

APERU IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN TEXTS

عَبْرُو فِي النصوص المصرية القديمة

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ABSTRACT:

The study dealt with an ethnic group that settled in southern Palestine from the late fifteenth century BC until the middle of the twelfth century BC, called *Aperu*. This group was mentioned in a limited number of archaeological evidence, numbering up to seven, written in the hieratic and hieroglyphic lines. Researchers have differed in reading the transliteration and the meaning of this word, and the written forms of this word have also differed. The word clearly appears in texts of the late Egyptian in several literary and historical contexts. This study deals with the written forms of the word, its phonetic significance, its temporal context, and its historical and geographical significance.

Key words: *Aperu*, *apiru*, Hapiru

المخلص:

تناولت الدراسة مجموعة عرقية استوطنت جنوب فلسطين من أواخر القرن الخامس عشر قبل الميلاد وحتى منتصف القرن الثاني عشر الميلادي تسمى بالعبيرو. وقد ورد ذكر هذه المجموعة على عدد محدود من الشواهد الأثرية يصل عددها إلى سبعة مدونة بالخطين الهيراطيقي والهيروغليفي. وقد اختلف الباحثين في قراءة الدلالة الصوتية لهذه الكلمة، كما اختلف الشكل الكتابي لهذه الكلمة. الكلمة بصورة واضحة تظهر في النصوص الخاصة بالعصر اللغوي المتأخر في عدة سياقات أدبية وتاريخية. تتناول هذه الدراسة الأشكال الكتابية للكلمة ودلالاتها الصوتية وسياقها الزمني ومدولاتها التاريخية والجغرافية.

I. INTRODUCTION

The word "*Aperu*", which has many written forms, is mentioned in dictionaries with pr^1 , prw^2 to indicate robber (Sem. loan word)³, *aperu*⁴ (i.e., ethnic group:

¹ *Wb* I, 181.17; Hoch, James E, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1994, no. 70

² Giveon, Raphael, "Hapiru" in Helck, Wolfgang and Otto, Eberhard (eds.), *LÄ* II, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977, 952 ff.

³ Giveon, "Hapiru", 952 ff.

⁴ Giveon, "Hapiru", Hoch, Sem. Words, no. 70

Hebrews?)⁵, or the place of foreign workers⁶. In this study, the researcher tries to focus on this word through ancient Egyptian texts only, through the literary and historical texts written on papyrus and stelae. The meanings associated with this word include an ethnic reference, a functional reference (i.e., a thief or the place of foreign workers), and a geographical reference. We will present the evidence and provide an explanation for all the aspects that the word carries through archaeological attestations.

There are many previous studies that have dealt with *aperu*, but unfortunately most of these studies have linked the word to the Hebrews and other ancient near east texts without covering all the Ancient Egyptian texts which dealt with the word “*aperu*”, so this study comes to strictly address the word “*aperu*” through ancient Egyptian texts only. Therefore, the study was divided into two main parts, the first dealing with the archaeological evidence that used the word “*aperu*”, and the second section dealing with discussing the word and interpreting its various connotations.

II. ATTESTATIONS FOR THE WORD “*APERU*”

The word *aperu* is mentioned in papyri and stelae, numbering up to seven, as follows:

1. Papyrus Harris 500

The first mention of the word " *Aperu*" was in the story of the taking Joppa which appears in hieratic script on the verso of papyrus Harris 500 dated from the age of Ramses II⁷, currently housed at the British Museum (EA 10060)⁸. The text discusses one of Thutmose III's leaders called "Djehuti" who was able to defeat the Prince of Joppa, who was assisted by one from the *Aperu*:

Transcription⁹



Transliteration

1.4 imm s^ck n3 | 1.5 mryn(w) n3-n htri(w) mtw.[tw] dit n.sn wnmt m-r-pw ir w^c
 1.6 n pwy^r snn | --Gap_of_approx._53mm_length--....sn

⁵ TLA, lemma-no. 37130

⁶ Wb I, 181.17

⁷ Möller, Georg, “Zur Datierung literarischer Handschriften aus der ersten Hälfte des Neuen Reichs”, ZÄS 56, 1920, 42-43.

⁸ Davies, David Peter, *The Taking of Joppa*, MPhil thesis, Durham University, 2003, 3.

⁹ LES, 82, 6-8.

Translation¹⁰

^{1.4} | ^{1.5} | *Let the maryannu-warriors¹¹ bring in the horses,*
and let food be given to them; else one aperu raider will pass by ... | ...them¹².

Comment

Perhaps the text means with the missing part in mind that *w^c n ^cpwy^r snn sy.....sn* a thief from the land of *Aperu* will pass by and steal them and might steal the horses if the Mariano warriors were not aware.

2. pTurin Cat. 1940+1941+o.Nr. = pTurin CGT 15374

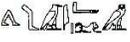
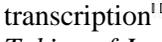
The text on the papyrus, dated to the Twentieth Dynasty, discusses Thutmose III's campaign to Syria. The text on the papyrus, dated to the Twentieth Dynasty, discusses Thutmose III's campaign to Syria¹³.

Transcription	⁹  ¹⁴
Transliteration	⁹ ^c pwy ^r
Translation	⁹ <i>Aperu</i> ¹⁵
Comment	Line No. pTurin Cat. 1940+1941, rto. 1,9 of the papyrus mentions the word <i>aperu</i> , although the text is badly destroyed in this part of the papyrus.

3. The Stela of the Ninth year of Amenhotep II

Amenhotep II, son of Thutmose III, mentions in a sandstone stela dating back to the ninth year of his reign his victories in the Syrian region and the rewards he

¹⁰ Davies, *The Taking of Joppa*, 15-17.

¹¹ There are those who believe that the word is not , but it is  *mri* which means "groom; squire (Sem. loan word)". *Wb* 2, 110.5; Lesko, Leonard, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, Providence: B.C. scribe publications, 2002, 226 f; Hoch, *Sem. Words*, no. 173. The transcription  differed in its transliteration that Davies read it *m^cryn³(w)*. Davies, *The Taking of Joppa*, p.15-17; while but most studies and I prefer the transliteration *mryn* which means "noble Syrian" or "knight (Sem. loan word)". *Wb* II, 110.6-7; *FCD*, 112; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, 228; Hoch, *Sem. Words*, no. 175.

¹² Perhaps the text with the missing part in mind that 53 mm have been lost prior to the *sn* evident in this line, *LES*, 82a. the translated may be "lest one *aperu* raider will . . ." or "lest one *aperu* pass by and steal them" (i.e., the unguarded horses), Davies, *The Taking of Joppa*, 21-22.

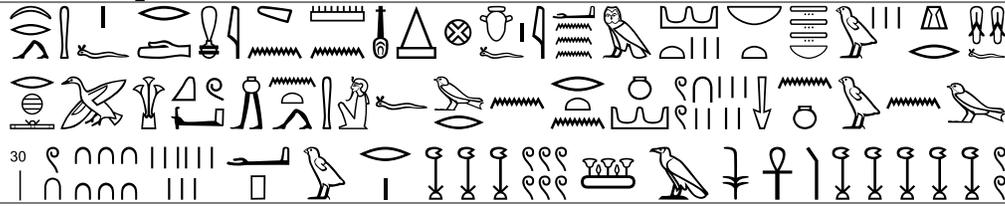
¹³ Botti, Giuseppe, "A Fragment of the Story of a Military Expedition of Tuthmosis III to Syria (P.Turin 1940-1941)", *JEA* 41, 1955, 64-71.

¹⁴ Botti, *JEA* 41, fig.1.

¹⁵ Botti used the translation "foreigners" for this word. Botti, *JEA* 41, 65.

obtained, and the number of prisoners who fell into his hand¹⁶, including 3600 prisoners from *Aperu*, and he returned them all to the homeland:

Transcription¹⁷



Transliteration

spr hm.f r dmi n Mn-nfr ib.f i^cmw m h3swt nbwt t3w nbw hr tbwy.f

rh p3-h3k int hm.f wr n rtnw 217 snw n wrw | 179 ³⁰prw 3600 š3sw ^cnh 15200

Translation

His majesty reached the city of Memphis, after his heart had delighted in all foreigners, and all lands were brought under his sandals. – List of the spoils

which his majesty had brought home: 217 princes of Retenu, | 179 ³⁰brothers of the princes, 3600 aperu¹⁸, 15200 nomads¹⁹

Comment

Thus, it is clear from this painting that Amenhotep II was the first to bring the *Aperu* to Egypt in the early fifteenth century BC.

4. The second Beth-Shan Stela of Sethos I

A third reference to the *Aperu* comes in the second Beth-Shan stela of Sethos I. This stela mentions that *Aperu* united with the Tiyaru people and began attacking the Asians from Ruhem, forcing King Sethos I to launch a military campaign to restore stability in the region in two days:

Transcription²⁰



Transliteration

hrw pn ist | ¹⁰[iw.tw r dd n hm].f ^cnh-wd3-snb n3-n ^cprw n p3 dw yrmt

¹⁶ Badawi, Ahmed, “Die Neue Historische Stele Amenophis’ II”, *ASAE* 42, 1943, 21.

¹⁷ Badawi, *ASAE* 42, 21.

¹⁸ All these writings corresponded to the Ḥabir of the Keils shrift text of the Bible as the name of the Hebrew people. Badawi, *ASAE* 42, 22.

¹⁹ Badawi, *ASAE* 42, 22.

²⁰ *KRI* I, 16.8-9.

hn^c tyr |¹¹ w _ destroyed _ h^c.w thm hr n3-n 3mw rhm

Translation

Now on this day |¹⁰ - they came to see His Majesty, l.h.g to say that the aperu from Mount Yarmuth have come along with the Tiyaru |¹¹ people ..[came?]. and they start attacking the Asiatics from Ruhem.

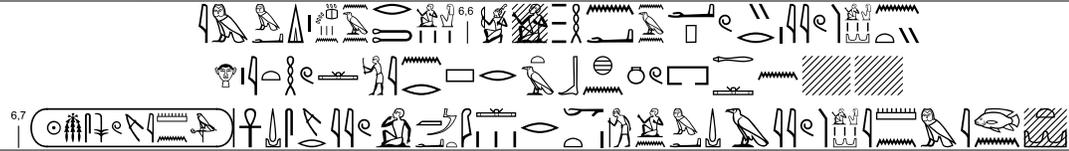
Comment

Aperu on this stela has the determinative of ‘armed man’ over plural strokes- implying an armed band of marauders in the hills overlooking Beth-shan and the crossroads of routes along and across the Jordan river, hence the pharaoh’s concern²¹.

5. pLeiden I 348, Vso. 6,1-9,6

The papyrus dates to the reign of Ramses II, and it was found in Memphis. It deals with messages on various issues. The text of the papyrus explicitly mentions that Ramses II used the *Aperu* to drag the stones needed to build the pylon of his temple.

Transcription²²



Transliteration

imm di n3-n rmt |^{6.6} mš^c hn^c n3-n 3pwyryw hr ith inr r t3 bhⁿwt 3 n |^{6.7} R^c-ms-sw-mry-imm hⁿ wd3 snb mry m3^ct r-ht wr-n-md3yw imm-m-int

Translation

Give to the army |^{6.6} people and the Aperu, who under the supervision of the Great of the Medjay, Amenemone, move stone(s) to the great pylon of [---] |^{6.7} (Ramses Meriamun)/ - LHG - loved by Maat, great one of the Medjai, Imen-em-inet

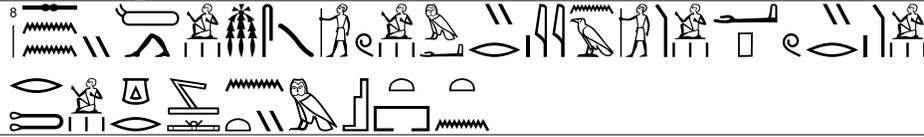
²¹ RITANC I, 20-21

²² LEM, 134.

6. pHarris I 31, 8

The text of the Harris Papyrus states that Rameses III gave many Aperu to the temple of the god Re in the city of Heliopolis, along with other numbers of captive sects, numbering 2093 people.

Transcription²³



Transliteration

⁸ | snnyw ms^w-wrw mryn^w ʕprw rmt^ḡ grg nty m st tn

Translation

⁸ | *The officers, the chiefs' children, maryannu-warriors, Aperu*²⁴, *and the colonial people who are in this place.*

7. The Stela of the third year of Ramses IV

This stela was carved for Ramses IV, son of Ramses III, on the rocks of Wadi Hammamet. The stela mentions that Ramses IV used 800 *Aperu* as part of his expedition, which he sent to the schist quarries in Wadi Hammamet, to cut the stones needed to construct his monuments.

Transcription²⁵



Transliteration

w^ʕw n n3 s3w n wh^ʕw rmw n hnw
¹⁷ | s 200 ʕprw n n3 pdw ʕnw s 800

Translation

Sailors belonging to the king's fishermen's groups, numbering ¹⁷ | *two hundred. The Aperu of the foreigner of Ayan*²⁶, *their number is 800.*

²³ Erichsen, Wolja, *Papyrus Harris I. Hieroglyphische Transkription*, Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1933, 31.8.

²⁴ Breasted read it ʕ-prw-r' and said that these are the people supposed by Chabas to have been Hebrews, a theory long since exploded. Breasted, James Henry, *Ancient Egyptian Records*, Vol. IV, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1906, 150 (§281).

²⁵ Couyat, Jean and Montet, Pierre, *Les inscriptions Hieroglyphiques et Hieratiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, Le Caire: MIFAO 34, 1913, 38.

²⁶ Breasted read it "Eper" with transliteration ʕpr. Breasted, *Ancient Egyptian Records*, 226 (§466).

III. DISCUSSION

1. Written forms and transliterations

The word expressing *Aperu* was written in many written forms according to the following [TABLE 1]:

Written form	Resource
	Papyrus Harris 500
	pTurin Cat. 1940+1941+o.Nr. = pTurin CGT 15374
	Stela of the Ninth year of Amenhotep II
	Second Beth-Shan Stela of Sethos I
	pLeiden I 348, Vso. 6,1-9,6
	pHarris I 31, 8
	Stela of the third year of Ramses IV

TABLE 1: Written forms of the word *aperu*

In the resources of the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is noted that the word in Papyrus Harris 500²⁷ appeared with a determinative of throw stick which used in referring to foreign²⁸ and the determinative which refers to foreign land or hill country²⁹, which indicates that there was a foreign land inhabited by the *aperu*. In pTurin Cat. 1940+1941+o.Nr. = pTurin CGT 15374³⁰ and the stela of the Ninth year of Amenhotep II³¹, the word appears without a determinative, and the word may be incomplete in the pTurin Cat. 1940+1941+o.Nr. = pTurin CGT 15374 due to the cracking of the text.

In the resources of the Ramesside period, the word appeared in the second Beth-Shan Stela of Sethos I³² with a determinative that appears only once in the written forms of the word in the ancient Egyptian language, which is ³³, which

²⁷ LES, 82.6-8.

²⁸ Gardiner, Alan, *Egyptian Grammar*, Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1973, Sign-list, T14

²⁹ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign-list, N25.

³⁰ Botti, *JEA* 41, fig.1.

³¹ Badawi, *ASAE* 42, 21.

³² *KRI* I 16.8-9

³³ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign-list, A12.

expresses in this regard the forces of *aperu*. The most complete written form of the word appears in the pLeiden I 348, Vso. 6,1-9,6³⁴ with three determinatives , and , these determinatives express the foreign people (i.e., men and women) of the land of *aperu*. The pHarris I 31, 8³⁵ and the stela of the third year of Ramses IV³⁶ show the word only with determinatives of the throwing stick  and the man , indicating that he meant *aperu* men. Thus, the word's determinatives refer to the following meanings [TABLE 2]:

Written form	Resource	Meaning
	Papyrus Harris 500	The land of the <i>aperu</i>
	pTurin Cat. 1940+1941+o.Nr. = pTurin CGT 15374	<i>Aperu</i>
	Stela of the Ninth year of Amenhotep II	
	Second Beth-Shan Stela of Sethos I	<i>aperu</i> forces
	pLeiden I 348, Vso. 6,1- 9,6	People who are from the land of <i>aperu</i>
	pHarris I 31, 8	
	Stela of the third year of Ramses IV	<i>aperu</i> men

TABLE 2: The meanings of the word *aperu* according to the determinative

The transliteration of this word differed between scholars, as some read it ζpr ³⁷, and there are those who read it ζprw ³⁸, and sometimes it read $\zeta pw jr'.yw.(Pl.)$ according to a *TLA* database³⁹. But I endorse Lesko's transliteration ζprw because it considers the plural signs at the end of the word. This word was one of the borrowed words during the Empire, it is presented in Late Egyptian by “Syllabic Orthography” used mainly by scribes of the Empire period and indeed is part of

³⁴ *LEM*, 134.

³⁵ Erichsen, *Harris I*, 31.8.

³⁶ Couyat and Montet, *Ouadi Hammamat*, 38.

³⁷ *Wb I*, 181.17; HLIME 150 [5112]; *TLA* lemma-no. 37130

³⁸ *Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, 65.

³⁹ *TLA* lemma-no. 37130

the broader phenomenon known as “group writing”.⁴⁰ So, there is another transliteration for this word “*pr*”.

It has been noted that the other foreign words have the same feature as the following:⁴¹

	“ <i>brk</i> ” not “ <i>bwyrk3</i> ”	“Shine”
	“ <i>mrkbt</i> ” not “ <i>m^cyrk3bwti</i> ”	“Charriot”
	“ <i>bdn</i> ” not “ <i>p3d3n3</i> ”	“Staff, Cudgel”

So, the transliteration of the word must be [TABLE 3]:

Written form	Resource	Transliteration	Notes
	Papyrus Harris 500	<i>3pr</i>	<i>Because of the absence of plural signs.</i>
	pTurin Cat. 1940+1941+o.Nr. = pTurin CGT 15374	<i>3pr</i>	
	Stela of the Ninth year of Amenhotep II	<i>3pr</i>	
	Second Beth-Shan Stela of Sethos I	<i>3prw</i>	<i>Because there are plural signs.</i>
	pLeiden I 348, Vso. 6,1-9,6	<i>3prw</i>	
	pHarris I 31b 8	<i>3prw</i>	
	Stela of the third year of Ramses IV	<i>3prw</i>	

TABLE 3: the transliterations of the word *aperu*

2. Attestation times

According to the archaeological evidence, the first mention of the *Aperu* dates to the reign of Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the last mention of the *Aperu* dates to the reign of Ramses IV of the Twentieth Dynasty, meaning

⁴⁰ Ward, William, “Notes on Some Semitic Loan- Words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian”, *Orientalia NOVA* 32, No. 4, 1963, 415-6.

⁴¹ Neveu, François, *The Language of Ramesses: Late Egyptian Grammar*, Translated by Maria Cannata, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015, 241.

that the first appearance of the word dates to the year 1479 BC and the last appearance of the word dates to the year 1152 BC [TABLE 4].

Written form	Resource	Dating
	Papyrus Harris 500	
	pTurin Cat. 1940+1941+o.Nr. = pTurin CGT 15374	1479-1425 B.C
	Stela of the Ninth year of Amenhotep II	1418 B.C
	Second Beth-Shan Stela of Sethos I	1294/1290- 1279 B.C
	pLeiden I 348, Vso. 6,1- 9,6	1279-1213 B.C
	pHarris I 31b 8	1155/1154 B.C
	Stela of the third year of Ramses IV	1152 B.C

TABLE 4: the dating of the attestations of the word *aperu*

It is worth noting that the text of the Harris Papyrus 500 is not dated, and therefore, although the papyrus was written during the reign of Ramses II, based on the paleography, the manuscript on the verso can probably be dated to the first half of the reign of Ramses II⁴². The events clearly speak of the occupation of Joppa by the commander Thutmose III, who ruled in the period from 1479 B.C. till 1425 B.C. While Papyrus No. pTurin Cat. 1940+1941+o.Nr, dated to the Twentieth Dynasty for paleographical reasons⁴³, mentions *aperu* in a context related to Thutmose III's campaign against Syria. Thus, these two sources, their events are attributed to the reign of Thutmose III, but they date back to the Ramesside period (the reign of Ramses II and the Twentieth Dynasty). The stela of the Ninth year of Amenhotep II is characterized as the first dated source dating back to the reign of the king and not attributed to his reign, so I can date it to the year 1418 B.C. In the Ramesside period, the Second Beth-Shan stela belonging to King Seti I does not have a date, while the pLeiden I 348, Vso. 6 dated approximately the second half of Ramses II's reign: To be dated paleographically to the 19th dynasty⁴⁴. On the verso there is also the title of Ramses II with additions that are customary from his 34th year of reign⁴⁵. As for Papyrus Harris

⁴² Möller, *ZÄS* 56, 42-43.

⁴³ Botti, *JEA* 41, 65.

⁴⁴ Borghouts, Joris Frans, *The Magical Text of Papyrus Leiden I 348*, Leiden: Brill, 1971, 3.

⁴⁵ Kitchen, Kenneth, "The Titularies of the Ramesside Kings as Expression of their Ideal Kingship", *ASAE* 71, 1987, 133.

I, although it mentions "the thirty-second year, the third month of the summer" from the reign of Ramses III, the text itself was composed during the reign of Ramses IV, Ramses III's son and successor⁴⁶.

3. Geographical Significance

The word  in Papyrus Harris 500 was written with the determinative of the foreign land. Hence, this word refers to a region called *aperu* located near Joppa in southern Palestine in the first half of the 15th century BC [FIGURE 1].



FIGURE 1: The site of Joppa.

https://www.generationword.com/Israel/joppa_tel_aviv.html. Last Access 9/2/2023

Although the word was mentioned without determinative in the stela of the Ninth year of Amenhotep II, the list of prisoners given here forms a very interesting table of peoples from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age in Syria and Palestine, and the order of listing goes from south to north. It is most interesting

that  is named for the extreme south⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Bryce, Trevor, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 370

⁴⁷ Badawi, *ASAE* 42, 22.

The text of the second Beth-Shan Stela of Sethos I mentions that the *Aperu* came from Mt. Yarmouth, which is probably ten miles south of Beth-shan⁴⁸. Tel Yarmuth [FIGURE 2] is a Hebrew name, or Khirbet Yarmuk (Arabic name) is an archaeological site in Palestine located 25 kilometers southwest of Jerusalem and near modern Beit Shemesh. It is a large single-period (EB II/III) site and has been suggested as possibly being the city of Jarmuth, being only a tentative identification, as it is based solely on the similarity of the Hebrew name with the Arabic name and its areal location⁴⁹. The site saw some occupation in the Late Bronze II. The only other epigraphic find was a hoe with a partial hieroglyphic inscription in a hoard of bronze objects, mostly fragmentary. They were dated to the time of the 19th Dynasty (12th century BC) and may not be in their original context⁵⁰. Perhaps the Tiyaru-people, are the residents of the famous city of Tyre⁵¹[FIGURE 3], who share in attacking the residents of the unknown town of Rahum⁵².

The text of pLeiden I 348 mentions  with a determinative of a man and a woman which refer to the people and the hill used to refer to a foreign land as the text of Papyrus Harris 500.

⁴⁸ RITANC I, 20-21

⁴⁹ Aharoni, Yohanan, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, 2nd edition, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979, 437; Robinson, Edward, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. II, Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1856, 17, note 2.

⁵⁰ de Miroschedji, Pierre, “The Late EB III Palace at Tel Yarmuth: A Descriptive Summary”, *Eretz-Israel* 27, 2003, 153–170.

⁵¹ The famous city of Tiro was mentioned in the first campaign of Seti I. Faulkner, Raymond Oliver, “The Wars of Sethos I”, *JEA* 33, 1947, 34-39.

⁵² De Magistris, Francesco, *The 'Apiru and the Egyptian domination of Late Bronze Age Israel*, Unpublished MSc dissertation, Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2014, 28.



FIGURE 2: The site of Yarmouth and Beth-Shean. After: Pierre de Miroschedji, Yarmouth: The Dawn of City-states in Southern Canaan, *Near Eastern Archaeology*, Vol.62, no.1, 1999, p.16

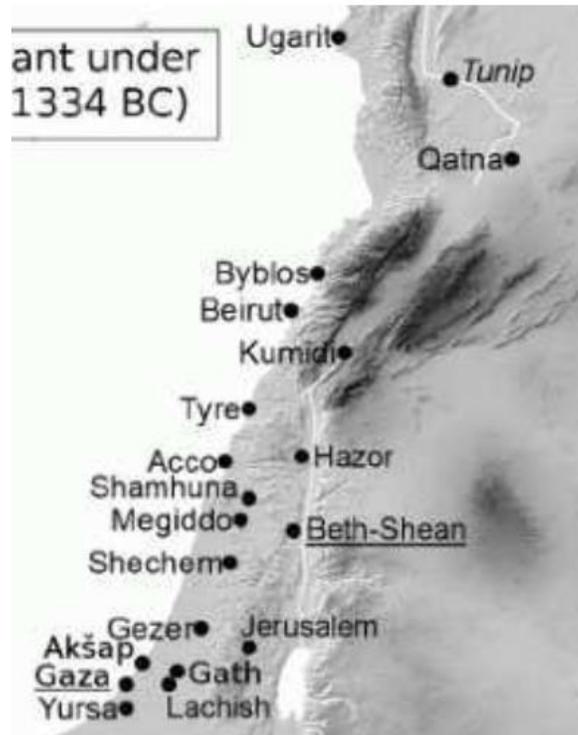


FIGURE 3: The site of Tyre. After: De Magistris, Francesco, *The 'Apiru and the Egyptian domination of Late Bronze Age Israel*, 6

Thus, the word *aperu* in previous resources included a geographical reference related to southern Palestine through determinative such as Papyrus Harris 500 and pLeiden I 348. It included a geographical indication, although it was mentioned without a determinative in the ninth-year stela of Amenhotep II, while the second Beit Shean tablet included many geographical indications linking the *aperu* with the region on the banks of the Jordan River, especially Mount Yarmouth.

4. Ethnic Significance

The determinative of man and woman of the word assumes that *aperu* are an ethnic group, while the “throw-stick” determinative, which appears in the written forms of the word *aperu*, would have to be related to the nomads of the region⁵³. Some studies have hypothesized that the *aperu* were the ethnic group known as Hebrews⁵⁴. Perhaps they were encouraged to make this assumption by the appearance of the Akkadian word *Ḫa-Bi-ru* in the Amarna Archive⁵⁵, which researchers thought was the oldest form of the Hebrew word “*Ibrim*” that means Hebrew and appears in many places in the Bible. But the quantity and quality of modifications that the word *aperu* would have had to undergo to become *ibrim* make this identification unlikely to say the least, and difficult to accept⁵⁶.

IV. CONCLUSION

It is clear from the seven-evidence mentioned above:

- That the *aperu* were the first mention of them due to the reign of Thutmose III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the last mention of them during the reign of Rames IV, son of Ramses III.
- The written forms of the word *aperu* expressed them as an ethnic group, as a place, as thieves, and as captives.
- That the text of the story of the capture of Joppa shows that the *aperu* were probably thieves, and not an ethnic group.
- That the *aperu* were referred to by the determinative of the foreign land in the text of the story of the capture of Joppa.

⁵³ Killebrew, Anne. E., *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity: an archaeological study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel 1300-110 B.C.E.*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005, 154-155

⁵⁴ Breasted, *Ancient Egyptian Records*, 150 (§281); Badawi, *ASAE* 42, 22; *TLA* lemma-no. 37130.

⁵⁵ Cf: Loretz, Oswald, *Habiru-Hebräer: eine sozio-linguistische Studie über die Herkunft des Gentiliziums 'ibrî vom Appellativum ḫabiru*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 160, Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984, 18-55.

⁵⁶ Astour, Michael. C., “The Hapiru in the Amarna texts: Basic points of controversy”, *Ugarit Forschungen* 31, 1999:35

- According to the text of the stela of Amenhotep II, son of Thutmose III, it appears that this king was the first to bring the *aperu* to Egypt.
- That the *aperu* were stationed in southern Palestine during the reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.
- According to the text of the second Beth-Shan stela dated after King Seti I, the *aperu* appear as a military group according to the determinative of the army, and they had a role in stirring unrest in the area along the Jordan River and Beth-Shan, and the *aperu* were settling north of Beit Shean about 10 miles in the area of Mount Yarmouth.
- According to the text of the Leiden Papyrus dated to the reign of Ramses II, the *aperu* used the work of dragging stones needed to build temples, like many captives in the ancient world.
- According to the text of the first Harris Papyrus, King Ramses III gave a group of *aperu* captives to the temple of the god Re in Heliopolis.
- According to the text of the Rameses IV stela, the king used the *aperu* as part of his expedition to the quarries of Wadi Hammamet to extract the schist stones needed for the construction of his monuments.

Abbreviations:

<i>ASAE</i>	Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Le Caire.
<i>LÄ</i>	Helck, Wolfgang and Otto, Eberhard, <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , 7 bands. Wiesbaden, 1975-1992.
<i>FCD</i>	Faulkner, Raymond, <i>Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> , Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991.
<i>HL1ME</i>	Hannig, Rainer, <i>Lexika Band 1 (HL 1 Marburger Edition) Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800 bis 950 v. Chr.)</i> , Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern, 2006.
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of the Egyptian Archaeology, London.
<i>KRI</i>	Kitchen, Kenneth, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions</i> , 6 vols, Oxford: B.H. Blackwell, 1969-1990.
<i>LEM</i>	Gardiner, Alan, <i>Late-Egyptian Miscellanies</i> , Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1937.
<i>LES</i>	Gardiner, Alan, <i>Late Egyptian Stories</i> , Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1932.
<i>RITANC</i>	Kitchen, Kenneth, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and annotated. Notes and Comments</i> , vol.1-7. B.H. Blackwell, Oxford, 1993 – 2022
<i>Wb</i>	Erman, Adolf and Grapow, Hermann, <i>Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache</i> , 5 Bde, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971.
<i>ZÄS</i>	Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig – Berlin.

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