT 1937: 115-117, PLS.29030, sub.№.1435; translations of the text are available in ERMAN 1882: 1-3; BREASTED 1906: 306-315; STRACMANS 1953: 509-511. While a monograph on the inscription was offered by TRESSON 1919; GOEDICKE 1963: 187-197.

<sup>34</sup>The word thitherto is wrongly read . ERMAN 1882: 14; GARDINER 1915: 117; SETHE: 1933: vol.1, 102[5].

<sup>35</sup> GILBERT 2008: 34.

<sup>36</sup> This rare term represents a deliberate act to prove his ingenuity and sophistication in mastering foreign languages. The first syllable *whꜥ* includes all these meanings. LANGE & SCHAFER 1908: 389; SHOAIB 2021: 177.

- An Egyptian mentioned that he held the two pens of «*ḥ3w nbw*», reflecting the commercial links between Egypt and the Aegean islands<sup>37</sup>. This may indicate the presence of Egyptian translators in the royal court to read Aegean messages. There were Aegean commercial communities in the Egyptian capitals, the ports in the Levant, that related to Aegeans and the contact of Egyptian employees with them<sup>38</sup>.

**Other vital points were included in the diplomatic marriage<sup>39</sup>, the diplomatic relations, the treaties<sup>40</sup>, and the correspondences<sup>41</sup>:**

- The phenomenon of linguistic duplication is seen in the Tell El-Amarna Letters<sup>42</sup>. In one of the Mitanni letters sent to Akhenaten, King Tushratta praised the messenger Mani and the translator Khani because of their distinguished performance in a diplomatic mission to his country; he lavished gifts on them<sup>43</sup>.
- The Egyptian–Hittite peace treaty, which dates to the reign of Pharaoh Ramses II around 1280 BC, is a good example. It was written in Akkadian at first, translated into Egyptian, changed by Ramses, and then translated back into Akkadian and delivered to the Hittite king. This document is considered by experts to be one of the most holistic examples of a translation text in international law<sup>44</sup>. During the third intermediate period and the late period, these political alliances reflected political conditions in the ancient Near East and the importance of translation<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>37</sup> The phrase «Qalami Haunbo» refers to remembering the existence of two phases of the Aegean lines, although it seems that the appearance of the second phase was late in the Middle Kingdom. PETRIE 1889-90: 9-10; PETRIE 1890: 42-43; SALEH 2012: 268; SHOAI B 2021: 177-179.

<sup>38</sup> SALEH 2012: 268; SHOAI B 2021: 177.

<sup>39</sup> GIKVEON 1969: 54-59; SCHULMAN 1979: 177-193.

<sup>40</sup> BREASTED 1906: 163–174.

<sup>41</sup> For the question of the use of a foreign language for diplomatic correspondence, see: CZERMAK 1948: 1-13.

<sup>42</sup> The majority of those 382 tablets discovered in the place of the Tsars' Letters, a structure that served as an official «archive» in the middle of the city, could be dated to a period of fifteen to thirty years, beginning around the thirty-first year of Amenhotep III's rule (1390–1352 BC) and ending no later than the first year of Tutankhamun's rule (1336-1327 BC). The majority of the letters were written in Akkadian, which was the dominant tongue at the time. Yet, Assyrian, Hittite, and Hurrian (Mitanni) languages were present. CAMPBELL 1964; MYNÁŘOVÁ 2007; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 291-292.

<sup>43</sup> CREASMAN & WILKINSON 2017: 85.

<sup>44</sup> LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 291.

<sup>45</sup> The most renowned was the alliance of Egypt with Syria and Palestine against the Assyrian threat after the campaign of Shashanq I to Palestine during the reign of Osorkon II. The second phase of this conflict was completed during the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth dynasties. VITTMANN 2000: 97.

- The spread of the monotheistic chant of Akhenaten<sup>46</sup>, which was written prior to the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC, was translated several times in different eras into some Semitic dialects, such as Phoenician or Aramaic, as well as Hebrew<sup>47</sup>.
- The Egyptian royal envoy abroad and Egypt's ambassadors<sup>48</sup>, such as Sinhue<sup>49</sup>, Horemheb<sup>50</sup>, Tutu<sup>51</sup>, Wenamun<sup>52</sup>, Netjeruimes<sup>53</sup>, the royal Huy, Egyptian physicians, translators, and other specialists employed at the Hittite court<sup>54</sup>.
- Adopting the policy of deploying military garrisons to assist the Egyptian deputies of the royal court during the New Kingdom and the policy of raising the sons of the subordinate rulers with the princes in the royal palaces during Thutmose III's reign helped them learn the Egyptian language and culture<sup>55</sup>. Thus, they served as ambassadors of the Egyptian language and culture when they ascended their fathers' thrones<sup>56</sup>.

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<sup>46</sup> BODZIONY-SZWEDA 2009: 141-151; HOFFMEIER 2015.



<sup>47</sup> SHOAIK 2021: 181.

<sup>48</sup> LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

<sup>49</sup> Sinuhe, the protagonist of a story who fled Egypt and had a successful career in the Levant before returning to Egypt in his old age, was the prototype of an Egyptian royal envoy abroad in the Middle Kingdom. At the same time, he established a literary model for living abroad within a well-traveled and culturally appropriated border. CREASMAN & WILKINSON 2017: 12.

<sup>50</sup> Horemheb was a vizier of authority at the court of three kings, further a king himself (1333–1306 BC), and Tutu were the senior officials at Amarna who held the position of the official royal speakers to manage political matters and implement royal decrees inside and outside the country, including receiving messengers, ambassadors, and foreign envoys, adjudicating their affairs before presenting in front of the king, or giving permission to their owners to see the king. SHOAIK 2021: 190.

<sup>51</sup> It was evidenced by what Tutu said on the walls of his tomb, «chief mouthpiece of all the foreign lands». In another relief, he said: «I was the supreme mouthpiece in the entire land, in expeditions, works, and crafts, and [of] all persons living and dead; as to the ambassadors of all the foreign lands, I announced their words to the palace; I was being every day. I came out to them as the messenger of the King, possessed of every rule of [His] Majesty». These titles certainly indicated that he was this tutu whom the kings of Syria acknowledged in their letters as the true authority behind the throne in their affairs. It also suggests that Tutu was a man of years and position before Akhenaten ascended to the throne and that the young King, whose concerns were focused on Egypt, gladly counted on his father's confidant's diplomatic acumen. DAVIES 1908: 14-15, 27, Pl.19.

<sup>52</sup> Wenamun's conversation with the princes and officials in the Levant during his trip was evidence of the prevalence of his Egyptian language there, in addition to his conversation with the Cypriot Queen «Hatiba». He said  *sdmy mdt kmt*, which means: Is there anyone who understands the Egyptian language? when some replied to him with:  *dd. tw.i sdmy* «Well, I understand». GARDINER 1932: 75; GALÁN 2005: 153; SHOAIK 2021: 184.

<sup>53</sup> Netjeruimes was responsible for bringing the actual silver tablet with the Hittite Egyptian peace treaty to Egypt. CREASMAN & WILKINSON 2017: 12.


<sup>54</sup> Who went up to Hatti and brought her princess. CREASMAN & WILKINSON 2017: 12.9.

<sup>55</sup> This policy had two other aspects; they were essentially hostages that could be exploited against any revolution or rebellion carried out by their parents, as well as providing the opportunity to see the features of the Egyptian power that diminished their local strength and deepened this feeling among them. SHOAIK 2021: 179.

<sup>56</sup> HOFFMEIER 2004: 125-126; PANAGIOTOPOULOS 2006: 399-400; SHOAIK 2021: 178-179.

- There was a training for interpreters/ translators during Ramses II's reign (1304–1237 BC), as Herodotus pointed out to young men from Asian communities who taught Egyptian in Fayoum.<sup>57</sup>
- During Psamtik I's reign (663–610 BC), young Egyptian boys were sent to learn a foreign language by Hellenic settlers at the Delta. Thus, he formed a group of translators<sup>58</sup>, whose core was Egyptian boys<sup>59</sup>, to facilitate dealing with the Greeks and the Egyptians in the army<sup>60</sup>, court administration<sup>61</sup>, and trade<sup>62</sup>. Thus, Psamtik I's successors adopted the same policy, where they formed foreign military teams supervised by Egyptian leaders, who were called «speakers of a foreign language». This could be evidenced by the Greek, Carian, and Phoenician rock graffiti left by these mercenary soldiers, who participated in Psamtik II's campaign in Nubia<sup>63</sup>. There were many bilingual and multilingual texts in the Late Period<sup>64</sup>.

### III. THE FORMS OF *ἰρζω*

The first written record of the verbalized term for interpreting was the the title  (*ἰρζω*), which appeared in connection with the rock tombs discovered on Qubbet el-Hawa (a hill near Aswan) by Sir F.W. Grenfeli<sup>65</sup>. Scholars considered these writings to be the oldest surviving literal mention of interpreters/translators for the

<sup>57</sup> LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

<sup>58</sup> KHAFAGA 1966: 286; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

<sup>59</sup> According to Herodotus, these boys were taught by the mercenary soldiers (Lonian and Karian soldiers) after being given lands next to Tell Basta on the Pelusian branch of the Nile to live in as a fulfillment of them because they helped him. Then, Amasis transferred them to Memphis to be his private guards. KHAFAGA 1966: 286; SHOAI B 2021: 191.

<sup>60</sup> This is self-evident because of his use of Greek mercenaries in the Egyptian army, in the guards, and in the border garrisons. There was an also an influx of Greek merchants who worked for themselves in Egypt and as commercial mediators between Egypt and their country. HASSAN, 1957: 36-37; SALEH 2012: 436-437; SHOAI B 2021: 190.

<sup>61</sup> Sicilian Diodorus said: Psamtik I raised his children in as a Greek. Thus, some believed that they had learned the Greek language. But, the authenticity of the story is unknown. Further, it is believed that Psamtik I had a consultant and translator named Bigris (the same name of the translator of the Persian Achaemenid ruler of Minor Asia, Cyrus the Younger). SHOAI B 2021: 190-191.

<sup>62</sup> It differed from the policy of Psamtik I to the policy of Ramesses III, who also relied on mercenary soldiers (Nubians, Libyans, Asians, Aegeans, and Hittites) in the army units. However, Ramesses III did not underestimate the Egyptian language and entrusted these foreigners with teaching the Egyptians their languages to raise a generation of Egyptian translators, as Psamtik I did. But he worked on Egyptianizing them linguistically and culturally, as evidenced by what was mentioned in Habu's texts: «He seized the countries of Tameho, Lipo, and Mashwash, made them cross the river to Egypt, they heard the language of the people (the Egyptians), to be in the service of the king, and abolished their language and replaced their tongues (their languages)». SHOAI B 2021: 192-193.







<sup>63</sup> Greek, Carian, and Phoenician armies in Psamtik II's Nubian Campaign in 593 BC carved on seated statues of Rameses II in Abu Simbel Temple. VITTMANN 2008: 100-101; SCHMITZ 2010: 321-337.

<sup>64</sup> Such as a votive statue from the Serapeum in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. There is a bilingual inscription of a bronze statue of the Neith Temple (the reign of Psamtik I), and a bilingual inscription (Egyptian and Phoenician languages) of a statue from the twenty-sixth dynasty in the Louvre Museum in Paris. YOYOTTE 1956: 43, 53 PLS. 6, 7; SHOAI B 2021: PLS.22-23.

<sup>65</sup> GARDINER 1915: 117; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

Elephantine princes<sup>66</sup>. Those local princes were charged with facilitating and promoting trade during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> dynasties<sup>67</sup>. Their title (*ṯmy-rṯ ṯ3w*) was recognized by M. Schiaparelli to be identical to the title occurring in Weni's inscription<sup>68</sup>.

### • In the Old Kingdom

The most prevalent form was , attested early in the 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>69</sup>. It could be having a determinative  <sup>70</sup>, where the plural form  <sup>71</sup> was implied in the inscriptions from Sabni's tomb<sup>72</sup>. Additionally, it appeared one time as  a graffito dated to the first Jubilee of Pepi I (year 37) in Wadi El-Hammat<sup>73</sup>, and once as  in an inscription from the mastaba of *ṯnhi:inty* at Saqqara (Late dynasty VI)<sup>74</sup>. It appeared twice in this form  <sup>75</sup> on the stela of *ṯw.t(i)* from Nagada (6<sup>th</sup> dynasty)<sup>76</sup>, and in stela N<sup>o</sup>.1435<sup>77</sup>, equaled with the inscription of Weni<sup>78</sup> (Overseers of Dragomans)<sup>79</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

<sup>67</sup> VISCHAK 2015: 99 FIG.33.












<sup>68</sup> GARDINER 1915: 117. Likewise, the situation in the story of the Shipwrecked Sailor (Middle Kingdom) involved the return of a trading, exploration, or military mission from the south (Phoenician coast). SIMPSON 2003: 45-53.

<sup>69</sup> SETHE 1913: PL.3; SETHE: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 121.10; 123.10, 15; 125.10; 131.15; 135.16; REISNER 1942: FIGS.257-258, 263 (438 & foll): G 2150 (= the mastaba of *K3.i nfrw*); For the date, see: JUNKER 1944: 162; GOEDICKE 1960: 61, N<sup>o</sup>.6; BELL 1976: 1, N<sup>o</sup>.7; PORTER & MOSS: *PM* 1981: PART.3, 77 PT. 1.


<sup>70</sup> SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 132.5, 9.




<sup>71</sup> SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 137.5.

<sup>72</sup> SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 137.5.

The actual arrangement of the text was based on a split-column writing. BELL 1976: 171, N<sup>o</sup>.857; Although Goedicke emphasized that  at the end of the passage was to be understood as a determinative for the preceding words , ,  in accordance with the practice of abbreviation by avoiding the repetition of the same determinative known from other Old Kingdom inscriptions (For this practice, see GUNN 1933: 106), he incorrectly considered that  was (ṯ) referring to a group or class of people. He added that it was improbable to mean 'interpreter', as the mention of the  (  ) between  (  ) and  (  ) indicated that those people, called (ṯ), occupied a position that set them in some relation both to the Egyptians and to the Nubians. GOEDICKE 1960: 61.


<sup>73</sup> GOYON 1957: 55-56, N<sup>o</sup>.21; BELL 1976: 2.

<sup>74</sup> According to Bell, who saw a hand-copy of the inscription, the correct reading of the relevant passage did not indicate it was in the published copy. It should be . BELL 1976: 2, 95 N<sup>o</sup>.15.

<sup>75</sup> The hieroglyph  sometimes otherwise occurred in the word  "Interpreter." It appeared from Weni's text and the stela of *ṯw.t(i)* that the writing without  was not exclusively confined to the Middle Kingdom. GARDINER 1915: 124. However, such instances were extremely rare. The earliest example was on an ivory plaque from the Thinite period, which, like all such objects, served as a label for a box or parcel. Placed apart from the inscription, which was written in smaller characters, the sign was accompanied only by a line, which showed that it was an ideogram, or rather a pictogram, used to indicate the contents of the packet, i.e., a garment. In this instance, the sign was so clearly drawn that there could be no doubt as to what it was intended to represent. It showed a rectangular object, its width greater than its height, surmounted by a series of small oblique lines that represented a fringe or braid; on the sides are two cords, each terminating in a ring. JÉQUIER 1915: 250.

<sup>76</sup> BORCHARDT 1964: 1638; BELL 1976: 2.

<sup>77</sup> BORCHARDT 1937: 117.






<sup>78</sup>  SETHE: 1933: vol.1, 102 L.5.

<sup>79</sup> Although Gardiner observed that the title *ṯmy-r3 ṯ3w* became rare after dynasty VI. The prince Sirenpowet of Aswan preserved it. GARDINER 1915: 124-125; BELL 1976: 84.



• **In the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom:**

Apparently, *i3w* and *Imy-r3 i3w* could still be found throughout the Middle Kingdom in Buhen<sup>80</sup>, Medik<sup>81</sup>, Wadi el-Hudi<sup>82</sup>, Qubbet el-Hawa<sup>83</sup>, Wadi Hammamat<sup>84</sup>, Wadi Beiza<sup>85</sup>, Bir Menih<sup>86</sup>, and Sinai (Rod el-Air)<sup>87</sup>. Furthermore, the title *Imy-r3 i3w snhw*<sup>88</sup> (of Rod el-Air) was associated with his four sons *Mrrw*, *Shtp-ib-R(w)*, *Hnt(y)-hty-htp(w)*, *nd s(i)-n(y)-wsrt*, every one of them with the title *i3w*<sup>89</sup>. The title *i3w* was held by at least fifteen other Egyptians in Magharah and Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai<sup>90</sup>.

There was  in spell 64 of the coffin texts (on a coffin from the 10<sup>th</sup> dynasty?<sup>91</sup>). The form  came from stela (CGC20026), from Abydos dating to Sesostris I<sup>92</sup>. Also, there were writings with  in  «the dragoman *Tw.f-r-snb*» in stela (CGC20035)<sup>93</sup> and  in Khartoom Museum stela (11778)<sup>94</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> VERCOUTTER 1957: 61, FIG.1, 64 PL.12a=Stele Khartoum 11778; FISCHER 1961: 79, N°.88.

<sup>81</sup> WEIGALL 1977: 50, N°. 6-8.

<sup>82</sup> FAKHRY 1952: Nos.1, 3-4, 4a, 26, 53, 66; BELL 1976: 85.

<sup>83</sup> SETHE: 1935: vol.7, 6.3; EDEL 1971: ABBS.8, 11; BELL 1976: 198, N°.1145.

<sup>84</sup> GOYON 1957: N°.87; BELL 1976: 86.

<sup>85</sup> ČERNÝ 1947: 56, N°. 43, FIG.4.

<sup>86</sup> On the other hand, the name *i3w*, borne by a *hr(y)-s*, «assistant», probably did not mean «interpreter, but something like» Babblor. This could be a nickname related to his speech style rather than his occupation. There was no evidence that this man was an «Egyptianized Nubian». GREEN 1909: 252, N°.4, 253, N°.21; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 159; BELL 1976: 85-86, 200, N°.1172.

<sup>87</sup> ČERNÝ 1955: 219-220, N°.511, PL.XCIV, FIG.31.

<sup>88</sup> It showed a man standing, with a staff and sekhem-scepter in his hands, facing right. In front of him: 1- Those who love their god and return (home) in peace are those who shall say, 2- A thousand of bread and beer, a thousand of all things on which a god lives to the overseer of interpreters, 3- Ankhu and to the interpreter Mereru, true of voice, possessing honor. Below, four men are represented with their names in a vertical column in front of each, 4- his son, interpreter Mereru, possessing honor, 5- his son, interpreter Sehetepibre, possessing honor, 6- his son, interpreter Khentekhtayhotep, possessing honor, 7- his son, interpreter Senwosret, possessing honor'. ČERNÝ 1955: 219-220, N°.511.

<sup>89</sup> Neither their names nor depictions implied that these people were anything other than Egyptian. Thus, «the father's title was unlikely to indicate 'overseer of the foreigners' but 'overseer of interpreters' who were, in this case, his sons who joined him on this mission. BELL 1976: 85.

<sup>90</sup> The introduction of Asians into the work gangs necessitated the presence of Egyptian «interpreters» there as well. The other evidence regarding Asians employed by the Egyptians in Sinai at the time clearly supported this, at least in the majority of cases. The appearance here of a high official from *Rmw* was a matter of some significance. He was represented respectfully, either in Egyptian attire or on a donkey with two retainers, and he was invariably associated with interpreters in the lists of the men that made up these expeditions. POSENER 1957: 145-163; BELL 1976: 85-86.



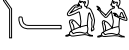
<sup>91</sup> Bell said: «This example very kindly called to my attention by Mr. Edward Brovanski, who showed me a hand-copy of the inscription made by Prof./ Charles F. Nims during his working in the nearby mastaba of Mereruka with the Oriental Institute's Saqqara Expedition». BELL 1976: 95, N°.15.

<sup>92</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 34, N°.20026.

<sup>93</sup> It gave his title as *smsw i3w* or simply *i3w*; LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 43 N°. 20035; GARDINER 1915: 123.


<sup>94</sup> VERCOUTTER 1957: 61, FIG.1, 64, PL.12a=Stele Khartoum 11778. Fischer provided many points to indicate that the last stela belonged to the 13<sup>th</sup> dynasty rather than the 12<sup>th</sup> dynasty. FISCHER 1961: 79, N°.88.



1896+2006)<sup>107</sup>, dated to year 12 of Ramesses XI,  was in Papyrus (BM 10326), dated no earlier than year 28 of Ramesses XI<sup>108</sup>;  in Papyrus (BM 10052, 6.2, 7. 13, 10. 18, 11.4)<sup>109</sup>, dated to year I of the Renaissance(=year of 19 Ramesses XI). Finally,  is found in Papyrus Bournemouth<sup>110</sup>.

#### IV. THE FORM EXAMINATION

The word was studied for a long time (Gardiner's study<sup>111</sup>, Weill's study<sup>112</sup>, and Jéquier's studies)<sup>113</sup>. Also, the philological studies by Goedicke<sup>114</sup> and Fischer<sup>115</sup> rekindled the worldwide debate, but with no results. The last re-examination of the word was carried out by Bell in 1976<sup>116</sup>.

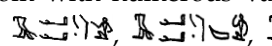
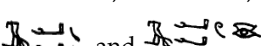
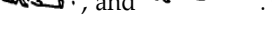
- **The Significance of the Sign  (S 25):**

The hieroglyphic sign's shape changed significantly between texts, even during the Old Kingdom<sup>117</sup>. The main part of this hieroglyph form depicted an approximately rectangular space with an extension of the base, the shape of which was not straight but somewhat curved outwards.

On the other hand, other versions depicted a straight base with a marked construction. The upper section was embellished with a narrow band, the ends of which generally fell on either side or showed ending in a ring<sup>118</sup>. Despite its small size, the symbol clearly represented a woven yellowish textile. Its length exceeded its width, and was connected to a band, the ends of which drew out and, depending on how firmly

<sup>107</sup> These *ʿšw*-foreigners in this papyrus were associated with Iumiteru, Pathyris, and Sumenu, confirming the presence of «Egyptianized Nubians» in Gebelein for over almost a thousand years; GARDINER 1941: PL.XXXI, 35; 43-4; BELL 1976: 3, 89.

<sup>108</sup> GARDINER 1941: 35, 43-4; BELL 1976: 3.

<sup>109</sup> It was the most widespread in the New Kingdom with numerous variants in Pap. BM 10052, BM 10053, BM 10403, BM 10221, BM 10068, such as , , . GARDINER 1915: 12; BELL 1976: 3, 96, N°.22-24.

<sup>110</sup> Line 12, dated no earlier than year 24 of Ramesses XI(=year 6 of the Renaissance). ČERNÝ 1939: 65; BELL 1976: 3.

<sup>111</sup> GARDINER 1915: 117-125.

<sup>112</sup> WEILL 1906: 27-29.

<sup>113</sup> JÉQUIER 1910: 172-185; JÉQUIER 1915: 246-252.

<sup>114</sup> GOEDICKE 1960: 60-64.

<sup>115</sup> Either Goedicke or Fischer were unnecessarily prejudiced about their conclusions because they limited their analysis to information from the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. Middle and the New Kingdom data was necessary for a thorough comprehension of this word. GOEDICKE 1960: 172-174.

<sup>116</sup> BELL 1976: 4-18.





<sup>117</sup> The shape of the hieroglyphic sign (which was found on graffiti in various parts of Nubia, including Tomas, where mission heads used to inscribe their names on the rocks) differed slightly from the other one, which was left by the engravers of Aswan and Abydos. JÉQUIER 1910: 175.

<sup>118</sup> JÉQUIER 1915: 247.

sewed, fell when extended or contracted<sup>119</sup>. Gardiner collected all its examples in his article [FIGURE 1]<sup>120</sup>:



[FIGURE 1]: The whole examples of the sign as Gardiner collected on his article.  
GARDINER 1915: 119, PL.XI.

Erman suggested that this part (  ) (Sign S 25) be introduced as a caravan<sup>121</sup>, where Breasted and Faulkner followed him in their translations<sup>122</sup>. Weill doubted this proposal, and sought to prove that the form  represented a vase with handles. He identified it with a relatively similar sign that appeared in various writings of words containing the element .<sup>123</sup> Then, Golénischeff quoted the words **Tꜣw** *sacculi* and **TOUw** *كيس*, supporting the idea that in , the sign might depict a small sack with strings. He did not see such kinds of vases, even though he noted that these these vases were used in ancient Egypt<sup>124</sup>. Thus, he did not determine whether either his assumption or Weill's assumption was right<sup>125</sup>.

Jéquier believed that it was unlikely that the sign was merely phonetic, considering it depicted a sizable bead on a thread. He believed it was part of a title,<sup>126</sup> because it represented the badge of office of some functionary. The badge is attached to the arm.<sup>127</sup> and might be read *ꜥdnt* (Armband). He also considered the similarities

<sup>119</sup> JÉQUIER 1915: 248.

<sup>120</sup> Nos.1-4 were from Sahure's relief inscriptions at Sabni, and Old Kingdom inscriptions from Sinai. Nos. 5-7 were Middle Kingdom inscriptions found in Sinai and Aswan. N°.8 was from the tomb of Methen. WEILL 1904: N°.19 (collated); GARDINER 1915: 119 PL.XI; SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 137.

<sup>121</sup> Erman seemed to interpreted the word as «caravan», because of his observation that the word almost exclusively occurred in connection with leaders. ERMAN 1904: 19; WEILL 1906: 28. GARDINER 1915: 124.



<sup>122</sup> GARDINER 1915: 118; FAULKNER 1953: 34.

<sup>123</sup> WEILL 1906: 27-29, XI, 200; JÉQUIER 1910: 172; GARDINER 1915: 117.



<sup>124</sup> GOLÉNISCHEF 1908: 85; GARDINER 1915: 118.

<sup>125</sup> GOLÉNISCHEF 1908: 85.

<sup>126</sup> JÉQUIER 1910: 174.

<sup>127</sup> Jéquier's considered the most frequent and least cursive model being without a doubt the one where the central part affected the rectangular shape. It presented a very characteristic analogy with certain ornamental objects figured on Middle Kingdom sarcophagi. These objects include large cylindrical pearls through which cord passed, and hanged from two sides. According to accompanying legends, they were sometimes worn on the arm. Other ornaments were worn, such as one that was shaped like a heart or semicircles , always with the two cords hanging down, which corresponded almost exactly as the main variants of the  sign. The concordance was therefore obvious between the types of the hieroglyphic sign and the three varieties of the large threaded pearls from the Middle Kingdom sarcophagi. There was hardly any doubt about their identity. JÉQUIER 1910: 175.

between the sign and vases, as Weill said<sup>128</sup>, but it seemed to him to be coincidental in the Herkhouf and Pepenakht's inscriptions<sup>129</sup>. But he retracted his opinion after Sahure's tomb was published. Other points of view considered the sign to depict a variety of different clothes, such as an apron, a kilt, a skirt, a loincloth, a mantle, or a cloak<sup>130</sup>.

To sum up, the  sign was composed of an almost rectangular central piece, sometimes slightly widened at the top, and placed horizontally; from the top of the vertical sides, curved lines fall to the left and the right<sup>131</sup>, like the two ends of a cord that, on certain specimens, crosses the object in all its length<sup>132</sup>; in Weni's inscription, it came before the <sup>133</sup> sign, and it was in Sabni that it looked like a vase<sup>134</sup>. All these texts were engraved somewhat summarily, or at least without details in the signs, of which only the outline was clearly drawn<sup>135</sup>.

The researcher proposes that since the sign was a component of the translator/interpreter title, there might be a shared point between the translator/interpreter and the scribe, who always carried his equipment wherever he was working.

Therefore, all opinions about the sign, fully discarding the idea of the vase or caravan, might achieve the objective of finding the closest description of the sign. It might be a type of clothing, sometimes ornate (an apron, a kilt, a skirt, a loincloth, a mantle, or a cloak), that was tied around the waist, but at the same time, it had a sack to contain the translator's tools, which were undoubtedly very close to the scribe's tools.

## V. THE PHONETIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE TITLE AND ITS MEANING

The title took many phonetic pronunciations and translations; some closer to its specific meaning, while others were more distant.

- Erman noted that the title took place almost exclusively on the frontiers or in reference to foreign expeditions<sup>136</sup>, from whence Breasted translated the composite

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<sup>128</sup> Jéquier said: As a matter of fact, there was not, in ancient Egypt, any sort of vessel to which such a name could apply. It would be strange that a hieroglyph should represent an object which did not exist, and presently there is no difficulty in seeing that neither of the two signs can represent a vase with drooping ears. This is an incorrect expression should be struck out of Egyptologists's vocabularies. JÉQUIER 1915: 246.

<sup>129</sup> JÉQUIER 1910: 172, 174; SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 121[10]; 123.10, 15; 125.10; 131.15; 135[16].

<sup>130</sup> The form of the garment-whether depicted as an object presented in an offering scene or used as a hieroglyphic sign in the writing of the name of an object- was subject to considerable variation. Some of the examples were painted yellow or showed spots like those of a leopard. READ 1917: 142, N°.3; BELL 1976: 5.

<sup>131</sup> Jéquier considered that the sign originally denoted a special vestment, generalized later and applied to all sorts of clothing for men. It must have been used solely as an ideogram during this phase, with one well characterized instance that dates to the Thinite Period. It is rarely used as a determinative. JÉQUIER 1915: 251-252.

<sup>132</sup> SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, L.10.


<sup>133</sup> SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 120 L.17; 102 L. 5.

<sup>134</sup> SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 137 L. 5

<sup>135</sup> JÉQUIER 1910: 174.

<sup>136</sup> ERMAN 1904: 19; WEILL 1906: 28.

title as «caravan conductor»<sup>137</sup> in his records. Faulkner gave a couple of translations; a «caravan conductor» and a «dragoman»<sup>138</sup>.

- *ʿw*, or *i3w* in  *Imy-r3 ʿ(w)*, (*i3w*) with the meaning «overseer of foreign mercenaries/ Egyptianized Nubians»<sup>139</sup>, or «speaker of a foreign language»<sup>140</sup>.
- *ʿ3* with the meaning «Foreigner»<sup>141</sup> which was translated by Goyon<sup>142</sup> and later adopted by Leclant<sup>143</sup>, Edel<sup>144</sup>, Hornung<sup>145</sup>, and Fischer.<sup>146</sup> Thus, it was «a chief of the Egyptianized foreigners» in *Imy-r ʿ3w*<sup>147</sup>.
- Edel<sup>148</sup> and Helck (*Imy-r3 T3w.w*)<sup>149</sup> gave the meaning «overseer of the foreign languages».
- *Imy-r3 ʿ3w* «the commanders of the Nubian auxiliary troops»<sup>150</sup>.
- *Mr T3w* «chief of Nubian auxiliaries»<sup>151</sup>.
- *ʿw* «interpreter»<sup>152</sup>, *Imy-r3 ʿw* «overseer of interpreters»<sup>153</sup>.
- *T3w* «interpreter»<sup>154</sup> or «director of foreigners»<sup>155</sup>.
- *Imy-r(3) T3w(w)*<sup>156</sup> «Egyptian interpreter or a foreigner/ Egyptianized Nubian»<sup>157</sup>.


<sup>137</sup> GARDINER 1915: 118.

<sup>138</sup> FAULKNER 1953: 34.

<sup>139</sup> WEILL 1906: 27; GARDINER 1915: 117-125; ERMAN & GRAPOW (eds.) 1926: *Wb*, vol.1, 159(9); SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 92; 113; 120; 131; 135; FISCHER 1996: 249; JONES 2000: 73-76. *Imy-r3 T3.w*, *imy-r ʿw(w)*. SCHNEIDER 1998: 22, N°131.

<sup>140</sup> WEILL 1910: 172-174; JEQUIER 1915: 246-252; PEET 1973: 224. So, *Imy-r3 T3ww* was a chef of the foreign language. DORET 1986: 32, N°224.

It was closer to *Imy-r3 T3w* (overseers of foreign tongue speakers). SIMPSON 2003: 404.

<sup>141</sup> Gardiner said: «the initial monogram must read *ʿ3* rather than *ʿw* since in letter case  would surely have been written», but he admitted that it could be *ʿ3*. GARDINER 1984: 16-18.

<sup>142</sup> GOYON 1957: 56.

<sup>143</sup> LECLANT 1962: 213, N°8

<sup>144</sup> EDEL 1971: 55, N°1, 63, N° 25.

<sup>145</sup> HORNUNG 1963: 75(5).

<sup>146</sup> FISCHER 1964: 141.

<sup>147</sup> EDEL 1971: 55, 63.

<sup>148</sup> EDEL 1981: 128.

<sup>149</sup> HELCK 1975: 128

<sup>150</sup> WARD 1982: N°59.

<sup>151</sup> JONES 2000: 74.

<sup>152</sup> Vercotter considered the title to be one of those of the Elephantine officials who undertook journeys to Nubia during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. VERCOTTER 1957: 62 N°.(c).

<sup>153</sup> FISCHER 1964: 29; PORTER & MOSS: *PM* 1981: vol.3, 77 G. 468.

'Intermediaries' between the Egyptians and Nubian. BELL 1976: 51-53.













<sup>154</sup> ROCCATI 1982: 202.
















<sup>155</sup> REDFORD 1986: 126, N°8; CHEVEREAU 1987: 23(80-157).

<sup>156</sup> MURNANE 1975: 32; BELL 1976: N°880, N°909, 62-63, N°899-904, 75-76, N°1020-1028.

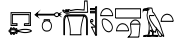

<sup>157</sup> Eichler's view considered that the term *T3w* was Egyptianized, and applied mostly Nubian foreigners. They appeared most frequently in the expedition areas, and their chiefs bore, by far, the most frequently used title of the Old Kingdom. He added that the function of these people was undoubtedly insufficiently represented by the usual translation «interpreter»: What was the use of so many translators in the desert areas? *T3w* represented (Nubian) auxiliary troops who belonged to the expedition personnel and probably performed both work in the quarries and paramilitary tasks. Further, the title of a simple *T3* was never attested in the expedition area. EICHLER 1993: 192, 197 & TAB.18, 328.





- ʿw is a kilt wearer and is not translated as interpreter. This translation may mean that the title bearer was part of the paramilitary units that were used as auxiliaries or perhaps police, like the Medjay in the Kingdom<sup>158</sup>.

Firstly, to clarify this diversity in the title, the phonetic pronunciation, and the translation, we must have an insightful look at it. Gardiner gave good reasons why the form  <sup>159</sup> was the early form of the New Kingdom word . He began with the ancient Egyptian term  <sup>160</sup>, the particular determinative of which was an exceptional sign of importance. Erman<sup>161</sup> showed that the New Kingdom writing with  regularly corresponded to the Old Kingdom writing with . So for example , «ape» for ancient , , «Cup» for ancient . Another Old Kingdom writing for the former of these two writings was apparently , and in early compounds,  appears equal to  <sup>162</sup>.

Secondly, what reason is there for supposing that  can be the equivalent of the later  in the phonetical article quoted above? Erman<sup>163</sup> showed that  was a common equivalent from the Middle Kingdom onwards both for  old and for later ,  for , late , and  for , late  <sup>164</sup>. Thus, Gardiner counted on  <sup>(sjc)</sup> «the dragoman Efersonb» (Cairo M.K. Stele 20035)<sup>165</sup>, to be the clearest link between the old title, , on the one hand and, ,  on the other <sup>166</sup>.

<sup>158</sup> REDFORD 2004: 20.

<sup>159</sup> This rendering of the Old Kingdom form seems to receive remarkable corroboration in one of the instances quoted by Gardiner himself, if in this instance he has taken it in its full context. A certain Khuy, buried at Saqqara, was described as . Here it is impossible to understand the last two words other than as dependent on ; it should translate as «royal physician, interpreter of a difficult science». Here, the proposition «interpreter», proposed by Gardiner, is perfect. The «difficult science» is, of course, medicine; «interpreter» is used in a semi-metaphorical sense. QUIBELL 1907: 22; PEET 1973: 224.

<sup>160</sup> Gardiner tried to argue that the stem  (old ) means to speak a foreign language and that the ,  also means «speakers of a foreign language», whether as actual foreigners, or whether as Egyptians, who could serve as dragomans or interpreters.

The evidence was fragmented and ambiguous, but Gardiner believed that the explanation presented here is the best. GARDINER 1915: 120.

<sup>161</sup> ERMAN 1904: 19.

<sup>162</sup> SPIEGELBERG 1906: 162; GARDINER 1915: 120.

<sup>163</sup> ERMAN 1904: 19-21.

<sup>164</sup> GARDINER 1915: 123.

<sup>165</sup> LANGE & SCHÄFER 1902: 43, N°.20035.

<sup>166</sup> Gardiner tended to attach more importance to it than would otherwise be justifiable because it occurred on a stele which, though roughly carved, was orthographically immaculate. GARDINER 1915: 123.

Thirdly, the contexts in which it alluded to a god were appropriate for the meaning «interpreter,» e.g., in the Coffin Texts<sup>167</sup>, in Amduat<sup>168</sup>, «BD»97<sup>169</sup>, «BD»125c.<sup>170</sup> Schenkel<sup>171</sup> described Thoth as «skilled in foreign languages», which was emphasized by Černý when he cited «Thoth as Creator of Languages in the New Kingdom»<sup>172</sup> according to a Thoth hymn (1.6)<sup>173</sup>, the same on Turin, Pleyte-Ro, 25, 10<sup>174</sup>, and from British Museum. Stela 551, L.19<sup>175</sup>.

Furthermore, these texts revealed that Egyptian gods were seen to have some concern for other countries at that time and had ceased being purely national. Thoth's title «Lord of Iunut» and the «Lord of Foreign Lands»<sup>176</sup> was being used as early as the Fifth dynasty<sup>177</sup>, and *T3w n (y) ib nb*, «the interpreter of every heart,» was used in a New Kingdom hymn<sup>178</sup>.

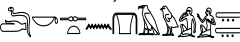
Thoth's role was defined earlier than the hymn to Aton, which expressed this idea and observed that Aton was also said to be responsible for distinguishing (*wsi*) the languages of mankind and differentiating (*stni*) their skin color: 'tongues are distinguished in speaking, their character likewise; their skin is made different, because thou hast differentiated the peoples'<sup>179</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> *hwwt.k is hr tbwty.k(y) wnn.i hm n.k m T3w.k*. Rest assured that I shall serve as your interpreter no matter what surface you walk on (or anywhere you go). FAULKNER 1973: 60; BELL 1976: 88.

<sup>168</sup> The Sun god Re was described as *T3w dw3t* «The Interpreter of the Afterworld»; Hornung considered that this epithet might be related to the foreigners represented in the Book of Gates. HORNUNG 1963: 75(5); BELL 1976: 88, 201, N<sup>o</sup>.1202.

<sup>169</sup> *Ink T3w n(y)r(3).f*, «I am the interpreter of his speech (lit.: mouth)». BELL 1976: 88.


<sup>170</sup> The deceased is encountering obstacles at the door of the Hall of the Two Truths, where his heart is to be cleansed of all guilt. The doorkeeper of this Hall says: «I won't announce thee unless you state my name». «Thy name is Knower of Hearts, Searcher out of Bodies».




«What deity shall I announce thee to in his hour?»:  *dd.k st n T3w t3wy*.

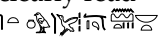
The Interpreter of the Two Lands is how Thoth is depicted in this passage, which is not surprising; the Greek god Hermes was the interpreter par excellence, and the word «interpreter» itself is derived from his name in Greek as we mentioned before. GARDINER 1917: 134.

<sup>171</sup> *LÄ* mentioned the year and write the word. *LÄ*.vol.2, Col, 315.

<sup>172</sup> ČERNÝ 1948: 121-122; BELL 1976: 88.

<sup>173</sup> It is a hymn to Thoth from the collection of Leipzig University. It consists of 12 lines written on one side of a piece of limestone. In 1.6 Thoth is invoked in terms:  *wp(i) ns n(y) h 3st r k(i)t(i)(v<sup>r</sup>.: r h3st)*, «Hail to thee, Moon-Thoth, who made different the tongue of one country from another», «*nd stnw ns n(y) h3swt nb(w)t*, the person who could between every foreign language's tongue. «This terminology use undoubtedly explains the substitution that took place in the Saite recension of «BD» 125c when *stnw* came to replace *T3w*». ČERNÝ 1948: 121; BELL 1976: 88.

<sup>174</sup>  According to the published facsimile, the papyrus is not very legible, and we must clearly read  instead of . ČERNÝ 1948: 121.

<sup>175</sup>  'Who distinguished the tongue of every foreign. ČERNÝ 1948: 121.

<sup>176</sup> ČERNÝ 1948: 122.

<sup>177</sup> BELL 1976: 201, N<sup>o</sup>.1201

<sup>178</sup> BELL 1976: 88.

<sup>179</sup> Thoth most likely distinguished between the tongues of the different nations based on a myth or legend that has since been lost. According to New Kingdom beliefs, Thoth was the one who created foreign languages. DAVIES 1908: PL.27, 11[8-9]; ČERNÝ 1948: 122; BELL 1976: 88.



Gardiner's view also considered the word probably originated from the verb, «to speak a foreign tongue», and with its new determinative . A very common indication of what is foreign in the New Kingdom is to translate as «foreigner»<sup>180</sup>.

Spiegelberg's suggestion that corresponded to **βαρβαρίζειν** 'to speak and act like a barbarian', 'to speak gibberish'<sup>181</sup>, was valid for the other uses of this word.<sup>182</sup> The connection between the linguistic origin of «*T3w*» matches up with the names of the ancestors of these «Egyptianized Nubians» «*T3ww*» «babblers».<sup>183</sup> The word denoted chatter and incomprehensible speech<sup>184</sup>, since the Egyptians probably could not understand the Nubians and other foreign people. It was the ancient Egyptian onomatopoeia for Nubian and foreign speech, which they could not understand. It was shown in the text «*nhsy T3w*»<sup>185</sup> «talkative Nubian», in Pap. Anastasi I 28.6:



**bn T3w wh(w).fst** «words are confusing to hear.»

(So that) even an interpreter would have trouble understanding them. In Pap. Sallier I, ro. 7. 11- 8. 1:



**«m nhsy(w) T3wy.ti iw In(iw).fm p3 Inw»**  
«as a gibbering Nubian who is brought with the tribute».

<sup>180</sup> Gardiner added that the reason was that the former was clearly a title while the latter was equally clearly not. It would be more literal to substitute «speaker of a foreign language». GARDINER 1915: 122. Goedicke considered this view as strange. GARDINER 1960: 60, 64.

But, the new translation as foreigner confirmed the authenticity and the continuity of the title as a translator. SHOAIB 2021: 176.

<sup>181</sup> He emphasized the onomatopoeic character of the Egyptian word, which had a Greek equivalent. The Old Kingdom term was, as usual, transcribed ʕ, but a more correct term was ʕ3. SPIEGELBERG 1893: 41-42; GOEDICKE 1960: 60, N<sup>o</sup>.2.

<sup>182</sup> It was still in a high effect until Sethe discovered that this form (as we mentioned before) was a title for the heads of Egyptian officials who sailed to Syria. Sethe suggested shipmate (Maat) as a new translation. SETHE 1913: 87.

<sup>183</sup> BELL 1976: 91.


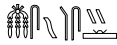
<sup>184</sup> The same verb most likely appeared in the story of Sinuhe, although it was so in an unclear form at first glance that Gardiner, like previous translators, was compelled to speculate. He assumed that , after left untranslated might well mean «cried aloud»; for instance, in Sinuhe's battle with the mighty man of retenu, «every heart burned for me, women and men..., every heart was sore for me' (B 131-3= R 157, 8). The excited way in which the Retenu- people discussed the subject naturally in their own language was undoubtedly a more psychologically accurate interpretation. By using the half-contemptuous word, Sinuhe denoted the cacophony of weird sounds that emerged on that memorable occasion. GARDINER 1915: 122-123.

<sup>185</sup> *Nhsy htp* had long been acknowledged as mercenary troops who supported the Egyptian army. SETHE: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 211, 3[10];

Borchardt stated that the *Nhsy htp* should be connected with the Nubian countries. BORCHARDT 1905: 7. The connection between the *imy-r T3w* and the *Nhsyw nyw h3swt iptn* also in Weni's account of the army he commanded. SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 102, 5.8; GOEDICKE 1960: 63.

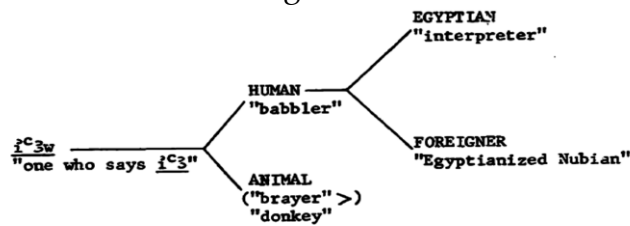
<sup>186</sup> SPIEGELBERG has quite correctly observed that can only mean in this passage, «to speak gibberish», «to speak in a foreign language». GARDINER 1915: 120-121.





<sup>187</sup> SPIEGELBERG 1893: 41-42; GARDINER 1915: 121.

It becomes essential to our discussion that *Iʿ3w* appeared in Pap. Boulaq 18. A *md3y Iʿ3w*, which one is tempted to read as «Medjay interpreter» is included among the small group of *md3yw* «Medjay Nubians», whose arrival at Thebes was supposed to have occurred at the end of the Middle Kingdom. It has a meaning that certainly fits the circumstances. However, only Egyptians are referred to as *Iʿ3w* in the sense of «interpreter»<sup>188</sup>. There was evidence for the word *Iʿ3w* from a 20<sup>th</sup> dynasty papyrus (B.M. 10052). Peet translated *Iʿ3w*, in reference to the Papyri (10. 11), as «Nubian»<sup>189</sup>. This is apparently an incorrect translation, and was influenced by the abbreviated writing  and its placement in the same line of the expression *ms Nhsy*  «young Nubian».<sup>190</sup>

Finally, the word *Iʿ3w* is used to mean donkey, referencing the braying sound of the animal<sup>191</sup>. This word, an example of slang, became acceptable in the literary language and adopted a certain respectability when applied to the interpreters. Interpreters saw this term as quite complimentary, because it denoted a person was capable of comprehending or interpreting.


Overall, the most accurate transliteration for the form was *Iʿ3w*, which passed through some transformations in its meaning as follows:



Additionally, since it was an authentic word that rose from an onomatopoeia, the form  in  was used for the singular and plural<sup>192</sup>, like  in  <sup>193</sup>«depending on the context»<sup>194</sup>.


<sup>188</sup> It's interesting to note that the syntax of this construction shows up with two nouns in apposition rather than as a noun and an adjective: «a Medjay Nubian, (namely) an Egyptianized one» = «an Egyptianized Medjay Nubian» = *Iʿ3w ny md3*. Here, a Nubian became Egyptianized and is working for the Egyptian King, and is ostensibly accompanying a Medjay chief during an official visit to the Egyptian court. BELL 1976: 87.


<sup>189</sup> PEET 1926: 257.




<sup>190</sup> The scarcity of references to *Nhsyw*, «Nubians» in the Tomb-robbery papyri, in addition to this *ms Nhsy*, only a *hm Nhsy*, «Nubian slave» is mentioned in Pap. Amherst 3.5 . It should make us suspect that another term was being used to refer to them. PEET 1926: PL.V; BELL 1976: 202, N°1205.





<sup>191</sup> Apparently, the donkey sound was underling the Semitic *ʿyr*. It was probably that the appellation *iʿ3w*, was initially derisive, mocking unusual speech of Nubians, the only outsiders with whom the Egyptians had any regular contact throughout the Old Kingdom. BELL 1976: 74-75.

<sup>192</sup> SHOAI B 2021: 174-175.


<sup>193</sup> It is indicated by the variant of the title as applied to Pepinakht  «overseer of all dragomans» SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 132.




<sup>194</sup>  as plural form «overseer of dragomans». It started to be used by Harkhuf. 123) Pepinakht (131) and others (134). GARDINER 1915: 124; SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1.

While the plural form  appeared during the Middle Kingdom<sup>195</sup>, in the rock inscriptions in the north Terminus of the Medik-Tomas road<sup>196</sup>, the form , at Sayâleh, and the Middle Kingdom equivalent, applied to Sirenpowet I .<sup>197</sup>

Evidently, other forms referred to somewhat lower grades of rank than the title . In Sinai, there was one instance where each of the titles  (*Imy ht T3w*)<sup>198</sup>,  (*shd T3w*)<sup>199</sup> (inspector) (unpublished)<sup>200</sup>, and the title  (*shm T3w*)<sup>201</sup> was first used by two officials buried in Saqqara<sup>202</sup>.

## VI. T3w's REPRESENTATION IN SCENES

The oldest real evidence of T3w in human history with his title  above him was found in the legendary Egyptian bas-relief from the fifth dynasty (2485-2472) Temple of the Sun at Abusir. These depicted the returning ships from Phenicia (Attributed to the III millennium BC)<sup>203</sup> [FIGURE 2]<sup>204</sup>.

<sup>195</sup> The plural determinative  in  (weni's text) was to be associated with the rank «overseers» rather than the element  to give the meaning overseers of dragomans. SETHE: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 102[5].

(For this use of the determinative , see: SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 102[3-6]; BELL 1976: 94-95, N°.10.

Also, the corresponding singular form written  in SETHE 1933: *Urk*, vol.1, 125 L. 10, 127 L. 11.


<sup>196</sup> WEIGALL 1977: 50 [6-8].


<sup>197</sup> GARDINER 1915: 124.

<sup>198</sup> WEILL 1904: 114, N°.12.

<sup>199</sup> GARDINER & PEET 1917: PL.VII, N°.13 = SETHE: *Urk* 1933: vol.1, 56.

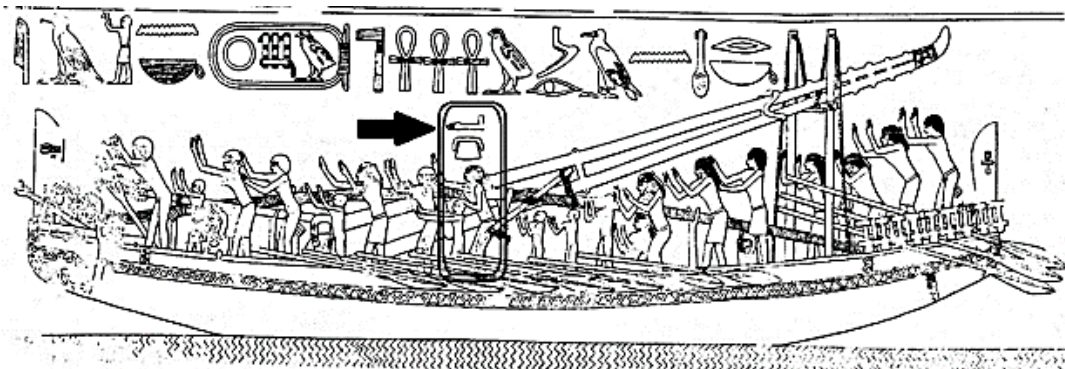
<sup>200</sup> Goedicke's view considered that while *hrp* (hrp T3w) was rarely found, *Imy-r* (Imy-r3 T3w) was attested much more frequently. The oldest example was in a graffito in the *Wadi Maghara* from the time of Djedkare-Isesi, or the end of the Fifth dynasty. However, the name of the official was destroyed. All other occurrences of the title *Imy-r3 T3w* belonged to the Sixth dynasty and later. Further, he considered *hrp* (hrp T3w) to be the old form of *imy-r* (Imy-r3 T3w), or that the latter, a new creation, replaced the older *hrp* (hrp T3w). GOEDICKE 1960: 62-63.

<sup>201</sup> In the latter case, the addition  «[of?] every foreign land», though damaged, was significant. There is nothing astonishing in overseers and superintendents of dragomans being buried in Saqqara near the capital; For refusing the institution of interpreters with different ranks. L.D II, 85a. 101a; GARDINER 1915: 125; GOEDICKE 1960: 61.

<sup>202</sup> According to Goedicke, the title  *shm* (shm T3w) was mentioned four times in the Old Kingdom (4<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> dynasties): *K3hyf*, *K3nfr* (G.2150), his son *K3iswd3* (G.5340), and *Iydf3*, who might also be in some way related to *K3nfr*'s family. After this time, the title does not occur. GOEDICKE 1960: 61.

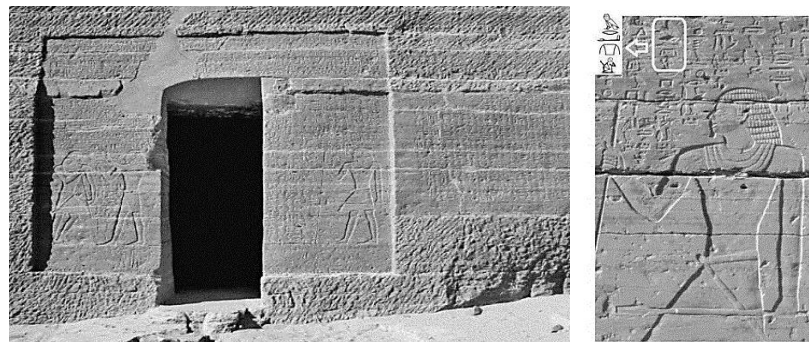
<sup>203</sup> SETHE 1913: 87.

<sup>204</sup> Fragmentary reliefs depicted a fleet of seafaring ships returning from an expedition, while the number of Syrians onboard suggested that the ships had sailed the Mediterranean to Byblos or some other destination in Syria. Sahura's ships were over 17.5 m long and 4 m wide. The ships had either 14 or 16 oars for propulsion, six steering oars, a bipod mast for a trapezoid sail, and an anchor. There were at least four ships in the fleet, and each ship was crewed by approximately 20 people made up of Egyptians, Syrians, and perhaps other maritime peoples. SETHE 1913: 72-132, 87, PLS.9-14; GILBERT 2008: 33-34; SHOAIIB 2021: PL.8.



[FIGURE 2]: A seagoing ship from the reign of King Sahura. SETHE 1913: 72-132, 87, PLS.9-14, PLS.12-13; SHOAI B 2021: PL.8.

More precisely, scholars figured out that the records of language mediators in ancient Egypt date back to the sixth dynasty (c. 24<sup>th</sup>–22<sup>nd</sup> century BC)<sup>205</sup>. This is evidenced in the titles of the Elephantine Nobles (e.g., Iry, Hrykhuf, Mekho, Sabni, and Bebnekh) inside their rock tombs in Qubit al-Hawā in the west of Aswan [FIGURE 3]<sup>206</sup>. This place had a significant role in the Egyptian administration because it was Egypt's southernmost outpost. Both military and economic activities against Nubia lay in the hands of officials residing there<sup>207</sup>.



[FIGURE 3]: A Governor of Aswan and A Chief of Translators hrykhuf, Qebt El-Hawa, in the west of Aswan. VISCHAK, 2015: 99, FIG.33; SHOAI B 2021: 251, FIG.9.

Also, we can see the double scene from the royal interpreter Merre II's tomb, when he was translating the ongoing conversations between the foreign delegations and King Akhenaten [FIGURE 4/a]<sup>208</sup>. The same scene is found in the of the royal interpreter Tutu's tomb, in which he is shown translating the speeches of the delegations to king Akhenaten [FIGURE 4/b]<sup>209</sup>.

<sup>205</sup> LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

<sup>206</sup> VISCHAK 2015: 99, FIG.33; SHOAI B 2021: 251, FIG.9.

<sup>207</sup> GOEDICKE 1960: 62-63.

<sup>208</sup> DAVIES 1905: PL.33; SHOAI B 2021: 252, PL.11.

<sup>209</sup> DAVIES 1908: 12, PL.20; SHOAI B 2021: 253, PL.12.



[FIGURE 4/a]: From the tomb of Merre II, Amarna (18<sup>th</sup> dynasty)



[FIGURE 4/b] from the tomb of Tutu Tomb, Amarna (18<sup>th</sup> dynasty)

In another double scene from Horemheb’s tomb, the interpreter is shown translating a foreign delegation’s complaint to the minister. The army commander ,Horemheb, presents the message to King Tutankhamun [FIGURE 5]<sup>210</sup>. The scenes reflect Horemheb’s role<sup>211</sup> as a mediator between the king and foreign leaders<sup>212</sup>.



[FIGURE 5]: From the Tomb of Horemheb, Saqqara (the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty)

In this context, we cannot ignore the retired officer, royal scribe, and high priest of Tinis, Anhurmosé, who was recorded in the 14<sup>th</sup> century BC as a specific interpreter/translator of ancient Egypt [FIGURE 6]<sup>213</sup>.



[FIGURE 6]: From the Tomb of Anhurmosé, Nag al-Mashaykh, near Abydos (19<sup>th</sup> dynasty).  
FROOD 2007: 107, FIG.6; SHOAI B 2021: 252, PL.10.





### There are Some Different Views about the *T3w*'s in the Translation Scenes

<sup>210</sup> ALLUÉ 1995: 123; SHOAI B 2021: 253, PL.13.

<sup>211</sup> Horemheb had two portraits as an interpreter in his tomb’s bas-relief. The first image shows him being pointed out to the king. The second shows him with the ambassadors, who took part in the court. Unfortunately, the pieces of this tomb are in several European museums after they were cut off and sold. LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.

<sup>212</sup> ALLUÉ 1995: 123.

<sup>213</sup> FROOD 2007: 107, FIG.6; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289; SHOAI B 2021: 252, PL.10.

- Some scholars agreed with this depiction of *T3w*, but they determined that the figure of the interpreter/translator was much smaller in comparison with the others. Those scholars assumed that this occupation had a low social status in ancient Egypt<sup>214</sup>, which was incorrect.
- Goedicke<sup>215</sup> had an extreme point of view, as he totally refused this representation, saying: «The group  is placed in scenes above persons who differ in their appearance from the rest of the crew, which is clearly depicted as Asian. The persons labeled  performed a particular kind of gesture different from that of the Asian people. They had one arm lifted up in adoration, while the other was placed on the head of an Asian standing in front of them. The number of persons represented thus performing this particular kind of gesture exceeded many times the number of cases where  was written. In one ship, for instance, there were no less than six persons of this kind; in others, less well preserved, even more. Their appearance in such great numbers made it difficult to consider them as 'interpreters'. It seems to me more likely that  was used here in an attempt to specify certain persons as 'foreigners' where it was not obvious from their appearance».

Finally, there were no differences between interpreter and translator in reliefs, but there was proof that there was a distinction between the professional activities of interpreter and translator, i.e., interpreting served external contacts versus translation being carried out in the area of diplomatic correspondence and contractual texts<sup>216</sup>.

## VII. CONCLUSION

Translation and interpretation were laborious, and esoteric arts that required extraordinary skills, performed by a special professional class known as *T3w*. This class worked at the offices of the kings and in the temples of ancient Egypt. Identifiable members of the largest group of those *T3w* were determined by the inscriptions discovered during reporting missions in Sinai, Lower Nubia, and other locations outside of Egypt. The frequent appearance of these titles in documents from foreign countries played a significance role, leading to the assumption that the word «*T3w*» referred specifically to interpreters and translators. Therefore, the reference to the «*Imy-r T3w*» implies that the person who held it was in control of several lesser officials under his responsibility.

The word *T3w* was documented from the reign of Sahure (ca. 2487-2473 BC) (the 5<sup>th</sup> dynasty) to Ramesses XI (1113-1085 BC) (20<sup>th</sup> dynasty) and into the Coptic period. Many phonetic pronunciations and translations of the title were attempted, with some coming closer to their intended meaning than others. Ultimately, the activities of ancient Egyptian translators developed, achieving a powerful impetus for prosperity that led to the annexation of many foreign-speaking lands and countries through military conquests.

<sup>214</sup> MASPERO 2002: XVI, CXVI; LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 288.

<sup>215</sup> GEODICKE 1960: 64.

<sup>216</sup> LUTSKOVSKAIA 2020: 289.




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