DAMQÂTUM

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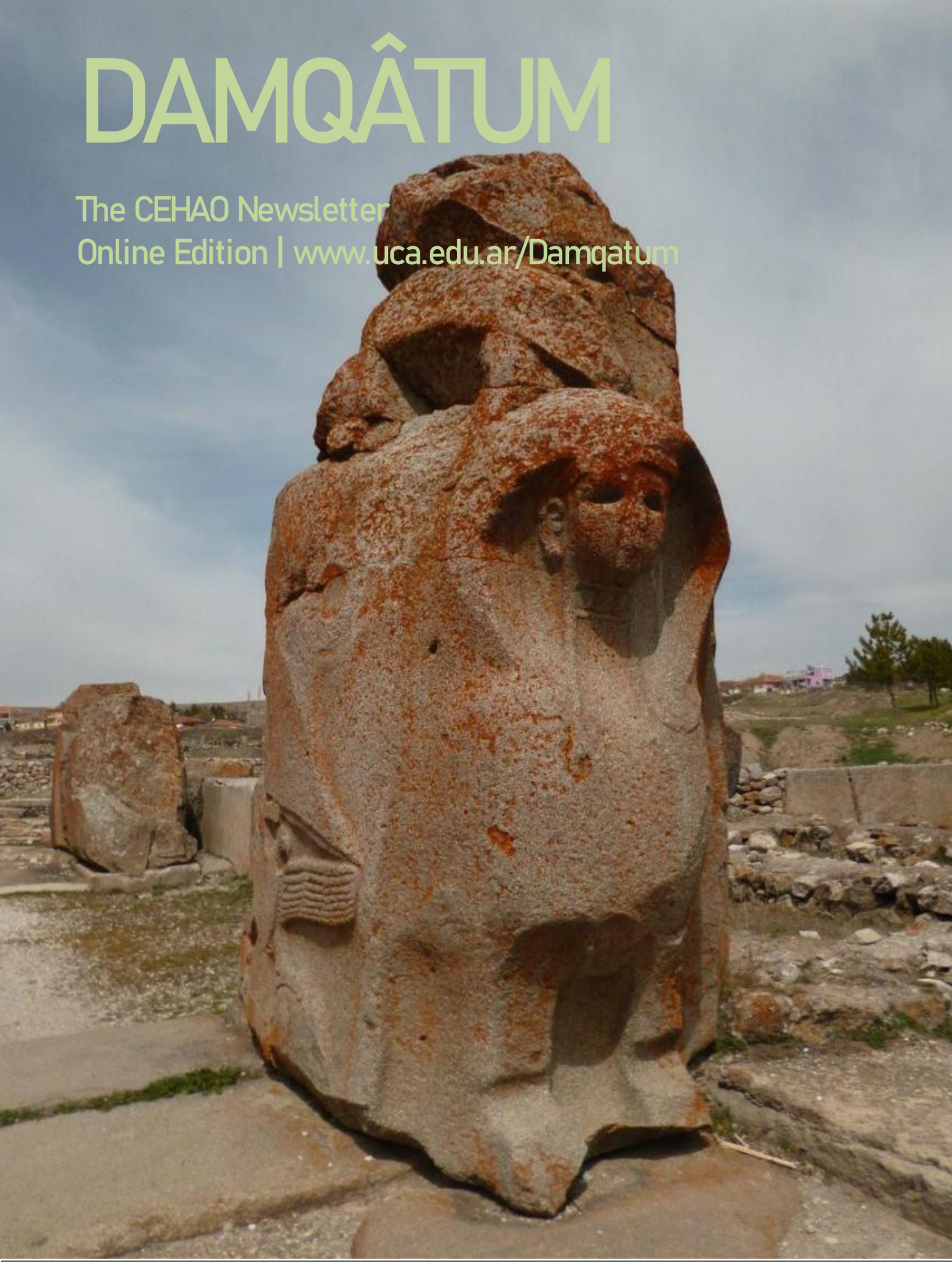

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CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE HISTORIA DEL ANTIGUO ORIENTE

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY - FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Cover photo by Romina Della Casa: Sphinx Gate at Alaca Höyük (Türkiye).

Studying the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts in the Era of Digital Humanities:

An Interview with Carlos Gracia Zamacona

Carlos Gracia Zamacona in Edinburgh (2024).

The Coffin Texts are one of the most important sources for revealing the beliefs ancient Egyptians had on their afterlife, and more generally, provide great information about their cult. We interviewed Carlos Gracia Zamacona, Egyptologist from the Universidad de Alcalá (Spain), who recently published the book **Los Textos de los Ataúdes del Egipto antiguo: Variabilidad, legitimación y diálogo** in the Ancient Near East Monographs series (ANEM) edited by the Society of Biblical Literature and the CEHAO (see www.uca.edu.ar/anem for an open-access version of the book).

Hello Carlos, thanks for having you in Damqatum. You are an expert in Egyptology and specifically on ancient Egyptian linguistics, which is a highly specific field. How did you get interested on it and where did you study?

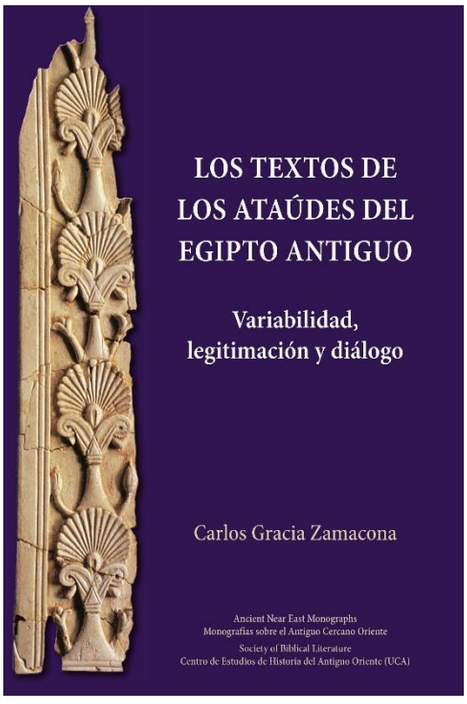
First of all, let me thank you for your interest in my work.

The question is a very good one because I consider myself a historian rather than a linguist. I am primarily interested in the history of ideas, those strange and slow elements that influence us—consciously or not, rationally or not—in how we act, according to or against them. These elements can be active for centuries, even when we have forgotten them and do what we do without knowing why—what we usually call “tradition.”

I clearly remember starting to study linguistics when I became interested in the Coffin Texts. There were many things I did not understand in those texts. Many things simply did not fit. In the first place, the contents. If you compare the modern translations and interpretations available, they considerably differ. Sometimes, they are so different that you would say they do not refer to the same original text. As a historian, this made me think that we had a problem with the sources, and that I would need to understand the texts, to an acceptable level, before I could understand the culture that produced them. So I started to do linguistics out of ignorance or—if you prefer a kinder word—curiosity.

That was in the early nineties. I was working then at a high school in Budapest, teaching history and geography, and attended the Middle Egyptian and Hieratic courses by Ulrich Luft at

the ELTE University. I told him I wanted to do a PhD in Egyptology and was very interested in the language. He suggested I contact Pascal Vernus, and that is how it all started. After more than thirty years of working with these texts, I still feel the same hunger for knowledge, so I suppose I will keep doing the same while still hungry.



Cover of *Los textos de los ataúdes del Egipto Antiguo* (ANEM 32)

You have just published the book Los textos de los ataúdes del Egipto Antiguo in our ANEM monograph series. Why did write the book and what are its main points?

This book is an outcome of the second matter that puzzled me most about the Coffin Texts: why write them on the inside of a coffin, bury it in a tomb underground and shut it forever? According to the Western traditional vision, this would be considered a topic for philology—if you focus on the texts—or archaeology—if you focus on the coffin and tomb—but again, this felt wrong. As a historian, I find this approach too partial. I need a more integral approach that can bring me closer to the persons who created these captivating objects that look like "tridimensional ideas". I had never seen the like before and was captivated by it. It took me many years and a lot of effort to open this new line of research, of which the book you mention is the first main outcome. Anyone who looks for answers in this book will be disappointed. The book opens a new path of analysis and asks questions about the material and ourselves as interpreters of the past.

During the last years you have been working in the Mortexvar database (http://database.mortexvar.com/), which according to its website "manages data extracted from the ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts to digitise them, analyse them and make them accessible." What was your experience in working in this digital humanities project?

To answer the two big questions I have just mentioned, I needed empirical ground. I am not too fond of approaches that focus on making sense of data according to a previous prêt-à-porter frame. The database allowed me to check the questions I was interested in within a frame that I felt was real: the text corpus. I am not saying that all interpretations based on such an approach are correct—far from that—but I am convinced that the approach is fruitful. And considering the difficulty of the material we are discussing, that is good enough for me.

The best thing about the MORTEXVAR project was working with an interdisciplinary and international team and a populated network of collaborators. I had the chance to discuss the problems these texts pose and possible solutions with several other Egyptologists and colleagues from different disciplines (data management, computational analysis, machine vision, OCR, and natural language processing). These conversations were utterly beneficial in

many senses, mainly because they opened my mind to questions I had never asked myself. In particular, the issues related to the entextualisation (i.e. the instantiation of the texts on specific documents) are virtually unexplored for this corpus' materials. I plan to continue this line of research as thoroughly as I can shortly. In fact, we are about to start two related projects, one in text mining and the other in 3D visualisation, which anyone interested can follow on the MORTEXVAR project website and social media.

One of the most challenging aspects of the MORTEXVAR project was managing the funding. The sheer amount of administrative work involved was often overwhelming. Like many research directors, I found myself juggling multiple responsibilities, from managing the project and conducting research to publishing results, disseminating findings, and teaching and supervising students. At times, it felt like a one-man band, and the pressure was both tiring and stressful.

In the end, I am satisfied with doing something that I hope will last: the MORTEXVAR database will be available for anyone interested in these texts and will remain useful for other people's research.

The Mortexvar database

In your opinion, what is the role of digital humanities in Egyptology and, more broadly, in the studies of the ancient Near East?

You could easily label digital technology in ancient studies as a "telescope to antiquity". It gives you access to large amounts of data in a structured manner, which allows you to retrieve and manage information meaningfully. The keyword here is "large". This technology is a magnifier that may propose patterns based on the large amount of data and the structuring criteria so that the researcher can interpret them and find further questions about the material, impossible to spot at first sight. Some Egyptologists consider this technology threatening or pointless, but it is neither. Could you possibly imagine an astronomer thinking of telescopes that way?

Besides, digital technology can compensate for the lack of information due to unfortunate circumstances, including, as the most relevant, destruction of the sources, improper or no publication, or copyright restrictions to their reproduction. Granting access to the sources is essential to meet the Open Science practices, especially in managing the research outputs in line with the FAIR (Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, and Reusable) principles, and it is difficult to guess how that would be feasible without digital technology.

The Red Iberoamericana de Investigadores en Próximo Oriente Antiguo (RIIPOA).

You have spent your scholarly career in France, United States, and United Kingdom, but you are now based in Spain. During the last years, you have directed a network of ancient Near Eastern scholars working in Ibero-American countries, the Red Iberoamericana de Investigadores en Próximo Oriente Antiguo (RIIPOA, https://riipoa.web.uah.es/) What are the pros and cons of doing research in Ibero-America?

That is correct. I also studied Egyptology in Rome and Budapest before going to Paris.
In 2020, I started the RIIPOA network with Roxana Flammini. Our idea was to connect researchers on Ancient Near East Studies working in or coming from the Iberoamerican cultural area with a strong interest in the texts and their contexts (material, social, critical and linguistic).

The response was amazing, and the network now has thirty scholars from eleven countries.
RIIPOA has since organised or participated in several activities, including conferences and seminars, and the publication of a series of monographs, Estudios Orientales – Monografías RIIPOA, which produces Open Access research works downloadable from the RIIPOA website.

The advantage of working within the Iberoamerican area is obvious: the Spanish-Portuguese linguistic continuum and its growing presence in other cultural areas, especially the United States of America. The presence of scientific activities in our research areas and in our languages is, in my opinion, our most important asset, and RIIPOA can help to visualise that. The issues, on the other hand, have been well known for a long time: institutional sclerosis, lack of tradition in Near Eastern Studies—which explains the lack of clarity in research quality assessment—, difficult access to sources and bibliography, and lack of funding.

What can Ibero-American scholars contribute to the study of the ancient Near East?

Individually, I think there is no answer to that. I believe that talent is randomly distributed around the world. The real problem resides in getting the chance to devote oneself to these studies, and this is really difficult without an institutional implication and proper assessing criteria. It is the lack of opportunities what risks to hamper the development of ancient Near East studies in our cultural area.

What would you suggest to young people that are thinking in studying Egyptology?

I am not sure I can give useful advice on this. In my case, it was very vocational, so I would say you need to feel it and then do it your way. However, for another person, it can work differently. I think we all would agree in stating that reading English, French, German, and Italian is a minimum, as well as having scholarly training in the language (Old and Middle Egyptian, Late Egyptian, Demotic and Coptic) and material culture, fieldwork experience, as well as knowledge of other ancient cultures, especially those which were closer to ancient Egypt such as ancient Greece and Mesopotamia.

Well, thanks Carlos for your words. Is there anything else you would like to add that wasn't mentioned?

Thank you for having me.

A New Suggestion for the Identification of Mount Sinai and its Implications for Understanding the Archaeology of the Negev:
A Non-Peer Reviewed, Unreferenced, and Unpublished Parody

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In two midrashes (*Mekhilta de-Rabbi Yishmael*, *Mekhilta de-Rashbi*) dated roughly to the 1st through early 3rd centuries CE, God uprooted Mount Sinai from the earth, and the Israelites, standing beneath it, were threatened with burial should they choose not to accept the Decalogue/Torah. Based on the interpretation of Deuteronomy 4:11, and the meaning of the word *תחתית* (*tachtit*, at the base of) and its root, *תחת* (*tachat*, under), this account of the events at Mount Sinai has been ignored by historians and archaeologists, and even biblical commentators have tended to view it as allegorical. However, in the spirit of recent readings of the scripture by archaeologists, the midrash perhaps preserves that kernel of truth that is so often the focus of understanding the relationship between the physical remains recovered by archaeologists and the Torah and other biblical texts.

Following the logic of the narrative, the Israelites DID accept the Torah, and hence were not buried beneath the mountain. However, there is no indication in the text, or the midrash, that the Israelites shifted their location so that the mountain could be returned to its original position. From this, one must assume that, in fact, Mount Sinai was never returned to its place. Thus, archaeologists and historians seeking to identify Mount Sinai have been looking in the wrong places; they ought to be searching for a large hole where a mountain once stood, and not a mountain in itself.

Given this, the Negev offers three suitable candidates for the identification of Mount Sinai in the three *Makhteshim* (Craters), the *Makhtesh Hakatan* (the Small Crater, or the Hatzera Crater), the *Makhtesh Hagadol* (the Large Crater, or the Hatira Crater), and the Makhtesh Ramon (Fig. 1). Incipient *makhteshim* (plural of *makhtesh*) are also known, but are less suitable for identifying as Mount Sinai since they are much smaller. All the *makhteshim* are located in the central Negev Highlands. Makhteshim are also known in northern Sinai, and they too may be candidates for identification as Mount Sinai, but are beyond the scope of this discussion. Of course, the modern Negev of Israel is not the biblical Negev, which consisted only of the steppe regions of the Northern Negev. The borders of ancient Sinai are not clear and given other suggestions of the identification of Mount Sinai in the Negev, as at Har Karkom, some areas of today's Negev may have been generically in Sinai in the ancient past.

The *makhteshim* are not actually impact craters, as the translation might imply, but erosional cirques. They represent the erosion, and disappearance, of synclines in the folded mountains of the Negev Highlands. In short, the *makhteshim* are large holes where mountains once stood.

Fig. 1. The location of the *makhteshim* in the Negev.

As the largest of the craters, ca. 230 km^2, The *Makhtesh* Ramon is the most likely candidate for the site of Mount Sinai, given the purportedly large numbers of Israelites who fled Egypt and were present at the Giving of the Law. The presence of a prehistoric shrine complex in the eastern *Makhtesh* Ramon, at Ramat Saharonim (Fig. 2), strengthens the association with a general sacred landscape, and the complex shows long term continuities of use and re-use. Other smaller scale cult sites are found throughout the *Makhtesh*, again strengthening the idea of long-term sanctity.

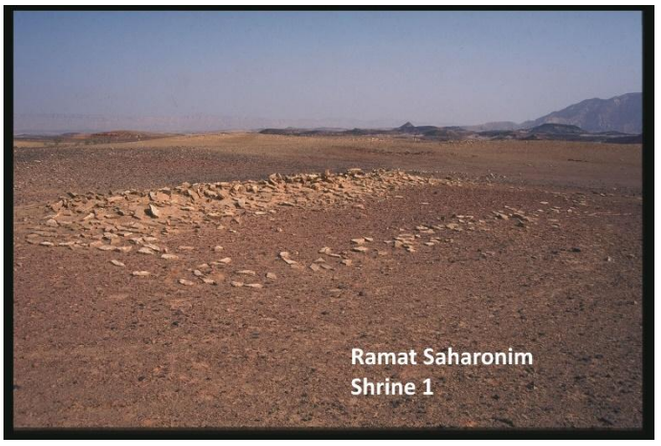

Fig. 2. Shrine 1 (of 4, along with 30 large burial cairns) at Ramat Saharonim.

Of course, it is hard to reconcile the geology of the *Makhtesh* Ramon, going back millions of years, with the idea that the mountain was uprooted and moved sometime toward the end of the 2nd millennium BCE. Explanation necessitates returning to the idea of a 'kernel of truth'. One may assume that the midrashes reflect some comprehension that the *Makhtesh* Ramon was, at some time in the deep past, a folded mountain (and tilted strata indicating this are well-evident in both the northern and southern walls of the *Makhtesh* Ramon [Fig. 3]). There are numerous examples of such teleology in the biblical narrative, for example, in the association between Joshua and Tel es-Sultan (Jericho).

Fig. 3. The southern wall of *Makhtesh* Ramon showing tilted strata.

If the geological chronology can be reconciled to the biblical account with relative ease, the total absence of any archaeological evidence for the Israelites in the *Makhtesh* Ramon in the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, the putative dates of the Exodus and the events at Mount Sinai, would seem to pose an insurmountable problem to the identification of the *Makhtesh* as

the Holy Mountain (although not one which has unduly disturbed previously suggested identifications elsewhere). However, recent (and not-so-recent) insights concerning the nature of the archaeological record in the desert offer potential solutions to the dilemma.

Given the peripatetic nature of the Israelites in the desert, the wanderings, it has been suggested that the identification of remains would be archaeologically difficult, if not impossible. Although the remains of nomadic societies have been found in the Negev dating from early prehistory and up through recent Bedouin societies (e.g., Fig. 4), positing some kind of hyper-nomadism, and a society so poverty stricken that it had little in the way of inorganic material culture (organic material culture does not pose a problem since it would decay), is one possible solution to the absence of remains. Of course, such an assumption would contradict the textual accounts of Israelite wealth when fleeing Egypt (Exodus 11.2); however, this text presents internal contradictions and can be properly rejected.

A second, more recent explanation for the absence of archaeological remains of ephemeral societies in the desert has to do with natural processes of destruction, viz. mega-flash floods, as have been proposed for the site of Timna, in the southern Arava. Such megafloods, say the 1-in-500 or 1-in-1000-year flood, can certainly be assumed to have occurred along Nahal Ramon, the primary wadi draining the *Makhtesh* Ramon, in the past 3000 years, more or less. As anyone who has witnessed a flashflood in the desert will intuitively understand, destruction would have been great. Admittedly, this suggestion implies that flashfloods operated selectively on specific components of archaeological remains, destroying the remains from some periods, but leaving other periods more or less intact. The solution might lie in the nature of the remains; remains of hyper-nomadic groups, as above, might be more subject to destruction than more substantial remains of somewhat less mobile peoples, mere nomads. In this context, differential site location may also play a role. Campsites built specifically in wadi channels would clearly be more subject to destruction than those built at locations more removed from floodplains and channels. Of course, ethnographically recent nomads well understand the dangers of placing their camps in wadi channels. Perhaps ancient peoples needed to learn the lesson the hard way?

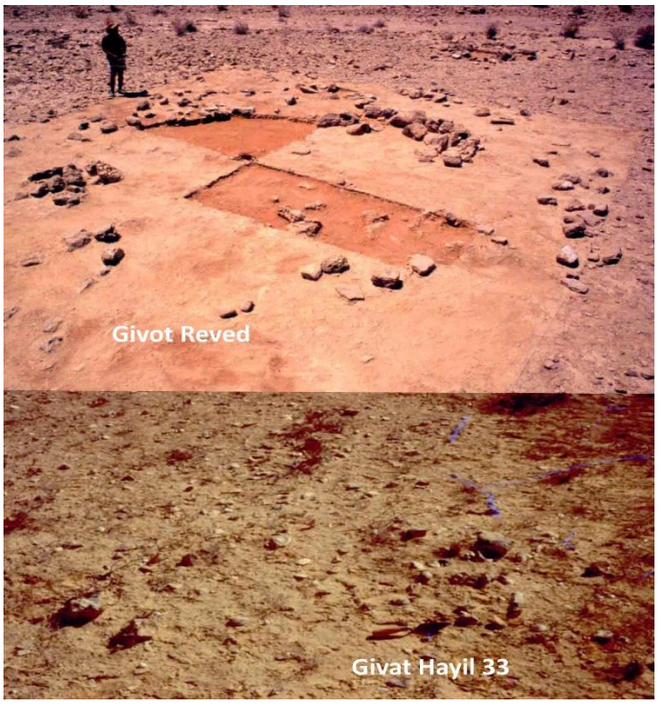

Fig. 4. Upper, the Nabataean pastoral “tent camps, ephemeral sites” of Givot Reved, showing a round tent base; Lower, the Epipaleolithic hunter-gatherer campsite of Givat Hayil 33, preserving only an in situ lithic scatter and discolored sediments.

The identification of Mount Sinai with the *Makhtesh* Ramon has implications well beyond the biblical narrative of the Giving of the Law. Employed elsewhere, the methods presented here may offer insights into other archaeological questions and historical conundrums. Two of these methods are of especial importance:

1. Uncritical and selective use of texts, especially those taken out of their historical contexts, allows researchers to pick and choose those materials which most closely align with any preconceived notion desired. This method is most notably useful when dealing with biblical texts whose origins rarely lie directly in the historical events or the geographical regions on which they report.
2. In the Levantine deserts, the absence of sites reflecting nomadic habitation in certain periods, that is, campsites, camps, basecamps, tent camps ephemeral sites, etc., is no reason to assume the absence of nomads. Any number of reasons can be offered to explain the absence of nomad sites from specific periods, even in the presence of such sites from the immediately preceding and/or succeeding periods.

These two basic methodological principles can be combined allowing the researcher to effectively demonstrate any historical hypothesis needed to fit into any desired agenda, academic, religious, or political. In establishing these principles, archaeology has indeed entered into the post-modern era, where rigor and evidence are no longer necessary, and all narratives are equal.

Acknowledgements: I am grateful to a number of friends and colleagues who told me they thought that this was funny. I protect them by not mentioning their names.

Steven A Rosen is the emeritus Canada Chair of Near Eastern Archaeology at Ben-Gurion University. He received his doctorate from the University of Chicago. Prior to BGU, he worked for the Negev Emergency Survey. He has excavated numerous sites in the Negev, ranging from prehistoric through modern times, focusing on the pastoral societies of the region. He also pioneered the study of stone tools in the Metal Ages. He is a member of the scientific board of *Paléorient,* and past editor of *Journal of the Israel Prehistoric Society*. He served on the Archaeological Council of Israel for more than 20 years, and as BGU Vice President for External Affairs, and deputy rector. Recent books are *Revolutions in the Desert: The Rise of Mobile Pastoral Societies in the Negev and the Arid Zones of the Southern Levant* and *Flint Trade in the Protohistoric Levant* with Francesca Manclossi.

Was the God of Israel Worshipped on the Sinai Peninsula?

In the Footsteps of the Israelites and Related Peoples at the time of the Exodus from Egypt

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Where was the original Mount Sinai/Horeb – the Mountain where Moses and Israel met Yahweh in the desert – located? This question has recently been the subject of renewed controversy.[1] The central question has been if the mountain should be sought further east on the north Arabian Peninsula instead of in the southern Sinai desert, as the traditional position has it. As the present author has argued in Part 1 of this two-part article on ancient Sinai (Damqatum 2023)*, the sites visited by the Israelites on their way out of Egypt, mentioned in the narrative of the Book of Exodus, support the traditional view. Despite extensive research on where to locate Mount Sinai or Horeb, no consensus has been reached to date. This is why we have decided to align our focus a little differently, by asking the question if we find archaeological evidence that the Israelites and related kin groups once lived and worked there and if so, if clues to their worship of Yahweh/El can be found.*

During their Exodus from Egypt, the people of Israel did not cross the Gulf of Aqaba to the east of the Sinai Desert (as some have argued during recent decades) but the lake and canal district directly on the eastern border of the Egyptian Nile delta. And indeed (as we have argued in Part 1), the toponyms of the Exodus route in the Book of Exodus are well documented in Egyptian sources in that region (i.e., Ba^{c}al-Zaphon = *b^{c}l,* Pi[ha]chiroth = *p3-ḥr,* the Yam Suph = *p3-t̲wfi*). In Part 1 the author also argued that biblical Mount Sinai/Horeb is not to be found in Arabia but on the Sinai Peninsula.[2] However, he did not address the question where the biblical mountain is to be located and if evidence has been found in Sinai for the Israelites during their desert wanderings and for other related groups, including the Midianites and Qenites. This article will focus on these questions and study if these people worshipped *Yahweh* and *El* in Sinai, as is implied by the biblical redactors.[3]

Mount Sinai and Traces of an Ancient Cult

However, it should be emphasized right at the beginning that the question where Mount Sinai is to be found cannot be answered easily, as there are several candidates that would qualify (fig. 1). We have for example Gebel Serbal, Gebel Musa, and Ras es-Safsafeh in the southern part of Sinai. However, a critical examination of all these mountains would go beyond the scope of this article. In addition, a great deal of research has already been undertaken and several good publications exist on this topic. A detailed summary may be found, for example, in Hoffmeier (2005, 112–148), Rohl (2015, 221–235) and already in Ebers (1881, 189–232). All three mountains are

located near the Wadi Feiran (which still retains the ancient name “Paran”, see Avner 2015, 406) and Wadi Refayid, which reflects the biblical name Rephidim. This is where the Israelites allegedly fought against the Amalekites (Exodus 17:8–16).

According to Israeli archaeologist Uzi Avner, “Paran” is mentioned *c.* 46 times in Nabataean inscriptions from the Roman period in the Feiran basin, so that it can be assumed with relative certainty that “this was the geographical location of the biblical Paran Desert and Mount Paran” (Avner 2015, 406).

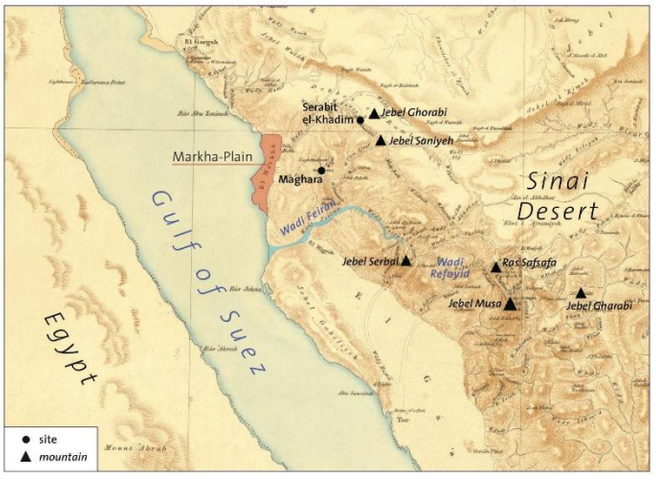

Fig. 1. The map shows a section of the southern part of the Sinai Peninsula with sites and mountains mentioned in this article. (© after 1869 UK Government Ordnance Survey, Wikipedia Public domian, by J. Weiss)

Was there sufficient water to survive in the desert?

The Wadi Feiran/Wadi Mukkatab area (including the Aynan Feiran spring) provides ample water for a large population such as the Israelites.[4] However, this may also be true of some other regions on the peninsula, regardless of whether the climate in Sinai (as was the case at the end of the Middle Bronze Age) may have been wetter when the Israelites lived in the desert.[5] Although the Egyptians called the peninsula *bj3* (“land of ore”), the Middle Egyptian word may have originated from West Semitic *bir*, “well”, instead (Morenz 2011, 67; Knauf 1984, 36). The Egyptian pharaohs repeatedly boasted that they had dug wells in Sinai to enable their expeditions to the turquoise and copper mines. Amenemhat III (1842–1795 BC), for example, wrote in a rock inscription at Serabit el-Khadim: “I found water”, whereupon he sent gardeners to cultivate the area (Morenz 2011, 69). The king also sent some 500 donkeys, which could carry some 30,000 liters of water, to supply the local miners.[6] Around half a millennium later, Ramesses II is addressed on a stela from nearby Wadi Maghareh (1279–1213 BC) where we read: “If you command the water to flow over the rock, an ocean will quickly flow forth as a result of your command” (Ebers 1881, 169).

Cultic traces of an ancient religion?

According to a tradition found in Diodorus Siculus (III, 42–43), which seems to go back to Agatharchides of Knidos around 130 BC, the Nabataeans (from Idumea) encountered an ancient sacred site in southern Sinai before BC 150 (Greßmann 1917, 153–156), which confirms that the area was still visited by religious pilgrims at that time. There is also a reference to a “palm grove rich in springs”, where an unknown (non-Egyptian) inscription was found, and where priests were still on duty in a local shrine (Maiberger 1984, 101).[7] Although it is often assumed that this palm grove is identical with the Feiran oasis in the south of the peninsula, we can no longer be certain of this (ibid., 102). It cannot be excluded that the site was located somewhat further to the north, perhaps at Serabit el-Khadim. Although no traces of a palm grove have yet been discovered at Serabit, there are several ancient “Proto-Sinaitic” inscriptions there that would no longer have been understood later by the Nabataeans.[8] Water was however present

in the area as the Egyptians had constructed wells near the copper and turquoise mines of Serabit (as was mentioned before). These had also served as a steady water supply to the miners.

Ancient Inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadim

Besides the Egyptian inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadim, there exist also numerous proto-alphabetic inscriptions there[9], including religious ones, which were predominantly carved onto the rock face near the mines and on stone tablets by the Western Asiatic miners, who served the Egyptian government during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period (between *c.* 1850 to 1550 BC).[10] This temporal delimitation of the inscriptions[11] is of particular importance because (as was argued in Part 1) the Israelites likely lived in Egypt at this time, while they may have settled in Canaan as early as the end of the Middle Bronze Age III, in *c.* 1550 BC.[12] There would therefore be a temporal connection to the Israelites in Egypt and the potential time of the Exodus.

Israelite and related Midianite-Qenite names

The Egyptian and Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadim mention several West Semitic names[13], some of which are also attested in the biblical stories concerning early Israel. For example, we find two Western Asiatics with almost the same name, namely one Leva (with the epithet "Westeren Asiatic", Middle Egyptian: *ᶜ3m r-w-3*) and one Levi (Middle Egyptian: *r3wi*[14]). Leva is also referred to as "Lord of reverence" (S81). In another inscription we find a certain Shakarum (Middle Egyptian: *Šk3m*, S40[15]), whose name is linguistically related to biblical Issachar (Hebrew *yš śkr*, "day laborer"). Other names include Ben-Zur (proto-alphabetic *bnṣr*, S356[16]), Abimelek (*3b-ml*[*k*], S359[17]) and Nama (proto-alphabetic *nm3*, S365).[18] The name Abimelech appears in both the books of Genesis (where two princes of Gerar are mentioned, Genesis 20-21 and 26) and Judges (chapter 9), where the like named son of Gideon governed the city of Shechem for three years. The name Zur occurs among the princes of Midian at the time of Moses (Numbers 25:15; 31:8; Joshua 13:21). The name *nm3* is likely a shortened version of the name Nam'el (including the theophoric name El).[19] A man from the tribe of Reuben with that name is mentioned in Numbers 26:9 as an opponent of Moses. Two sons of the Canaanite prince Irshi of Reṯenu (Egyptian *y3šy*) are mentioned on a small obelisk from Serabit el-Khadim (S112),[20] namely his sons Cain or Qeny (*ḳyn* or *ḳny*) and Yanam (*yhnm*).[21] While the name of the first son is associated with the tribal name of the "Qenites" in the Pentateuch (Numbers 24:21),[22] the second name may contain evidence of early Yahwistic worship, as it could contain the theophoric element Yah.[23]

Serabit el-Khadim as a sacred place where El was worshipped

In addition to the Egyptian cow goddess Hathor/Baᶜalat ("Mistress of Turquoise"), the warrior deities Thoth (moon god and inventor of writing) and Sopdu[24] ("Lord of Foreigners", Egyptian *nb ḫswt*[25], and "Lord of the Eastland", *nb j3btt*), dressed as a Western Asiatic, were also worshipped in the sanctuary of Serabit el-Khadim.[26] However, Sopdu's main temple stood in the Egyptian eastern delta, in the Wadi Tumilat, which is identified with a part of the biblical Land of Goshen (which still extended in a northerly direction as far as Qantir and Phacus; Giveon 1978, 118; van der Veen & Zerbst 2022, 150, 169–170).[27] Although Sopdu as an *Egyptian* deity is not directly identified with the Levantine god El in the Serabit el-

Khadim inscriptions[28], the equation is nevertheless justifiable.

A depiction in Serabit el-Khadim from the reign of Amenemhat III shows Sopdu specifically as a Levantine semi-nomad (Morenz 2019, 210) – with a short skirt and headband– holding a shepherd's crook in his hands (fig. 3b). The image is reminiscent of depictions of El of the Amorites (Il Amurru, also known as Bel-Shade) from the Harran-Balich region (the home of the biblical patriarchs), where he is likewise depicted wearing a knee-length kilt as a semi-nomad and holding a shepherd's crook (figs. 3b). At Serabit el-Khadim El is given epithets that closely resemble those of El in the book of Genesis (such as "El the Most-High", "El, the Eternal is King"; Morenz 2019, 170–171).[29]

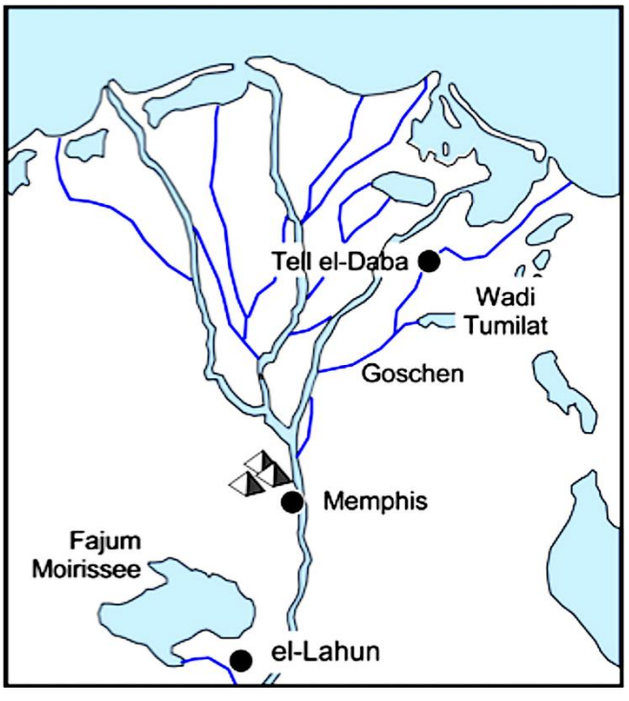

Fig. 2. The map of the Egyptian Nile Delta with Goshen and the Wadi Tumilat. (© van der Veen & Zerbst 2022, 147)

Still during Roman times, we find evidence that Yahweh and El were worshipped in the Sinai region. For example, Uzi Avner (2015, 405–406, n. 41) lists Nabataean personal names with the theophoric elements Yahweh (as in ᶜ*Abd**ahyw***) and El/Elohim (as in *Tim**alahi*** and *Saᶜd**alahi***) indicating that both deities were worshipped there.

Was Serabit el-Khadim located near Horeb?

Already Lina Eckenstein (who had excavated there with Sir Flinders Petrie) suggested a close association between Serabit el-Khadim as a cult site, Israel's faith in El/Yahweh, and the religion of the Midianite priest Jethro (Moses' father-in-law) in 1921.[30]

Fig. 3a and b: Left (a) the god Il Amurru (El of the Amorites) as he is depicted on cylinder seals from the Old Babylonian period (*c.* 1800–1600 BC). Right (b) the god Sopdu dressed as a Western Asiatic herdsman at Serabit el-Khadim (S124) (photo left courtesy of ABA; drawing to the right after left after Morenz 2011, 73).

> "Here he [Moses] found himself on holy ground. The presence of a priest, of a mountain of God, and of a reserved tract of land, point to an ancient sanctuary, and our thoughts naturally turn to Serabit, for many centuries a High Place, ... a shrine of the Semitic god Sopd[u]." (Eckenstein 1921, 67)

The French Old Testament scholar Henri Cazelles also suspected a connection here:

> "One can well imagine that Moses and his fugitive companions remained in Serabit,

without being able to prove it. The cult of Yahweh, the god El of the ancestors, whom he had found again at Horeb, could have begun here." (Cazelles 1979, 97–98, translation from the French)

Pros and cons of Mount Horeb near Serabit el-Khadim

As suggested by Michael Bar-Ron, the mountains Gebel Saniyah and Gebel Ghorabi directly east of Serabit el-Khadim (fig. 4; see also: Bar-Ron 2021, 84–86; Bar-Ron & van der Veen 2022), also suggest a proximity of the latter to the biblical sites Sinai and/or Horeb. But while the name *Saniyeh* could be identical with *Sinai*, the connection of *Ghorabi* with *Horeb* is linguistically difficult. *Ghorabi* is either connected to the Arabic word *gharaba* (written with *ghayin*), which means "setting [of the sun in the west]" (i.e., in the sense of a west-facing mountain), or to *ghurabi* in the sense of "being strange".[31] Hebrew *Horeb*, on the other hand is related to the verb "to be dry, barren".

Fig. 4. The two mountains Gebel Saniyah and Gebel Ghorabi east of Serabit el-Khadim. (© Patterns of Evidence, *Journey to Mount Sinai* Part I)

It could perhaps be argued that the Arabic name had been derived from an older, similar-sounding name and was subsequently transformed via folk etiology (i.e., etiological legends interpret names of unknown origin) and took on a different meaning over time under Arabic influence. However, this can only remain an assumption. The objection that Serabit el-Khadim comes *before* Rephidim (Wadi Refayid) and not after is perhaps more difficult to explain, as it contradicts the description of the journey in the Hebrew Bible, where the mountain of God is located *after* Rephidim (Exodus 19:2). Although it is theoretically possible that Rephidim is located north of Serabit and is therefore *not* identical to Wadi Refayid, this hardly fits the estimated distance that the Israelites covered during their daily marches.[32] Accordingly, Rephidim would seem to be further away from Egypt and hence could hardly be located north of Serabit, which was closer to Egypt. In addition, some scholars equate the area around Serabit el-Khadim (and that of Wadi Maghareh some 10 km south of it[33]) with the biblical resting place Dophkah, where the Israelites camped after having left Marah and Elim. Only after Dophkah did they reach Alush and Rephidim (Numbers 33:13–14). While Marah[34] could be identical with Bir el-Mura ("Bitter Well", Rohl 2015, 195), the description of Elim (with twelve springs and seventy palm trees[35]) best fits Ayun Musa, where "twelve artesian wells rising from an underground aquifer" were identified and where "scores of date palm trees" can be found (Rohl 2015, 195).[36] These resting places are located north of the Markha Plain, from where the ancient Egyptians set out after landing by boat on the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez in Abu Rodeis for the expedition to the peninsula and from where they reached the mines of Maghareh and Serabit el-Khadim.[37] As the Israelites also camped by the sea *after* Marah and Elim, the "Desert of Sin" (Numbers 33:11) could refer to the Markha Plain,[38] from where they next reached the resting place of Dophkah (Numbers 33:12). The Egyptians called the entire area *ḏw n mfkt* (meaning "Mount of Turquoise", see Hannig 1995, 332) and *ḫtyw mfkt* ("Terrace of Turquoise"), as they mined the precious gemstone turquoise there. It is also assumed that the biblical place name

Dophkah was derived from the Egyptian ***ḏw n mfk3t*** (Hoffmeier 2005, 166; Rohl 2015, 211–215).[39] Only after the Israelites had left Dophkah and had reached Rephidim via Alush after three more days, did they reach "the Desert of Sinai", where the mountain of God was situated (Exodus 19:2; Numbers 33:15). If, however we were to accept the equation of Sinai with Saniyeh and Ghorabi with Horeb (i.e., locating the mountain of God to the east of Serabit el-Khadim), why then did the Israelites make this huge detour to go south first and then go up north again via the Wadi Refayid? At least three options seem to present themselves:

a) The similarity in names between Sinai and Saniyeh and Horeb and Ghorabi may well be purely coincidental. As already noted above, the similarity probably only refers to Sinai and Saniyeh, since Horeb and Ghorabi were derived from different (Hebrew and Arabic) words. Even if the Hebrew name had been reinterpreted in terms of folk etiology (which is a mere guess), it is noteworthy that the Arabic name occurs frequently throughout the region, as its meaning of "westward" or "being strange" applies to many mountains.[40] This may also apply to the name Sinai, however, which as a landscape name could be translated with "broom bush" (from Hebrew *s^{e}neh*) or "rocky cliff" (from Hebrew *senneh*).[41]

b) If El and Yahweh were worshipped in several places throughout Sinai, including the southern peninsula and at Serabit el-Khadim, we may envisage a situation where the names of ancient cult sites had been transferred to other cult sites during a long history of tradition.[42] This could easily have happened when pasture-changing semi-nomads visited new pasture lands.[43]

c) Yet, Moses could have led the Israelites back in a northerly direction *after* leaving Rephidim, this time past Gebel Serbal and likely through the Wadi Feiran (Paran) to reach the sandy plain of the Desert of Sinai (?), east of Gebel Saniyah and Gebel Ghorabi (Exodus 19:2–3). This would have been an understandable move, as a direct ascent across the Markha Plain via Rod el-Air in the southwest (Hikade 2007, 12) would have been too steep for the large crowd, including children, elderly people, and cattle.[44]

It is difficult to say which explanation fits best (if any), which is why we prefer to refrain from drawing a conclusion on the matter. As was emphasized at the beginning of the article, our focus is not primarily on the precise location of the mountain but on the probability that El/Yahweh was worshipped in Sinai, and that the area was frequented by people with Israelite and related names. That this is indeed the case can be stated with certainty, wherever Mount Horeb may have been located. However, it must be emphasized that the place of worship could not have been so far away from Egypt. After all, Moses and Aaron promised to Pharaoh that they would *only* need to travel three days to offer sacrifices to their god in the desert.[45] Be that as it may, the shortness of the journey's distance speaks in favour of Sinai and against Saudi Arabia as the original location of the mountain of God (Exodus 5:3; also 3:8–12 as well as 3:18–21 and 8:23).

Conclusion and prospect

Unlike in Saudi Arabia, inscriptions in Sinai from the Middle Bronze to Roman periods (Nabataean) clearly demonstrate a proximity to the Proto-Israelite and Midianite-Qenite onomasticon. Thus, we came across Israelite or Hebrew-related names such as Levi, Abimelek,

Namu[’el] and Shakarum, a name that appears to be linguistically related to Issachar. We also discovered the names Ben-Zur and Cain or Qeni, which are associated with Midianites and Qenites in the Hebrew Bible. This is quite remarkable, as proponents of the “Arabian Horeb theory” have repeatedly claimed that Sinai was too far away from the land of Midian (which they assume was in northern Arabia[46]) for Moses to have gone there with Jethro’s cattle to meet God at Sinai. Also, the journey to Rephidim would have been too far for his father-in-law Jethro (the priest of Midian) to accompany Moses’ wife Zipporah and their sons to meet Moses. As the present author has discussed in Part 1, the descriptions “Desert of Paran” (this also applies to “Midian” as a tribal region), “Edom” and “Seir” would have been used rather loosely. This is because the entire region comprised extensively of pastureland, where nomads and semi-nomads dwelt, who regularly changed pastureland.[47] The Desert of Sinai was by no means inaccessible to these people due to trade with Egypt, the smelting of copper and the mining of precious turquoise. In other words, Egyptians, Israelites, and related kin groups such as the Midianites and Qenites, would have met here mainly for economic reasons.

The worship of Yahweh and especially of El is attested in Sinai. The name of the Canaanite prince Ya[h]na’am (the brother of Qeni) may well contain the theophoric element Yah. Later Nabataean names still show that Yahweh continued to be worshipped in Sinai. The proximity of the Western Asiatics at Serabit el-Khadim to El is particularly clear. Serabit was home to the shrine of the Egyptian deity Sopdu (“Lord of Foreign Lands”), whose depictions resemble those of El in the land of the Amorites near Harran, the very home of the biblical patriarchs.[48] According to the proto-alphabetic inscriptions at Serabit el-Khadim, the Asiatics worshipped El as the most prominent deity and ascribed to him epithets such as “El, the Most High” (biblical “El-Elyon”, see Genesis 14:20–22) and “El, the Eternal One” (biblical “El-Olam”, see Genesis 21:33). These are epithets also borne by God during the long history of Israel’s protogenesis. Also the later Nabatean inscriptions still mention El in Sinai. It is this cultic affiliation that is associated in the Hebrew Bible with the Israelites and their relatives in the highlands of Sinai – the Qenites and Midianites – as is also assumed in Exodus 18:1–2 (and v. 27) where Jethro visits Moses.[49]

It is quite conceivable that the Israelites continued their work in the mines at Serabit el-Khadim after they left Egypt (including their forty-year wanderings in the desert) and that they inscribed proto-alphabetic inscriptions on rock cliffs and stone tablets, as some scholars have recently suggested.[50] Continued work at the mines would have served as an important source of income as well as for manufacturing bronze implements for the Tabernacle (Exodus 25:1–30).

Notes

[1] Patterns of Evidence films 2022 and 2023.

[2] It remains uncertain, if Horeb is another name for Mt. Sinai or if Sinai and Horeb are twin mounts found in proximity. It is beyond the scope of this article to settle the issue here.

[3] The author would like to take this opportunity to thank the following scholars for suggestions, criticisms, images and for reading older versions of this article: Michael Bar-Ron, Johannes Dams, Prof. Ludwig Morenz, Huub Pragt, David Rohl and David Sabel. He would also like to thank Prof. Lawson Stone of Asbury Theological Seminary for providing the impetus for this article.

[4] For example, Rohl mentions that there exist about twenty wells near the er-Raha plain (near Gebel Musa and Ras es-Safsafeh; pers. comm. June 2023). He explored the region during several expeditions.

[5] On the wetter climate towards the end of the Middle Bronze Age, see Langgut et al. (2015). Ebers (1881, 168) already pointed out the possibility of a more humid climate in the desert at the time of the Israelite

wanderings.

[6] This estimate of water capacity is based on information from Egyptian donkey caravans in the Libyan desert, see Förster (2007, 6). For the logistics of such a caravan and the wells required for it in southwestern Sinai, see Morenz (2011, 68–69).

[7] Diodorus refers to an ancient inscription written in an unknown language. A detailed discussion of the Nabataeans on the southern peninsula and their cult sites at Gebel Serbal and Gebel Moneyah can be found in Avner (2015, 397–429). See also below, n. 42.

[8] Even if in principle it is possible that Diodorus is referring to inscription(s) in the Wadi Mukkatab ("Plain of Writing") north of St. Catherine's Monastery, this is unlikely, as he refers to an "unknown" script. The inscriptions in the Wadi Mukkatab are of Nabataean, Greek and early Arabic origin.

[9] The site was already visited by the 18th century explorers Carsten Niebuhr and Ulrich von Seetzen. The name Serabit el-Khadim may be translated from the Arabic language as "height of the slave" (Eckenstein 1921, 17) or as "pillars of the slaves" (as suggested by Rohl, pers. comm. June 2023).

[10] Contrary to the earlier view that the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions should be dated to the 18th Dynasty (c. 1540–1290 BC) or later (Hikade 2007, 11), there are good reasons to attribute them to the late Middle Kingdom (c. 1850–1650 BC). For the earliest inscriptions appear to date from the 12th Dynasty under Amenemhat III and IV (Morenz 2019, 54–64, 140–141). It seems that the site was still visited during the 13th Dynasty and even during the Hyksos period (c. 1775–1550 BC), as specific pottery finds (including Tell el-Yahudiyeh ware) and Second Intermediate Period scarabs (cf. UC 35447–8) confirm. Cf.: Bourriau (1996, 30–32), Caelen (2012–2013), Mourad (2015, 146) and Wilson-Wright (2016, 248).

[11] The chronological attribution is supported by the association between the Egyptian rock stelae of Amenemhat III and IV and the Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions in their near vicinity (Morenz 2011, 2015 and 2019). Moreover, in a Proto-Sinaitic and a Canaanite hieroglyphic inscription, a large Ma^{c}at-sign (sickle sword) is placed in a royal serech with Horus falcons, likely representing the prenomen of Amenemhat III (S345 and S350), confirming the contemporaneity of local inscriptions with this pharaoh (Morenz 2019, 140–141). Lisa Saladino Haney also argues that the glyptic features of local statues at Serabit resemble those from the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III (including features of stone carving; Saladino Haney 2020, 471–472, nos. 47–48, pl. XII). The depictions of Western Asiatics at the site match those of other Western Asiatics during the Middle Bronze Age (e.g., Goldwasser 2013, 353–374).

[12] For the chronology of the Israelite sojourn in Egypt, see van der Veen & Zerbst (2022, 147–181). It is estimated that around 30,000 Western Asiatics lived in Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom period (Priglinger 2019, 339). This figure is consistent with the explanation of the Hebrew word *'eleph* (used to represent a fighting unit) and the approximate population figures of the Israelites in Egypt estimated by Zerbst (2018, 101–145).

[13] A convenient overview can be found in Mourad (2015, 305–308).

[14] See Giveon (1978, 134). Schneider's derivation of *dwr*, "to be round, to go around" (cf. Hebrew *dôr*, "generation"), seems far-fetched (2003, 150). However, Egyptian r can represent d during the Middle Kingdom period. See Theis (2012, 2).

[15] See also Wilson-Wright (2016, 249). Schneider proposes the alternative reading *Šaglum*, "gift" (2003, 162; Mourad 2015). The Middle Egyptian *3* was used during the Middle Kingdom period to represent both r and l. For example, Ascalon and Jerusalem are rendered in the execration texts at the end of the 12th Dynasty as *'sḳ3nw* (Askalunu) and *3wš3mm* (Rushalimum; Sethe 1926, 54–55; Aḥituv 1984, 69, 122). This use of *3* was still occasionally used during the New Kingdom, for example in Egyptian place name lists, where the spellings *'lk3ṯy* for Ugarit, B3ḏ3n3 for Busruna and *y3š3yr* presumably for Israel, occur. See van der Veen, Theis & Görg (2010, 15–25) and most recently van der Veen (2020, 25–27).

[16] Morenz (2019, 142 and 146).

[17] Morenz (2019, 139).

[18] Morenz (2019, 121).

[19] See also Morenz (2019, 121, n. 436). The secondary theophoric form Yamu'el found in Genesis 46:10, is borne by one of the sons of Simeon.

[20] The father's name, Irshi, likely means "[DN] is my desire" or "[DN] is Irshi" (Schneider 2003, p. 124, for a further explanation, see p. 130). However, it could possibly also be read as Ilshay ("El is my gift"). The meaning would then be comparable with the content of inscription S363 from Serabit, where Morenz suggests the reading [*m*]*tn ntn* [*l*] *3l*, "has given the gift [for] El" (Morenz 2019, 157).

[21] Van der Veen & Zerbst (2022, 211); Wilson-Wright (2016, 249).

[22] Similarly, the names Qayno and Ibn al-Qayni in Nabataean inscriptions from the same region have been compared with this tribal name. See Petrantoni (2021, 118, n. 73) and Avner (2015, 406). The basic meaning of the name could have been "smith" (as found in Genesis 4:22 for Tubal-Cain). The tribal name (Hebrew *qyny*) could also be based on this connotation, insofar as

members of the tribe specialized primarily in metalworking (Köhler & Baumgartner 1958, 837; Schneider 2003, 163). A relationship to the smelting of copper into bronze from the Sinai and Negev mines appears obvious.

[23] Thomas Schneider has translated the name Yanam with some caution as "Yahweh has spoken" (Hebrew *yhn'm*, see Schneider 2003, 132; also van der Veen & Zerbst 2022, 211). A possible connection between the miners of Serabit el-Khadim and the cult of Yahweh was already suggested by orientalist Hubert Grimme (1937, 130–131).

[24] The hieroglyphic sign for Sopdu is a pointed triangle, which is also used as a determinative in *srt* "thorn". During the late Middle Kingdom, it was written in hieratic papyri from el-Lahun (in Middle Egypt) as a vertical line with a thorn, while in inscriptions on the Sinai Peninsula it is found as a triangle with two thorns (Schumacher 1988, 10). The possible connection of the deity to a thorny bush (as with Yahweh in the story of the burning bush, Exodus 3, 1–12) or a sont acacia has been discussed among Egyptologists and goes back to the Old Kingdom period around 2500 BC (e.g., in the Pyramid Texts). Unfortunately, little more can be said about this (Schumacher 1988, 9–10).

[25] The term *nb ḫswt* appears as a title for Sopdu for the last time during the Egyptian 17th Dynasty, c. 1600–1550 BC (Schumacher 1988, 320–321).

[26] See Schumacher (1988, 70–71, 128) and Morenz (2011, 72–73, 81).

[27] See Schumacher (1988, 135, 295–303). The seat of Sopdu was in the 22nd (Lower Egyptian) nome. It is interesting that the el-Lahun papyri (of the late 12th to early 13th Dynasty, between c. 1850–1700 BC) speak of a city that was in the eastern part (*gs j3bj*) of the northern district (*wᶜrt mḥtj*). Schumacher argues that Sopdu was worshipped there as the "Lord of the East" (Schumacher 1988, 120). Although she considers the element *gs* to be a meaningless addition to the term "eastern part", the present author wonders if perhaps the element is related to the biblical name Goshen/Gesem, in the sense of *gs* of the east (i.e., "that side" or "other shore"), "lying on the east bank" (Hannig 1995, 24, 905–906). In the Late Pharaonic period, the name likely occurs as *qs* and *p3-qs*, i.e., as a place name in Per-Sopdu/Saft el-Henneh (Rohl 2015, 119–121; van der Veen & Zerbst 2022, 171, n. 184). In the el-Lahun papyri, however, we would have a reference from the approximate timeframe during which according to this author the Israelites sojourned in Egypt.

[28] It appears that in his capacity as a creator god, El was also equated with the god Ptah of Memphis. This appears to be confirmed by a depiction of Ptah at Serabit el-Khadim with a fragmentarily preserved (proto-Sinaitic) inscription naming *'l*[?] as suggested by Morenz (S351, Morenz 2019, 129–131).

[29] During the Middle Kingdom, Sopdu was also termed as *smsw nṯrw*, "eldest of the gods" (Schumacher 1988, 318). This is reminiscent of El's role at Ugarit as creator god and as "father of the gods" (Ugaritic *'b ilm*).

[30] She had excavated there with Flinders Petrie during the 1905–1906 season.

[31] Pers. comm. with Johannes Dams, June 2023.

[32] Hoffmeier (2005, 118–120). On the distance that caravans could cover daily, see Priskin (2004, 57–71), Riemer & Förster (2013, 52–53, "Box 10") and Riemer (2013, 77–106, especially fig. 31).

[33] Hikade (2007, 6).

[34] Whose water was undrinkable according to the biblical description, as it was probably salty or because it contained magnesium sulphate.

[35] See Exodus 15:27; Numbers 33:9. In fact, several springs between the northern shore of the Gulf of Suez lead salt water (Mumford & Parcak 2003, 93, plate 1).

[36] The explanation in Rohl (2015) is based on the work of Mumford & Parcak (2003, fig. 1). Hoffmeier, on the other hand, equates Marah with Ain Hawarah and Elim with Wadi Garandal (2005, 161–163 with fig. 1).

[37] See Hoffmeier (2005, 161–162, 165). On these sites, see also Mumford (2015b: 92, fig. 1). For various sources attested in Egyptian inscriptions (including the possible resting places of the Israelites), see Mumford & Parcak (2003, 93, plate 1).

[38] Rohl assumes an alternative route, whereby the Israelites, after having camped at the Gulf of Suez (Yam Suph) near Gebel Hammam Pharaon, moved away from the coast (south of Wadi Garandal) about 53 km inland, passing the Wadi el-Tayibah through the sandstone desert (his Desert of Sin) and past the Wadi el-Nasb (where the Egyptians mined copper) to arrive at Dophkah/Serabit el-Khadim (Rohl 2015, 203–210).

[39] The final fem. t was no longer pronounced during the Ramesside period (13th to 11th century BC; Noonan 2016, 63). The form *ḏw n mfk3t* is attested in the Luxor temple. Hoffmeier convincingly answered the criticism why the Israelites did not avoid the area where the Egyptians worked and patrolled, as the Egyptians normally worked there only during the winter months while the Israelites came here in May/June (Hoffmeier 2005, 167). A further suggestion is found in the conclusion of this article.

[40] See: https://peakery.com/jabal-gharabi-egypt/map/ Thus, immediately to the north of Gebel Saniyah there is another Gebel Gharabi, just as there are mountains of this name to the east of Gebel Serbal and a little further east of Gebel Musa (east of Gebel Umm Alawi).

[41] E.g., Koehler & Baumgartner (1958, 330, 661–662).

Hebrew Horeb (*ḥoreb*), on the other hand, was likely related to the verb "to be dry" (*ḥareb*) and hence could simply mean "dryness", a term which should not surprise us in this barren land. Unlike Ghorabi, however, the name Saniyeh only seems to occur once in the region as far as we can tell.

[42] In his article on his excavations in southern Sinai, Uzi Avner (2015) shows that the Nabataeans worshipped their deities (including Dushara) in mountaintop sanctuaries, such as at Gebel Serbal and Gebel Moneyah. According to local Bedouin tradition, Gebel Moneyah is called Gebel Moneyat Musa, i.e., the "mountain of Moses, where Moses conversed with God". The relationship of these summit shrines to the biblical story of Moses thus suggests such local color. Avner also writes: "The sacred tradition of this site is obviously pre-Christian while the current Bedouin tradition actually echoes the Nabataean cult, or even older" (2015, 404). The Nabataean inscriptions also prove that the priests at Gebel Moneyah called their deities *al-Baᶜli*, *Walat* and *Ahyu*. An equation of these deities with Baᶜal, Yahu and Al-Lat (Asherah) seems obvious (2015, 405, n. 32).

[43] As there were several places where El and Yahweh were worshipped, the exact location of the mountain of God was probably no longer known, at least in later times, so that even during the Israelite and Judahite monarchy period the home of Yahweh was simply remembered as Teman ("Southland") as in Habakkuk 3:3 and at Kuntillet Adjrud (see also Jericke 2020). The distance to Horeb in the story of the prophet Elijah is described as "forty days and forty nights" (i.e., from Elijah's first resting place south of Beersheba; 1 Kings 19:3–4, 8). The biblical redactor likely wished to employ a figure of style to describe the distance as an arduous journey, while at the same time recalling the forty troublesome years that the Israelites spent in the desert. The New Testament evangelist Matthew seems to do something similar, when he relates that Jesus was in the desert for forty days and forty nights (Matthew 4:1-2). He too seems to remind his readers of Israel's wanderings in the desert, and that Jesus too (like Elijah) encountered similar trials.

[44] This suggestion contradicts the route to Dophkah as favored by Rohl, which leads inland via the Wadi el-Tayibah (see n. 38). In this case, the Israelites would have already been at Serabit before returning there again later (i.e., after leaving Dophkah) via the south.

[45] Nevertheless, the period of three days seems to be extraordinarily short. This would perhaps only have been feasible if they had taken the fastest route by far with an experienced caravan (i.e., directly from the Wadi Tumilat across the Bitter Lakes in a south-easterly direction) and by the direct narrow pass up to Serabit. Whether they would have managed this in three days, remains highly debatable. However, there is also the question of whether the place of sacrifice in the desert mentioned by Moses must be the same as Mt. Horeb (cf. Exodus 3:8–12 and 18–21).

[46] E.g., Möller (2008, 131–137).

[47] Van der Veen (2018, 175–177). Also, the explanation by Jericke (2020) is worth noting. The toponym "Arabia" in classical sources also included terrains west of Arabah, i.e., including the rocky terrain to the south-east of modern Israel, the Negev, and the Sinai Peninsula, as far west as the Arab nome in the Eastern Nile delta (i.e., the 20th nome south of Avaris/Pi-Ramesse).

[48] As already noted in n. 20 above, the name of the Canaanite prince on the small sandstone obelisk found at Serabit el-Khadim, can perhaps be translated as "El is my gift". In this case, the name of the god El would also appear as a theophoric element in a West Semitic personal name.

[49] On the cultural association between Sinai and North Arabia during the Bronze and Iron Ages, see also Mumford (2015a).

[50] See, for example, Bar-Ron (2021, 2022), Petrovich (2017) and Krahmalkov (2017). But also see Wilson-Wright's criticial review (2017) of Krahmalkov's controversial theory.

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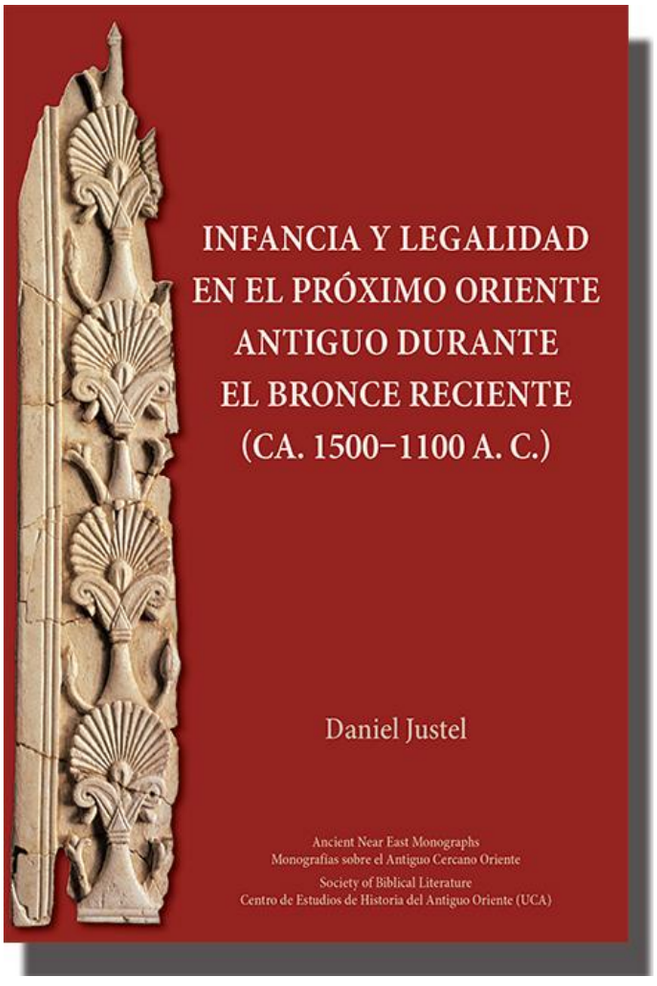

Daniel Justel es Doctor en Historia Antigua por la Universidad de Zaragoza, donde defendió su tesis sobre la condición legal de la infancia en el Próximo Oriente, investigación que cristaliza en el volumen aquí reseñado. Actualmente, se desempeña como Profesor Asociado en la Facultad de Literatura Cristiana y Clásica San Justino de la Universidad San Damaso, Madrid, donde imparte Sumerio, Acadio e Historia Antigua. A su vez, ejerce como profesor visitante en instituciones internacionales como la Universidad Católica Argentina, la Northeast Normal University de Changchun, China y en los Seminarios Redemptoris Mater. Su trayectoria lo posiciona como un referente en la asiriología contemporánea, con publicaciones que recorren la adopción en Emar, los contratos de Nuzi y los mecanismos jurídicos de la Babilonia casita. Su formación en el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC) de España le permitió adentrarse en un terreno que combina el análisis técnico de las fuentes cuneiformes con interrogantes más amplios sobre la vida cotidiana en la Antigüedad.

En este libro, Justel vuelve sobre un tema que ha cultivado con profundidad, el cual se centra en los niños en el Oriente Antiguo, explorados desde la lente jurídica y con la convicción de que, incluso en un mundo de adultos, los menores ocupaban un lugar decisivo.

El propósito de *Infancia y legalidad* es tan ambicioso como necesario: examinar el lugar que ocuparon los niños en las sociedades mesopotámicas y sirias del Bronce Reciente (ca. 1500–1100 a.C.), atendiendo a las concepciones jurídicas que los definieron. Para ello, el autor se sumerge en contratos, tablillas administrativas y documentos legales que permiten analizar fenómenos que atraviesan la vida infantil en sus múltiples facetas, tales

como la adopción, el matrimonio infantil, el aborto, el abandono, la esclavitud y las ventas de niños.

La obra busca demostrar que la infancia no puede reducirse a un rol pasivo: los menores eran actores jurídicos, sujetos a decisiones adultas, pero también partícipes de mecanismos legales que afectaban directamente su vida y su estatus social. En palabras del propio autor,

> "El hombre del Bronce Reciente, inmerso en una sociedad que conocía y aceptaba la existencia de niños sufriente, trataba en la medida de lo posible que éstos constituyeran la excepción, y ya fuera por cuestiones interesadas o altruistas, intentaría proteger a los menores también dentro de los parámetros legales." (pág. 318)

El libro se organiza en siete capítulos que despliegan un recorrido temático coherente y progresivo A través de los diferentes escenarios en los que la infancia emerge como categoría legal. Tras una introducción metodológica (capítulo 1), donde se plantean las dificultades metodológicas de estudiar la infancia como categoría histórica, recordando que los límites etarios eran distintos a los actuales y que la terminología, como *DUMU/māru* "hijo" o *GURUŠ TUR* "hombre pequeño" permitía delimitar qué se entendía por niño o adolescente.

El capítulo 2 examina los abortos y abandonos infantiles, mostrando cómo estas prácticas no eran marginales, sino reguladas en marcos jurídicos específicos. En el capítulo 3 se aborda la infancia y el matrimonio, destacando cómo las uniones pactadas en edades muy tempranas y el trasfondo económico y político de estas transacciones.

El capítulo 4, dedicado a las adopciones, ofrece un análisis de enorme riqueza, donde se estudian tanto las motivaciones familiares (garantizar herederos, reforzar alianzas, asegurar mano de obra), como los términos contractuales, los actores implicados y las implicancias económicas. Los capítulos 5 y 6, quizás los más densos, abordan la esclavitud infantil y las ventas de niños, Este último caso es espacialmente valioso, ya que la abundancia de documentación permite un análisis comparativo entre distintos archivos, Emar, Ugarit y Tuttul, revelando tanto similitudes estructurales como matices regionales.

Cada capítulo combina la presentación detallada de las fuentes, el análisis terminológico y la contextualización histórica dentro del Próximo Oriente antiguo. Esta triple estrategia evita el aislamiento documental y permite situar cada caso en un horizonte más amplio. El volumen cierra con un capítulo de conclusiones (capítulo 7), donde se sintetizan los resultados a partir de los cuatro ámbitos geográficos analizados: Babilonia casita, Asiria, Mittani y Siria. La obra se completa con una bibliografía extensa e índices de gran utilidad (onomásticos, terminológicos y de materias), que refuerzan su valor como herramienta de investigación.

La importancia de este trabajo se mide tanto por lo que aporta como por el vacío que viene a llenar. Hasta ahora, la mayoría de los estudios sobre el Próximo Oriente Antiguo se habían centrado en adultos, instituciones políticas o prácticas religiosas, relegando a los niños a menciones secundarias. El autor subvierte esa lógica, rescatando a los menores como sujetos históricos, visibles en los intersticios del corpus legal.

De este modo, se inscribe en una corriente historiográfica más amplia, que desde la obra de Philippe Ariès ha problematizado la infancia como construcción cultural e histórica. Lo

innovador aquí es aplicar esa mirada al mundo mesopotámico y sirio del Bronce Reciente, reconstruyendo la noción de niñez desde las fuentes mismas, sin extrapolar categorías modernas. Asimismo, al comparar los distintos ámbitos documentales, Justel consigue poner en diálogo semejanzas y diferencias, iluminando tanto continuidades como particularidades regionales.

Infancia y legalidad en el Próximo Oriente Antiguo es una obra de gran solidez y originalidad. Su mayor virtud reside en la capacidad de entrelazar el rigor filológico con un análisis histórico-social que da densidad a documentos fragmentarios. Aunque el corpus disponible es desigual, con archivos más ricos en unos ámbitos que en otros, el autor convierte esta limitación en una reflexión metodológica sobre el azar y la excepcionalidad de las fuentes.

El libro abre nuevas perspectivas al considerar la infancia no como un asunto periférico, sino como un prisma desde el cual se pueden repensar las dinámicas familiares, económicas y jurídicas de las sociedades antiguas. Se trata, en definitiva, de un volumen imprescindible para especialistas en historia del Próximo Oriente, derecho antiguo e historia social, pero también para quienes exploran la infancia como categoría histórica. Con este estudio, Justel demuestra que, incluso en contextos donde los adultos monopolizaban la palabra escrita, los niños tuvieron un lugar decisivo en la vida legal y social de sus comunidades.

Este libro está disponible en formato online en la página de ANEM: www.uca.edu.ar/anem

Jornadas:
Formas de organización sociopolítica y económica en los estados antiguos

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En el día 15 de abril de 2024, el Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente (CEHAO) y el Programa de Estudios de las Sociedades Premodernas (PESPREM) llevaron a cabo la jornada "Formas de organización sociopolítica y económica en los estados antiguos" en formato híbrido, es decir, de manera presencial en la UCA y virtual por YouTube. Los presentadores tuvieron entre 15 y 30 minutos para presentar su tema, y hubo un breve espacio de preguntas tras sus presentaciones.

La introducción a las jornadas fue realizada por el MA. Jorge Cano Moreno, quien presentó los variados ámbitos de estudio estudiados por los miembros del CEHAO e introdujo los objetivos de la jornada.

Tras ese segmento, Cano Moreno cedió la palabra a Eva Calomino y su presentación: "La frontera oriental en el Delta egipcio entre los siglos X y VII a.C. Un acercamiento a partir del estudio de los small finds de Tell el-Ghaba". El foco de esta presentación fue el asentamiento de Tell el-Ghaba, ubicado en el Delta oriental, y la búsqueda de grupos como la Misión Arqueológica Argentina de poder comprender, delimitar y analizar los patrones de asentamiento, estructuras, actividades y demás características de los grupos asentados en este espacio. Además de las clasificaciones de las estructuras de Tell el-Ghaba, Calomino hizo énfasis en los *small finds*, pequeños objetos hallados en el sitio, y su variedad, clasificación e importancia para poder entender más las creencias y modo de vida de la población de la región.

La segunda presentación, titulada "Urbanismo y complejidad sociopolítica en el Levante meridional durante la Edad del Hierro II", fue llevada a cabo por Emanuel Pfoh de la Universidad de Helsinki. Centrado en el Levante meridional, Pfoh describió las distintas escalas de análisis regional y socio-histórico de la región, resaltando la gran variedad de caracteres y aspectos analizables en este espacio. Otro aspecto de la exposición se centró en la evolución que sufrió la

historiografía del Antiguo Israel, con una transición desde el punto de estudio bíblico hacia un enfoque más bien basado en la antropología y la sociología, además de la influencia del relato bíblico como herramienta para la clasificación de los distintos tipos de organización política en Israel. Debido a la gran variedad de puntos de vista presentes en esta área de estudio, Pfoh resaltó la relevancia del tribalismo como una jerarquización territorial basada en el linaje y como forma de organización muy relevante para comprender el aspecto urbano y sociopolítico de las poblaciones.

Tras un breve espacio de preguntas dirigido hacia los dos primeros expositores, se realizó en forma de video la presentación de la exposición "Adaptaciones, regulaciones y estrategias para la convivencia entre seres humanos y animales no humanos en la Anatolia hitita" de la Dra. Romina Della Casa. El foco de esta presentación fue el estudio de la presencia y comportamiento de los animales como factor de cambio en las sociedades de la Antigua Anatolia. Della Casa destacó la importancia de los animales como elemento relevante para una mejor comprensión del comportamiento humano, similar a una relación recíproca entre hombre y animal y centrado en el impacto animal sobre la formación de estrategias y adaptaciones de parte de los habitantes de Anatolia. Para este estudio, se utilizaron textos divididos en dos grupos. El primero estaba centrado en la amenaza y competencia que animales como la langosta representaban sobre los recursos que los humanos buscaban, sumado a la posterior respuesta de las poblaciones para solventar dichos problemas. El segundo grupo de textos mostró los animales que impulsaron la movilidad, regulación y contención de los pobladores, como el traslado de comunidades junto a rebaños de cabras.

La cuarta exposición, "El Yahvismo en la época persa. Dt 32, un intento de síntesis", fue presentada por Olga Gienini. En esta exposición, Gienini analizó el pasaje bíblico conocido como el canto de Moisés, utilizándolo como herramienta para comprender el yahvismo persa desde un enfoque alejado de la historiografía bíblica. Tras una breve explicación de la organización y extensión espacio-temporal del imperio persa, se hizo énfasis en la multiplicidad de expresiones del yahvismo en distintos espacios. En cuanto al cántico que toma protagonismo en la exposición, fue introducido como una oda religiosa perteneciente a fiestas dedicadas a celebrar la Alianza, siendo esta de carácter colaborativo y con una importante conexión con el Arca de la Alianza. Otra cuestión relevante fue el debate del origen del cántico, habiendo grupos además del judío, como los samaritanos, que se atribuían su creación. Por último, se tomó en cuenta las variadas influencias culturales halladas en el cántico, además de su importancia como herramienta de conexión entre los pueblos y su Dios al describir el compromiso entre Yahvé y sus seguidores.

La quinta y última exposición, "¿Existieron las peregrinaciones en los desiertos del sur del Levante durante el período bíblico?" fue presentada por Juan Manuel Tebes. Como su título indica, se hizo énfasis en el debate respecto a la presencia o no de migraciones de pueblos levantinos hacia el monte Sinaí, surgiendo esta discusión debido a la escasez de restos arqueológicos que pudieran sostener la existencia de estas peregrinaciones. Estas últimas se encuentran de manera muy escasa en la Biblia, lo que llevó a más cuestionamientos de la veracidad de estos grandes movimientos poblacionales. Tebes mencionó la importancia del emplazamiento geográfico para entender estas migraciones, nombrando a la Edad de Hierro como una

"Edad de oro" en lo que a santuarios en el desierto respectaba. En cuanto a estos centros, se tomó como ejemplo el sitio de Kuntillet ʿAjrud, cuya arquitectura permite interpretar esta estructura como un espacio de caravanas o fuerte, pero no diseñado para el hospedaje de personas. Es en esta locación que se hallaron restos arqueológicos que permiten ver el carácter cúltico o religioso que se le dio, habiendo vasijas y jarras con inscripciones dedicadas a sus dioses y sus diferencias regionales. Otros hallazgos relevantes fueron dibujos en jarras que mostraban a la población realizando actos de adoración e inscripciones murales de carácter bíblico. Además de los santuarios, se analizaron los túmulos como construcciones hechas con piedras, utilizándose dichas estructuras como espacios sagrados. Para finalizar, Tebes concluyó que los pueblos de la región del Levante meridional árido compartían una creencia en los viajes a lugares sagrados para realizar rituales y ofrendas.

Tras otro espacio de preguntas dedicado a la segunda tanda de expositores, Cano Moreno finalizó la Jornada agradeciendo tanto a los participantes como a los asistentes.

CEHAO SCHOLARLY PARTICIPATION

ROMINA DELLA CASA

ACADEMIC EVENTS

"Mundos imaginarios, tierras reales en la Anatolia hitita". III Seminario Internacional 'Mundos Antiguos Digitales': Asia y África. Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Madrid, España. 20 de septiembre, online.

"Adaptaciones, regulaciones y estrategias para la convivencia entre seres humanos y animales no humanos en la Anatolia hitita," Jornadas: Formas de organización sociopolítica y económica en los estados antiguos, Programa de Estudios de las Sociedades Premodernas (PESPREM) de la Universidad Católica Argentina, Buenos Aires. 15 de abril, formato híbrido.

PUBLICATIONS

"In Between Human-Animal Bodies: Trans-corporeal Experiences in Hittite Anatolia". *NUMEN. International Review for the History of Religions 71*, 500-518

EVA AMANDA CALOMINO

ACADEMIC EVENTS

I CONFERENCIA SOBRE MATERIALIDAD Y TEXTUALIDAD EN SOCIEDADES ANTIGUAS

"Revisando las dualidades cultura material-texto / materialidad-textualidad a partir de relatos sobre disciplinas, objetos, personas y lugares".
CABA, Argentina. Marzo 21-22.
Instituto de Historia Oriental Antigua "Dr. Abraham Rosenvasser" (FFyL, UBA), CABA, Argentina.

JORNADAS "FORMAS DE ORGANIZACIÓN SOCIOPOLÍTICA Y ECONÓMICA EN LOS ESTADOS ANTIGUOS"

"La frontera oriental en el Delta egipcio entre los siglos X y VII a.C. Un acercamiento a partir del estudio de los small finds de Tell el-Ghaba"
CABA, Argentina. Abril 15.
PESPREM, Instituto de Investigaciones de la Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad Católica Argentina, CABA, Argentina.

SEMINARIO INTERNACIONAL ON LINE "EGIPTO Y EL MEDITERRÁNEO OCCIDENTAL I"

Organizado por Eva A. Calomino
Granada, España. Junio 07.
GEPRAN - HUM - 274 - Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología, Universidad de Granada, Granada, España.

XIX JORNADAS INTERESCUELAS DEPARTAMENTOS DE HISTORIA

"Identificando objetos y espacios. Una propuesta de estudio sobre la presencia de hallazgos de procedencia egipcia en la Península ibérica"
Rosario, Argentina. Septiembre 18-21.
Universidad Nacional de Rosario, Rosario, Argentina

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON AMULETS (ICA 2024)

`Beliefs and domestic activities in ancient north Sinai: objects with amuletic value from an urban settlement of the 10th and 7th centuries BC.´
Portugal, Noviembre 15-16.
Museum of Archaeology D. Diogo de Sousa, Braga, Portugal.

XI CONGRESO NACIONAL ALADAA

"Develando los misterios de la vida cotidiana egipcia. Narrativas locales desde y para Tell el-Ghaba (Sinaí Norte)".
Mesa temática 4: Narrativas occidental o centradas y críticas poscoloniales/decoloniales. Discusiones transdisciplinarias sobre la escritura de la(s) historia(s) de las sociedades antiguas africanas y asiáticas.
Buenos Aires, Argentina. Noviembre 20-22.
Asociación Latinoamericana de Estudios de Asia y África (ALADAA)- Sección Argentina y Escuela Superior de Ciencias del Comportamiento y Humanidades, Universidad de Morón (UM), Morón, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

ANCIENT WORLDS LECTURE SERIES.

Conferencia `Back to the Sinai. The Archaeological Mission at Tell el Ghaba´
Leiden, Países Bajos. Diciembre 02.
The Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO), Universidad de Leiden, Leiden, Países Bajos.

UNSEEN—UNTOLD: STORIES OF ANCIENT NON-ELITE COMMUNITIES

Asistente
Leiden, Países Bajos. Diciembre 18-20.
The Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO), Universidad de Leiden, Leiden, Países Bajos.

PUBLICATIONS

ANTIGUO ORIENTE 22

"Estructuras y objetos para interpretar la organización sociopolítica estatal y local en Tell el-Ghaba (Sinaí Norte) entre los siglos X y VII a.C"
Antiguo Oriente 22: 237-284.

CUADERNOS DE PREHISTORIA Y ARQUEOLOGÍA 34

`Small finds in ancient egyptian household. Multifunctionality and activities in Building B at Tell el-Ghaba (North Sinai)´
Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología 34: 383-418.

TEACHING

2023-2024 Prehistoria II. Grado en Historia. Segundo cuatrimestre. Universidad de Granada.
2023-2024 Protohistoria de Europa. Grado e Arqueología. Universidad de Granada.

FELLOWSHIPS

2022-2024. Ayudas María Zambrano (junior) para la atracción de talento internacional. Universidad de Granada.
2024. NINO incoming Mobility Grant/Fellow. The Netherlands Institute for the Near East Grant. Leiden, Países Bajos.

RESEARCH STAYS

Leiden, Países Bajos.Diciembre 1-21
The Netherlands Institute for the Near East (NINO), Universidad de Leiden, Leiden, Países Bajos.

COURSES

MORFOMETRÍA APLICADA A LA ARQUEOLOGÍA E INTRODUCCIÓN A LA MORFOMETRÍA GEOMÉTRICA EN LA INVESTIGACIÓN ARQUEOLÓGICA.

Asistente
Granada, España. Marzo 6-8.
Departamento de Prehistoria y Arqueología, CUATE, EIP, Máster en Arqueología, Universidad de Granada, Granada, España.

FIELD RESEARCH

Trabajo de campo en la Tumba Tebana 318, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Luxor, Egipto. Proyecto Amenmose.

GRACIELA GESTOSO SINGER

PUBLICATIONS

1. *Ugarit Forschungen*
Hospitality and Hostility in the Amarna Period. *Ugarit Forschungen* 53 (2022), 273-295.

2. *Diacrítica*
Beyond Amarna: Exorcists without Borders in the Levant. In António J. Gonçalves de Freitas and Roxana Flammini (eds.). *An ever-changing world: Interconnections in the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean* (*ca. 3500-300 BC*). Braga, University of Minho: CEHUM, 2023, 51-70 (*Diacrítica*, 37 / 2).

3. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* (JAEI)
Rosen, Baruch, Gorzalczany, Amir, and Gestoso Singer, Graciela. *An Aromatic Levantine Plant (Thymbra spicata L.) in Tutankhamun's Tomb as a Case of Failed Domestication*. *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* (JAEI) 41 (2024), 95-106.

AMIR GORZALCZANY

ACADEMIC EVENTS

Congress "Bamerkaz V, Fire". Joint Congress of the IAA Central District and the Institute of Archaeology of the Tel Aviv University and Bar Ilan University. (20th Junio, 2024). Eretz-Israel Museum, Tel Aviv (comisión organizadora)

"I Have Good Chemistry with Ramla": Fire, Heating and Distillation in the Islamic World. Joint Congress of the IAA Central District and the Institute of Archaeology of the Tel Aviv University and Bar Ilan University. (20th June, 2024). Eretz-Israel Museum, Tel Aviv.

Following Hunter-Gatherers from Nitzana Sands Along the Southern Levant: Walking on (Ostriches) Eggshells. "Glimpse into the Past": What's New in Archaeology 2024. Fifth David Amit Memorial Lecture Series. Yad Ben Zvi and the Israel Antiquities Authority (15th April, 2024). (Broadcasted online).

TEACHING

"The early Islamic Period in Israel: Material Culture, Sites and Excavations". Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Beer Sheva.

PUBLICATIONS

Rosen, B. and Gorzalczany, A. 2024. Reinterpreting the Obscure Biblical Hebrew Lexeme צעה(*ẓoʿe*) in Arad Ostracon 16. Jerusalem Journal of Archaeology6:32–45. ISSN: 2788-8819; https://doi.org/10.52486/01.00006.2

Gorzalczany, A. and Rosen, B. 2024. Artifacts Associated with the Chemical Arts in the Early Islamic Period in Ramla, Israel. Journal of Islamic Archaeology10(2):145–174. http://www.doi.org/10.1558/jia.23472

Rosen, B., Gorzalczany, A. and Gestoso-Singer, G. 2024. An Aromatic Levantine Plant (Thymbraspicata L) in Tutankhamun's Tomb as a Case of Failed Domestication. Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections 41:95–106.

Gorzalczany, A. 2024. Review of Milevski, Y.; Lupu, R. and Cohen-Weinberger, A. (eds.) Excavations at Quleh and Mazor (West): Burial Practices and Iconography in Southern Levantine Chalcolithic Cemeteries (2023).AESL 4. Austrian Academy of Sciences, Druckerei Berger & Söhne, Horn, Austria. Mitekufat Haeven JIPS 54:241–144.

Gorzalczany, A. and Rosen, B. 2024. Ostriches and Ostrich Eggs in the Southern Levant and in the Ancient World in Light of Excavations at a Middle and Late Bronze Age Cemetery in Tel Aviv. Qadmoniot 57(168):2–14. (Hebrew).

JUAN MANUEL TEBES

ACADEMIC EVENTS

SBL GLOBAL VIRTUAL MEETING
Co presidencia de sesión y panelista.
"The Fabrics of History – Discussing the "History of Ancient Israel" by Christian Frevel."

Society of Biblical Literature (SBL).
1-4 Abril 2024.
https://event.sblgvm2024.exordo.com/session/6/the-fabrics-of-history-discussing-the-history-of-ancient-israel-by-christian-frevel

JORNADAS FORMAS DE ORGANIZACIÓN SOCIOPOLÍTICA Y ECONÓMICA EN LOS ESTADOS ANTIGUOS

Ponencia presentada.
"¿Existieron las peregrinaciones en los desiertos del sur del Levante durante el período bíblico?"
Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente & Programa de Estudios de las Sociedades Premodernas (UCA).
15 Abril 2024.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3p7k23Y9WE4

FELLOWS WORKSHOP

Ponencia presentada.
"Desert Sacred Landscapes through the Millennia: Studying the Cults and Afterlife Beliefs in the Arid Southern Levant."
W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalén.
28 Agosto 2024.

COLLOQUE CUSO (CONFÉRENCE UNIVERSITAIRE DE SUISSE OCCIDENTALE) BETWEEN LEGITIMATE AND ILLEGITIMATE: RELIGION AND MAGIC IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Ponencia presentada.
"Religion and Cults in the Arid Southern Levant: Preliminary Results of the Desert Cults Mapping Project."
Université de Lausanne, Suiza.
31 Octubre-1 Noviembre 1 2024.

RESEARCH STAYS

SEYMOUR GITIN DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR

W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalén.
Junio-Septiembre 2024.

PUBLICATIONS

PALESTINE EXPLORATION QUARTERLY 156/3

"Faynan, Nomads and the Western Negev in the Early Iron Age: A Critical Reappraisal."
P. Bienkowski & J.M. Tebes, pp. 262-289.
https://doi.org/10.1080/00310328.2023.227762

THE IASA BULLETIN 32 (SPRING 2024)

"Crossing Ancient Sacred Landscapes."
pp. 23-24.
https://iasarabia.org/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/IASA_Bulletin_2024_spring-.pdf

OTHERS

THE JORDAN TIMES

Entrevista.
"Deep dive into ancient pilgrimage routes in Levant, Hijaz regions."
Por Saeb Rawashdeh, 27 Marzo 2024.
https://www.jordantimes.com/news/local/deep-dive-ancient-pilgrimage-routes-levant-hijaz-regions

THE JORDAN TIMES

"Ancient cultic architecture: focusing on Syro-Arabian shrines' structures."
Por Saeb Rawashdeh, 16 Abril 2024.
https://jordantimes.com/news/local/ancient-cultic-architecture-focusing-syro-arabian-shrines'-structures

LIVESCIENCE.COM

Entrevista.
"Archaeologists discover 4,000-year-old Bronze Age settlement hidden in Saudi Arabian oasis."

Por Owen Jarus, 30 Octubre 2024.
https://www.livescience.com/archaeology/archae

ologists-discover-4-000-year-old-bronze-age-settlement-hidden-in-saudi-arabian-oasis

OVIS BORING SHEEP THAT HAVE BEEN CHANGING THE WORLD

Actuación en opera documental.
Por Karmina Šilec, Noviembre 2024.
https://www.karminasilec.com/stgw_/daskjdhakjhd__1_1/

CENTRO DE ESTUDIOS DE HISTORIA
DEL ANTIGUO ORIENTE

LIBRARIES AND ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS IN THE FIELD OF ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

BUENOS AIRES

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http://www.imhicihu-conicet.gov.ar/

E-mail: imhicihu@conicet.gov.ar Address: Saavedra 15, Buenos Aires Tel.: (54-11) 4953-8548 / 2042

CEHAO (Centro de Estudios de Historia del Antiguo Oriente)

http://www.uca.edu.ar/cehao/

E-mail: cehao@uca.edu.ar
Address: Av. Alicia Moreau de Justo 1500, Buenos Aires Tel: (54-11) 4349-0200 (int.1189).

UCA Library

Online Library Catalog: http://anima.uca.edu.ar/
Digital Library:
http://bibliotecadigital.uca.edu.ar/greenstone/cgi-bin/library.cgi

E-mail: bibliot@uca.edu.ar
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Fax: (54-11) 4338-0695
Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 08:00 to 17:00

IHAO (Instituto de Historia Antigua Oriental "Dr. Abraham Rosenvasser," University of Buenos Aires)

http://www.filo.uba.ar/contenidos/investigacion/institutos/antoriental/index.htm

E-mail: ihao@filo.uba.ar
Address: 25 de mayo 217, Buenos Aires
Tel.: (54-11) 4334-7512 / 4342-5922 / 4343-1196 (int. 107)
Fax: (54-11) 4343-2733
Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 15:00 to 19:00.

Academia Argentina de Letras, Donación Dr. Abraham Rosenvasser - Library

Online Library Catalog:
http://letras.edu.ar/wwwisis/inicio/form.htm

E-mail: biblioteca@aal.edu.ar
Address: Sánchez de Bustamante 2663, Buenos Aires
Tel.: (54-11) 4802-3814 / 2408 / 7509 (int. 216/218)
Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 13.15 to 18.30

National University of La Plata Library (Biblioteca de Humanidades)
http://www.bibhuma.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/
Online Library Catalog:
http://www.bibhuma.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/catalogos/cat_basica.php

E-mail: bibhuma@fahce.unlp.edu.ar
Address: Calle 48 entre 6 y 7, 1º subsuelo, La Plata
Tel.:423-5745
Fax: 423-5745
Opening hours: Monday to Friday, 08:00 to 19:00

Seminario Rabínico "Marshal T. Meyer"-

Library: http://www.seminariorabinico.org/

E-mail: biblioteca@seminariorabinico.org.ar
Address: José Hernandez 1750, Buenos Aires Tel.: (54-11) 4783-2009 / 4783-6175
Fax: (54-11) 4781-4056
Opening hours: Monday to Thursday, 14:00 to 21:00